FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

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THIS IS THE END OF MUR # 958

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

IN THE MATTER OF THE	)	
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NATIONAL RIGHT TO	)	No. MUR-958
	)	
LIFE COMMITTEE	)	

Deposition of Felecia Goeken

912117

Reporter: Teresa A. Boudouris

FEB 9 P1:35

JAMES MAY REPORTING SERVICE
CERTIFIED SHORTHAND REPORTERS
R.R. 2 - BOX 312
EDWARDSVILLE, ILLINOIS 62025

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

IN THE MATTER OF THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE	)	No. MUR-958

APPEARANCES:

Mr. R. Lee Andersen, Esq.	For the Federal Election Commission
Messrs. Brames, Bopp & Haynes by James Bopp, Jr., Esq.	For the National Right to Life Committee

IT IS STIPULATED AND AGREED by and between counsel that the deposition of FELECIA GOEKEN may be taken on January 26, 1981 at the Federal Courthouse, 501 Belle Street, Alton, Illinois before TERESA A. BOUDOURIS, a Notary Public within and for the County of Bond, State of Illinois.

produced, sworn and examined on behalf of the Federal Election Commission, deposes and says as follows:

CROSS-EXAMINATION

BY MR. ANDERSEN:

Q. Would you please state your name?

A. My name is Felecia Goeken.

Q. And your address?

A. 412 Langdon Street, Alton, Illinois.

Q. Are you represented by counsel today?

A. I am.

Q. And is Mr. Bopp your counsel today?

A. He is.

Q. Now if at any time you do not understand a question that I ask you, I would ask you to request that I rephrase the question; and at that time, I'll attempt to do so.

A. All right.

Q. Otherwise, I'll assume that you did understand the question and your answer is responsive to it.

Okay. Have you had any assistance in preparing for this deposition?

A. No.

Q. There was a request for document production

made by the Federal Election Commission, which I'll refer to as the Commission from this point on, a request of documents from the National Right to Life Committee, Incorporated, which I'll refer to as the NRLC from this point forward. Did you assist in that production of documents to the Commission?

A. Yes.

Q. To the best of your knowledge, was this production of documents to the Commission complete?

A. You know, whatever that I was requested, yes.

Q. Mrs. Goeken, are you married?

A. Yes, I am.

Q. Could you state your husband's name?

A. George W. Goeken.

Q. And his occupation?

A. He is self-employed. He's in heating and air-conditioning.

Q. What is your educational background?

A. I graduated from Alton High School.

Q. Have you had any administrative training or administrative experience?

A. Training, no, and not especially experience except what I've accumulated just by doing.

Q. Could you state when you first became

involved with the pro-life movement?

A. 19 -- Well -- To clarify that, would you mean when I first became involved in the issue or when I -- By involvement, what do you mean?

Q. Let me say: When did you first take part in any active sense? This would include discussions with other persons, activities other than just your own thinking about it.

A. Well, you asked movement. When I first did an activity in the pro-life sense, there wasn't a movement. I acted as an individual. That was 1969 as an individual. There were no Right to Life groups then.

Q. Uh-huh. Since that time in 1969, have you had any particular training or attended workshops or experiences that are related to your activities in the pro-life movement since 1969?

A. Do you mean like -- What kind of workshops? Could you define them for me?

Q. Perhaps, if we stayed to the term training, we would be better. Educational forums in which discussions of issues or ideas or methods that might be used by persons interested in the pro-life movement where --

A. Yes.

Q. Have these been frequent?

A. No.

Q. Are you familiar with an organization by the name of the National Right to Life Committee?

A. Yes.

Q. What is your present involvement with the NRLC?

A. I am on its Board sent by the State of Illinois as a Director on the Board, and I am the National Coordinator of the Voter Identification Project, Phase I.

Q. How long have you been the National Coordinator of the Voter Identification Project?

A. Since its inception in 1977.

Q. Could you describe what your duties are as National Coordinator?

A. To coordinate the project on a national basis.

Q. Do you have the primary responsibility for the project -- for the conduct of the project?

A. Yes. I mean what do you mean when you say primary?

Q. Are you the person that oversees the operation generally and is -- perhaps, the best term would be the final authority with respect to decisions?

A. I think your first description, oversee it.

yes. Final authority, no.

Q. Who has the final authority?

A. The Board of Directors of the NRLC.

Q. And you report directly to the Board of Directors?

A. Yes.

Q. Is there some way in which your position on the Board of Directors which is -- Excuse me if I'm incorrect. That was the State Director for Illinois --

A. Right.

Q. -- is that correct? How does that position on the Board of Directors relate to your job as National Coordinator?

A. It doesn't.

Q. Is there any --

A. No.

Q. Have you had other positions either paid or voluntary, other titles with NRLC?

A. Yes.

Q. Could you state what those were?

A. I was elected secretary in the past.

Q. When were you elected secretary?

A. 1976.

Q. And how long did you retain that position?

A. Until June of 1980.

Q. Was that position of secretary a paid position?

A. No.

Q. Was the position -- Is the position of Director a paid position?

A. No.

Q. Is the position of National Coordinator of V.I.P. a paid position?

A. Yes.

Q. Could you state what your salary is, please?

A. 10,000.00 annually.

Q. Is the V.I.P. presently in operation? Is it continuing at this time?

A. Yes. And if I may make a slight correction, it's V.I.D.

Q. We will refer to the voter identification project as the V.I.D. from now on.

A. I'm sorry. I'm wrong. It's V.I.P.

Q. Okay. It is ID.

A. You were right. I was wrong. V.I.P.

Q. If you would, let the record reflect the proper acronym is V.I.P. Then you are still the National Coordinator of the V.I.P., and the V.I.P. is still operating at the present time?

A. Yes.

Q. Okay. I'd like to ask you some questions now about the background -- general questions about the National Right to Life Committee specifically, not so much about the V.I.P. but the NRLC. Do you know when the NRLC was established?

A. By established, you mean --

Q. Founded.

A. Officially incorporated?

Q. Let's start with that, officially incorporated.

A. I don't know the date exactly.

Q. Do you know when the idea or the concept of the National Right to Life Committee or, perhaps, maybe the people involved first organized such a group?

A. Yeah, I guess about late '73.

Q. Late '73. Thank you. Do you know who the persons were that established NRLC?

A. Not specifically.

Q. Do you know where it was established?

A. Well, I'm having -- the term established again, you know. I don't know exactly what you mean by established.

Q. I think what I would mean is something on the order of founded, not necessarily incorporated, not

necessarily the official act of incorporating or registering with the state, but rather the group of people or, perhaps, the individual that had the idea that got other people together and interested. This is what I mean by formation or founding.

A. Well, my own personal knowledge would be only of the first convention in Detroit.

Q. And that was in 1973, is that correct?

A. Late '73, I believe. I'm not positive of the date without checking records.

Q. Okay. Do you know how the NRLC is funded?

A. Yes.

Q. Could you state how the NRLC is funded?

A. By donations from the general public.

Q. Is there any distinction between donations and contributions to NRLC?

A. I'll have to say I don't know on this because this is not involved -- it's not involved with the Voter ID. So I don't know specifically.

Q. Is there an annual dues that is paid to the NRLC?

A. By --

Q. By each member of the NRLC.

MR. BOPP: I think I'll object. I don't see the relevance of that question to the Complaint

for which she's subjecting herself to a deposition.

MR. ANDERSEN: What we're trying to determine is the relationship between the monies expended by NRLC and the Voter Identification Project, and it's relevant to examine what the funding sources are for the NRLC.

MR. BOPP: You want to repeat that again? I didn't understand the relevance.

MR. ANDERSEN: Well, the violation in question would be one of making -- of a corporation such as the NRLC making an expenditure in connection with an election. There has to be established that money is involved, and the amount and source of this money is the relevancy of the question. It's a background on what we're talking about.

MR. BOPP: Why is the source relevant?

MR. ANDERSEN: Well, I think that whether it is a political contribution -- a contribution could be different from a dues. I'm just trying to establish whether or not that is so, and this is not clear from my examination of the records what kind of sources of funds come to NRLC.

MR. BOPP: Just a second.

MR. ANDERSEN: Would you, please,

let the record reflect that the witness is consulting with counsel.

THE WITNESS: Now repeat that question for me, will you?

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. Let me try to break it down into components. Maybe that's the problem. Are there dues paid by members of NRLC?

A. Yes.

Q. In addition to dues paid by members to NRLC, does NRLC solicit contributions from members?

A. Yes.

Q. Does NRLC solicit contributions for specific purposes?

A. Yes.

Q. Did NRLC solicit members for contributions related to or for the V.I.P.?

A. Yes.

Q. Did NRLC solicit the general public for contributions for the V.I.P.?

A. Yes.

Q. What is the decision making body of the NRLC?

A. Its Board of Directors.

Q. How are decisions made by the Board of Directors?

A. You wouldn't believe it if I told you. At their quarterly meetings, we meet quarterly; and that's where the primary decisions are made.

Q. Who establishes the agenda for each of the quarterly meetings?

A. The Chairman with the Board, you know. If I, as a Director, want something on the agenda, I request it of the Chairman of the Board.

Q. Is this an informal or formal procedure of establishing the agenda?

A. Informal.

Q. So it could be -- Let me phrase it this way. Could it be a written request for an item to appear on the agenda?

A. It could be. It could be.

Q. It might also be an oral request?

A. Right.

Q. As National Coordinator of V.I.P., did you receive instructions concerning the V.I.P. from the Board of Directors?

A. No.

Q. As secretary of the Board of Directors when you were secretary, is it fair to say that you were expected to attend all of the meetings or nearly all the meetings?

A. Yes.

Q. As you attended these meetings of the Board of Directors, were decisions regarding the V.I.P. discussed -- Let me rephrase that question. Were problems or issues regarding the V.I.P. discussed by the Board of Directors?

A. Yeah.

Q. However, this may be slightly repetitious, but I'm not quite clear on it. You did state that the Board of Directors did not make any decisions regarding these problems or issues in the V.I.P.

A. Not basically.

Q. Uh-huh. How then did the Board of Directors direct -- How did they establish the direction for you as National Coordinator of the V.I.P.?

A. The direction that I knew the coordination had to take were basically what had always been certain policies of the Board that I was already familiar with.

Q. By policies already established -- long time established, I believe you're saying -- you could direct your actions with respect to the V.I.P. accordingly without particular instructions coming from the Board of Directors' meetings. Is that a fair summary?

A. When you say instructions, would you be pertaining to such -- to specific things --

Q. Yes, I would.

A. -- or the whole project?

Q. Let me try another formulation of this. Was it necessary for the Board of Directors to approve any actions you might take as National Coordinator of V.I.P.?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you say what actions it was necessary for the Board of Directors to approve?

A. Approving expenditure for printing of materials.

Q. Are there any other items on any other kinds of approvals that would be necessary for you to receive from the Board?

A. What do you mean?

Q. Other than budgetary items, expenditures of money, are there any other kinds of problems that you would bring to the Board which would be necessary for them to decide upon before you could go any further?

A. They approved the whole project initially.

Q. Okay. Would you have to have permission from the Board of Directors to contact State Directors?

A. No.

Q. Do the state groups host the Board of Directors' meetings?

A. No.

Q. The Board of Directors' meetings do take place, however, in different parts of the country in different cities, is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. How does the Board determine where it will meet each time?

A. It isn't always -- Specifically, January, we meet in Washington. That's a set thing. Our June meeting is where our national convention is. That's a set thing, and the other two are changeable.

Q. Does the NRLC pay for the travel expenses of the State Directors?

A. No.

Q. Does the NRLC pay for the travel expenses of any of the Board of Directors?

A. I would have no knowledge of that. In fact, if I may, I don't know that I'd have knowledge on the one I said no. I can only speak for myself as a Director.

Q. Does the NRLC Board of Directors have the authority to veto actions proposed by the state groups?

A. No.

Q. How about local groups?

A. Well, there, again, I have no knowledge -- You're speaking of NRLC in an area that is an administrative area. No.

Q. Is there a difference between state NRLC groups and local NRLC groups?

A. What --

Q. Are state groups the same as local groups? In other words, is state just another term for local groups, or are there state groups and county groups or --

A. I'd have to say I don't know because states vary. You don't know what goes on in every state.

Q. Must state groups abide by decisions of the Board of Directors?

A. What do you mean by state group?

Q. Well, that's one of the things that we're trying to determine because NRLC, if I understand it correctly, has a membership. The NRLC, Incorporated, the national group, has a membership designated in your articles of incorporation or bylaws as associate members, is that correct? It has a national membership?

A. Without having -- You're talking about -- I'm -- My expertise is in the area of the Voter ID, and we're getting off into areas where I would hate to say yes or no because --

Q. I understand that, and I'll try to move

away from those areas. And if you don't know -- Beforehand, we don't know exactly what every person knows. If you don't know something, say so. Maybe I could ask: As the State Director of Illinois at present, do you represent a specific Right to Life group?

A. As State Director? I'm not sure what it's got to do with Voter ID. Yes, I do.

Q. And are the members of the state Right to Life group also members of NRLC?

A. Some are, and some aren't.

Q. Some are, and some aren't?

A. You're in a nebulous area there.

Q. Is there a requirement for a person to be a member of the state -- Illinois Right to Life group, is it a requirement that that person also be a member of the National Right to Life Committee, Incorporated?

A. By whom?

Q. For a person to be -- Let me try to reformulate. For a person to be a member of the Illinois Right to Life Group, is it a requirement in order to be in the Illinois Right to Life group that they also join the National Right to Life Committee?

A. No.

Q. Okay. Do you know where the idea for the Voter Identification Project originated?

A. Yes.

Q. Could you state where and -- Could you state where the idea originated?

A. The idea originated in a county in New York which did a project similar to this.

Q. Was it originated by a pro-life group?

A. Uh-huh.

Q. Do you know who was the person responsible for organizing the New York group -- the New York project?

A. No.

Q. Okay. Do you know who introduced the idea to the National Right to Life Committee Board of Directors?

A. I believe the booklet from the New York county group was mailed to all of the Directors by that county organization, and it was from reading that booklet that some of the Board members decided it was a worthwhile project. I could say probably, but I'd rather not because I don't remember the exact events that led up to that.

MR. ANDERSEN: I'd like to introduce Commission Exhibit No. 1 at this time. Commission Exhibit 1, it is the Answers to the Interrogatories submitted by NRLC to the Commission and the responses thereof. Would you please mark that?

(The reporter marked Commission Exhibit No. 1.)

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. I'm handing this document to Mrs. Goeken. Would you please examine it?

A. Okay.

Q. Have you ever seen this document before, Mrs. Goeken?

A. Yes.

Q. You stated earlier that you did provide some assistance in the preparation of this document.

A. (Nodding.)

Q. Did anyone else assist in the preparation of the document from NRLC?

A. Our attorney, Mr. Bopp.

Q. Other than Mr. Bopp?

A. No. Not to the best of my knowledge, no.

Q. Would you please look on Page 2 of the actual set of Interrogatories, which is the second to the last page of the entire exhibit at Answer -- Response No. 10 -- Response to the Question No. 10.

A. All right.

Q. Do you agree with this response?

A. I do.

MR. ANDERSEN: Thank you. I'd like to introduce Commission Exhibit No. 2. This is a newsletter or fund raiser from Carolyn Gerster to Right to Life supporters, undated.

(The reporter marked Commission Exhibit No. 2.)

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. I'm handing the exhibit to Mrs. Goeken. Please, examine it.

A. Okay.

Q. Are you familiar with this document?

A. Yes, I have read it in the past when it was mailed.

Q. If you would, please, turn to Page 4 of that document. About the middle of the page, there is a statement -- the sentence in the paragraph that begins the pro-life movement may not have the backing of the abortion elitists. The next sentence that NRLC has 1,800 affiliated chapters in all fifty states.

Now you agreed with the statement in Exhibit No. 1 that -- which is the response to Question No. 10 that the pro-life groups are independent -- the state and local are independent and autonomous from the National Right to Life Committee. Can you explain how these groups, the state chapters, can be both independent and affiliated at the same time?

A. No, because I have -- I did not write the letter or give any information to anyone who did write the letter. So I wouldn't have that personal knowledge. In my capacity of Director, I only work with individuals appointed by that state. So I wouldn't have no knowledge of state business.

Q. But you would -- Strike that.

A. I --

Q. Let me ask you if you use the term affiliate. Within and in describing the Illinois Right to Life group, do you use the term affiliate?

A. Yes.

Q. In what way do you mean that?

A. The only connection there is that the organization in the State of Illinois sends a delegate or a Director to National Right to Life Committee. That is the sole affiliation.

Q. And this Director -- Is this Director elected by members of the Illinois Right to Life?

A. Yes. They are elected by the Illinois group to represent them on the Board, but --

Q. I'm sorry.

A. National cannot -- In other words, Illinois makes its decisions for its group of what it will be doing. National doesn't have that authority.

Q. And as the Director -- As the State Director, then you go to the National Right to Life Committee Board meetings and make decisions for the National Right to Life Committee. You are one of the decision making persons?

A. On behalf of Illinois.

Q. On behalf of Illinois?

A. On behalf of Illinois.

Q. Once again, looking at the distinction between the state and local groups, if there is one -- I'm not certain there is -- do the local groups participate in the vote of the State Director?

A. In all states?

Q. In Illinois.

A. Directors -- Board of Directors of the state group.

Q. The local groups participate in the election of the Illinois Director?

A. Not local groups. Local individual members.

Q. Local individual members?

A. Yeah.

MR. ANDERSEN: Okay. All right. I'd like to introduce Commission Exhibit No. 3. This is the minutes to a Right to Life, Incorporated meeting

dated October 1, 1977. Would you please mark this Commission Exhibit No. 3.

(The reporter marked Commission Exhibit No. 3.)

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. I'm passing this document to the witness.

A. May I explain? When I said individual members -- So there isn't any confusion, we have individual members who elect within a certain geographical area the Director who is to sit on the Illinois group -- I mean on the Illinois Board. We're organized by congressional districts. The members within that congressional district elects their Director to sit on the Illinois Board. And then those people on the Illinois Board elect the Director to go to National.

Q. So it is only the Board of Directors of the Illinois group that elects -- that elect the State Director that sits on the National Right to Life Committee, Incorporated Board?

A. Right, but the Illinois Board of Directors itself is elected by the individual members in their geographical entity.

Q. And this is done by district, is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. So the Board of Directors of Illinois Right to Life is composed of whatever number districts there are?

A. Plus a few at large.

Q. Plus a few at large?

A. (Nodding.)

Q. Okay. Would you examine Exhibit No. 3, please?

A. Okay.

Q. Are you familiar with this document?

A. Yes.

Q. In your capacity as secretary of NRLC, were you responsible for the preparation of minutes during your tenure?

A. Yes.

Q. Could you please turn to Page 3? Let me see how to describe it. About two-thirds down the page, we see Amendment, Amended Motion, and then Report: Finance Committee-Dr. Robert Krebsback.

A. Uh-huh.

Q. The report is entitled discussion of revenue sharing and offer of professional assistance to states' fund raising efforts.

A. Yes.

Q. Can you describe the kind of effort that

would be involved in a revenue sharing project?

A. It never came to pass that we ever established a revenue sharing. Dr. Krebsback is no longer on the Board or on the Finance Committee.

Q. And the offer of professional assistance to states regarding fund raising likewise?

A. Right. It was a hope.

Q. Mrs. Goeken, when did you first become aware of the V.I.P.?

A. I couldn't give you -- At the same time everybody else did when the booklet was sent -- it wasn't called that, but when the booklet was sent to the Board of Directors.

MR. ANDERSEN: I'd like to introduce Exhibit No. 4 -- Commission Exhibit No. 4. This is the Voter Information Identification -- Voter Identification Program, Phase I, Voter Survey Project submitted to the Commission by NRLC in response to document production request. Would you mark that as Commission Exhibit 4?

The reporter marked Commission Exhibit No. 4.

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. Handing it to the witness. Would you, please, examine the booklet? Let's just consider the last page as not part of the

exhibit. This is Exhibit 4. Let's just leave it attached. In our discussions, we will not be considering the last page which is a xerox of a newspaper article, I believe.

If you would, look at Page 3. It's not numbered, but if you'll count one, two, three from the very top sheet.

A. Okay.

Q. There's a statement that the V.I.P. was tested in several states before general adoption.

A. Right.

Q. States were California, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, and New York. When did this testing begin?

A. I did not write the forward, and it really wasn't passed by me for editing. The individual states -- I referred to the county that sent all these, and then some of the individual states took that little book from New York county. When I say adapted, I mean the word loosely because they did their own. Some asked twenty questions. Some asked two questions. There was actually what I believe was referred to as field testing. It was not this book. It was not these questions. It was -- Each one was a little different because the states did it themselves.

Q. Did NRLC in any way supervise or oversee

this testing?

A. No. I did not. I wasn't --

Q. Was the testing conducted by each state group?

A. I don't know whether the state groups were specifically in charge of each state or not.

Q. Is it possible that someone else at NRLC was in charge of the testing of the V.I.P.?

A. No. I could, if it would help, speak for Illinois because I was involved in that, and no supervision came from outside the State of Illinois.

Q. Were you involved in the conduct of the test in Illinois before the national V.I.P.?

A. As Illinois Director to Illinois Right to Life, not necessarily as president of the Illinois organization at that time, yes.

Q. How did the idea or -- Strike how did the idea. How did the testing begin in the State of Illinois?

A. What do you mean?

Q. Let me try to reformulate. What was your role in the testing of the V.I.P. in the State of Illinois?

A. I wrote the Illinois pamphlet.

Q. And what were the results of these tests?

A. In Illinois?

Q. Yes.

A. Gee, I couldn't tell you. That's not sitting here. That's been four years ago.

Q. Did you conclude -- Did you personally conclude that it was a successful operation?

A. Successful? What do you mean?

Q. Was the V.I.P. conducted in Illinois before the national V.I.P., was it, in your opinion, successful in helping pro-life candidates to be elected?

A. No. It wasnt even implemented for pro-life candidates at that time.

Q. What was the purpose of the test in Illinois at that time?

A. Okay. The purpose in Illinois at that time was two-fold. Number one, we wanted to show our legislators that the sentiment -- the attitude in Illinois was pro-life. And number two, we were very much involved in educational efforts, and we felt that part of our educational effort would be the distribution of educational material to people who were undecided on the issue.

Q. Did the Illinois test identify the pro-life vote?

A. I had -- The Illinois thing was not this one. We didn't even add the question on there about whether

people would vote on the issue or not.

Q. It was oriented toward testing the sentimen of registered voters --

A. Uh-huh.

Q. -- toward the abortion issue?

A. Uh-huh.

Q. Yes is the answer to that question?

MR. BOPP: You need to articulate. She can't record when you shake your head.

THE WITNESS: Oh, I'm sorry. Yes.

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. Okay. Do you know how the states were chosen for testing?

A. They chose themselves.

Q. Okay.

A. In other words, no one said, "You're going to test. You do it. You do it, and you do it." Individuals such as I in Illinois looked at the little county booklet and said, "Looks like a good idea. Let's try it." But each individual did their own fashion; asked their own different kind of questions.

Q. Do you know when the testing in these states was completed?

A. Not specifically because, as I said, it was all formulated and done within each state. So I had

no knowledge of that. I was -- My own knowledge would be what I done in my own state.

Q. The field testing in the states that we're discussing was completed before the publication of this booklet, is that correct?

A. That would be correct.

MR. ANDERSEN: I'm going to introduce Commission Exhibit No. 5. This is a Voter Identification Survey Project - Phase I. It appears to be a budget sheet. Will you please mark that?

(The reporter marked Commission Exhibit No. 5.)

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. Handing it to the witness. Would you, please, examine that?

A. Okay.

Q. Are you familiar with this document?

A. Yes, I am.

Q. Under the column on the right-hand side entitled income, you list donations other than material purchases. To what do such donations refer?

A. At this time of this budget, the project was not totally in my physical area, and these were donations credited by our secretary at that time in Washington to the Voter ID Project.

Q. Who would have made these donations?

A. Individuals.

Q. Were they contributions to the V.I.P.?

A. I did not see the checks directly, but our secretary at that time said -- noted that they were twenty, twenty-five, fifteen dollar donations that people had sent in and asked that they be used toward Voter ID.

Q. Regarding the expenditure figures given in April, '78 -- this is down toward the bottom of the right-hand side -- it states that the expenditure minus the income and inventory dependent on an unknown factor could be either $7,343.59 or $3,700.00. Was this accurate at that time as to the expenditures made by NRLC?

A. Yes.

Q. The unknown factor referred to in this sentence, could you state what that unknown factor is?

A. The unknown factor was based on the fact that due to very poor communication with the states, I had no projection on what might be ordered in materials from those states. And as you can see, there is a margin of profit built in there for what we pay for the material and what we sell it to the states. The unknown factor would have been the difference if four states began the project or if twenty-four states began the project. There would be a profit factor in there depending

on the volume of material that they ordered and paid for.

Q. Referring to that profit, did NRLC make a profit on this project on the V.I.P.?

A. In what -- That's a continuing thing because the costs that the states pay for the forms is higher than what NRLC pays to have them printed, plus the states pay for the shipping of the forms.

Q. Would the profit made on the forms -- When I speak of profit, I'm pointing to that specific profit. Does that mean profit on simply the printing costs of the V.I.P. booklet?

A. You mean is that the only profit? Yes, the booklet and the forms both.

Q. Is this profit adequate to cover any other costs associated with the V.I.P.?

A. Have you got a time period, or are you talking --

Q. I think we can look at two time periods. One would be at the time of this budget sheet of April, '78. The profit shown on this budget sheet is what? Could you point out where that would be?

A. Wait a minute. The original budget Board appropriation -- it's up in the top left-hand corner -- is the only money National Right to Life Committee has had to expend in the beginning of the project.

The profit of the sale of the books and sale of the forms is immediately used for the project.

Q. As of April, 1978, the time of this budget document, was the profit adequate to cover your salary as National Coordinator?

A. Yes.

Q. Was the profit adequate to cover all other costs associated with the V.I.P.--

A. Yes.

Q. -- as of this date? Then what does -- The expenditure at the bottom of the right-hand column, to what does that refer? If all costs are covered, how can there be an expenditure of $7,343.59 or $3,700.00?

A. That would be printing. In other words, we're getting into a bookkeeping area here. Monies are not sent to me as National Coordinator. They are sent to the National Right to Life Committee. So you would see an expenditure on a National Right to Life payment for printing, but you would also see an income on National Right to Life's books for Voter ID materials and inventory.

Q. Was this accounting under your direction? In other words, were you aware of the relative expenditures versus monies coming in from the state groups?

A. At what time period?

Q. Let's start with April, '78.

A. I'd hate to go with a date. I could tell you how it works now, but I would hate to say at what date it was set up.

Q. Let's go to now then.

A. All billings, all invoices come from me as the National Coordinator to the State Coordinator. And all checks come through me, and then I send them on to the Washington office. They are banked there, but they come through me so I can have knowledge at all times because of short staff in Washington. So I can have knowledge at all times of who is paid on their account and who owes for their account.

Q. Was that so in 1978?

A. I don't know.

Q. Has it always been -- You have been the only National Coordinator of the V.I.P.?

A. Right.

Q. How long would you estimate that this flowing of checks and the expenditures through you for your awareness, how long would you estimate this has been in effect?

A. Estimate a year, year and a half.

Q. Before the procedure you've just described was put into effect, how were billings and expenditures

coordinated?

A. From the Washington office.

Q. At the time --

A. Let me back up on that. Billings -- No. I'd have to say from the Washington office. I'm going to have to back up on that date without knowing when the physical proceedings changed on it. It could be nebulous on that year and a half.

Q. How were you apprised of the relative success of the profit making ability of the V.I.P. previous to the institution of this system whereby the checks came through you?

A. What do you mean how I was --

Q. How were you made aware of whether or not the V.I.P. was covering its expenses before the checks started coming through you?

A. I asked. Physically, I could see. I wasn't totally unaware of where the invoices were going to or who was ordering the material. The state was ordering the material. I knew so many boxes were going out even though I never saw the checks or the money coming in. So I knew the profit factor that was built in on the boxes.

Q. Can you state at this time that the profits generated by the payment for the booklets were

sufficient to cover all expenses associated -- all expenses of the NRLC associated with the V.I.P.?

A. At this time, right now, I can say yes.

Q. If we needed to know -- Strike that. If we wished to know the answer to that question for 1978, who would be the person that could tell us the answer?

A. To tie me down to a date, as I said, it was nebulous. I cannot recall the specific date when I took over the whole physical thing of shipping. I would prefer not to even guess who at that time until I cleared up the date.

Q. Are there several people that might have been in charge before your monitoring of the --

A. Well, I wasn't privy to the whole function of the staff in D.C. at that time. So I don't know if it could have been staff people or -- I can explain that in a sense in that -- and I can't remember the date. That's the thing.

At a given point in the project, due to the total confusion of shipping materials and the -- Actually, it was all a physical thing, actually counting the boxes. I saw it wasn't going to work, and I physically shifted the whole thing, the shipping, the ordering, and the invoicing and everything to where I could do it physically.

Q. When you say that you could see that it wasn't going to work, what do you mean?

A. Bad communication. I know of no bad intent, but bad communication and not -- maybe not bad but poor is the word to use. Someone would pay, and someone would record it, and I wouldn't get the information. It was purely a logistical thing where I would bill people that had already paid.

Q. Do you know how much it cost NRLC to develop the V.I.P. program?

A. Yes. Anything paid, expenditures, is reflected in this budget on development there at the 7,200.00 and then under that Board appropriation for 10,000.00.

Q. Did NRLC make any subsequent appropriations other than the $10,000.00 shown on this sheet?

A. No. In fact, I think it's reflected in our minutes that, originally, my salary was to have been absorbed by the Committee, and the project with the built-in profit instead ended up being good enough that it actually covered my salary, also, which was unexpected. So no additional appropriations had to be made.

Q. You've stated that if we look at the balance sheet today, that the profit from the booklets have been sufficient to cover all of the costs associated

with the development, printing publications, assembling, any actual expenditures have been covered.

A. By the booklets and the forms.

Q. You've specifically said if we looked at the situation today. Have there been times -- Have there been times during the life of the V.I.P. in which the profits were insufficient at any given time to have covered all the expenses? In other words, if we looked at the books a year ago, a year and a half ago, at every six months going back to the very beginning of the project, would we have found at certain times that the profits were at that point insufficient to cover the expenditures then made by NRLC?

A. No, I don't think so.

Q. So you would state then the profits have been sufficient throughout the life of the project to cover all expenses?

A. Right.

Q. One question I'd like to ask that I was attempting to reach a minute ago: I thought I understood you to say that you did not know at some times during the past whether or not the profits were sufficient to cover the costs; but right now, you knew -- right now, you know at the present date that there is sufficient profits. What did you mean?

A. I'm sure there were. To say was I keeping the books and did I have the invoices in my hand to prove it, no, I couldn't. Now, I have the figures at my disposal even though I don't actually handle the cash. I have a constant flow of invoices, and I bill the people that don't pay, and then I keep a record of accounts receivable.

Q. Thank you. I'd like to go back to Exhibit No. 2. This is the Carolyn Gerster letter. Let's take a look at that, please. The overall intent of the letter seems to be inform persons that are Right to Life supporters of the V.I.P. and solicit those persons for a contribution to NRLC, specifically, to help pay for -- defray the costs of the V.I.P.

A. Right.

Q. Would contributions made to National Right to Life Committee in response to this fund raising letter have been earmarked into any particular fund to cover the expenses of V.I.P.?

A. They could have been earmarked into, like, our start-up costs that we had invested.

Q. Would any contributions made in response to this solicitation have been in addition to the $10,000.00 appropriation?

A. I don't know because I'm not privy to --

Now when I say I don't know, let me explain. This was very difficult for me to understand. At that point in time, the materials were in the Washington office. They paid the UPS bill until they were reimbursed. So I have no way of knowing how much the Committee expended at that time on even shipping and, perhaps, what was expended on the start-up costs at that time.

Q. Did the start-up costs -- Did the start-up costs which you just referred occur before 1978?

A. Yes.

Q. Mrs. Goeken, do you know whether this fund raising letter that you have which is the one before you, was this -- did this come out -- was it mailed out before the appropriation?

A. It hasn't got a date on it. I would have to say --

Q. Perhaps, by looking at the letter, you might have a sense of when --

A. It appears after. Without a date, I don't know. The expenditures were made in '77.

Q. The appropriation was in '77?

A. Uh-huh.

Q. This Exhibit 5 that we were looking at a few moments ago says April of '78.

A. Mine doesn't have a date on it.

Q. Yours does not?

A. No, it does not. The only dates on mine was March, '77, May, '77. In fact, it says original appropriation, March, 1977.

Q. That's fine. So it would be your conclusion to the best of your knowledge given that it doesn't have a date -- the newsletter is not dated, that it came out after the appropriation?

A. It could be because in our printing and things -- because I may have an expenditure, for instance, on some of the printing or some of the forms, design, and everything and because I have expenditure, it may be in accounts payable. I didn't necessarily note that on my budget report. I just meant those amounts either were to be expended or had been expended.

Q. To try to clarify this if we can, you have stated that it is possible that contributions made in response to this fund raising letter were received by National Right to Life Committee and used to pay for start-up costs in addition and outside of the $10,000.00 appropriation?

A. Yes, in reordering inventory, the forms and the booklets.

Q. Who would be the appropriate person to ask at NRLC as to the total amount received in response

to this fund raising letter?

A. I don't know whether it would be -- We have different bookkeepers, treasurer, whatever the system is.

MR. ANDERSEN: Okay. I'd like to introduce Commission Exhibit No. 6. This is a letter or a memo to Mrs. Sharon Cornthwaite. Would you please mark that Commission Exhibit 6?

(The reporter marked Commission Exhibit No. 6.)

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. Handing the exhibit to the witness.

A. Okay.

Q. All right. Could you please direct your attention to the fifth paragraph?

A. Uh-huh.

Q. You refer to wanted to hear of any problems arising regarding the V.I.P. If these problems were reported, how did you handle them? Would you have dealt with them directly, or would other persons have assisted you?

A. I deal with them directly with the State Director or with the State Coordinator.

Q. Did you make all of the day-to-day decisions regarding the operation of the V.I.P.?

A. Under the policies that I knew existed at National Right to Life.

Q. Could you state with whom you consulted on the Board of Directors regarding the day-to-day implementation of the V.I.P.?

A. No one really because as the project being new -- May I add something to know what problems were arising? The problems we were talking about basically in the start-up is how do you keep volunteers who say they will call, very minimal organization problems. This is my task is to disseminate information and how to get it and keep volunteers and things like this. These were basically -- I'm not asked to make decisions for that state on anything except how to get the project going and keep it going.

Q. Did any other staff of the NRLC assist you on the V.I.P.?

A. No, not really.

Q. Were there other volunteers that assisted you other than those out in each state?

A. No.

Q. So in your capacity as National Coordinator, you are working by yourself?

A. Yes, I am under the policies of NRLC.

Q. I understand. Could you estimate how many

volunteers have worked on the project totally?

A. No, because that kind of information I neither solicit from the state. It hasn't really got a lot to do with my task as the National Coordinator. I work strictly with the State Coordinator that has been appointed by that state itself.

MR. ANDERSEN: I'd like to introduce Commission No. 7. This is another letter to Mrs. Cornthwaite. Would you mark that as Commission Exhibit 7?

(The reporter marked Commission Exhibit No. 7.)

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. Handing the document to the witness.

A. Okay.

Q. If you would refer to Paragraph 5 of this letter --

A. Uh-huh.

Q. -- you refer to Mrs. Cornthwaite giving you a Wyoming report on the results of that state's efforts.

A. Right.

Q. Is this a reference to the V.I.P. survey?

A. Not National's. Wyoming was one of the states who did a project on their own previous to the

V.I.D. I think the report was two, two and a half years old she sent me to show -- when we began the national project, it helped. And some of the states then sent us, you know, what they had done in the past under their own pilot project, and this was all under her pilot project. The questions were even different than the ones we had.

Q. But the report would have been about the pilot project in that state?

A. Yeah.

Q. And Mrs. Cornthwaite would have been the person that prepared that report?

A. I don't know. She sent it to me.

Q. Do you recall what you did with that report?

A. I presume it's still in my file.

Q. Did you receive reports of any kind on the conduct of the national V.I.P. from the state groups?

A. What -- By report --

Q. On the numbers of congressional districts or numbers of persons contacted?

A. No.

Q. On the progress that -- Did you receive any reports on the progress that the state groups were making vis-a-vis or with respect to the kind of steps that

are outlined in the booklet?

A. I received generalized reports, for instance, if they change a voter ID coordinator; but as far as specific statistical percentages or specific we are doing it in a congressional district here or number there, no. I've never solicited that information because it's irrelevant that I even know of it since it's a state project.

Q. In the letter, there is also a reference -- I believe it's two more paragraphs down -- on the use of forms -- three-piece form to be available at local, state, and national level --

A. Uh-huh.

Q. -- which would be vital to really get the most out of the labors and monies extended according to the letter.

A. Right.

Q. The statement will be available at the local, state, and national level is what I'm asking you to look at. And then if you could take Exhibit 4, which we've already seen -- this is the pamphlet -- and look at Page 22 which is numbered.

MR. BOPP: Page 22 is numbered?

MR. ANDERSEN: I believe it is. They're pretty hard to see. They're down in the corner

there.

Q. At the very top, there is a discussion of the three-part carbon snap-out set. However, in the V.I.P., it says that one copy will be kept at the local level. One will be kept at the congressional district level, and the original will be kept at the state level.

A. This one is correct.

Q. In the V.I.P.?

A. Yes.

Q. Are they references to the same form?

A. Yes. This was done with careful deliberation, and this one was done very speedily. I notice I capitalized national and left local uncapitalized. This is exactly the way it works here.

MR. ANDERSEN: Okay. Thank you. I'd like to introduce Commission Exhibit 8. This is a letter to Mrs. Goeken from Sharon Cornthwaite dated February 19, 1978. Please mark that as Exhibit 8.

(The reporter marked Commission Exhibit No. 8.)

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. Handing that to the witness. Would you, please, examine that document?

A. Okay.

Q. In the letter, Mrs. Cornthwaite states, "I finally have secured a State Coordinator for the V.I.P.

in Wyoming." Did you request that Mrs. Cornthwaite secure a Coordinator?

A. Well, when the project was presented to the Board of Directors of National Right to Life, it was suggested that each state appoint a State Coordinator; and then I serve as a consultant to that State Coordinator.

Q. Did you make written or -- Did you make written requests to the -- to the State Directors that they seek a State Coordinator?

A. Whatever states approved it.

Q. Were sample booklets sent to all of the states that have representation in the NRLC Board of Directors?

A. Yes.

Q. Was a cover letter then of some kind accompanying the booklets sent to those Directors giving them some background and requesting that they make a decision whether to go -- whether to accept the project?

A. I've sent so many letters. I remember I sent them all a book. I'd have to say I don't remember. Of course, I would have sent them a book, and I'm sure I wouldn't send it without a cover letter; but what I would have said in the cover letter, I can't remember at this point in time.

Q. Maybe I can reformulate the question.

What I'm trying to get at, since you're certain that you did send to each State Director a booklet, did you in some fashion express to them the question whether or not they wished to join the project?

A. I still have to say I don't remember until I see the letter. I know under the policies of NRLC, for instance, that I cannot go into anybody's state, bypass that State Director and say, "We're going to do Voter ID." I know I cannot do that. So I would assume -- I'll have to see the specific wording, but I would have to presume that any Director has to invite me into the state. I cannot just go. I have to be invited as you would with any consultant.

Q. The letter indicates -- I believe it's in the second paragraph -- Natalie Davis, I believe, is the State Coordinator.

A. That didn't work out.

Q. Okay. At the time the Coordinator being discussed was Natalie Davis, the letter seems to indicate that you had contact with this Coordinator, Natalie Davis, is that correct?

A. My normal policy -- Yes. My normal policy is when a State Director sends me a name, I then contact that individual to make sure that the information is correct; that they are interested in being the Coordinator.

Q. After this original contact in which you, I take it, firmed up this decision, did you have regular contact with the State Coordinator subsequent to this initial contact?

A. You mean this particular one?

Q. Well, from this letter, it indicates there was a contact, and I'm asking -- and you're stating that you did originally. Each one of the Coordinators would have been contacted. So I'm speaking generally.

A. They need specific information on what our order policies were, what the material costs. I sent them a UPS chart, what the cost would be on the box per weight and how much it was, perhaps, information on how to get and keep volunteers, which we use even materials from other sources, from other volunteer organizations on how --

Q. Would it also have been your job to respond to specific questions or problems, situations raised by individual Coordinators?

A. If they fell within the purview of implementing the Voter Identification Project.

Q. Did you have contact with individuals at other levels of organization, such as, Regional or District Coordinators?

A. No. I worked directly with the State

Director and/or State Coordinator.

Q. And then the State Coordinator would have worked with the regional or district level people?

A. They would have -- You mean within the state?

Q. Yes.

A. I don't know. I would presume each state handles it their own way.

Q. But is that not the design of the project from the booklet -- the suggested design?

A. That's the suggested design.

Q. Okay.

A. We reach for the stars.

Q. Let me ask you to refer once again to the booklet. On Page 8 of the booklet, there is what appears to be a hierarchy of the chain of command, if you will, of how the project was to be conducted. Would -- Does this accurately describe, at least, your intention as to how the project should be conducted?

A. My intention, yes.

Q. Does it describe what actually happened in the field in each state?

A. Within the state?

Q. Yes.

A. I wouldn't necessarily have knowledge of

what has happened within the state. The regional -- In other words, I am National Coordinator, yes. Do not yet have the Regional Coordinators. Within the state, whatever happens would depend upon their own state organizational structure. This is what I want to happen and what I think should happen if it is going to be a successful project, but I couldn't say within the state this is the way it happened or not. We can only suggest and consult.

Q. If a State Coordinator was having problems with the conduct of the V.I.P., would you in your capacity as a consultant do what is commonly called troubleshooting? Would you look at the conformance of the state organizational efforts to the ideal -- to the system that you've set up in the V.I.P.? Would you look to that conformance and, perhaps, suggest in your capacity as a consultant that since a state group was not conforming to the outline, that this might be the problem? The question is: Would you get involved in that kind of interchange with people on the state level? Let's keep it to the State Director as your contact person.

A. Not really. I do not want to be or, under our policy, couldn't really become involved in the state organizational structure. You used the word advise. I might say, "It would be easier for you to get the project done if you could get your state organized along

these lines for the purpose of doing the Voter ID," but then they've got this book in front of them. So they probably already know that. But would I physically go in and say, "We're going to organize that CD and that CD to make it easier," no.

Q. You might give that advice, but you wouldn't have that authority?

A. To a State Director.

Q. Would you be involved in that kind of discussion with any other person in a state working on the V.I.P. project?

A. No, because our policy puts me basically working with the State Director and or their appointed State Coordinator.

MR. ANDERSEN: Okay. Thank you. I'd like to introduce Commission Exhibit No. 9. This is a report on the -- This is the first page of a report on the Voter Identification Project, April 3rd, 1978. I'd like you to mark that as Commission Exhibit No. 9.

(The reporter marked Commission Exhibit No. 9.)

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. Handing that to the witness. Would you, please, examine it?

A. Okay.

Q. Are you familiar with this document?

A. Uh-huh.

Q. In the second paragraph, there's a reference to trips made by you to Iowa, Indiana, Missouri, Florida and, possibly, a future trip to Nebraska. Could you describe what your activities would have been on these trips?

A. In each case, I was a speaker at their state convention.

Q. And what were you speaking about?

A. The Voter Identification Project.

Q. Would this have been during the period when the V.I.P. groups were getting going in those states, where there was interest rather than after they had already begun?

A. It was my job to go in and create the interest. The interest was there from the State Director, and then I was to go in and do some motivational thing and general instructions as it's laid out in the Voter ID book.

Q. Would this have been before or after the point at which the State Director would have given a go-ahead for the project?

A. I wouldn't have gone in if I hadn't been invited.

Q. This would have been after?

A. Yeah, I would have had to have been invited.

Q. Did NRLC pay for the expenses of these trips?

A. No.

Q. Could you say who paid for the expenses, for example, the trip to Iowa?

A. Okay. The -- These, with the exception of Missouri where there was no expense because I just drove across the river, the state convention committee that had brought me in paid my air flight. There was no honorarium or anything involved.

Q. Did you make trips in addition -- This report is April 3rd, 1978. Did you make other trips in addition to the ones mentioned here?

A. Do you mean strictly as the National Coordinator?

Q. Yes. As National Coordinator with respect to business concerning the V.I.P.

A. I don't believe so, or I would have put them in the letter because I was trying to make it sound as good as I could.

Q. How about after the date of this letter in '79 and 1980, did you make trips to states to discuss business concerned with the V.I.P.?

A. If I can clarify -- Well, that's defining business. Yes, I'm sure I did.

Q. And in those cases, would it have been as in most of these other state groups that you went to speak to, were the expenses paid for by the state group that you went to visit?

A. Not all of them. Sometimes, if the state group is poor, we will split and national will pay half of my air flight or the state will pay half. So each state is an individual thing on its own.

Q. Any expenses that were paid -- Any of your expenses that were paid by NRLC, perhaps, matching the half of a state group, this would have been covered by the profit made on selling the booklets in our earlier discussions?

A. At what point in time? You mean the situation now?

Q. Well, let's start with the situation now. Would any of these expenses have been covered? Would all of these expenses have been covered?

A. Not necessarily -- I don't know. I don't have the breakdown on the air flight. I send my bill in to Washington as I do my some, rather small telephone expenses in to Washington. They pay me.

Q. Okay. It is possible then that some of

these expenses would be outside of that money raised by the profit in sales of the booklet?

A. It's possible. I mean did you ask me if it was possible?

Q. (Nodding.)

A. Yes. Negligible amount but yes.

Q. I asked if it was possible because you stated, I felt, unequivocally --

A. Let me explain unequivocally what I know of in my own personal knowledge. What the bookkeeping system is, whether my telephone goes under telephone expenses or under the Voter ID, that is what I'm being iffy about; but the specific things I am aware of.

Q. Okay. Thank you. In another part of the letter -- It's about the fourth paragraph down. It's marked No. 1.

A. Okay.

Q. There is two names mentioned, Jane Muldoon and Gloria Klein in connection with finding a computer system. Were they employed by NRLC?

A. No.

Q. Were they volunteers for NRLC at this time?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you state which one of these persons

actually made the arrangements for the computer system?

A. I don't think one did over the other. It was a joint effort. That was informational at that time that they were gathering information.

Q. There's a reference to two possible ways of handling the contracting of the computer system company --

A. Yes.

Q. -- in a direct contract with NRLC or each state independently through the National Coordinator of the project. Is this an accurate description of two options that were presented at the time?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you state which method was chosen?

A. It was opted for each state to do their own individual contract. In addition, of course, it was not binding that they use that Michigan computer. It was just for a service. They were free to contract with another computer in their own state if they wanted to.

Q. But the contracting was handled through the National Coordinator?

A. No.

Q. It was not?

A. I sent each Director and or State Coordinator a -- the gentleman's report, his name and his address so

that each state who did use that computer appointed one person to deal only with the man at the computer house. I wasn't involved in any way. Then once they dealt with him --

Q. Were the individual survey forms from the -- assuming they would be the style portrayed in the booklet and we've looked at in Exhibit 4 --

A. Yes.

Q. -- were those individual survey forms sent to the computer company?

A. I would have no knowledge because I didn't -- it would be each state personally; but in the program we set up, I believe that's the way the states had to handle it for him to get the information off it.

Q. They were not sent to you?

A. Never.

Q. And you didn't really participate in the movement of the survey forms to the computer people?

A. No. Once they contacted --

Q. It was their own contact?

A. Yeah.

Q. Were the forms described in the booklet, were those the forms that were used by -- that were actually produced and printed and sent out to the state for use?

A. Yes, a Form A and a Form B.

Q. Okay. Did NRLC receive a copy of any of the computer printouts from tabulations of these results?

A. I did not receive any, no.

Q. Would any other members of -- any other staff or Board members of NRLC have received such printouts?

A. No.

(Whereupon a short break was taken.)

MR. ANDERSEN: Let's go back on the record. I'd like to introduce Commission Exhibit No. 10.

MR. BOPP: Let me clarify one thing. I assume you're saying you're having marked for identification these exhibits?

MR. ANDERSEN: Yes.

MR. BOPP: You're not offering them into evidence?

MR. ANDERSEN: No. This is an update report on the Voter ID Project. Please mark this as Exhibit 10.

(The reporter marked Commission Exhibit No. 10.)

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. Handing the document to the witness. I ask the witness to examine the document.

A. All right.

Q. Are you familiar with this?

A. Yes, I am.

Q. On Page 3, down toward the bottom, No. 3 --

A. Uh-huh.

Q. -- is a discussion or a reference to the Western Mailing Computer Service.

A. Yes.

Q. Was this the computer service used by all states?

A. No.

Q. Do you know what other computer services were used by other state groups?

A. No. Some of them are using computers within their state, and I do not ask for that information.

Q. Do you know how many of the state groups use the Western Mailing Computer Service?

A. Of my own personal knowledge, I'm only sure about two.

Q. For each of the state groups, who would have paid for the computer service?

A. That would depend upon each individual state and arrangements they had made.

Q. Would NRLC have paid for any of the computer services?

A. No.

Q. On that same page, the next paragraph, No. 4, there's a reference to a cassette tape prepared by the National Coordinator.

A. Yes.

Q. Could you describe this tape?

A. Basically, the tape is repetition of what I do at the state conventions or at a workshop, and that is motivational and may be some suggestions on how to get beginning volunteers and start the project.

Q. Was it provided free of charge to each of the State Coordinators?

A. Yes.

Q. Near the top of this same Page 3, I'd say exactly one-fourth of the way down, ordering materials, No. 2. In the second paragraph there, the sentence -- it says that individual chapters or organizations throughout the state must -- and must is capitalized -- come through either of these two, referring to the State Coordinator or the State Director. Why must booklet orders come through those two channels?

A. Because, as I said before, I serve as consultant. I may not go into a state and work with people other than those designated, and it was also used as a tool by that State Coordinator to know which people were interested within their own state in doing the project because they must work with that State Coordinator. They cannot come to me directly and start a parallel survey.

Q. Uh-huh. Why would they not be permitted to start a parallel survey?

A. That falls under the purview of the policy of the National Right to Life Committee Board of Directors in that before any activity -- no activity can be created directly in a state by bypassing that Director.

Q. Were there any instances where a parallel survey was started in any of the states?

A. Not with our material.

Q. Were there parallel surveys started in any of the states by pro-life groups using material other than yours that you are aware of?

A. I wouldn't know the answer to that.

Q. In other words, it seems to me that you are saying that the permission would not be granted by you as National Coordinator for a parallel survey to be started in a state using the V.I.P. materials?

A. Would not and could not.

Q. You could exercise that authority, is that correct?

A. I could not.

Q. You could not exercise that authority?

A. No.

Q. So it would be possible for a parallel survey to be begun using the V.I.P. materials?

A. It would not be possible for a parallel survey to be done using V.I.P. materials.

Q. You wouldn't permit their sale?

A. I cannot.

Q. You cannot?

A. By the policy of the Board of Directors of the National Right to Life Board of Directors Committee.

Q. Okay. I'd like to look or, at least, be considering, again, Exhibit No. 4 which is the booklet -- the V.I.P. booklet. Do you have an estimate of how many of these have been printed in total?

A. Of the booklets?

Q. Yes.

A. Estimate 40,000 -- 4,200.

Q. 4,200?

A. There was the original printing and one other printing since then of 20,000. Well, maybe I

shouldn't -- The original printing was for 2,200 books -- I mean 20,000 books. I've only done one second printing. I probably should say I don't know subject to looking at the second invoice. First printing, 20,000.

Q. So we can say there have been 20,000 -- at least, 20,000 plus whatever --

A. To the best of my recollection, my second printing was also 20,000, but I would have to check the invoice to be sure.

Q. Have most of these been distributed?

A. Repeat --

Q. Have most of the booklets been distributed?

A. The first printing is all distributed. Not all of the second printing.

Q. Would you know approximately how many of the second printing remain in your stock?

A. Estimate at about 5,000.

Q. Were any changes made in the second printing of the booklet?

A. Yes, minute.

Q. Minute changes?

A. Uh-huh.

Q. Would it be possible to point out those changes looking through the book?

A. The forward from the president was changed

because we got a new president. And in the questions themselves, after question No. 1 -- it's on Page 17 -- I'm sorry. Be on Page 17 after may I ask you a few, short questions, we added that will take only about sixty seconds.

Q. You added -- Okay.

A. Okay. Those were the only changes.

Q. I see. In the revised introduction, if we compare the revised introduction to, at least, the second paragraph of this one which states, "The objective is not to develop a conversation piece but to determine accurately which voters will vote the Right to Life as the qualifying issue, those who will not, those who don't care, and those who can be convinced to vote on the issue," was a statement of this substance made in the second introduction?

A. I should know it from memory. The second statement was from the National Right to Life Committee Board, and it was more -- I don't recall anything that strong being in there. It was more of a motivational thing from the Board of Directors.

Q. Would it be possible -- Can we go off the record?

(Whereupon a discussion was held off the record.)

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. Can you state about when the second printing was, when that occurred?

A. It was prior to the Missouri convention which was 1978. June of '78.

Q. Thank you. I'd like to turn to Page 6 of Exhibit 4, the booklet.

MR. BOPP: Shall I refer to the number on the bottom?

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. Yeah. It has a cartoon. There's a statement near about the first third, No. B -- capital letter B. "Properly used," the booklet states, "a well organized, full constituency voter identification survey can produce a five to ten percent increase in a candidate's vote." How is that accomplished?

A. Well, the booklet being an instructional type that it was, that was just a statement of fact on our part that this could happen and then as instructions to the states. Then as the state would make inquiries about the implementation on it, they were advised of the legal process, you know, that if they did intend to go this way, they would have to use a political action committee and sell the names or lease them at the commercial going rate for names.

Q. Did this statement contemplate the formation

of a political action committee?

A. There again, we were back in to the own individual states and what they had. As they sought advice, they were given advice on what legal implementation they could use for their results.

Q. And they were informed of the possibility of forming a political action group if they asked about implementation?

A. No. They would ask me, "What can we do if we have a C-4 group? What can we do if we have a PAC? What can we do if we have a C-3 group?"

Q. And your response would vary according to the nature of the group?

A. It would vary according to the legal limitations. For instance, a C-3 group could not do it and could only use any results that they may have access to from a C-4 as an educational effort to mail educational material.

If they had a C-4 group, then I advised them they could only use it for lobbying, talking to their congressman, state reps, showing them what the results were. I didn't really advise them. I just gave them the information according to their structure at the time.

Q. Did you consider at the time that the

booklet was being prepared discussing the different possible legal constraints on the use of the survey materials?

A. Explain. I'm not sure --

Q. Let me try to reformulate. Did you consider expanding upon this kind of statement here where you're talking about the increase in a candidate's vote? Did you consider discussing what kinds of pro-life groups, how they were organized, whether they were C-3 or political action? Did you consider making a distinction between -- among groups and how they could use the survey results?

A. Well, I was aware that we would probably have to be advising them on what they could do according to their own organizational structure.

Q. Were these surveys used to inform voters of candidates' positions?

A. There again, I would have no personal knowledge of it. The groups that were C-4, lobby and social action groups were aware, I'm sure, of their own legal limitations. And probably, some did, and some didn't use them to inform the voting public on how to -- or what the candidate's position was.

Q. Did you ever have a specific discussion with any state group about the use of this survey materials

with respect to informing voters of a candidate's position?

A. How to use it or what their --

Q. Did you ever have a discussion with a state group on how to use the results to inform the public about a candidate's position?

A. No, not as far as the physical. Only the legal limitations that were on them. Okay. If you are a C-4 group, you may -- they are all aware that you may inform them of the candidate's position. If you have a political action committee, you may actually use them by selling them or reporting in kind service to that man's political action committee; but that would have been the limitations of any of my consultation with the state.

Q. Okay. On Page 22 of the voter's information pamphlet -- just a minute. It's not on Page 22. I'm sorry. It's on Page 24. It's the page entitled, "Where do we go from here?" Are the goals stated on this page the goals of the Voter Identification Project?

A. Yes, along with others. I wouldn't say definitely that it's limited to those four.

Q. Do you have any information or any reports -- Strike that sentence. Do you have any reports prepared by yourself or members of NRLC staff that would

analyze -- do analyze the success of the V.I.P. in meeting these goals?

A. No.

Q. Do you have any information on the success of the nationwide project in meeting these goals?

A. No. Only generally, basically, where you'll read in the media the Voter ID was used, but I have no specifics.

Q. Does -- Has since the -- Let's take the period of time since the 1980 elections. Since November, has NRLC issued public statements attributing success of election of pro-life candidates to the V.I.P.?

A. I have not issued any.

Q. Are you aware of any that have been issued by the NRLC?

A. No, not specifically.

Q. Do you have any figures at all that would break down the cost of the Voter Identification Project by state? Do you have any information on that?

A. No. There was a breakdown on an outline, you know, not actually something that had been done and reported back to me, but a general outline we did on what it would cost to do per congressional district; but that, too, was a little nebulous because it would depend on the way the state did it, whether they volunteered,

did it at home on the phones. Wouldn't be anything concrete.

Q. Was this something that was committed to paper in a report of some kind?

A. Yes. I think it was in that information we sent you, but I'm not sure.

Q. Do you have a recollection as to the approximate date?

A. No.

MR. ANDERSEN: Okay. I'd like to introduce Commission -- request that Commission Exhibit No. 11 be marked. This is a letter to Natalie Davis from Mrs. Goeken.

(The reporter marked Commission Exhibit No. 11.)

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. Handing the document to the witness. Ask the witness to examine the letter.

A. All right.

Q. Okay. The letter makes reference to Phase I. Does Phase I mean the V.I.P.? That is in the last paragraph.

A. Right. As outlined in the booklet, Phase I Voter Survey Project.

Q. What is Phase II?

A. I don't know. I haven't done it yet.

Q. Have any plans been formulated as to Phase II?

A. No, not at this point in time. I thought that was a catchy name when I named the book Phase I. All right?

Q. But Phase II does not refer to any specific aspect of the program as yet?

A. No. The only thing I named it Phase I, I was projecting -- this is doing it and getting it done, the motivational thing of it. Phase II may be more exact. This is what I'm rolling around in my mind because the movement itself -- When I say we, I'm not referring to National Right to Life, but we do that, we in the movement. That's the whole thing. And it changes from year to year. And so Phase II was left as an open book depending on where the movement is when we get done with Phase I.

MR. ANDERSEN: Okay. Thank you. Ask that this be marked as Exhibit 12 for the Commission.

(The reporter marked Commission Exhibit No. 12.)

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. Handing the document to the witness. Please, examine it.

A. All right.

Q. Are you familiar with this document?

A. Yes, I am.

Q. In the third paragraph -- it may be the fourth -- that begins with the words for most effectiveness and controllability --

A. Uh-huh.

Q. -- No. 4 in that paragraph refers to the duties of a Congressional District Supervisor.

A. Right.

Q. Among his duties to organize a follow-up when the survey is done. Did you direct the Congressional District Supervisor as to what follow-up should consist of?

A. No.

Q. How would the District Supervisor know what follow-up?

A. Through their State Coordinator.

Q. And how would the State Coordinator know what should be --

A. Well, they should have developed that within their own state dependent upon their own state organizational capabilities of what they could do, whether it be -- we have, throughout the book, people that are undecided. They might send them an educational piece on the issue and the humanity on the unborn child.

So each -- where they have the Congressional District Supervisor, their suggested follow up would be limited to the resources they had to follow with.

Q. Follow-up would have been under the direction of the State Coordinator?

A. That's right.

Q. Under the State Coordinator, not the State Director? Again, the State Coordinator of --

A. The State Coordinator is charged with the responsibility.

MR. ANDERSEN: Ask that you mark this as Exhibit -- Commission Exhibit 13. It is the minutes of a Board of Directors meeting, January 20 to 21, 1979 at the Hotel Washington.

(The reporter marked Commission Exhibit No. 13.)

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. I'm handing the exhibit to the witness. Would you please, examine that document?

A. All right.

Q. If you would, direct your attention to Page 5, please, and the second paragraph. You report on the legal implications from use of names. By this discussion here, do you mean that names of registered

voters -- are you talking about names of registered voters identified as pro-life in the V.I.P.?

A. Yes. Basically, that would be the names that were accessible to the state group through their Voter Identification Project.

Q. You refer also --

A. Right. That's all the names. See, this is not just a survey of pro-life people. You'll notice the questions are extended at a certain point to survey both the pro-life and those who are for abortion. So that their list of names may not necessarily -- the results of the voter ID may not necessarily be limited to pro-life voters. They also have voters who have a pro-abortion attitude.

Q. But the results of the survey for any given project would include a list broken down into both those identified as registered pro-life --

A. There again, it depends on the resources available to each state.

Q. The booklet suggests that that be done?

A. Right. What the booklet suggests and what has happened is two different things. All right?

Q. Would the -- To the best of your knowledge, in a state organization, would the computer divide such groups pro-life and pro-choice?

A. There again, that depends on their program. Each state is in charge of programming its own computer setup. So that would depend on individual states' programming. Not all states have access to a computer.

Q. The -- That same paragraph refers to the political use, use of names by a political action committee. To what does that refer?

A. Any political action committee that wanted to use the voter ID names, the exchange would be at a fair commercial exchange; or if they sold them to the candidate or used them, there would have to be an in kind donation, but that would -- You know, a lot of people don't know all the rules and regulations they have to follow, and this was just trying to make them aware they did have to check into the legal ramifications, how to use the names properly under different tax structures.

Q. Would that also include subsequent contact by the Right to Life group with the identified pro-life voter?

A. That, again, would depend on the state's resources to do what they could and could not do. It's limited a lot of time by their own individual state funds.

Q. I'm aware that you're not -- you were not

apprised -- from your statements, you are not apprised of what happened -- the details that happened in every state organization, but I would like to ask you if you have knowledge just to say just the statement that it occurred?

A. I am aware --

MR. BOPP: What occurred?

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. That contact of identified pro-life voters by Right to Life groups occurred.

A. I'm aware that some of the states did go ahead and implement their Voter ID by mailing out candidates' position papers.

Q. Which states were those?

A. I'm only aware -- I do not know the list. I could -- Because, as I said, a lot of what I know I know from newspaper reports or they will say we used them or we mailed out some candidates' positions.

Q. How about Illinois? Did Illinois use --

A. Yes. Yes.

Q. Would you have access to the list of states that were able to contact pro-life voters?

A. I do not have access because they're not available. We're the world's worst on reporting. I don't have access unless they sent them to me.

Q. You're aware of Illinois having used - having been able to contact the identified pro-life voters?

A. Right.

Q. You are aware that, at least, one other state -- at least, some other states were able to contact the identified pro-life voters, is that correct?

A. Contact, yes.

Q. But you do not know which states these were?

A. Or necessarily, the form of contact, what format that contact took place.

Q. To the best of your knowledge, does anyone else at NRLC have this information?

A. No.

Q. I'd ask you to turn to Page 11 of this exhibit, please. Before we go to this last page, I'd like to go to Page 4. If you would, please, turn to Page 4. In the very last paragraph under Report: Voter Identification Project, about midway down, the sentence begins, "National Coordinator asked for better reporting and communication from State Coordinator and or Director. Requested brief report on status within each state by February 15th, i.e. successes and or specific problems." Now if you could, specify what you were requesting and

what had been the nature of such brief reports.

A. There was a form about this big (indicating) at the bottom of the letter that asked them to put their State Director, name, address, and phone number, State Coordinator, name, address, and phone number. There were three questions -- No. Four. Were you doing the project? Do you intend to do the project? Are you computerized? And what form of assistance might you need? And I think I got five answers back.

Q. You only received five responses from the states?

A. Yes.

Q. Okay. All right. We can turn now then to the last page of this exhibit. It's possible that this page is not -- It seems apparent that this page is not part of the minutes; but as far as identifying and discussing it, I've just included it as part of the exhibit.

A. Yes. I don't believe it would be part of the minutes.

Q. This is Exhibit 13 at any rate. The paragraph seems to state that there is an arrangement that prevents NRLC from having access to the computers. Can you state what that arrangement is?

A. Well, very simply, the individual states

contract with the computer system. That's why I don't have access to know how many states go in to it. So that once that contract is made, that computer company deals only with that individual from his or her own individual state. And most of the states I know of have gone in there, at least, one or two of them have stipulated in that contract that the information for their state will be released to no other person than that individual working with the computer company.

Q. Were such stipulations made on your advice?

A. No. I didn't specifically advise that they do that. I specifically advised that they contract as individual states. I did not specifically write that wording. Someone else came up with that. One of the Directors asked them that they could put it in. I advised this was their contract with the computer. They could draw up whatever contract they wanted to. I can't even say they appear the same way.

Q. Did that suggestion or advice appear in the booklet?

A. I don't know. I'd have to read the booklet over again.

Q. Okay. Was that suggestion that the contract be exclusive to the state group a part of some other

communication from NRLC?

A. I don't know if it was written or verbalized.

Q. But the communication was expressed by NRLC?

A. Yes.

MR. BOPP: The what?

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. The communication to maintain the exclusiveness of the computer access to the computer information.

A. Yes, it was encouraged by myself.

Q. Okay. Was it the policy of NRLC to refuse to attempt to take access to any of this information? Was this a stated policy? Let me reformulate. Was it a specific policy of the Board of Directors of NRLC to refuse to examine or look at any of the local or state results of this survey?

A. That would fall under general policy where the Committee never interferes with state business.

Q. In the statement here, "No member of NRLC, not even the National Coordinator of the survey, has access to this computer," this then means that, usually, these contracts were exclusive access only to the State Coordinator on the one hand and, secondly, it's the policy of the Board of Directors not to attempt

to obtain access?

A. That's right. See, let's say I called the Michigan computer as National Coordinator and said, "I would like to have the read-out on this state or that state." That computer would then say to me,"I'm sorry. I have one name from the state of so and so. Nobody but that individual person can call information out of the computer."

MR. ANDERSEN: I'm asking the reporter to mark this as Commission Exhibit 14. It is minutes of an NRLC meeting, April 7 and 8, 1979 in Chicago, Illinois. Would you please mark this?

(The reporter marked Commission Exhibit No. 14.)

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. Would you, please, examine the document?

A. All right.

Q. Are you familiar with this document?

A. Yes, I am familiar with it.

Q. Would you please turn to Page 3? And about mid page is a subheading, Voter Identification Project. The page refers to instructions for voter registration drives to be interwoven with V.I.P. Were these instructions carried out?

A. I would have no way of knowing. This was just a copy of someone else's that I gave to the Directors. What they did with them when they went home, I would have no way of knowing.

Q. Was there any attempt to register -- Was there any attempt by NRLC to register pro-life voters -- persons identified as pro-life voters?

A. By the National Right to Life Committee, no.

Q. Are you aware of any such attempts by the local or state groups?

A. No.

Q. If you would turn now to Page -- what is Page 7 of this document, there is a paper entitled Registration, and there are some handwritten remarks on the top and so on. Is that your handwriting?

A. That's my handwriting, yes.

Q. Did the NRLC consider this as something that was possibly to be carried out?

A. No. This wasn't discussed at the Board at all. This was information I had personally, and I copied it and distributed it to the Board members.

Q. No action was taken on this?

A. No.

MR. ANDERSEN: Okay. Ask that you mark this as Commission Exhibit 15. This is a memo from Mrs. Goeken on the Voter Identification Survey.

(The reporter marked Commission Exhibit No. 15.)

MR. ANDERSEN: Q. Handing it to the witness. Would you please read it?

Okay. If you would direct your attention to the left-hand column toward the bottom, there's a four week schedule of follow-up activities by the Indiana organizations. Was this schedule followed in Indiana?

A. I do not know, and this is what I referred to previously when you asked me what it cost per CD. These are general guidelines, again, that are laid down with the fond hope that they can be met. Because they are in an outline does not mean they were accomplished. And that top and bottom part were part of the same preplanning motivational piece. Now whether it was accomplished or not, I do not know.

Q. Is the memo from yourself that portion of this first page that's on the right-hand

column?

A. Yes.

Q. Okay. Who prepared the left-hand column?

A. The name up at the top where I have developed by Mary Pat Marstall, State Coordinator, Indiana.

Q. So Mary Pat Marstall gave you this information?

A. She gave it to a lot of people. It was to show a sample of what they were doing to try to encourage people to participate.

Q. So other than this outline on the lower, left-hand portion of the page, other than the information right here, you do not have any other knowledge of what was done in Indiana with respect to these follow-up activities, is that correct?

A. Any other knowledge is kind of broad.

Q. Are you -- Are you specifically aware other than, for example, the first week it states that, "Meet with candidates showing results of poll thus far,"? Are you aware of that in fact occurring?

A. No.

Q. Are you aware under No. 2 of the preparation and printing of a poll of candidates that would

be distributed to pro-life voters?

A. I'm aware of the fact that material was distributed after the fact because I saw the material generally speaking; but under what conditions, I do not know.

Q. Are you aware that three days before election -- continuing under that No. 2, three days before the election, materials were to be given to block captains to pass out on his block to get out the vote on election day? He also helped get out the vote on election day?

A. No, I am not specifically aware that they did that.

Q. Can I ask you what -- to whom was this memo, the entire sheet, addressed?

A. The entire sheet? It was -- Well, it's across the top. And I can't read it. It's to the Board of Directors. No, I did it -- I have sent this to -- Is your copy any clearer than mine?

Q. Take a look and see.

A. Yeah, it's better. Have sent this to all State Voter ID Coordinators and Board of Directors.

Q. That's who it would have gone to. Are you aware in Indiana whether, in fact, materials were mailed to radio and television stations during the

fourth week?

A. No, I don't have no knowledge of that.

Q. We're finished with that exhibit. In the course of our discussion, there are two or three things that have come up I would like to go back to and clarify, and so we'll proceed with those.

With respect, again, to membership of the NRLC, is the membership of the NRLC anything different than the Board of Directors?

A. Yes.

Q. It includes other persons, is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. The concept of associate members then, as it states in the articles of incorporation, individuals, corporations, and it's possible that there are a large membership or significant number of paid memberships?

A. Yes. Yes.

Q. With respect to, again, membership in state organizations, does a member of a state organization automatically have some of his or her membership sent to the NRLC?

A. No.

Q. Does it ever occur that part of the membership to a state organization or a local organization

is some part of the dues payment -- is a payment to the national organization?

A. Well, I can't speak for the state structure of other state organizations. My own does not.

Q. Does not. Does the NRLC take an active role in the formation of and founding of state and local groups?

A. No, not actually.

MR. ANDERSEN: Okay. That's all that we wish to ask. Do you care to make a cross-examination?

MR. BOPP: No. Thank you.

FELECIA GOEKEN

STATE OF ILLINOIS)
) SS
COUNTY OF BOND)

I, TERESA A. BOUDOURIS, a Notary Public within and for the County of Bond, State of Illinois, do hereby certify that pursuant to stipulation there appeared before me on January 26, 1981, at the Federal Courthouse, 501 Belle Street, Alton, Illinois, FELECIA GOEKEN, who was first duly sworn by me to testify to the whole truth of her knowledge touching the matter in controversy aforesaid, so far as she should be interrogated concerning the same: that she was examined, and her examination was taken down in shorthand by me and afterwards transcribed upon the typewriter, and her deposition is herewith returned.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my notarial seal on this 30th day of January, 1981.

Teresa A. Boudouris
Notary Public within and for the County of Bond in the State of Illinois.

FRANCIS & BRAMES

LAWYERS

SUITE 101 SYCAMORE BUILDING

TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA 47807

August 24, 1979

David Federman
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20463

Re: MUR 958

Dear Mr. Federman:

Enclosed are the answers to your interrogatories.

The National Right To Life Committee is a separate and independent organization from state and local Right To Life organizations. The only connection between the National Right To Life Committee and any other Right To Life organization is that the state Right To Life group in each state and the District of Columbia is authorized to designate one of their members as the National Director from that state who sits on the Board of Directors of the National Right To Life Committee.

The Voter Identification Project was developed by the National Right To Life Committee to be implemented by state and local Right To Life groups. The instruction booklet and forms were developed by the National Right To Life Committee and the development cost was paid for by the Committee. Thereafter, the National Right To Life Committee has offered for sale, including a reasonable profit, the instruction brochure and forms to state and local Right To Life groups. They buy the material and conduct the voter survey.

The results of the survey are used by Right To Life groups to persuade local legislators that a majority of the voters in their district are pro-life, thereby attempting to persuade them to vote for pro-life legislation. In addition, local and state Right To Life groups send educational material to undecided voters in an attempt to educate the public on the question of abortion. Also, local and state Right To Life groups sell, at market value, the results of the survey to various political action committees who utilize the material to support and endorse candidates.

(continued)

SEP 4 3:59

The National Right To Life Committee does not, therefore, direct the survey nor do they have access to the results. The survey is conducted completely by the separate and independent state and local groups and the results are utilized by them in the manner set forth above.

If I can be of further assistance to you in this matter, please let me know.

Sincerely,

James Bopp, Jr.
Attorney at Law

Enclosures

cc: National Right To Life Committee

kgt

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
Answer to Interrogatories
Voter Identification Project: MUR 958

1. Is the National Right to Life Committee ("NRLC") incorporated? If so, please submit the articles of incorporation, by-laws, and constitution of the NRLC, INC.

ANSWER: Attached

2. If answer to (1) is yes, is NRLC incorporated for liability purposes only?

ANSWER: Yes

3. Is the NRLC a membership organization?

ANSWER: Yes

4. If answer to (3) yes, please state the qualifications for membership.

ANSWER: See the attached by-laws of the National Right To Life Committee.

5. Does the NRLC conduct a Voter-Identification Program? ("V.I.P.")

ANSWER: No. The National Right To Life Committee has only developed the materials including the instruction booklet and forms for the project.

6. If answer to (5) is yes, please state the purposes of the V.I.P.

ANSWER: The purpose for the development of the Voter Identification Survey was to allow state and local Right To Life groups to determine the attitudes of registered voters within their state or county regarding abortion, the government funding of abortion and whether their attitude on abortion would effect their vote.

7. Does the NRLC use the V.I.P. to identify those voters who are "pro-life."

ANSWER: No. See answer to Interrogatory #6.

8. Does the NRLC utilize the results of the V.I.P. to encourage "pro-life" voters to vote?

ANSWER: No

9. Does the NRLC encourage the "pro-life" voters to vote for the "pro-life" candidates?

ANSWER: No

10. In which Congressional districts was the V.I.P. conducted in 1978?

ANSWER: Since state and local Right To Life groups are independent and autonomous from the National Right To Life Committee, the National Right To Life Committee does not know how many districts in which the Voter Identification Project was conducted in 1978. The National Right To Life Committee does know the individuals and groups to which it sold the instruction booklets and forms.

11. In which Congressional districts will the V.I.P. be conducted in 1979 and 1980?

ANSWER: Unknown, see answer to Interrogatory #10.

12. What is the cost of conducting the V.I.P. in each Congressional district? Nationwide?

ANSWER: Unknown, see answer to Interrogatory #10.

13. Has the NRLC given the results of the V.I.P. to candidates for federal office?

ANSWER: No, the National Right To Life Committee does not have access to the results of the survey.

14. If answer to (13) if yes, please state which candidates received the results?

ANSWER: Not applicable

15. Has the NRLC given the results of the V.I.P. to any political committees?

ANSWER: No, the National Right To Life Committee does not have access to the results of the survey.

16. If answer to (15) is yes, please state which political committees were given the results.

ANSWER: Not applicable

17. Has the NRLC given the results of the V.I.P. to any groups whatsoever?

ANSWER: No, the National Right To Life Committee does not have access to the results of the survey.

18. If answer to (17) is yes, please state which groups were given the results.

ANSWER: Not applicable

...olyn F. Gerster, M.D.
...sident
...n O'Donnell, R.N.
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LARGE DIRECTORS
...s. Robert (Jo) Higgins, R.N.
...resident, Nat'l. Nurses for Life
...n O'Donnell, R.N.
HONORARY DIRECTOR
...n Morton Downey, Jr.
...ember, Executive Committee

National RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE
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Dear Right to Life Supporter:

This is the most exciting letter I have ever written!

I can't tell you how happy I am to share with you the news about many stunning and significant victories we've seen in this election just as occurred in the recent primaries.

Did you know that pro-abortion Senators Brooke of Massachusetts and Hathaway of Maine have lost their seats? I especially wanted to open with this good news.

Here's more:

In the Senate, at least six pro-life men have been elected to seats that were held by pro-abortion people.

In Minnesota David Durenberger took the Humphrey seat and Rudy Boschwitz won over Wendel Anderson.

In Iowa -- an exquisite upset -- Roger Jepson defeated Sen. Richard Clark.

In New Hampshire Gordon Humphrey defeated pro-abortion Sen. Thomas McIntyre.

Colorado saw William Armstrong defeat Floyd Haskell.

In So. Dakota Larry Pressler will replace pro-abortion Sen. James Abourezk.

Also we note that pro-life Senator Jesse Helms was re-elected in North Carolina.

More good news...

Three of the most important victories by pro-life men in governership races were: Al Quie of Minnesota, Edward King of Massachusetts and James Rhodes of Ohio.

Of the House seats, we had equally good news. First of all... ALL strong pro-life incumbents were returned to the House and all reasonably close races where abortion was a major issue were won by pro-life people with the exception of Senator Robert Griffin of Michigan. Next, you'll want to know that two very vocal pro-abortion Congresswomen were defeated: Rep. Martha Keys of Kansas

(over, please)

and Rep. Helen Meyner of New Jersey.

Now let me mention a few of the "Good News Victories" from other states: in Wyoming, pro-lifer Richard Cheney won over Bill Bagley. In Indiana, Joel Deckard defeated pro-abortion Congressman David Cornwell. In Illinois, strong pro-life Representative Henry Hyde was re-elected and pro-life newcomer Daniel Crane upset Rep. Terry Bruce. Also in Illinois, a strong friend of pro-life, Congressman Martin Russo, was returned to office. Rep. Robert Dornan of California and Rep. Robert Bauman of Maryland were re-elected. In Minnesota, pro-lifer Arlen Erdahl won the congressional seat vacated by Al Quie when he decided to run for governor.

By the time this letter reaches you, no doubt you will know of many more national and local pro-life public officials who were elected or returned to office. In almost all of these races it is an unquestionable fact that the magnificent effort given by thousands of right to life workers in NRLC's Voter Identification Project meant the difference of victory to people who will work to save the lives of thousands of tiny babies.

> My friend...I can tell you this...the politicians out there are getting the message. They are beginning to realize what the people of this country think about the heinous abortion laws which allow the merciless killing of tiny babies.

Yes, we lost a few, but in balance we're way ahead.

The pro-abortionists, just a few years ago were fully expecting us to go away. They hoped that we would be just another protest movement that would falter and fade.

<u>But were they ever wrong!</u>

The issue of whether or not to allow the legalized killing of unborn babies to continue has become, in more and more areas, <u>THE</u> issue. In addition to being the issue in the November 7 election, it was the deciding factor in taking pro-abortion Senator Clifford Case (R-NJ), and Congressman Donald Fraser (DFL-MINN) out of public life in the primaries.

We are winning our goal to restore to the Constitution what we had all assumed was already there, and that is equal protection, under law, of all innocent human lives whether born or unborn. This is what the Human Life Amendment will do.

The way all amendments (since the original ten) have been passed to date, has been through the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives with a two-thirds vote. We are close to this in the House. We are closer to it in the Senate now than we were before this election, but still, more Senators must be replaced and we must change the minds of others. We're convinced that three-fourths of the states will ratify the Human Life Amendment once we get over our problem with Congress and they pass it.

<u>Can it be done?</u>

Yes, we're convinced that it can if we start to work now!

How will we do it?

Well, it all began less than two years ago. That's when we formed the National Right to Life Committee's Voter Identification Project. If your local or state Right to Life group is not already involved in this extremely effective program, it will be before the 1980 elections roll around.

> For that is the date we have set for full nationwide participation. That is when pro-lifers will win the majority of all targeted seats in city, county, and state elections...as well as in U.S. Senate and House of Representative races.

Let me explain how "Voter Identification" works -- and why it can't fail to produce the promised results -- if we are successful in expanding from our current projects to a nationwide campaign.

Briefly, "Voter Identification" starts with a skillfully designed telephone survey of all registered voters -- precinct by precinct -- to reveal those who are pro-life, those who are pro-abortion, and those who are still undecided on this crucial issue.

It will require a real dedication and a lot of hard work by all of you, but you can all help -- even those who are "shut-in" by illness or injury. All you need is a little time and a phone.

You'll also need direction, trained leaders, the lists to call, the reports to fill out and the instruction booklets. Finally, you'll need to store the information in retrievable form, on computer tapes. Of course, this will cost money, far more money than NRLC has now. That is why I am asking you in this letter to be as generous as you can with financial help now.

A huge job? Certainly it is! But one that can be accomplished if we all work together. We need your support now.

And especially: we need your prayers!!!

What will the Voter Identification Project tell us? Well, as an example, the first area to complete the 100,000 phone calls necessary to canvass two entire Congressional districts, was Cincinnati.

What was the result? Cincinnati found out that 75% of its registered voters opposed all abortion (except to save the mother's life), 10% were undecided, and only 15% approved abortion, including those who only approved it for rape pregnancies or other rare reasons. It is no accident that all four Congressmen from Southwestern Ohio are pro-life.

From the very earliest survey results -- up until the present time --

(over, please)

our experience has shown that pro-lifers outnumber pro-abortionists by a majority as high as five to one in some areas. And in no significant areas have pro-abortionists ever outnumbered pro-lifers!

This proves what we have been saying all along
-- that the majority of Americans are pro-life.

Since National Right to Life's Voter I.D. Project has now substantiated this fact, the minds of many politicans have been changed!!!

Are there other benefits from this program? Yes, very many. The identification of pro-life voters will substantially enlarge and strengthen your pro-life group. Also, you can mail or contact the undecided to try to sway them, as well as go to the pro-lifers to strengthen them, to educate them, to ask for help and most importantly, to get them out to vote. The possibilities are vast.

A large order? Yes, but one that could be accomplished across the entire USA in the next two years. No! Let's not say "can be" but rather "must be." The Voter Identification Project can change the course of history in the next two years!

The pro-life movement may not have the backing of the abortion elitists, but we do have real people power. NRLC has 1,800 affiliated chapters in all 50 states. You are represented through your local chapter and through your state Right to Life group on the board of directors of the NRLC.

Your check for $50, $25, $15 or more will enable us to keep our momentum sizzling and expand it as wide as we can in the next election...as well as... to continue all of our other projects and activities which are now coordinated out of our Washington office.

Please help us with as large a contribution as you can. You will find an envelope enclosed for your convenience. I know I can count on you again. Thank you.

Yours for the Right to Life

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.
President

P.S. In September, we were surprised and saddened when our capable Washington lobbyist, Thea Rossi Barron, submitted her resignation. We are pleased, for her, that she has started working in the new position she wanted. She is a full-time lobbyist for a foreign country. Clouds, however, often have silver linings. I'm pleased to tell you that we have engaged the services of Mr. Sean Morton Downey, Esq. as our new lobbyist. He has had vast political experience and already has been of great help in Congress. Together with Mr. Charles Donnovan and Barbara Barrody, our new political researchers, we expect to sharply increase our visibility, activity and influence on Capitol Hill.

CG:pp/ru

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

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Nat. News Editorial Office — 3516 Lyndale Ave. South — Minneapolis, MN 55408

Minutes

National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

The Turf Hotel - Albany, New York - October 1, 1977 Convened 9:30 a.m.

The quarterly Board of Directors meeting of the National Right to Life Committee was called to order by the Chairman of the Board, presiding officer, Dr. Carolyn Gerster.

ROLL CALL: Attached - 31 Present, 3 Present by Proxy (total throughout Board meeting)

Parliamentarian - Mr. James Bopp

Guests: Anthony Lauinger, James Bothell, Fran Watson, Mr. Ross, Ed Golden

QUORUM: Quorum established with 25 Directors present.

MOTION: Onofrio, seconded
"To adopt standing rules, as read by the Chair".
MOTION PASSED: voice vote

DISCUSSION: Agenda

MOTION: Geline Williams, seconded
"To adopt agenda as read by the Chair"
MOTION PASSED: voice vote

MINUTES OF PREVIOUS MEETING:
MOTION: TJ Bosgra, seconded
"To adopt minutes of previous meeting, with correction offered by the Secretary"
MOTION PASSED: voice vote
CORRECTION TO June 1977 Board meeting:
LEGAL ACTION PROJECT: Special members appointed by Pres. Mildred F. Jefferson, to assist the legal action project: Bob Winn, Chairman; Andrew O'Keefe, litigation, Thea Rossi Barron, Robert Dopf of Iowa, and Mary Hunt.

TREASURER'S REPORT: Mrs. Mary Hunt, assisted by Mrs. Judie Brown
Mrs. Hunt announced opening of a reserve savings account for deposit of percentage of revenue from direct mail receipts.
Financial statement was distributed to Board members present.
Treasurer gave verbal presentation of unaudited quarterly report with assistance of Mrs. Brown from the Washington office.
MOTION: Mary Hunt, seconded
"That the Board enter into a closed session for remainder of Treasurer's financial report"
MOTION PASSED: voice vote - no dissent
Treasurer reminded members of standing rule which requires each Director who received a written financial report to acknowledge receipt by Director's own signature.
The treasurer gave a complete report, updated to September 29th on accounts payable and accounts receivable of all three offices; Washington, Tulsa and National Right to Life News.
REPORT ACCEPTED BY CHAIR

PRESIDENT'S REPORT: Dr. Mildred F. Jefferson

Dr. Jefferson reported on the Hyde language, restated NRLC's position for the Hyde language of last year, urged continual bombardment of our own Congressmen. Reported on near collapse of most recent conference committee, and that it appeared the Conference almost collapsed trying to compromise - with no visible reason.

Report on NRLC Convention '77 documentary

NRL News: Dr. Jefferson reported that applications for editors and proposals for printers were coming in, various considerations underway.

DISCUSSION: Documentary - State participation, i.e. assuming responsibility for payment of TV shows done in each State.

President reported on two resolutions to be considered for implementation concerned with financial status.

MOTION: Felicia Goeken, seconded,

"That all transfer of funds from the General Account in D.C. shall require the approval of two out of the following three people:
President, Vice-President and Treasurer"

MOTION PASSED: voice vote

MOTION: Ann O'Donnell, seconded,
"That expenditures of the corporation be immediately reduced to the projected income of $25,000 per month to include monthly operating expenditures in Washington and Tulsa, and including $5,000 monthly, thereof, to be applied to accrued debt."

MOTION PASSED: with the States of Texas and Washington abstaining.

DISCUSSION: John Wadday, Tennessee director, commenting on assistance received by States from National projects, urged all States to assist National in raising money to defray current indebtedness.

RECESS: 12 noon, lunch

RECONVENED: 1:30 P.M.

REPORT: Special Project Vice-President - Dr. Robert Krebsbach
Present concept of local showings of documentary with telephone banks tied in
Availability of video tapes in 2" and 3/4" reels. 2" for TV stations, and 3/4" for viewing and use on video tape machines. Directors interested in purchasing video tapes should contact Tulsa office.

Additional guests: Prof. Robert Byrne, Kathy Quinn, John Grimes, Ernie Ohlhoff

REPORT: Resolution committee - Geline Williams
Mrs. Williams reported out the following 3 resolutions:
"Whereas Sean Morton Downey, a dedicated worker in the cause of the right to life, has generously given to the National Right to Life Committee all rights to his beautiful recording of "Gotta Right to Live,"
We, the Board of Directors of the National Right to Life Committee, express our admiration and gratitude for his generosity and commitment in singing for the unborn child."

"Whereas, an important contribution contribution to the pro-life cause in America

has been made by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops through the initiation and implementation of the Pro-Life Pastoral Plan, and
Whereas, we hereby reaffirm our continued mutual commitment toward the restoration of the value and reverence for each human life in society,
BE IT RESOLVED, that a fromal letter of commendation and congratulation be sent from the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., to the National Conference of Catholic Bishops to commemorate the second anniversary of the Pro-Life Plan in November of 1977."

"Whereas, the full implementation of political action is necessary to affect the goals of the right to life effort, a Human Life Amendment to the Constiution, and
Whereas the implementation reqires the continued support and election of Congressmen who are dedicated to the principles of our founding fathers, the guarantee of the inalienable right to life,
The National Right to Life Committee recognizes and commends the founding of the Life Amendment Political Action Committee, known as LAPAC,Inc.
We encourage the cooperation and support the efforts of LAPAC,Inc."

MOTIONS:
#1-Sean Morton Downey---Motion:Felicia Goeken, seconded To adopt
MOTION PASSED-voice vote
#2-National Conference of Catholic Bishops---Motion, Jean Doyle, seconded To adopt
MOTION PASSED-voice vote
#3-LAPAC,Inc.-Motion to table for further discussion, Mary Hunt, seconded
MOTION PASSED- voice vote Approved

REPORT-By-laws Committee - Charles Onofrio
MOTION: Charles Onofrio, seconded
"To adopt Amendment as sent to Board members under Article VIII, paragraph 1A"
AMENDMENT: Dr. Mildred F. Jefferson:"To amend by dealing separately with Associate membership."
AMENDMENT PASSED: voice vote
DISCUSSION: Legal implications assuring state organizations corporate status is the same as Nationals', dropping the wording of individual in membership,
MOTION: Felicia Goeken, seconded
"That the Article VIII amendment be referred to the legal advisory committee"
AMENDMENT: Dr. J.C. Willke, seconded,
"That Article VIII be referred to the Executive Committee, for a legal opinion".
AMENDED MOTION: Carried, voice vote

REPORT: Finance Committee-Dr. Robert Krebsbach
Discussion of Revenue sharing and offer of professional assistance to States' Fund Raising efforts.

REPORT: States Organization-Bill Polito
MOTION: Bill Politio, seconded, that Board go into a closed session
MOTION PASSED, voice vote

Mr. Polito presented each Director present with written legal evaluation on tax status and political action organization. Evaluation included latest update on IRS and FEC regulations of organizational structures.

REPORT: Thea Rossi Barron
Information on disposition of Hyde language, conference committee and White House meeting with Midge Constanza(Dr. Jefferson, Dr. Willke and Ms. Barron).

Discussion: John Waddey reporte Tennessee has passed a resolution to support NRLC, Inc.
Urged Directors to be "member" 52 weeks a year in support of NRLC.
RECESSED: 5:35 P.M.

RECONVENED: October 2nd, 9 A.M.

REPORT: Credentials Committee-Jean Doyle
"Sara Thomas of Guam, qualified for At-Large Director"
MOTION: Jean Doyle, seconded,
"That Sara Thomas be elected as at-large Director"
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

REPORT: State Programs(Mary Believeau & Sharon Cornwaithe), Believeau, reporting
DISCUSSION: "What should states programs be?", i.e. coordination with other committees to develop specific programs, request reports from States as to type of assistance needed for individual states programs.

REPORT: Citizen's Lobby-Jean Doyle
Plans to coordinate state "right to Lifers" trained for lobbying in Washington. Suggested that January would be ideal time. Chairman of Citizen's lobbyists would coordinate the trained lobbyists, lay out schedule's for coming into Washington, D.C., right to life groups and States' Organizations willingness to send their lobbyist to Washington for the organized, cooperative effort.
MOTION: Sally Rausher, seconded
"That each State will be responsible for assigning two people for the official NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE Lobby Committee".
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

REPORT: Legal Action Project - Mary Hunt and Jim Bopp
Contacts and cases referred to Special Counsel: 36 from 21 States
Cases referred but declined: 11
Cases recommended to Legal Liaison Comm.: 6
Cases approved: 5
Cases Declined: 1
Cases pending with Special Counsel's office: 6
DISCUSSION: Ken Vanderhoef and Willian Polito recommended that medical malpractise suits with damages should not be bais for suit for NRLC.

NRLC Convention Report: Ann O'Donnell
Report on plans for Convention '78 at Stauffer Towers in St. Louis, Missouri
Tenative program presented to Directors.
Convention Report '77, Marcy Sneed:
Presented complete financial report (attached)
MOTION: Dr. Willke, seconded
"To commend Convention '77 Committee on a most successful Convention".

REPORT: Voter Identification Survey Project, Phase I - Felicia Goeken ✓ next-last page
(Attached) Report on States who have appointed Coordinator's for survey. Prices on two-part and three-part snap out computer ready forms. Completed books available within two weeks @ 15¢ each, computer forms, if ordered in cooperative effort for quantity prices will be 4¢ each. Reiteration of need to cooperate with plans as set forth in Voter ID booklet, for a successful nation-wide effort.
Dr. Jefferson announced that Felicia Goeken will be National Coordinator, to be placed on salary and expense for implementation of the project.
MOTION: Felicia Goeken, seconded
"To adopt the 3-part snap out forms for the survey"
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

DISCUSSION: Ken Vanderhoef appealed for funds for AUL case pending. Dr. Jefferson requested that copies of donations to AUL be sent to NRLC to record as additional funds to AUL thru NRLC.

MOTION: Mary Hunt, seconded:
"That the Board of Directors appoint a Newspaper Review Committee composed of; Dr. Carolyn Gerster, Marge Montgomery, Mary Ellen Mulholland, Celine Williams and Bill Collition. Purpose of this committee will be to review the present operating proceedures and policies of NRL News and to recommend either their continuance or to propose changes thereto at the January meeting of the Board".
DISCUSSION: Dr. Carolyn Gerster read a letter from Alice Hartle, former NRL News Editor, to the Board of Directors.
MOTION TO ALLOW READING BY Ann O'Donnell, seconded: carried voice vote.

MOTION FAILED: voice vote

DISCUSSION: Publisher Dr. Jefferson assured Directors that future issues would be forthcoming. Time being near adjournment time no further action was recommended.

Meeting adjourned: 12 noon.

Minutes Approved Jan 21/978 (date)

Felicia R. Boeken

Felicia R. Goeken, Secretary

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.
Chairman of the Board

UPDATE-Voter Identification Survey Project - Phase I

ALABAMA
ALASKA
ARIZONA: Nancy Roach(Coordinated, first order for forms received)
ARKANSAS
CALIFORNIA: Mrs. Driesbach
COLORADO
CONNECTICUT
DELAWARE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
FLORIDA: Katherine Walsh
GEORGIA
HAWAII
IDAHO
ILLINOIS: Mrs. Darlene Degenhardt(First presentation to state-wide, October 15th)
INDIANA
IOWA: Robert Dopf (F. Goeken attending state-wide meeting October 22nd-Iowa paying expenses)
KANSAS
KENTUCKY
LOUISIANA
MAINE: Nancy Cote
MARYLAND
MASSACHUSETTS
MICHIGAN: Meeting planned for structure.
MINNESOTA: Ruby Kerbeste (proceeding with own structure)
MISSISSIPPI
MISSOURI
MONTANA
NEBRASKA: Ann Bowen
NEVADA
NEW HAMPSHIRE
NEW MEXICO
NEW YORK Payment for 6600 booklets
NORTH CAROLINA: Mr. John W. Dowd
NORTH DAKOTA
OHIO: Mr. Bill Brueggmeyer
OKLAHOMA
OREGON: Mrs. Linda Peccie
PENNSYLVANIA: Denise Neary
RHODE ISLAND
SOUTH CAROLINA
SOUTH DAKOTA: George Bondora
TENNESSEE: Mr. Kent Pruett
TEXAS: Mr. Tom Murphy
UTAH
VERMONT (response, working on Coordinator)
VIRGINIA(response, working on Coordinator)
WEST VIRGINIA
WISCONSIN
WYOMING

NYPLC: F. Goeken attending Convention for program on Voter ID(NYPLC COVERING EXPENSES)

DIRECTORS AND/OR COORDINATORS REQUESTED TO REPORT TYPE OF REGISTRATION USED IN STATE, ie listed by streets or voters names alphabetically.
Orders for booklets and/or forms must be accompanied by payments.
Registration lists by streets will carry 9 names on each form
Registration lists alphabetically will carry 6 names on form.
Booklets 15¢ each, computer ready forms(3-part snap out) 4¢ each

Doug

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To HFP FVI

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROGRAM

Phase I VOTER SURVEY PROJECT

Commission Exhibit #4
1-26-81

The National Right to Life Committee wishes to thank the following people for their special help in preparing this booklet:

National Project Directors
Voter Identification Project
Felicia R. Goeken — Illinois
Gloria Klein — Michigan

Others who participated:

Virgil E. Bertke — Ohio
Bill Brueggemeyer — Ohio
Darlene L. Degenhardt — Illinois
Carolyn Huss — Indiana
David Kaiser — Ohio
Robert McKeon — New York
Michele McRae — Indiana
Jane Muldoon — Michigan
Judy Tomsic — California
John C. Willke, M.D. — Ohio

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national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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FROM THE PRESIDENT

The proof of political effectiveness is the winning vote. Getting that winning vote depends upon strong organization, strong planning, and careful strategy. The foundation of this kind of political effectiveness is knowing the voters.

The National Right to Life Committee, Inc., has launched a voter survey and identification project which will identify voters on the pro-life issues in every voting precinct in the United States and its territories. The objective is not to develop a conversation piece but to determine accurately which voters will vote the right-to-life as the qualifying issue, those who will not, those who don't care, and those who can be convinced to vote the issue.

After field testing in California, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, and New York, the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., is pleased to present this VOTER SURVEY PROJECT manual to facilitate the work of our loyal and dedicated members who must carry out the hard work of finding the voters.

Be encouraged that by winning the campaigns and the legal protection for life, you are winning the thanks of those who may never know you to thank you. But these United States, our America, and the world will be better for your effort.

Mildred F. Jefferson, M.D., President
National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
June 3, 1977

FOREWORD

Pro-life people active in the Right to Life movement have come to realize that we must be very creative if we are to defeat the forces who stand against us. We must develop and implement innovative programs which will capture the attention of America's citizens and her leadership. Pressure, upon those who govern, must be brought to bear by citizens of every station in life.

Time and again, the "caring voters" of this nation have created that pressure by exercising their right to vote. Through education, we can organize and influence a majority of citizens to vote their commitment to life.

You have volunteered to become part of this mammoth effort. With your help, we will succeed.

INTRODUCTION

Candidates for public office have always felt a compelling need to know their level of support prior to election day. During the late 1800's and early 1900's, political machine leaders directed their precinct captains to visit each registered voter in their precinct as many as three times before election day. The captains kept sharp watch as strength shifted from one candidate to another and reported their observations regularly to party headquarters.

As the election drew near, precinct captains visited undecided voters with new literature and more persuasive arguments. As an undecided voter was moved from one column to another, the new totals were sent to headquarters.

On election day, the captain, working with his list of "favorable voters," spent the day making sure that each had voted. In the strongest machine areas, each captain had a quota to fill and he worked as if his job depended on it . . . because it usually did.

Following WWII, Americans in large numbers began to lose respect for politicians and the political process. Many simply stopped voting. Precinct organization fell apart, politicians lost touch with the public and volunteer workers became hard to find.

In the late 1950's and early 1960's, politicians believed that careful political polling could identify their main support groups. Mass media advertising, particularly television, was directed specifically at those groups to get them to vote. There were substantial drawbacks to that system. First, it was very expensive. Second, the voters did not always vote, and when they did, many voted for the opposition. Third, the candidates still had very little idea where they stood with the voters until the returns were in and counted.

In order to identify voter support, candidates began to form their own volunteer organizations. Two major problems prevailed. First, since most of the workers were campaign volunteers, their time was limited. Second, even the most popular candidates had trouble recruiting enough volunteers to fulfill campaign needs.

The question then became . . . hat could candidates, facing limitations of money and small volunteer staffs, do to maximize the number of their supporters and make sure they voted? The most widely accepted answer resulted in the development of the Voter Identification Surveys used in politics today.

Two points pertaining to voter surveys must be understood before we look at their use by Right to Life groups.

A) People tend to confuse "voter identification survey" with a "public opinion poll." The survey, as we use it, *cannot* be projected to apply to the electorate as a whole. *We can speak only for those persons we have questioned.*

B) Properly used, a well organized, full constituency voter identification survey can produce a 5% to 10% increase in a candidate's vote.

Now, a quick look at Right to Life survey efforts before we start on the program.

The Voter I.D. Survey was first used by the Right to Life group in Westchester, New York. Adaptations were used in several states. Where entire congressional districts were completed—a solid majority of the households were found to be pro-life. Local Right to Life groups advised pro-life voters of the positions of both candidates concerning abortion. Happily, in most cases, the pro-life candidates won. Some actually won by majorities which startled even the most astute political observers.

As pro-life candidates continue to win, incumbent elected officials are forced to reevaluate their positions. Many former fence-straddlers realize the value of declaring their support for the Human Life Amendment and other pro-life legislative measures. Stunning victories in one district can bring new support to our movement from politicians in districts hundreds of miles away.

As more candidates take note of our Voter I.D. operations, they are impressed by what they see. Compared to the average political campaign, RTL has many times more volunteers—and they are more deeply committed! Pro-life households appear to constitute a majority of homes in most legislative districts. The importance of this fact is that when we complete our survey and organize our get-out-the-vote operation, WE CAN DELIVER THE MARGIN OF VICTORY FOR PRO-LIFE CANDIDATES!

This is what the voter survey is all about. It is the best tool we have to show political candidates and office holders the true depth of pro-life feeling among registered voters. It also provides two important direct benefits not available through other programs. Both of these relate to our second mission—education of the public. First, the program will identify those registered voters who are undecided on abortion. We can target them for further educational efforts. Second, the block of pro-life voters we identify provides us with an immense pool of potential volunteers. Once their level of awareness regarding abortion is increased, these people can be recruited to serve in any number of ways. For the first time, your local organization will know the feelings of each voting household in your area.

WHEN WE ORGANIZE PROPERLY, TRAIN WELL AND WORK DILIGENTLY, WE WILL BECOME THE FIRST CITIZEN LOBBYING GROUP IN HISTORY TO COMPLETE A TASK OF THIS MAGNITUDE!

WHERE WE ALL FIT IN

To understand how each of the thousands of workers involved in this project relates to the overall program, here is a review of the management structure. Each volunteer, from the national cordinator to the local telephone canvasser, must understand and appreciate the responsibilities and dedication of all other project volunteers. This understanding will bring greater cooperation and produce a spirit of common purpose as we embark upon one of the greatest efforts ever attempted by concerned citizens of this country.

NATIONAL—N.R.L.C. REGIONAL SURVEY COORDINATOR

The country will be divided into regions. Each region will be supervised by an "N.R.L.C. Regional Survey Coordinator."

STATE—STATE SURVEY COORDINATOR

Each state will appoint a "State Survey Coordinator." This coordinator will have full responsibility for the program within the state and will report directly to the state Right to Life group president, and to the N.R.L.C. Regional Survey Coordinator.

STATE—C.D. GROUP SURVEY COORDINATOR

The State Survey Coordinator will sub-divide the state into groups of approximately five congressional districts (C.D.'s) each. Some groupings may be less than five where geography is a problem. Each of these C.D. groupings will be supervised by a "C.D. Group Survey Coordinator."

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT SURVEY SUPERVISOR

Each congressional district will have a "C.D. Survey Supervisor" to manage project operations within the C.D.

Let's look at the numbers involved. A typical congressional district has 465,000 residents. Of these, about 325,000 (70%) are eligible to vote, but only about 195,000 (60%) are registered. These 195,000 registered voters make up approximately 103,000 households (about 1.9 voters per household.) We will be able to locate phone numbers for about 75%, or 77,500 households. The personnel requirement within each C.D. is based on the need to contact each of these 77,500 households. It should be expanded or contracted only if your C.D. has a significantly larger or smaller number of calls to make.

TEAM CAPTAIN SUPERVISORS

A C.D. with 77,500 calls will require 7 "Team Captain Supervisors," each directing 5 Team Captains.

TEAM CAPTAINS

Each Team Captain will be responsible for directing a team which will be assigned 2,200 calls.

Each team will consist of 10 volunteer phoners who will accept responsibility for 220 calls each. Each captain must also recruit 3 substitutes to help out in emergency situations.

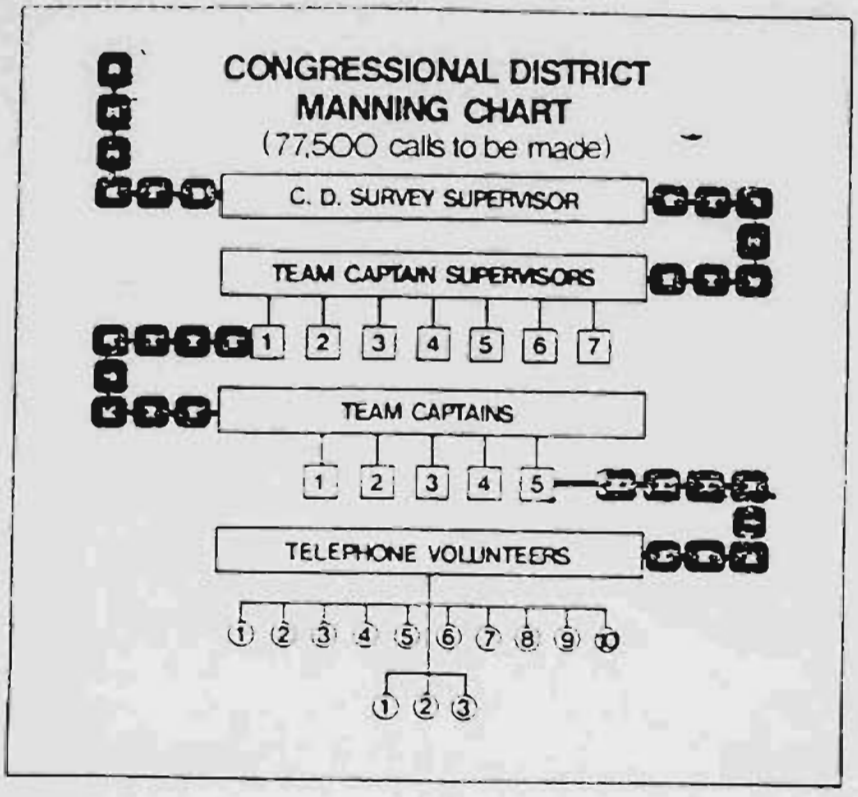


Figure A

So, you see, each person represents an important link in a very long chain. The strength of that chain will be directly related to each volunteer's unselfish cooperation. This means that each of us must follow our job descriptions accurately. Every questionaire and reporting form must be the same and, all records must be kept in the same precise manner. Our field tests have provided a great opportunity to learn by doing. A few very important items stand out.

LESSONS WE HAVE LEARNED

☐☐ DO IT BY THE BOOK! There is a reason for each step, each piece of the organizational plan, and each question on the survey.

☐☐ If one State Coordinator, one C.D. Coordinator, one Team Captain or one telephone volunteer changes the methodology or a single question . . . they will have broken the chain of reporting in this nationwide survey!

☐☐ Record keeping and adherence to the chain of command is vital to achieving the full benefit not only of the survey portion of this effort, but of the total program!

If we organize as recommended, and if we use the questionnaire and record keeping system described in this handbook, we will achieve the degree of organization needed to pass and ratify the Human Life Amendment.

THE TEAM CAPTAIN

Your job begins approximately eight weeks before the date on which telephoning is to begin. You will have two responsibilities during this time:

A) Add phone numbers to your voter registration list and divide the list for your volunteers.

B) Recruit and train 10 phone-volunteers and three substitutes.

Note: Some organizations may wish to assign the task of phone numbering to persons who are at the team captain supervisor level because it is a more manageable task.

FOLLOW THESE STEPS

STEP 1. Secure Voter Registration Lists — (of 2200 registered voters) from your Team Captain Supervisor. The supervisors, working with the C.D. Survey Supervisor, will have obtained this list from local boards of election or friendly candidates. It is imperative that you work only from a list of *registered* voters, to prevent wasting valuable time on people who can't vote because they're not registered.

STEP 2 Recruit people for "phone numbering." — If at all possible, arrange to do the numbering in one location. You may find a junior high or high school class willing to accept the task for several teams or, recruit a few volunteers to come to your home and complete the job in an evening.

There are two sources for matching phone numbers to your voter lists, the "R. L. Polk" cross-reference directory and the telephone directory. Each has a specific application to the voter list numbering process. Using either source alone, you will waste untold hours calling unregistered voters.

If your voter registration list is in house number/street order, you can quickly phone number it by using a "cross-cross" directory. Your local phone company's marketing department can tell you which company publishes a "cross-cross" for your area. If your registration list is in alphabetical or any other form, you will have to use the telephone books to secure numbers.

A. Place the telephone number to the right of the voter's name. We will need the left hand margin for other notes. (See Figure B)

B. There may be registered voters with no phone numbers and there will be, in most cases, several voters with the same phone number i.e. members of the same family. Bracket the same numbers, or multiple voters in the same household, and list the phone number only once.

STEP 3 Recruit your telephone crew — You will need ten persons, each willing to call a list of 200 households and ask the survey questions. You will also need at least three substitutes in the event that some of your regulars cannot complete their assignments. Your substitutes can also be used for collecting and distributing data sheets and making "clean-up" calls as required.

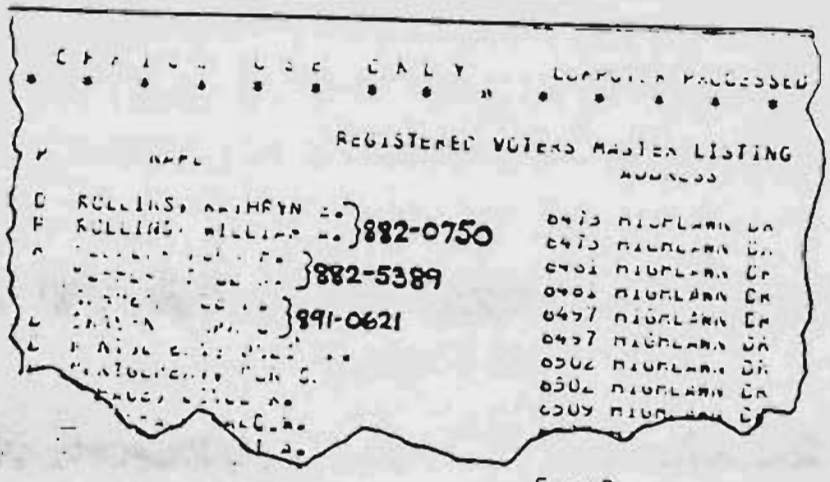
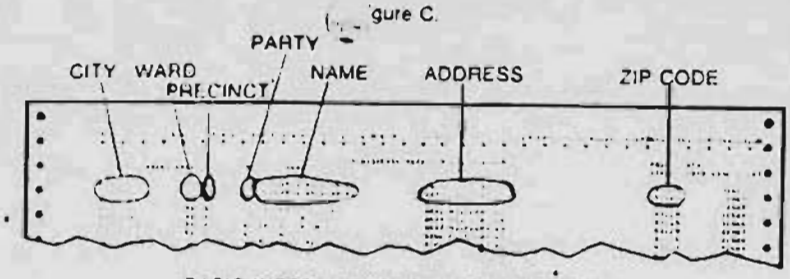
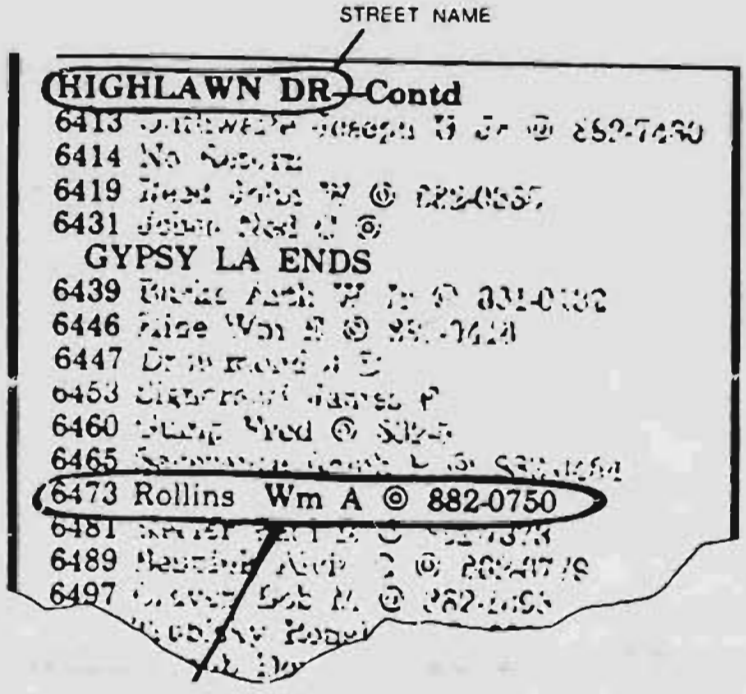


Figure B

gure C.



BASIC INFORMATION IS TAKEN FROM THE VOTER REGISTRATION LIST.



LOCATE PHONE NUMBER IN "CITY DIRECTORY" OR CRISS-CROSS" MATCH STREET, ADDRESS AND NAME WITH REGISTRATION LIST BEFORE MARKING PHONE NUMBER ONTO REGISTRATION LIST

Figure D

STEP 4. Train your volunteers — In a group training session two weeks before phoning is to begin. (If you feel that those who cannot be at your meeting are avoiding it because they don't want to be involved, find replacements immediately.) Walk each person through every section of this manual, but spend most of the time on the "telephoners" section. "Role playing" is sometimes difficult to do, but it is a great training tool. Attempt to get all of your people to go through several sample calls with you at the meeting. They should also call you at least three times over the next two weeks to try the script out over the phone. Critique each call.

Note: Most telephone companies have booklets available with helpful hints regarding telephone surveys, or sales techniques. If possible, secure one for each volunteer and review it carefully with them.

If you find that some of your volunteers are not able to do the phone survey, find other jobs for them. If they are doing a poor job, you can count on their reduced accuracy and undependable results.

STEP 5. Distribute the lists and forms, begin the phoning — Each telephone volunteer should receive a section of the voter registration list which contains 220 phone numbers. At the same time, distribute an initial quantity of 30 record forms per phoner.

Deliver the lists to the telephone volunteer about two days *before* phoning is to begin. This will give you an opportunity to run through the program one last time before actual work begins. Ask the telephoner to complete a minimum of 55 calls per week. Best calling hours are between 6:30 P.M. and 9:30 P.M., Monday through Thursday.

Fridays are usually unproductive.

If the program falls behind, calls can be between 10:00 A.M. and 4:30 P.M. on Saturdays, as a last resort. Sundays between 4:00 P.M. and 9:00 P.M.

These hours are *recommended* because they are the times when people are home and willing to talk. If you must do day time calling, because of a shortage of volunteers, call between 9:00 A.M. - 11:30 A.M. and 1:30 P.M. - 3:00 P.M.

STEP 6. Follow-Up with phoners - A Team Captain must be a Doubting Thomas. In a phone program, you can assume that what you see is *all* you get.

A Team Captain's most important responsibility is to be of assistance to the volunteers. Be alert to potential problems (lost data sheets, mistakes in record keeping, improper phone technique) and deal with them before they become unmanageable.

A weekly visit to each of your volunteers is the most positive way to prevent time-wasting improper procedures.

If a phone volunteer finds that meeting the call quota is too difficult, suggest that you will find someone to assist with the rest of the assigned calls.

Remember, this program must be completed accurately and on time. Otherwise, its value will be greatly reduced.

STEP 7. Data Collection — Personal collection of completed survey forms is the best management tool you have.

During your scheduled weekly visit to each volunteer, review each form the volunteer has completed. With the volunteer's help, compare the data on the record form with information on the registration list. The preferred method is for you to read the record form while the volunteer reads the information to you from the registration list.

If you cannot read the writing, or the responses are not clearly marked, help the volunteer transfer the data carefully onto new sheets that can be read and understood by all who must work with them.

Each record sheet will contain blocks for nine respondents. Provide 30 sheets per phoner when you give them their registration lists. Always carry a sufficient quantity of blank record forms so that you can replenish the volunteers' supply during your weekly visits.

Note: The Voter Identification Project will succeed or fail based on the abilities of the grass-roots workers who serve as Team Captains and telephone volunteers. All the management structure and all the best laid plans of mice and men are no better or worse than the willingness of those who must implement a program to do so accurately. The procedures outlined in this section, and the section which follows, may seem cumbersome. In fact, some may seem downright unreasonable. They are here because they are based on the experiences of people who have logged thousands of hours working in volunteer programs.

Your time and the time of each person involved in the program is a precious commodity. That time is worth giving only if it is well spent. Short cuts to the systems recommended here may result in hundreds of wasted hours of volunteer-time at some other point in the program. If you must short cut anything, please review that decision first with your Team Captain Supervisor. Make sure the decision will not damage the effort in the long run.

TELEPHONE VOLUNTEER INSTRUCTIONS

You are the foundation of the program. You are the only person who will be talking to the voter. Your contact may well be the only one the voter has ever had from a representative of Right to Life. If you prepare yourself well, refuse to be drawn into discussions or arguments on the issue and concentrate on the job at hand, that contact will be a pleasant one for you and for the voter.

The basics of telephone canvassing are quite simple but so is riding a bike once you've taken your first few spills. Like learning to ride, telephone work requires some practice. Call your Team Captain two or three times and try out your style. Do the same thing with a few close friends. When you do it with people who know you well, calling strangers is a snap.

A few quick rules of the road and then on to the survey and record sheet.

1. Always speak in a moderate tone. Loud talk tends to intimidate the respondent. DO NOT ARGUE!

2. Always maintain an even pace. Pauses during sentences encourage early responses that may not be accurate. Remember ... a moderate pace ... don't rush ... DO NOT ARGUE.

3. Be confident in your delivery before you call the voters! Don't be embarrassed about any of the questions, or about doing the survey itself. You'll transmit that feeling to respondents and embarrass them too. DO NOT ARGUE!

4. Don't be shocked if you receive an occasional virulent or abusive reaction. With the number of calls you will make, you are bound to confront a discourteous voter. If you can't get out of a discussion pleasantly, simply say, "Thank you for your time," and hang up. DO NOT ARGUE!

5. Always try to work in an area of the house that is relatively quiet. Concentration is imperative for successful interviewing. Even the smallest background noises will carry over the phone and may distract the respondent.

6. It is important to maintain a positive attitude. Bad moods or lack of enthusiasm will effect the respondents. Try to spend a few quiet moments before each round of calls. Use the time to "psych yourself" into the project.

The survey questions are printed on the following pages. The record form and instructions for its use follow. Asking the questions properly, being prepared for the various options and replies, and knowing how and where to mark the responses, are all very important. Please review each question and follow the instructions on how to record each answer. You'll soon be doing everything automatically.

Before you begin, please accept our heartfelt appreciation for your commitment and know that our prayers for success are with you.

Voter Identification Survey Questionaire

BEFORE YOU BEGIN – REREAD INSTRUCTIONS ON PAGES 18 & 19

A. **Hello. May I speak with Kathryn Rollins?**
(If wrong number, verify the number you have called and simply say you are sorry for the bother.)

B. **I am a volunteer for the National Right to Life Committee . . .**
(Don't pause but, if asked what N.R.L.C. is, say "a national pro-life group.") **we are conducting a national survey of registered voters and would greatly appreciate your help. May I ask you a few short questions?**
(If "no," hang up and mark R/A (Refused to Answer) column – if "yes," continue with questions.)

Q 1 **During recent years, abortion has become a major issue in the country.** (slight pause) **Are you FOR or AGAINST abortion** (slight pause) **except to save the life of the mother?**
(Check record sheet under **F** *(For),* **A** *(Against) or* **U** *(Undecided.)*

Q 2 **Do you think tax money should be used to pay for abortions?**
(Check record sheet under **Y** *(Yes),* **N** *(No) or* **U** *(Undecided)*

If AGAINST abortion in response to Question 1, continue here.

Q 3 (a) **Would you support passing a law to prevent abortion except to save the life of the mother?**
(Check **Y** *(Yes),* **N** *(No) or* **U** *(Undecided)*

Q 4 (a) **Would you vote AGAINST a candidate because he or she supports abortion?**
(Check **Y** *(Yes),* **N** *(No) or* **U** *(Undecided)*

Q 5 (a) **How many other *registered voters* in your household agree with you on this issue?**
(Mark **actual number** *in column 5 under* **A/A** *(Against Abortion)*

If FOR or UNDECIDED in response to Question 1, continue here.

(b) **Do you support the present law that allows "abortion on demand"?**
(Check **Y** *(Yes),* **N** *(No) or* **U** *(Undecided)*

(b) **Would you vote AGAINST a candidate because he or she will not support abortion?**
(Check **Y** *(Yes),* **N** *(No) or* **U** *(Undecided)*

(b) **How many other *registered voters* in your household agree with you on this issue?**
(Mark **actual number** *in column 5 under* **F/A** *(For Abortion) or* **U** *(Undecided), depending on answer to question 1.*

CONTINUE WITH QUESTIONS ON PAGE 18

Q 5 (a) **Would you classify your household as voting predominantly Republican, Democrat or Independent?**
(Check under **R** *(Republican),* **D** *(Democrat),* **I** *(Independent), or* **S/O** *(Split, Other) or* **R/A** *(Refused to answer)*

(b) **Would you classify your household as voting predominantly Republican, Democrat or Independent.**
(Check under **R** *(Republican),* **D** *(Democrat),* **I** *(Independent), or* **S/O** *(Split, Other) or* **R/A** *(Refused to answer)*

C. **"Thank you very much for your help, it's been nice talking with you."**
(Hang up)

(CHECK YOUR RECORD OF THE CALL FOR ACCURACY AND CLEAR MARKINGS. THEN PROCEED TO THE NEXT CALL.)

HOW TO HANDLE THE QUESTIONS & ANSWERS.

Question A. Ask to speak with one of the registered voters BY NAME in the order APPEARING ON THE VOTER LIST. If none of the voters are available, do not leave a message. Just say you will call back later.

Question B. Do not get into a discussion of what N.R.L.C. is. You will color the answers which follow.

If they say there is no registered voter living at that address, cross through the entire line on the registration list *and do not enter anything on the Record Form*

Column R.A. If respondents Refuse to Answer any questions, check this column and fill in VOTER INFORMATION. Knowing who will not answer is also important in establishing the accuracy and quality of our survey.

Column A. Age. Use only in those states where information is shown on the Voter Registration List. DO NOT ASK for this information from the respondent!

Question 1. If a person says they are against abortion but lists any exceptions other than to save the mother's life, check F/A (For Abortion). If they say they're against abortion check A/A (Against). If a person says "I don't know," etc., check U (Undecided). If they ask you to explain the question you may only repeat it exactly as written.

Question 2. Do not attempt to explain this question. Any explanation may color the respondent's answer. We want to know only if they think that tax money should be used to pay for abortions. If they say "No, except to save the life of the mother", check "No". If they give any other exception check "Yes".

Question 3. (a) Do not offer or give any explanation. Any answer which is not a simple "yes" or "no" must be classified as U (Undecided). If the person responds "Yes, but . . ." and then lists any other exceptions, check column N (No).

(b) Ask this que: , on only if the respondent is FOR ABORTIO' (or UNDECIDED. If the respondent says "No, except . . ." and lists any reaso other than to save the mother's life, check **Y** (Yes).

Question 4. (a) If an unqualified "yes" check **Y**. If person qualifies th answer, such as "Yes, but not if he's a member of my party" etc., check **I** (No). "Don't know", etc., is shown as **U** (Undecided).

(b) Check **Y**(Yes), **N**(No) or **U**(Undecided). If the responder says "No, but . . ." and lists any exception other than to save the mother's life check **Y**(Yes).

Question 5. If the respondent says "all of them" you can pick up the actua number from the registration list when the call is completed.

If the respondent gives an actual number show it in the appropriate column

We can show nothing for the rest of the household. **Do not guess** *about an total that the respondent doesn t give.*

Question 6. If you state this question without hesitation, most people wi respond. If they don't, go on to "thank you, etc.," and check **R/A** (refused t answer).

Some states show party affiliation on their voter registration lists. (See pag 12) If yours has that information, skip question 6 but be sure to mark in th proper response.

Use the following guidelines:

A — All one party, check proper column — **R**(Republican **D**(Democrat), **I**(Independent),

B — Any other party or households with Split Party affiliations check S/O.

If voters in a household show several types of party affiliation categoriz the household on the basis of the majority of voters. If there is no clea majority categorize it as Split (S/O).

See page 23 for special instructions for columns seven and eight.

NATIONAL RIGHT TO VOTER SURV

STATE OHIO
CITY COLUMBUS
ZIP CODE 43229
STREET NAME HIGHLAWN DRIVE

QUESTION NUMBER		A
VOTER INFORMATION		
ROLLINS KATHRYN E		16
6743 614 882 0750		
ROLLINS KATHRYN E		26
6473 614-882-0750		
TOTALS		

STATE SURVEY COO

20

LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.
EY PROJECT

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 12
STATE SENATE DISTRICT 24
STATE REPRESENTATIVE DIST. 62
WARD & PRECINCT 53/A

1			2			3			4			5			6					7	8	
F	A	U	V	N	U	Y	N	U	Y	N	U	A/A	F/A	U	R	D	I	S/O	R/A	V	W/I	D/V
✓			✓			✓			✓			3						✓		✓	✓	✓
✓			✓			✓			✓			3						✓		✓	✓	✓

RDINATOR COPY

SURVEY RECORD FORM INSTRUCTIONS

This form should be a 3 part carbon snap-out set. One copy will be kept at the local level. One will be kept at the congressional district level. The *original* will be sent to the state level.

Your Team Captain will handle all distribution of copies. Please return the set to him unbroken.

We have designed two record forms. Form A, (the one used in this book) is for use in areas where registration lists can be obtained in "street address order." Form A requires you to record the street name only once, at the top of the page. This is the most efficient way to keep our data.

If you must work with another style of list, Form B will be provided. It will be exactly the same as form A, except that it will have an extra information line for showing each respondent's street name next to their address. When using Form B, you will have to accomplish phone numbering by use of the telephone book.

As we walk through the steps involved in completing the form, please note the completed sections of the form on pages 20 & 21.

STEP 1. Fill in information required at the top of each page. A new sheet is required if any items change.

Note: If District or Ward and Precinct numbers are not on the registration list, do not guess at them. They can be completed later.

STEP 2. Do not fill in voter information block until you are sure you are talking to the right person. Once you are sure, mark the responses to the questions first. When you have completed the call, fill in the name address and phone section.

Note: Follow these instructions carefully as you work with the voter registration list.

A. Completely cross off of the registration list any household for which you have a wrong number. If you get a recording when you dial, line-out the entire listing. If they've moved, we'll get them when they register. If they've become unlisted, we won't be able to get a number anyway.

B. To be absolutely certain you are putting the correct name on the record sheet, put a slash (/) to the left of the name on the registration list as you begin questioning. As you finish questioning, make it an (X). This will also show which calls you have completed without having to check through your record sheets, and will identify the specific voter you have questioned.

Remember to start a new sheet whenever there is a change in any of the data at the top of the sheet, i.e. Ward, Precinct, etc. . . .

STEP 3. MARKING THE RECORD FORM. Neatness is essential. Keep all markings inside the spaces provided. When answering questions, use only check marks (✓) unless numbers are needed.

A) Use a ball point pen, apply firm pressure. Do not use pencil, felt tip or fountain pen.

B) If you make any error which can not be CLEARLY corrected (remember, you are making carbon copies, too) line-out the entire respondent block and any questions which have been answered. Move the correct information into the next respondent block. See pages 20 & 21.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR COLUMNS 7 & 8

Column 7. Check only if your Voter Registration List shows that the respondent is a regular voter in primary elections.

Column 8. **M/I** — If respondent wants More Information, check this column and say that literature will be sent soon.

P/V — If support was extremely enthusiastic, check as Potential Volunteer, for follow-up by your Team Captain.

Note: Do not tally your lists until you meet with your Team Captain. Tallies should be done after the form has been reviewed.

All information obtained on this type of survey must be kept confidential. Do not repeat any comments or information given to you by the respondents. Safeguard the survey forms and discuss them only with your Team Captain.

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Where do we go from here?

The major part of a voter identification program involves the work you have just completed. But unless we use the data you have worked so hard to obtain, we will not reach our goal.

Four additional steps follow the completion of this work:

1) A DRIVE TO EDUCATE and move the undecided voter into our ranks.

2) A DRIVE TO INCREASE the zeal and level of activity of those who are pro-life right now.

3) A DRIVE TO IDENTIFY and motivate previously unregistered pro-life voters.

4) A DRIVE ON ELECTION DAY to remind pro-life voters to get out and vote.

You have provided the foundation for all of these steps. By the time they are ready to be implemented, your batteries will be recharged and you will be able to help deliver the pro-life votes which you have worked so hard to identify.

THE COMMUNICATOR

THE OFFICIAL NEWSPAPER OF INDIANA RIGHT TO LIFE, INC

VOL. 3 NO. 9

Agrees to Sponsor HLA

DECKARD UPSETS CORNWELL

Former GOP state legislator Joel Deckard defeated Rep. David Cornwell by over 6,000 votes in the 8th Congressional District race in southwestern Indiana. Endorsed by the Indiana Right to Life Political Action Committee, Deckard has stated that he would co-sponsor the Human Life Amendment as well as vote the Indiana Right to Life position on federal funding of abortion.

Cornwell, who was elected by only 2,000 votes in 1976, had done neither during his two-year term.

It was a hard-fought campaign for Deckard, who bucked the regular Vanderburgh County Republican organization to win the May primary. He then had to build name recognition because a post-Primary poll showed him trailing Cornwell 60-26 percent.

"We're thrilled to death," said Ann Minnis, President of Gibson County Right to Life. "We feel that all our work has finally paid off." Gibson County was the first county to complete the Voter Identification program.

The abortion issue was expected to be a deciding factor since the positions of the two candidates differed significantly.

Indeed, Cornwell had said during the campaign that it might be an issue that would defeat him.

According to the Evansville *Courier*, Cornwell said "We've done all we could. I don't know what more we could have done. If I get beat on the abortion issue, I don't care." The *Courier* also reported that in his fiery concession speech, Cornwell didn't mention abortion, but he talked of it indirectly. "Don't let the emotional issues sway you, but let the substantive issues be the ones that matter," he said.

The Evansville *Press* came out in August, 1978, with the following headline in its "Tri-state Calling" feature: "Right to Life takes Aim." It went on to say: "Senator Birch Bayh, a Democrat, pondering the possibilities of seeking a 4th term in 1980, should keep a sharp eye on this year's race for the Eighth District Congressional seat.

"It will be the most legitimate indicator yet of the political strength of Right to Life - the organization which opposes legalized abortions and the use of federal funds for financing them."

"Reporter Robert Flynn says the group has learned a great deal about politics since the 1976 election and is taking dead aim at Eighth District Representative David Cornwell, now running for a second term. And its goal for 1980 will be the defeat of Bayh, if the Senator runs again."

"The defeat of Cornwell was the only change in the Indiana Congressional delegation. Congressmen Adam Benjamin (D-Ind. CD.), Floyd Fithian (2nd C.D.), Dan Quayle (4th C.D.), Elwood Hillis (5th C.D.), and Dave Evans (6th C.D.), all supporters of the Human Life Amendment, were re-elected, too.

Congressman John Myers (7th C.D.), who has consistently voted the Right to Life position regarding tax funding, was also re-elected.

Mary Pat Marstall, IRTL Legislative Vice-President, stated "We congratulate the Congressmen on their re-election and we're happy they will be back in Washington working to restore legal protection for the unborn."

State Senator Charles Bosma faced an uphill battle in his first run for Congress in the 11th Congressional District and was defeated by incumbent Andy Jacobs, Jr. Bosma will remain in the State Senate where he has sponsored and supported Right to Life legislation.

Winners in state legislative races included sponsors of Right to Life legislation. They are incumbents Dan Burton (R-Dist. 11), Robert DuConde, Jr. (R-Dist. 9), Don Nelson (R-Dist. 17), Ed Bauer (D-Dist. 8), and Jerome Reppa (R-Dist. 4).

"We also will have many new pro-life members of the Indiana General Assembly," said Mary Pat. She commented, "While the Human Life Amendment is the ultimate goal of every Right to Life member, legislation on the state level encouraging protection of the unborn is most important in preparing for that time when the HLA comes to the State House for ratification."

Congressman Joel Deckard

VOTER IDENTIFICATION SURVEY PROJECT - PHASE I

ORIGINAL BUDGET : Board appropriation $10,000.00

Travel for committee review	$990.00
Design-type setting, camera ready	750.00
Illustration	300.00
Cover design & logos	150.00
Editing	700.00
Bannon	2110.00
	$5000.00
Booklets	
Printing costs; 20,000	2200.00
	$7200.00

INCOME

Purchase of Materials by States

Books	$1,525.87
Forms	2,652.00
Forms (acct. rec/ble)	972.00
	$5,149.87
Donations, other than material purchases	$1,024.80
Total income	$6,174.67

EXPENDITURE

May 10, 1977

Voter Survey Conference

Air fares	$664.00	
Hotel	56.34	
Goeken	68.90	(phone)
Bannon	88.00	(phone)
Meals & meeting room	101.55	
Limo	12.00	
Bannon: preparation & meeting	212.00	
		$1202.79 paid

Booklets		
Design, type setting camera ready	$750.00	
Illustration	300.00	
Cover Design & logos	150.00	
Editing	700.00	
Printing (20,000)	2200.00	
Bannon	1898.00	
		$5998.00
		$7200.79 paid

Salary-National Coordinator
$378.83 e/o week
(started in October)

TOTAL as of March 30th $3,409.47

Misc. expenses (shipping) not totaled

FORMS

(Savings of $1183.00 from original price, by competitive bidding)

200,000	$4798.00	paid
Air-freight for January	76.00	paid

INVENTORY

Form A	10 cases	$730.00
Form B	½ case	36.00

Plus overshipment to States (still checking) unknown factor
(1800 forms per case)

Books

Approx. 8,000 (@ 15¢ ea. $1200.00

Total inventory plus unknown factor in the field $1966.00

INCOME	$6,174.67
INVENTORY	1,966.00
	$8,140.67 plus unknown factor in the field

ORIGINAL APPROPRIATION- March, 1977 $10,000.00

Meeting, plans, books, & Coordinator salary (thru March 1978)	$10,610.26
Forms-designed, printed & shipped	$ 4,874.00
EXPENDITURE	$15,484.26
INCOME & INVENTORY	8,140.67
plus unknown factor, which could be as high as $3,600.00	

Total expenditure minus income & inventory dependent on unknown factor could be either $7,343.59 or $3,700.00.

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

October 24, 1977

MEMO: Mrs. Sharon Cornthwaite
3703 Alpine
Casper, WY 82601

Dear Mrs. Cornthwaite:

As soon as the Board minutes are sent out, you will notice they include an updated report on the Voter ID Project, Phase I.
I am delighted so many States have responded, both in naming their State Coordinator and in keeping in touch and letting us know that they are looking for the "key" person within their State to act as Coordinator.

Today, I am writing all those Directors who have not yet found that person, enclosing the complete, updated, edited voter ID booklet and asking for a report back, i.e. has your State reached a decision on participation, are they having any particular problems, and as we have asked before, what can we do to help?

I realize there is still much to be done in explaining the complete Project, but do think the information within the booklet gives enough information to explain the structure (see pages 3 and 5).

At any rate, as National Coordinator of the Project, I would appreciate hearing from you, (whether it's good news or bad news), soon.

It will be very helpful to me to know what problems are arising in the very beginning. What questions need to be answered that have not been, and what explanations need to be detailed more.

When we are ready to order the forms that are to be used to tally results, we need to know two things:
#1. Does your state's registration list by address or by alphabetical name order?
#2. Since we save so much by ordering the forms in bulk orders of 100,000 (if by address, nine names on one form- if alphabetically six names) (@4¢ per sheet,) it is very important that we know when we might expect to reach the goal of 100,000.

Hope to hear from you soon, like I said, whether it's good news or bad.

Thank you for your assistance in making this Project easier to report.

WORLD FOR LIFE, AND EVERYONE,

Mrs. Felicia Goeken
412 Langdon
Alton, IL 62002

Committee Exhibit # 16

mf/pc

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

January 12, 1978

Mrs. Sharon Cornwaithe
3703 Alpine
Casper WYOMING 82601

Dear Sharon,

For the past several weeks we have been contacting all of the States who have appointed Coordinators for the Voter ID, and asking them to prepay an order for the forms, with a minimum order for $100. Several of them did, and some even went beyong the requested minimum of $100.

This has enabled us to go to print with our first order of 200,000. Of course, we realize that is just a "drop in the bucket", considering our ultimate needs. but it certainly is a beginning.

We will of course. ship prepaid orders first. and then orders accompanied by payment

We are trying to get a projection on needs of the States in the immediate future, so we won't come up "short" on materials when the different States need them.

As I look over the Wyoming report you gave me on the results of your efforts there is no doubt that the identified pro-life vote in your state would have impact.

In the 1976 election (Wyoming At Large) the results were:

Teno Roncallo* (D. Cheyenne)	85,725
Larry Hart(R.,Powell)	66,178

The use of the forms (3 pc. with carbons) for the information to be available at local, State and National level will be vital to really get the most out of the labors and money expended, i.e. computerized.

We are now looking at regional concepts of computerizing for most efficient operation, i.e. not one big computerization, but regionally throughout the country via geography.

However, for now, I would like to give a complete report to theBoard inJanuary, and a projection and some kind of word on the status of the project in each State will really help.

Would like to hear from your prior to Board meeting.

YOURS FOR LIFE FOR EVERYONE,

Felicia

Felicia Goeken, National Coordinator, Voter ID Project

Wyoming Right to Life Committee, Inc.
P O BOX 1208
CASPER, WYOMING 82602
TELEPHONE 237-7132

February 19, 1978

Mrs. Felecia Goeken
412 Langdon
Alton, Illinois 62002

Dear Felecia:

Please don't faint from this but I finally have securred a state coordinator for the Voter Identification rpoject for Wyoming.

This gal is new and has not been active very long, knows little about what she is getting into, so please let her down gently. This project will be a hard task in Wyoming because of the state's rural structure. There are very few large areas that are densely populated, in fact practically none here so much of the calling will ultimately be toll calling. Sometimes I almost think it might be cheaper to go door-to-door.

Anyway I have sent her a copy of the Phase I booklet and so that is all that she knows about the project. I truly hope she works out for us - it has been almost a year long struggle just to get this far.

My best regards to you and your family and please excuse the typing!

Sincerely in life,

Sharon Cornthwaite

Wyomign Voter-Identification Coordinator

Natalie Davis
175 Wyoming
Lander, Wyoming 82520
307-332-5360

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

National Office — National Press Building, Suite 332 — Washington, D. C. 20045
Special Projects Office — P. O. Box 2791 — Tulsa, OK. 74101
NRL NEWS Editorial Office — 5316 Lyndale Ave. South — Minneapolis, MN 55419

April 3, 1978

To Board Members of NRLC, Inc.
& Voter I.D. State Coordinators

REPORT

Voter Identification Project - Phase I

There were so many things I wanted to share with you this past week-end, basically because I wanted your input on this Project. It is moving fast, and decisions must be made - and the assistance, both financially and creative, that I am getting from the people within the various States has proved invaluable to the project.

As National Coordinator I have been in Iowa, Indiana, Missouri, Florida and will be going to Nebraska in April. You all have the report asking for need for specific information to be put on a cassette tape. I haven't heard from anyone yet, and time is of the essence, so I will proceed with the cassette on the basis of problems, questions and good ideas from the States that I have been in contact with.

Points of information that I wanted a sharing from the Board were:

#1. Jane Muldoon and Gloria Klein have found a computer system in Michigan who can handle any number of names that are cultivated by the survey. They are now developing that system at the best possible price--------FREE.
The system will include all of the information at the top of the survey form, plus the responses to the six questions asked.

Jane and Gloria have the cost factor for entering the information, and for labels coming out of the computer. It will be sent to you soon.

There are two ways we can work with the company. #1. NRLC,Inc. can contract with them, OR each State can contract with them individually, through the National Coordinator of the Project.

My thoughts are leaning heavily towards each State contracting separately. The reasons are two-fold. #1. Because of National's present financial situation, and #2. The concern over the States of the use of the names it will have gathered. When it becomes necessary for the States to become part of a national mailing, their names could be released, only if the Director and/or State coordinator notified the company. The burden would fall on NRLC, to maintain close cooperation and good relations with the States, and share with the States the purpose of, and content of a national mailing. I needed to know, What do you think? Iowa is ready to begin computerizing a portion of their results by the middle of May.

#2. Physical handling of materials. Judie Brown has been invaluable in her assistance with the physical mail-out, and record-keeping in the Washington office.(Pat McCormack tells me he is really developing muscles lugging boxes of forms and books).
I know it is extra work for them, and though everything is photo-copied (all exchanges of communication from myself and Judie to and from State coordinators) and exact files are in my office and in Washington it has presented some day to day problems, especially

National RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

July 21, 1978

UPDATE REPORT - VOTER ID PROJECT - PHASE I
TO ALL STATE DIRECTORS AND STATE COORDINATORS

A quick, one-page report was recently mailed to the Directors, with the minutes, from the National office. (A copy of that report is also enclosed with this later report to the State Coordinators).

#1. HOW IS THE VOTER ID PROJECT DOING, NATION-WIDE?
ALABAMA: Starting the project in the Montgomery area; as per telephone call from Mr. Ray Dutton, July 18, 1978.

ALASKA: As of a month ago, one legislative district completed, starting on a second.

ARIZONA: ordered first forms in December of 1977

ARKANSAS:Named State Coordinator early in 1978

CALIFORNIA:

COLORADO: Ordered first forms July 1978

CONNECTICUT:

DELAWARE:

WASHINGTON,D.C.:

GEORGIA:

FLORIDA:

HAWAII:

IDAHO:

ILLINOIS: Ordered first forms early in 1978, has State Coordinator

INDIANA:Appointed coordinator, late 1977, invited National Coordinator to State Convention; project going very well

IOWA: Appointed coordinator, late 1977, invited National Coordinator to State Convention; part of project computerized in time for their SUCCESSFUL primary election.

KANSAS:

KENTUCKY: Named State Coordinator, July 1978

LOUISIANA:

MAINE: named State Coordinator September 1977, has ordered forms

MARYLAND:

MASSACHUSETTS:

MINNESOTA: Doing a survey independent of NRLC

MICHIGAN: State Coordinator appointed January 1978, continuous material order of forms

MISSISSIPPI:

MISSOURI: Appointed State Coordinator late, 1977. First order of forms shipped February 1978.

MONTANA:

NEVADA:

NEW HAMPSHIRE:

NEBRASKA: Involved in a type of survey since early 1977. Invited National Coordinator to State Convention.

NEW JERSEY: Appointed State Coordinator early 1978.

NEW MEXICO:

NEW YORK: Appointed State Coordinator early 1978, also assistant state coordinator. Has coordinator for each Congressional District.

NORTH CAROLINA: Appointed State Coordinator September, 1977, ordered forms. December 1977.

NORTH DAKOTA:

OHIO: piloted earlier state survey. Appointed Coordinator July 1977, first order of forms November 1977.

OKLAHOMA:

OREGON: Appointed State Coordinator late 1977.

PENNSYLVANIA: Appointed State Coordinator late 1977. Pre ordered materials, late 1977.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Appointed State Coordinator, late 1977.

RHODE ISLAND:

SOUTH DAKOTA: Appointed State Coordinator, September 1977. Pre-ordered materials.

TENNESSEE: Appointed State Coordinator, September 1977. Recent phone call indicates they are ready to order forms.

TEXAS: Appointed State Coordinator July 1977. Forms ordered.

UTAH:

VERMONT:

VIRGINIA: appointment of State Coordinator in near future, possibility.

WASHINGTON:

WEST VIRGINIA: Appointed State Coordinator, July 1978

WISCONSIN: Appointed State Coordinator early 1978.

WYOMING: Appointed State Coordinator FEbruary 1978.

SUMMATION: Twenty-seven (27) States are at some stage of the Voter ID Project.

At least seven of the remaining States have indicated they are "gung-ho" on the project, and are seeking the "key person" to be State Coordinator.

IF ANY OF THE REPORTING ON THESE STATES ARE IN ERROR - PLEASE LET ME KNOW!

#2. ORDERING MATERIALS:

As of NOW, all materials will be ordered from the National Coordinator: 412 Langdon Street, Alton,IL 62002. Telephone: 618-465-3211.

All orders should come FROM the State Coordinator or the State Director. Individual chapters or organizations throughout the State MUST come through either of these two. PAYMENT SHOULD ACCOMPANY ORDER, OR AT BEST, BE MAILED WITHIN 30 days of order. (Strike that should, for the present, and add MUST).

With better arrangements on printing of forms, and shipment of materials, you do not have to place big orders. On the Forms, packed 1100 to a box, you can order one box (either 6600 names or 9900 names, depending on Form A or B), at a time as areas begin the survey, if you wish. Since we are using UPS from a central location, orders can go out same-day, or next day after order. YOU ARE NOT BILLED FOR SHIPPING, COST OF SHIPPING IS BUILT INTO THE PRICE OF FORMS.

Since the June convention we have shipped 28,400 Forms - so DO NOT WAIT UNTIL THE LAST MINUTE IF YOU ARE PLANNING TO ORDER FORMS. Let me know a little in advance, especially if it is a large order - so we won't be caught without necessary amount.

BOOKLETS: Another matter! The booklets take 4 to 6 weeks for printing. Without advance notice of a possible order, could very well deplete our supply. We must pay for books, ½ at time of printing and ½ at time the printer ships them to us. So orders on the booklets must be accompanied by payment. Again, no shipping charges to you, they are built in the price of booklet.

SUMMATION: Don't think an area of your State can't afford to do the project, or at least, START the project, since all materials do not have to be ordered at the same time, but can be ordered by your need.

#3. GOAL:
When questioned by the media at the St. Louis Convention, I told them we thought we could complete this project in 1½ years. This remark is geared to total effectiveness for the 1980 election. It is also geared because so many of the States who are involved have reported excellent side benefits, i.e. finding new people, cooperative efforts of muliple groups within the State, etc.

#3. Western Mailing Computer Service.
Each State Director and/or State Coordinator should have the brochure from Western Mailing. If for some reason - like undelivered mail - you do not have, please contact me immediately.

#4. CASSETTE TAPE: Each State Coordinator and/or State Director should have the cassette tape by the National Coordinator. If not - contact me immediately.

#5. COMMUNICATIONS: When you begin compiling your results of any given area, please forward them to me, as media will soon begin asking about our responses.
With prayers and good wishes for the hardest working people I know, YOURS FOR LIFE, FOR

MEMO: Voter Identification Project - Phase I written previous to Philippi report:
FROM: Felicia Goeken, National Coordinator
TO: State Directors and State Coordinators

#1. The new orders of Form 3's are now in Alton, at 412 Langdon Street, 62002. They are pre-packaged in lots of 1100 Forms, weighing 31 pounds. Therefore, they can be shipped 3300 forms per shipment in a single day, UPS. Order packaged same day as order is received. Already 18,500 have been shipped SINCE the convention. We can get speedier service on the printing now, but PLEASE, if you are aware of intent to order in the near future, let me know so the forms will be available, i.e. if several large ordrs come in at the same time our supply may be depleted all at once, and there may be a delay, and the delay may be on YOUR order.

#2. For those who were not at the Board meeting, or may have misplaced it (attached) is a sheet to REPLACE the order form in the Western Mailing folder you were sent the week prior to the Convention. Destroy the one in the folder. The folder you were sent was IT. We had one for each State.

#3. I have extra cassette tapes of the one you recently received. For Directors who are finding coordinators and have need for another one, rest assured I will mail the new Coordinators a cassette as I receive their name and address.

#4. SINCE the Convention: new Coordinators have been named in Kentucky, Colorado ordered their first forms, excited interesting prospect for a Virginia coordinator, West Virginia has named a coordinator, Tennessee called and will soon be ordering forms and all in all the project is moving ahead with full speed. At present 26 States have coordinators and are at one stage or another.

#5. This brings us to a small problem. The press is beginning to ask questions about the project. They are still rabbit incredulous that we are even attempting such a thing, and I'm not quite sure they are taking it seriously. HOWEVER - that is to our advantage. While you may get some local coverage when you begin the project, THIS project is one that will work better, without a lot of press or news coverage. Kind of think of us as moles, working under-ground, or working without the pro-abortionists and/or candidates realizing how much we are "digging" into their very life-line: the registered voter. If they do not take this project seriously, and if the pro-abortionists group do not copy us (as they have with so much of our strategy), in about a year and a half, just prior to 1980 elections, it is possible for us to have "under-mined" their entire back-yard. We could pull the ground right out from under them, when, having identified the registered voters, we then inform the registered voter, and most important of all, get them to the polls to vote pro-life. This project is not a glamorous one, it is not a strategy that we can bluff our way through. But if you doubt its importance, ask any elected official, or prospective candidate for office, what he would give for the results of such an identification process with the data in a computer, and volunteers to implement the project. If you wonder whether or not it is worth all of the work and the expense of doing it, then you can only ask yourself, "How much do I want to restore the right to life to all, and how much do I want a Human Life Amendment to the Constitution?" The bottom line will be decided, ultimately with the voters of this country. The people that won't move out of their easy chair to register to vote will play no part in restoring the right to life. It is the registered voter who CARES about having people in leadership roles who are willing to tackle the issues with a moral base, that will make history.

#6. We are running low on the booklets; the printing takes at least four weeks after we order, and must be paid for, ½ at printing and ½ on shipment from the printer. We must do some pre-planning on these.

#7. Finally, thank you one and all for your prepaid orders, your patience in the problems of shipping; which are now resolved, and for tackling the job.

Felicia Goeken, National Coordinator

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE — Suite 341, National Press Bldg — 529 14th Street, N.W. — Washington, D.C. 20045 — (202) 638-4306

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Mrs. Felicia Goeken - National Coordinator
412 Langdon St., Alton, IL 62002 (618-465-3211)

November 6, 1978

Natalie Davis
175 Wyoming
Lander, WY 82520

Dear Natalie:

Am communicating with all state coordinators and/or state directors regarding the Voter I.D. project. With the hope that everybody has some energy left after the November 7th election, as previously reported, we now have 32 state coordinators. We are not only asking for reports from those who have implemented it, we are also asking those who are just beginning to share with us any of their particular problems, whether they be financial, motivating the grass rooter, et al.

I would like to submit as complete report as possible, be it good news or bad news, to our Executive Committee at our December 1st meeting. Am also asking the various states for a projection of any material they may need in the four to six months.

We are shooting for a goal to finish this Phase I by the end of 1979, so it can be effective in the 1980 elections. We stand here prepared to help in any we can with any particular problem.

Will appreciate your cooperation.

YOURS FOR LIFE, FOR EVERYONE,

Felicia Goeken, National Coordinator
Voter Identification Project

VOTER IDENTIFICATION SURVEY
PHASE I

Definition, i.e. poll vs. survey
A survey only measures attitudes of those contacted
A Poll is a statistical sampling with projectability
OUR PROJECT IS A SURVEY

There should NOT be press announcements or newsletter articles at the local level of either the planned survey or results, without approval of the State Coordinator. Continuity in reporting concepts and releasing information should be maintained throughout the State.

Dependent upon your state organizations own tax status, and/or the organization within your State purchasing the Voter ID materials, please double-check on the us of the results. Since your State purchases the materials from NRLC, your State determines the purchasing or selling of information, i.e. use of the mailing lists.

Staffing:

For most effectiveness and controlability find full-time volunteer as Congressional District Supervisor, to 1. Recruit and train volunteers, 2. Develop flow chart of activities and calendar of deadlines for each part of the program, 3. Supervise fund-raising activities to pay for the program and 4. Organize follow-up when survey is done.

State organization participating should release its' State Coordinator for full time volunteer work as the State Coordinator if at all possible. It is a full time effort and will require all of the energy of that State Coordinator. Situation might vary where an efficient office is established that releases the State Coordinator from the actual work of written communications; but if that situation doesn't exist please try to free up that State Coordinator.

Phone Bank - Advantages
A. Easier to manage
B. Generate more enthusiasm among phoners
C. Less margin of error in questions and reporting
D. More productive per person hours.

REVIEW THE VOTER I.D. BOOK

If National News Media begins to make inquiries, PLEASE, refer to the National Coordinator.

When possible "live" workshops create much more interest and participation than written reports.

Fringe benefits of the survey:

A profile of the State - its' strengths and weaknesses
Tighter organizational structure within the State - contacts within Congressional Districts, Counties, Cities and Precincts or Wards
The recording of such information for your own state files
Increased awareness among the voters that this IS an issue to be concerned with when they go to the polls.

PLEASE UTILIZE THE NATIONAL COORDINATOR WHEN SEEKING ANSWERS TO SPECIFIC PROBLEMS OR IN SHARING A SUCCESSFUL NEW IDEA THAT HAS WORKED FOR YOU!

GOOD COMMUNICATION IS A KEY THAT OPENS MANY DOORS!

Felicia Goeken

Felicia Goeken, National Coordinator

National RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

MINUTES

Board of Directors - January 20-21, 1979
Hotel Washington

Convened 10 a.m.
INVOCATION: John Waddey
PRESIDING: Jean Doyle, Vice-chairman of the Board

ROLL CALL: Attached

QUORUM ESTABLISHED

READING AND ADOPTION OF STANDING RULES

READING AND ADOPTION OF PROPOSED AGENDA

REPORT: Credential's Committee
Proper authority established for two proxies
Kenneth Van Derhoef proxy to Dr. William Colliton
Joseph Witherspoon proxy to Mr. John Stanton
New Directors presenting credentials;
Jean Head - New York
Ralph Schulz - Mississippi
Lyle Evelo - South Dakota
Anthony Lauinger - Oklahoma
Alternate delegate credentials
Peg Grady for Jo Higgins (At-large)

INTRODUCTION OF GUESTS
TIMEKEEPER: Mrs. Lyle Evelo
MINUTES: Dr. William Colliton moved to accept minutes of the previous meeting with the following corrections:
Page 5, 1st paragraph
add "Impact of project will be a minimum of $32,500 income".
Page 7, 1st resolution, Article 4;
add "by April 30, 1979 records will be ready for audit, with recommendation it be considered an annual audit".

MINUTES APPROVED AS CORRECTED

TREASURER'S REPORT: Dr. William Colliton, Jr.
Written reports distributed of present and projected budget
Absent Director's who wish to receive a copy of Budget Review materials and/or Financial Statement should request from the Secretary.
Treasurer seeking direction on depth and regularity of reports desired by the Board of Direcaors. Reemphasized audit for 1978-79 year. Expense to McGinley-Roche will not be excessive since internal accounting control proceedures will reduce number of hours previuosly required by their firm to prepare reports.

Recommendation: Chair recommended use of overhead projector for future financial reports, when feasible.

Review of budget prepared by Wade Jackson and discussion.
Importance of budget review committee to transcend administration change and maintain a consistent, responsible fiscal policy, recommended by the Executive Committee, subject to the President's approval.

Executive Committee Report: Dr. J.C. Willke

Reduction of costs and expenses:

a) Rent to be reduced by reduction of office size
b) One leased Xerox returned
c) Changes in staff in Washington office
d) Overhead of direct mail greatly reduced
e) Recommendations for reductions for NRL News
   1. No more than 12 pages until further notice
   2. Donors of $10 or more within past 12 months and $6.00 subscriptions will receive newspaper. (Previously $3.00 donors).
   3. Eliminate equivalent of one full-time employee.
   4. Institute new bookkeeping system

Ann O'Donnell - Further report Exec. Comm.

Assistance to NRL News from Wade Jackson to be provided.
Urged Directors to contact NRL News direct regarding subscriptions that may have been paid and not honored, especially May thru August of 1978. Problem not with NRL News, but original tape.
States encouraged to institute subscription drive for NRL News.
Recommended that States report successful programs for increasing subscriptions to NRLC Washington office.

MOTION TO RECESS: carried, voice vote
12:15 p.m.
RECONVENED : 1:45 p.m.

MOTION: John Stanton, seconded
"To accept new agenda"

MOTION CARRIED, voice vote

Executive Committee (continuation) Report - Ann O'Donnell

Washington office staff and salaries and Report on office functions. Asked for recommendations from the Board on priority functions - as they see the office functions. Ann stressed Washington office costs nearly mandates that primary function should be the lobbying and efforts directed to Congress, i.e. not at cost of elimination of any other function, but prioritizing when needed.
Ann O'Donnell stated that with present staff cuts her availability to be in the Washington office 4-5 days per week, with NRLC paying expenses would assure administrative availability in the Washington office.

MOTION: Ann Bowen, seconded
"At this time, during discussion of employee's duties and salaries that employees be excused from the discussion".
MOTION CARRIED: Voice Vote

Discussion:
Distribution of functions and duties of Washington office staff
Continuity remaining intact. Noted that Judie Brown has volunteered to be in the half-time position. Ann O'Donnell reported her cost will be approximately $220 per week, to be in the Washington office 4-5 days per week.

MOTION: Mary Ellen Mulholland, seconded

"That the Board of Directors register a vote of confidence, in appreication of Judie Brown and Sean Morton Downey, Jr.'s activities on behalf of the National Right to Life Committee."

MOTION CARRIED: Voice Vote

FUND-RAISING REPORT: Dr. J.C. Willke
Explanation of previous method of direct-mail, i.e. contracting with a consultant, who sub-contracted with computer house, envelope companies and mailing houses, with contractual rebates to the consultant.
New method, with Frank Litz allows for NRLC to contract separately for additional services, necessary to direct-mail proceedure.
Donor tape: 45,500 names on (as ppposed to 52,000 names figure previously given) Of those, 13,500 were non-donors, 32,257 names were donors. Of those 23,600 had given $3.00 or more. 13,400 had given $10 or more, those who had given $10 or more within the past 12 months, 6,000. Both NRL News subscribers and donors were on the tape. 2,000 lapsed subscribers - given notice, but not responding - were dropped from the tape. New names, 12,797 from another pro-life source have been added. Additional 2,300 names, plus "friends names submitted" now bring out total again to about 50,000.

New names from chapters and affiliates will be prepared by volunteer assistance in Ohio and Michigan.
Volunteerism for this project from other States will be welcomed.

Tj. Bosgra suggested that assistance for creative efforts in preparing materials for direct-mail project might be available through volunteer efforts of talent within the pro-life movement.
Dave Porter queried the practicality of numerous mailings. Board responses indicated "petition" names not practical for fund-raising.

MOTION: Tj. Bosgra, seconded Lyle Evelo

"I move that the Nebraska suggestions regarding the(<u>further</u>)use of state mailing lists be handled as follows:
A committee be appointed to review the Nebraska proposed contract. That this be forwarded to State Directors for input and a recommendation be brought to the Executive Committee, and permit them to act according to their best judgment."
Friendly Amendment; Chuck Heatherly , to add "further", before " use of state mailing lists" - accepted

DISCUSSION: Nebraska contract allowed reimbursement to the State on one out of four uses of their mailing list, annually, on a percentage basis.

COMMENT: Treasurer reminded the needed clarification if the state organization involved is of c-3 status.
Mary Hunt and Ann Bowen volunteered to serve on committee.
Appointment of committee within authority of the President.

REPORT: The Defenders of Human Life, Inc. : Dr. J. C Willke

Explanation of "The Defenders" a separate entity from NRLC, Inc. Not a "competing" right to life organization, but an organization to serve as a vehicle for the right to life "movement" in a cooperative fund-raising effort
The Defenders computerization efforts in Terre Haute, bank facilitating the forms in Indianapolis
Testing of "mail-out" effort, bulk mail with form attached has not proven successful.
Possible change of simplification of present form being used.
New donor brochure being printed, availability around the end of February.
Information and instruction available from Defenders of Human Life, Inc
P.O. Box 2009, La Mesa, California, 92041 telephone (714) 440-8275.
Groups must be 501 c-4 status for contractual agreements as a primary group, i.e. as opposed to being a recipient as a state or national organization. Donor has privilige of selection as per instructions of organization implementing program by contract.
MOTION: John Stanton, seconded Sandra Faucher

"That the National Right to Life Committee Board go on record as being in favor of Defenders for Human Life concept.

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

DISCUSSION ON IMPLEMENTATION: Indiana (Mary Hunt) will share with other States who are interested Indiana's plan for implementation. State organization be primary, to receive 50% + 10%, and return 50%, i.e. 30% of total donated, to local groups participating. C-3 groups can be recipients.

Standard letter of explanation being prepared for presentation to a bank that is unfamiliar with proceedure or alternative of paper transfer vs. electronic transfer.

REPORT: Dr. William Colliton

Application for liability insurance has been signed by the President and forwarded to insurance company.

On behalf of Patti Ruth Linbeck, announcement of Texas Right to Life, 5th Annual Conference, February 24, 1979 at Marriott in Austin. Dr. Gerster and Mr Van Derhoef to be speakers, invitation extended to the Board.

REPORT: Voter Identification Project, Felicia Goeken

All materials for project being shipped by UPS from Alton. Duplicate files of project in Alton and Washington office. Financial account facilitated through Washington.
As National Coordinator, workshops presented thus far, in Iowa, Indiana, Nebraska, California, Maryland, Illinois, Florida, New York, upcoming in Wisconsin. Thirty-three States now have coordinator, Canada is seeking help to implement in British Columbia.
National Coordinator asked for better reporting and communication from State Coordinators and/or Director. Requested brief report on status within each State by February 15th, i.e. successes and/or specific problems.
Project should be completed as near as possible by late 1979, early 1980.
Information should be placed in computer in reasonable numbers as project progresses to avoid over-load of influx of thousands of names from all over the country at one time.
Stressed the project is NOT a media event, but for the purpose of identifying the pro-life voter.

Discussion:
Minnesota supported concept of low-key approach to the project with media. Cautioned about reporting numbers of completed survey calls, as it announces the strength of the project and eliminates the element of surprise.

Report (cont.) Reemphasized that States are purchasing necessary tools (book and forms) from NRLC, completes project, contracts as individual State with the computer-house, names are controlled by the State. If C-4 group does the survey, any use of the names by a political action committee (C-5) must be a commercial exchange, with purchase of names at fair market value.
Stress legal implications come from the USE of the names, i.e. educational or political. Stressed that use of names for fund-raising is not productive.

REPORT: Citizens Lobby Project Jean Doyle

No action since last Board meeting. Discussion and planning with new lobbyist for NRLC. States expressing interest are Maryland, Tennessee, Illinois New Jersey , Wisconsin and Oregon.

Bracelet Project: Dr. J. C. Willke

Total inventory at present 2,450 with 1,000 unpacked ones to be finished. $300 balance with all bills paid. Project not moving through State organization, but individual sales indicate there is still interest.

MOTION: Mary Ellen Mulholland, seconded

"To allow local groups to order the right to life bracelets directly from NRLC, Inc. at the purchase price of $1.50, until present inventory is depleted".

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

STATE'S ORGANIZATION - Report - Ann Bowen

Information to be forthcoming from Mr. Bill Polito on IRS requirements for states organization regarding c-3,c-4,c-5 (political action committee). Seminars available on political action committee. $185 course fee, or booklet can be bought separate for $20. Information for purchasing book should go out from Washington office. Practising Law Institute 810 Seventh Ave., New York, New York 10019 for "The Corporation in Politics - 1979" with check for $20 will purchase the book.

MOTION: Anthony Lauinger, seconded

"That a period of time be set aside at the April board meeting, for the purpose of informational discussion on establishment of political action committees".

MOTION PASSED: voice vote

REPORT: Flag Project - Dr. William Colliton
New Project Director to be Mr. John Stanton, Pennsylvania Director.
Flag project needs a promotional program, primary purpose to familiarize right to lifers with NRLC logo.
Rose Project - Robert Lepak requests that NRLC,Inc. handle the project from the Washington office. Seeking a responsible Board member to accept Project Director position, with physical handling being done in Washington.

Announcement: John Waddey, Tennessee

Availability of "Dear Minister" letter, adaptable to quick copy, signed by John Waddey along with small pamplet of sample sermon, i.e. "mother's day" "father's day".

RECESS to reconvene at 6:30 P.M.

Dinner 6:30 p.m. - reconvened 8:15 P.M.

MOTION: Charles Onofrio, seconded - to consider the question

"That Honorary Directors of NRLC,Inc. be allowed the privilege of making motions."

MOTION TO CONSIDER: passed voice vote

MOTION: Charles Onofrio, seconded

"That Honorary Directors of NRLC,Inc. be allowed the privilege of making motions."

Discussion: By-laws are explicit in forbidding Honorary Directors the right to vote, but makes no mention of allowance for presenting motions.

MOTION: Mary Hunt, seconded Darla St. Martin
"That a secret ballot be held"
MOTION FAILED: voice vote

MAIN MOTION - Division of House - Motion failed, 12 to 20

Presentation of proposed resolution on Euthanasia by General Counsel, James Bopp, Esq.

MOTION: to adopt Euthanasia Resolution, Philip Moran, seconded by Celine Williams
Friendly Amendment: Jane Muldoon
That discussion and adoption be accomplished paragraph by paragraph

MOTION-as amended- CARRIED: voice vote

* Due to the length of discussion and number of motions and amendments only the resolution, its' passage, failure or amendment will be recorded.

MOTION: 1st WHEREAS clause; WHEREAS, euthanasia is the purposeful killing of a dependent individual;
"That dependent individual" be changed by deleting "dependent" and changing individual to "human being". Final wording to be:
WHEREAS, euthanasia is the purposeful killing of a human being"
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

DISCUSSION: Advisability of changing: "by another because death is deemed preferable to life to: "for his or societys' alleged benefit "
MOTION: Anthony Lauinger, seconded
"To table the 1st WHEREAS clause"
MOTION TO TABLE CARRIED: voice vote

MOTION: To adopt the 2nd WHEREAS, seconded
Original "WHEREAS, the language of the euthanasia movement is imprecise, inaccurate and at times, incorrect since, dignity lies in the individual, not in

his death, illness may be terminal but life enjoyable and what was extraordinary yesterday is common place today;"

AMENDED to : "WHEREAS, the language of the proponets of euthanasia is imprecise, inaccurate and, at times in correct, and since dignity lies in the life of the human being, not in his death, illness may be terminal but life is precious and what was "extraordinary treatment" yesterday may be common place today;"

MOTION: TO ACCEPT the 2nd WHEREAS clause as amended (seconded)
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

MOTION: To pass the 3rd WHEREAS clause, seconded
Original; "WHEREAS, handicapped newborn children are commonly, purposely left to die;"
AMENDED: "WHEREAS handicapped newborn children as well as the handicapped of all other ages are, with increasing frequency, purposely left to die;"
MOTION: To ACCEPT the 3rd WHEREAS clause as amended (seconded)
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

Further discussion and suggested amendments were not formally accepted nor any motions passed. Proposal to continue discussion on January 21st.

MOTION TO RECESS ; seconded and carried

RECESS : 11:30 p.m.

RECONVENED January 21, 1979 9:45 a.m.

OPENING PRAYER: Tj Bosgra

REPORT: Convention 1978 - Ann O'Donnell
Report attached for absent Directors Profit contributions towards printing of forms and organizational book, by Missouri..

Convention 1979 - Dr. J. C. Willke
Northern Kentucky and Cincinnatti co-hosting. Registration to be same as 1978, includes 4 meals. General session, Thursday evening, workshops all day Friday, general session Friday night(political), workshops Saturday morning, and in afternoon. Hotel complex, 10minutes from airport. Campus arrangement. Limited exhibit space. Interdenominational prayer breakfast Sunday morning, plus ethical medical panel. Banquet speaker to be announced at later date. Closing, 45 minute General session and grand "March" in Cincinnatti.

Convention 1980 - Charles Heatherly
Anaheim, California. Excellent facilities for camping, good variety of hotels Reasonable prices, Family Life night on Friday at Disneyland

REPORT - President, Dr. Carolyn Gerster

Reduction of office expenses, i.e. Closing of Watts line, reduction of rent, 900 chapters remitted payment for mailings Shift of employees and prioritizing of staff.
Restructuring of donors receiving NRL News from $3 00 donors to $10 00 donors.
Tim Kraft to be liaison for legislative and lobbyist to President Carter.

DISCUSSION: Discussion of media reporting that LAPAC is "arm" of NRLC. Clarification that media is at fault in reporting NRLC and LAPAC are different organizations.

REPORT: Washington Office - Judie Brown

Question & Answer period: Does Washington keep a file on all State laws?
YES

Policy on Mailings: Aug.29 commenced revamping mailing list (1912 names)
Over 900 have responded with remittance for mailings
No mailings halted, note "pay when you can".
Only names dropped those who failed to express any interest after receiving the questionaire three times.
Mail to Directors ONLY, stamped Confidential.
Directors will receive a rough draft to Directors of those within their State receiving the mailing.
Bulk mailings are now number, i.e. #1, #2, #3.

Recess: 10:45 a.m.
to reconvene at 12 noon.

RECONVENED 12:15

REPORT: Dr Richard Watson - National Doctors for Life Committee

To develop Doctors participation Urged that physicians must be informed and encouraged. Do not presume that physicians are aware of the issue Medical mailings from National to be used . Advised of a "summary" method to reduce volume of mail, with pertinent basic information on single sheet, coded in margin for easy reference. Information and physician contact: Dr Richard Watson - 345A Arguelo, San Francisco, CA, 94129. Also working to coordinate physicians, and medical professional pro-life groups. Announced that on March 12 there would be a 3 hour debate at the California Medical Society (portions to be televized).

REPORT: National Pro-Life Nurses Assoc -Peg Grady - alternate for Jo Higgins
The National Association for Pro-Life Nurses Association will soon be reinstituting their own newspaper Advised that the "pro-choice" are looking for leadership in professional organizations, pro-life nurses and their organizations should be made aware

REPORT: Veterans' Organization - Felicia Goeken
Column in Stars and Stripes, military newspaper, calling for Veterans to join the National Right to Life Committee. Liaison with Dr. Gilbert Bogen, names to be coded into computer VETRL as membership is received by NRLC.

REPORT: General Counsel - James Bopp, Esq.
Lists being sent to States of NRLC may NOT be used for fund-raising, ONLY for internal purposes, until further notification by NRLC. Lists being sent to State offices, i.e seated NRLC Director for that State.
Corporation employees should be instructed not to participate in "criminal acts" i.e sit-ins.
Report on litigation with James Bothell, Inc. Temporary restraining order modified to allow fund-raising for NRLC, Inc., stipulated may distribute to State organizations, with proper instructions.

REPORT: Dr. Gerster reported that 44 page issue of NRL News would be reprinted with correction and deletions of advertising for use throughout the country to expose the operations of abortion clinics - i.e. reprint of the Chicago Sun-Times series.

MOTION: Ann Bowen, seconded

"Proposed amendment to by-laws as mailed to the Board of Directors in compliance with the bylaws of NRLC,Inc., regarding Absence at Board of Directors meetings."

Friendly amendment: "To change Director proxy to read 'his alternate' to delete 'as provided in Article III Section 14. To delete or his Proxy and add after who shall, 'in person or by alternate'; and to add, 'This by-law effective at the 1979 annual meeting'."
AMENDED MOTION TO READ:

ABSENCE FROM MEETINGS - If a Director or his alternate fails to attend at least one Board of Directors meeting during a 12 month period, beginning with the annual meeting, such office of Director shall be declared vacant. Thereafter the Director and State organization shall be notified no later than 20 days after the annual meeting. The state shall have 30 days from after such notice to elect a new Director, who shall, in person or by alternate attend the next Board meeting of NRLC. Failure by the State to elect a Director and notify the NRLC 20 days after such election of Director; the Board of Directors may fill this vacancy by appointment until the next annual meeting.
This by-law effective at the 1979 annual meeting."

MOTION CARRIED 17 ayes, 3 nays 2/3 majority as required

MOTION: Ann Bowen, seconded Charles Onofrio
"WHEREAS, the National Right to Life Committee, comprised of a Board of Directors, one from each State, has served and been served by the largest constituency of pro-life volunteers throughout the Nation, and
WHEREAS, the growth of the movement has created a need for even a greater input of expertise by all those who are dedicated and experienced in the many and varied aspects of issues relating to the right to life issues, and
WHEREAS, we, the Board of Directors of NRLC,Inc. realize the contribution of many individuals in specific areas of expertise on the life ethics issue,
WE RESOLVE, that NRLC,Inc. shall establish a National Advisory Board. The members will serve, with the sincere gratitude of NRLC,Inc. to further assist the right to life grass-roots movement in their efforts."
FRIENDLY AMENDMENT: Nominations for inclusion on this Board to be made to NRLC Board by the President. ACCEPTED
MOTION CARRIED: as amended, voice vote

REPORT: Legislative - Sean Morton Downey, Jr
House side - 12 vote margin for the HLA ; higher margin on funding
Senate side - 43 in favor to 57 opposed
Primary thrust this session will be the Human Life Amendment, NRLC will concentrate on that Amendment, peripheral areas only secondary.
No co-op efforts with pro-abortion groups on secondary issues.
Human Life Amendments introduced in new 96th Congress:
Jake Garn and Jesse Helms in the Senate
James Oberstar and Henry Hyde in the House of Representatives

REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION AND RESPONSE FROM BOARD OF DIRECTORS:
Requests for information, to share and coordinate efforts towards influencing Congress, should be give priority by the Board of Directors, as individuals within their own State. If there is doubt as to how to obtain given information requested, please call the Washington office. Without proper exchange of information between the State Directors and Washington lobbyist, error margin is greater.

MOTION : Jane Muldoon, seconded
"Therefore; BE IT RESOLVED, that the Board of Directors of NRLC,Inc. directs the President and Executive Committee to take reasonable action to reduce the expense budget, if possible, for the balance of this fiscal year unless the monthly income increases to $53,000 per month needed to reach the projected $713,000 budget"

FRIENDLY AMENDMENT: Dr. William Colliton - to change "increases to" to "exceeds" ACCEPTED
FRIENDLY AMENDMENT: John Stanton - "Wade Jackson be formally thanked for his assistance with the budget review committee". ACCEPTED

MOTION: passed, voice vote, as amended.
MOTION READS:
"Therefore, be it resolved that the Board of Directors of NRLC,Inc. directs the President and Executive Committee to take reasonable action to reduce the expense budget, if possible, for the balance of this fiscal year unless the monthly income exceeds $53,000 per month needed to reach the projected $713,000 budget.
Wade Jackson be formally thanked for his assistance with the budget review committee".

The recent death of Mrs. Alton (Celia) Hall, former Director of Mississippi was announced. Secretary was instructed to send letter of condolences on behalf of NRLC Board of Directors.

MOTION: Roger Kergaravat(alternate delegate, Conn.), seconded Onofrio
"That the National Right to Life Committee vacate the wording of the NRLC's Human Life Amendment in favor of the wording of SJ Resolution 12 of the 96th Congress of the U.S. of A."
Discussion:
That the Board of Directors of Connecticut Right to Life Committee, by unanimous vote,. resolves that the Director from Connecticut to National Right to Life at its' January 1979 annual meeting, present the position of Connecticut Right to Life Committee on the NRLC Human Life Amendment.
MOTION: To postpone until annual June meeting, seconded MOTION FOR POSTPONEMENT CARRIED
DISCUSSION AND REPORT: LAPAC - Sean Morton Downey, Jr.
(Question and Answer):: Affirmation that LAPAC,Inc. and NRLC,Inc. are two separate organizations
Report of LAPAC is available from the Federal Election Commission
Suggestion that President of NRLC correct, where possible, media reports that the two corporations are one and the same, i.e. while we cannot control the media, we do have the opportunity and the privilege of correction.

RECESS:
RECONVENED 10:30 P.M.

DISCUSSION: Continuing discussion on Euthanasia Resolution
Due to small number of Directors present, further action on remaining WHEREAS clauses of resolution postponed.

ADJOURNMENT: 12:30 a.m.

Felicia Goeken
Felicia Goeken, Secretary

Approved April 7, 1979 (date)

Jean Doyle
Jean Doyle, Acting Chairman

National RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Mrs. Felicia Goeken - National Coordinator
412 Langdon St., Alton, IL 62002 (618-465-3211)

References to question on NRLC computer, made only to clarify the central computer available to all States, in Michigan. States contract individually and information available only by release to individual within the State who contracts on behalf of their State. No member of NRLC, not even the National Coordinator ot the survey has access to this computer as far as requesting read-outs or information or materials.

Felicia Goeken

Felicia Goeken, National Coordinator

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC. - QUARTERLY BOARD MEETING
APRIL 7-8, 1979 - RODEWAY INN, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

CALL TO ORDER: 9:35 A.M.
PRESIDING: Jean Doyle - in the absence of the Chairman of the Board
LOCATION: John Waddey
ROLL CALL: Quorum established. (See attached roll call.)

Commission Exhibit #4 4-8-81 TB

AGENDA

MOTION - Bill Colliton
To adopt agenda as presented.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

SECRETARY'S REPORT - Felecia Goekan
Jack Willke requested the following correction in the minutes:
Page 4 - Delete "Groups must be 501(C)(4) status for contractual agreement as a primary group."
Add "PACs will not qualify for use of the Defenders fundraising method."

MOTION - Bill Colliton
To accept the secretary's report as corrected.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

TREASURER'S REPORT - Bill Colliton
A written report was distributed to the Board. This report is being attached to the minutes sent to Board members who were not present. Under Dr. Gerster's direction the expenses have been reduced considerably. In a three month period the average monthly expenses have been reduced from $59,000 to $54,000. Also, the change in fund deficit came in the face of greatly reduced monthly income. A meeting of the Budget Review Committee is scheduled for May 15. Colliton was commended by the Board for the excellent work he has done.

FUNDRAISING REPORT - Jack Willke
Results of the recent fundraising direct mail appeals: Oct. legal action letter and follow-up $83,000, Nov. voter identification letter $34,500 (mailed late), Christmas letter $26,000 (mailed late). The recent PEACE letter replaced the scheduled letter and is a possible bonanza with $36,000 coming in the first 9 days. A follow-up will be sent soon. This is a C-3 mailing, and an analysis has been made showing that 57% of the functioning of the Washington Office can be paid with C-3 funds.

The mailing list is growing substantially. It is double what we had from Bothell with a total mailing of 63,000. Dr. Willke thanked those who have been sending in names from the state organizations. Maryland sent 50,000 names from petition papers and prospected 10,000 of these with volunteers handstuffing the mailing. Florida has sent in 4,500. A total of 6,500 has come from Alaska, Arkansas, and Dayton. Nebraska is preparing a contract for the use of their names. Massachusetts has offered 60,000 for a one-time mailing. These will be sent the PEACE letter. Dr. Willke asked all the Directors to request their states to submit names. He emphasized that if we could send the PEACE letter to enough new donors, it is possible that we could eliminate all our debts.

NRLC has just acquired a nonprofit mail permit for the C-4 to mail at the nonprofit 2.7¢ rate rather than 8.4¢ each. Dr. Willke urged all states who have not applied for this nonprofit rate or have been denied it to contact Sandy Faucher, Director from Maine, for information on how to get a nonprofit permit. Maine won the initial appeal from Washington and has a packet of information available on the application and appeal procedure.

NRL News mailings: total of 18,731 in March consisting of 9,700 paid subscriptions, 200 sample, 670 sent to $100 donors, and 8,000 sent to $10 donors. This 18,000 range has been held for the past 3 months.

The Defenders fundraising project is in operation. San Diego and Cincinnati are now receiving monthly income checks. The Board of Directors has dropped to 14 due to one resignation. A Defenders Board meeting will be held in June in conjunction with the NRLC Convention. The sign-up card is being redesigned. Defenders has start-up costs to liquidate, and states are urged to send in donor cards as soon as they are signed. Directors were reminded that this is not an organization to join - it is a method to raise funds.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT - Dr. Carolyn Gerster

The Executive Committee is working well as a team. The January Board meeting resolution to reduce the expense budget has resulted in the following: Tulsa office closed, WATS line taken out, NRL News dropped free mailings - reduced from 55,000 to 19,000, Washington Office staff cut and salaries reduced, small copy machine eliminated, Washington Office rent reduced by $700 by eliminating rooms, requests sent out that mailing packets be paid for by recipients, volunteers have replaced some staff, resignation of Jack Pelky and Judie Brown. The resignation of Judie Brown and the circumstances surrounding it were explained in depth to the Board. After volunteering to go on part time at half salary, Judie requested reinstatement of her full salary of $30,000 and expenses of $600 per month. Due to the financial condition of NRLC this was not possible.

Dr. Gerster advised that the NRLC logo (double circle and flame) is now being used by the Crusade for Life and was on the recent fundraising letter from Dr. Jefferson for Crusade for Life. Jim Bopp will check to see whether the NRLC logo was ever copyrighted, and Dr. Gerster will be sending a letter explaining the use of this logo to our donors. A resolution was read from Massachusetts Citizens for Life denying any affiliation with Crusade for Life, and it was suggested that other states can use the same wording to explain the situation.

The Judge has ruled on the Bothell contracts that the C-4 contract is still in effect but the C-3 is not under contract and can be used freely. The committee to settle the suit will have to make a decision as soon as possible. Another meeting between NOW and pro-life groups is scheduled for April 19; NRLC will not participate. The Three Year Plan for a Human Life Amendment prepared by Chuck Donovan was presented to the Board and will be mailed to all Board members. A Selection Committee consisting of Ralph Shultz, Ann Bowen, and Bill Colliton was appointed to search for an Executive Director for NRLC, search to take about 6 weeks. September and January Executive Committee and Board meetings scheduled as follows: Sept. 14 - Executive Committee, Sept. 15 & 16 - Board; Jan. 19 - Executive Committee, Jan. 20 & 21 - Board

MOTION - Jane Muldoon
That the preliminary plan that has been presented to the Board by Carolyn be circulated to the entire Board and that each state's input be solicited and a committee of 2 or 3 people be assigned the task of receiving input and preparing for the June Board meeting a final three year plan.
FRIENDLY AMENDMENT - Dr. Carolyn Gerster
Add after Carolyn "and approved by the Executive Committee meeting March 2 and 3."
FRIENDLY AMENDMENT ACCEPTED.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

Committee to review three year policy to consist of Darla St. Martin, Sharon Cornthwaite, and Ann O'Donnell.

LEGISLATIVE REPORT - Ann O'Donnell

Chuck Donovan prepared testimony and gave it before the Senate Subcommittee on HEW Appropriatio He would like to know if the office should bring in persons to give testimony.

MOTION - Joanne Head
That whenever the opportunity arises for public testimony before Congressional Subcommittees relative to the life issues, NRLC provide, whenever feasible, one or more persons to give oral testimony.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

RECESS 1:00 P.M.

RECONVENED 2:30 P.M.

LOBBYIST REPORT - Sean Downey
Sean reported that the Special Committee for Population Control was defeated. The circumstance surrounding his recent letter to the Board of Directors dealing with his resignation as lobbyist for NRLC was explained by Sean. Ann Bowen reiterated the Executive Committee's reason for asking Sean to resign from LAPAC was because it was felt that there existed a conflict between his holding positions as both NRLC lobbyist and Chairman of LAPAC. Sean stated that he would not resign from LAPAC and was therefore resigning as NRLC lobbyist.

MOTION - Bill Colliton
To recess.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

RECESS 3:00 P.M.

RECONVENED 4:45 P.M.

Dr. Gerster requested a polling of the Board as follows:

Do you endorse the recommendation of the Executive Committee to accept Sean Morton Downey's resignation as NRLC lobbyist effective April 30, 1979?

Vote by secret ballot: Yes 21 - No 9 - Abstain 1

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT - Felecia Goeken
Forms are now out to survey 2,000,000 voters with 22 states having voter ID materials. Instructions for voter registration drives interwoven with the Voter ID project were distributed. Instructions for Phase II, use of the voter ID, will come later. ✓ attached to copy of Board minutes

NOMINATING COMMITTEE - Felecia Goeken
Nomination sheets were distributed to the Board. Any Board member wishing to run for office or having names to place in nomination who does not have a nomination sheet should contact Felecia. Completed sheets should be mailed to Felecia as soon as possible.

MOTION - Ann Bowen
That we elect one member to fill the vacancy on the Nominating Committee.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

NOMINATION - Sue Morris

MOTION - Jack Willke
That we accept the nominee, Suzanne Morris, by acclamation.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

Helene Williams advised the Board that a pro-life program will be aired on national television on Sunday, May 6, entitled "Old Time Gospel Hour" with Dr. Jerry Falwell.

PAC's - Felecia Goeken
Bill Polito has recommended that states have external rather than internal PAC's. A discussion ensued wherein questions were answered by those state Directors who have had experience or attended seminars concerning the organization and FEC regulations governing PAC's. All Directors were strongly urged to fully investigate the FEC and state laws before making any attempts at PAC organization and, if possible, attend seminars and workshops concerning this.

NRLC LOGO
After a telephone consultation with Jim Bopp concerning the use by Right to Life Crusade of the NRLC logo, the following motion was made:

MOTION - Sharon Cornthwaite
To authorize Dr. Gerster as the President of NRLC to take whatever steps are necessary to secure the integrity of the NRLC name and logo.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

Jim Bopp is also to investigate whether or not the logo had been previously copyrighted.

A newly developed slide presentation was shown by Indiana Right to Life concerning their organizational structure, activities, and objectives.

NRL NEWS - Bill Moloney
A need for increased circulation and advertising was emphasized. State inserts have been done for Alaska and Nebraska. A suit had been brought by the Chicago Sun-Times concerning the reproducing of "The Abortion Profiteers." Permission to reproduce had been received from the Sun-Times by Bill Moloney through a telephone conversation. 13,000 reprints had been sent to subscribers, and requests were received for more. Additional copies were printed, and these were being distributed around the country. At this point the Sun-Times notified NRL News that they were bringing suit against them for copying. The suit was settled by Bill Moloney agreeing not to print any more and to return the remaining copies he held.

RECESS 6:30 P.M.

RECONVENED 10:00 A.M.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE REPORT - Helene Williams
Directors were reminded to have proposed resolutions in to her by May 20. They should be typed, printed, or legibly written.

MOTION - John Stanton
That we continue in the usual way of handling resolutions at the Convention.
MOTION WITHDRAWN.

MOTION - Ken Hiegel
To cease discussion of resolutions.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

BY-LAWS COMMITTEE - Chuck Onofrio
No report.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE - Jean Doyle
The President will be appointing four more members to fill the vacancies on the Credentials Committee.

CITIZENS' LOBBY - Jean Doyle
The success of this project is dependent upon the states and the lobbyist on the Hill. Most states have indicated that they would be willing to handle the costs of sending people in to participate. NRLC would have to cover the costs of training and ensure the cooperation of the NRLC lobbyist. A suggestion was made for a Citizens' Lobby workshop at the Convention by invitation only. Any person who applies to lobby has to be approved by their own state board.

BRACELET PROJECT - Jack Willke
A letter will be sent to all chapters concerning the reduction in their cost of purchasing bracelets from $2.25 to $1.50, allowing chapters a $1.75 profit on each bracelet. The bracelet inventory as of 1/31 was $3,000. The present inventory may be depleted if the sales to the chapters are substantial. At that time we will have to decide whether to go back into production. We should come close to the predicted profits of $10,000 on this project

NRLC CONVENTION - Jack Willke
Forty-four major organizations will be involved. In addition to the regular workshop rooms there will also be a caucus room for 40-50 people available to any group who applies for its use at no charge, along with being used for small workshops. There will be an instant voice duplication booth where people can get tapes of workshops immediately at a cost of $5. Religious services will be available. Foods will be brought in, and fast food facilities are also available nearby. Jesse Jackson is tentatively scheduled to speak at the banquet. Karl Gunning, Dutch physician, will follow Dr. Brennan on Thursday night. Dr. Gunning will also be doing two workshops, news conferences, and will be introduced at the banquet. Additional information will be forthcoming in the Washington mailings.

COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS - Carolyn Gerster
The committee to prepare the final three-year plan was expanded to include the three members of the Search Committee, with Ann O'Connell as ex officio member.

The Fundraising Committee will consist of Jack Willke and Mary Hunt with Mary heading the direct mail fundraising.

MEDICAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE - Carolyn Gerster
The NRLC position statement on euthanasia which was prepared at the January Board meeting was read to the Board.

MOTION - Jack Willke
To formally accept the euthanasia position paper.
FRIENDLY AMENDMENT - Mary Hunt
To accept the position statement on euthanasia as read by Carolyn Gerster on Sunday, April 8, with the understanding that before publication the wording will be approved by the Legal Counsel of NRLC.
FRIENDLY AMENDMENT ACCEPTED.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

The position statement will be mailed to the Board.

FLAG PROJECT - John Stanton
Flags will be available at the Convention. After the inventory is depleted we will have to decide whether we want to continue the project.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS:
STATE PAC'S
Additional discussion and questions were answered concerning the organization, activities, and regulations governing PAC's.

MARY HUNT ASSUMED RESPONSIBILITY OF CHAIRING REMAINDER OF MEETING.

NEW BUSINESS:

MARCH FOR LIFE - Jack Willke
Discussion and suggestions were made on how to improve the March, i.e., change the date, discussion with Nellie Gray.

MOTION - Lyle Evelo
That Mary Ellen Mulholland pick two more people to sit down with Nellie Gray to discuss the March.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

STATE LEGAL ACTIONS
Case in New Jersey concerning conscience clause passed in 1974. Girl asked not to work on abortions and was told she could not work on the maternity floor. The case is being taken

to Court and New Jersey Right to Life is paying legal expenses. Pennsylvania passed a "life of the mother" abortion funding bill over the Governor's veto. An injunction followed immediately, and the case is in Appeals Court now. A pro-life person is going to be appointed by the State to represent the commonwealth. AUL and Jim Bopp will also be involved. New York has funding law which just states that it agrees with the federal language and can change as the Hyde Amendment changes. Kentucky has just passed an insurance rider bill that health insurance companies would not cover abortions unless a separate premium rider is added. Blue Cross-Blue Shield has now changed their policy accordingly. Colorado is funding abortions out of state funds as the Court ruled that taxpayers do not have the right to challenge state agencies. This is now in Appeals Court. Michigan is suing the Governor and the Department of Human Services because they funded abortions without following guidelin Also, ruling made by Michigan judge that a fetus is not a person under Michigan law in the criminal code is being appealed. North Dakota tried through Health Systems Agencies to not include funds for abortions in grant money and eliminated funds this year. Virginia has passed informed consent bill and also has attorney general's opinion concerning a policeman who went into an abortion clinic to get records of a 15-year-old girl who had an abortion without the consent or knowledge of her parents. Iowa suggested that all states include feticide legislation in their criminal codes stating that it is a crime for any person other than a physician to take that life. Also suggested legislation to keep abortion funding out of employee disability coverage. South Dakota passed an informed consent bill, but their Governor vetoed.

NARAL Handbook, "Legal Abortion," is available through Ken Hiegel of Arkansas Right to Life.

MEETING ADJOURNED 7:15 P.M.

Sandra Franken
Secretary
Pro Tem

Approved June 28th 1979
Date

Dr. Carolyn Gerster, President
Jean Doyle Acting Chairman

REGISTRATION

INTRODUCTION
STEERING COMMITTEE
REGISTRATION DIRECTOR
VOLUNTEER DIRECTOR
VOLUNTEER WORKERS
KNOW THE REGISTRATION LAWS AND PROCEDURES
ESTABLISHMENT OF PRIORITY AREAS
IDENTIFICATION
RECORDS CHECK
DOOR-TO-DOOR CANVASS
MAILING AND TELEPHONE CANVASSES
REGISTRATION FACILITIES
PUBLICITY FOR THE DRIVE
THE CLOSING DAYS OF REGISTRATION

INTRODUCTION

Voter registration is one of the most difficult kinds of political action.

It is difficult because the administration of registration laws is different everywhere. They are often in the hands of local officials who are over cautious. Registration laws tend to discourage rather than encourage registration.

Voter registration is one of the most rewarding kinds of political action.

The rewards are obvious. Every newly-registered voter adds to the voice of the community and to the strength of the ~~party~~ progressive movement.

Voter registration is also critical to any election.

For example, the Freedom to Vote Task Force, created by the Democratic National Committee, to study registration practices and their effects, has found that in the Presidential election of 1968, 47 million citizens did not vote, mainly because they were not registered. The non-voters exceeded by 17 million the total number of people who voted for the winning candidate. Five hundred thousand votes separated the major contenders. For every vote separating the major candidates, 150 people did not vote.

In 1960, there were 330 non-voters for each of the 330,000 votes that separated the major candidates. The winning Presidential candidate in 1960, on the average, carried each county by 170 votes. In each county, on the average, there were 12,480 unregistered voters. The winning candidate carried each precinct, on the average by 3 votes. In each precinct, on the average, there were 221 unregistered voters.

Many techniques have been used to promote voter registration, but experience has shown that there are certain basic essentials which a registration drive should incorporate.

STEERING COMMITTEE

Careful planning is crucial to a successful drive. The first organizational step is to establish a Steering Committee of persons interested in registration and willing to assist the drive. All participating groups should be represented on the Steering Committee, and it is often possible to gain the support of other influential individuals by placing them on the committee. The Steering Committee should be as small as possible, but large enough to operate effectively. It is the single coordinating body within which each group or faction has a vote. This committee assumes even greater importance when the registration drive is being coordinated with a number of civic and non-partisan groups.

The duties of the Steering Committee are:

1. Appoint the Registration Director.
2. Appoint the Volunteer Director.
3. Organize necessary subcommittees, (such as finance, publicity and transportation. Successful registration in the precincts is accomplished by hard work, and too many committees can organize you out of business. The fewer the subcommittees, the better.)
4. Arrange for headquarters and supplies. The registration office can be located almost anywhere, but

it should be a permanent headquarters. It is often possible to obtain rent-free space.

5. If possible, persuade local officials to expand registration facilities.

The Steering Committee provides the framework within which leaders of the community can agree upon registration goals, select personnel, raise funds and keep the drive in motion.

REGISTRATION DIRECTOR

One good man or woman in charge of day-to-day operations can mean the difference between success and failure. The registration director should be a capable administrator, skilled in working with people, and acceptable to the various supporting groups. If possible, the job should be full time and salaried.

VOLUNTEER DIRECTOR

The care and feeding of volunteer workers is often overlooked in registration drives. It is necessary to have a full-time volunteer director who understands that volunteers will continue to report for work if they feel a sense of organization and accomplishment. This requires definite work schedules and the assignment of specific tasks to complete. Refreshments and transportation also should be provided whenever possible. The volunteer director is responsible for recruiting workers from supporting organizations, church and civic groups, women's clubs and young people's organizations.

The registration drive can, in fact, be carried out by non-partisan groups or groups with no direct political affiliation. The aim is to have as many people as possible eligible to vote on election day. Corporations, universities, civic clubs, schools and the media can be used as sources of workers and funds for registration drives, as well as vehicles through which to publicize the program. The party can then coordinate its activities within this context.

VOLUNTEER WORKERS

Aim for a large number of workers—Young Democrats, Democratic Women's clubs, college students, labor unions, etc.

Volunteers should be offered the kind of work they like and can do best. Those who like to work with people can ring doorbells. Women who cannot get out may do telephoning from home. Those who like office work can perform clerical duties.

Assign a specific duty to each volunteer worker, door-to-door canvassing, telephoning, mailing, record-keeping. Be sure to assign only the amount of work a volunteer can effectively handle. Constant supervision is of the utmost importance to produce effective results.

Each volunteer should be made to feel he is contributing significantly to a worthwhile program. In this regard, some points that might be stressed are

- the importance of one vote, and the necessity of a successful registration drive to the Democratic party
- the progress of the drive—especially the number of newly-registered voters.

KNOW THE REGISTRATION LAWS AND PROCEDURES

Know who is eligible to vote, and where and when they can register. Before any drive begins, these should be checked with the county or local official charged with overseeing registration.

ESTABLISHMENT OF PRIORITY AREAS

Try to be specific and register only ~~Democratic~~ voters.

1. Establish as priorities those areas with the highest ratio of ~~enrolled Democrats~~.
2. Establish as priorities those areas where ~~Democrat~~ candidates won or lost by a small number of votes.

If manpower permits, try to register all unregistered persons, with some basic, common-sense reservations.

IDENTIFICATION

To register large numbers of voters, it is first necessary to find out who they are and where they live. This can be done by ~~a records check and door-to-door canvass~~.

RECORDS CHECK

The records check makes it possible to target your efforts directly into unregistered households. It provides field workers a list of unregistered voters with addresses and telephone numbers. The method is simple:

1. Obtain a copy of the voting list for the area in which the registration drive is to be conducted.
2. Obtain a copy of the city directory, police listing, census listing, cross-reference telephone directory, or any other document which lists the names of persons living at each address.
3. Compare these lists to determine names and addresses of those not registered.

DOOR-TO-DOOR CANVASS

The best way to get people registered is with a door-to-door canvass. Nothing is better than face-to-face contact. Before the canvass begins, the volunteers should know:

- the registration requirements of the state
- the dates, times and places to register.

In briefing volunteers, the following points should be stressed:

1. If, while canvassing or telephoning, they are asked questions they cannot answer, they must get accurate information and call back.
2. They must maintain worksheets in good order.
3. As quickly as worksheets are completed, they should

be turned in for use in the next phase of the drive.

4. Canvassing should be done between 9 A.M. and 9 P.M.
5. They should be sure to have enough copies of voter registration literature to distribute. (The literature should explain how, when and where to register, who is eligible, and what the conditions for absentee voting are, and what to do if you have changed your address.)
6. If no one is at home, call again.
7. Be friendly, helpful and courteous. Don't argue.

Suggested remarks for canvassers should be brief and to the point. . .

"Hello, my name is ..... I am doing a survey on voter registration for the Democratic party, and I dropped by because I understand that you are not registered. How many people in your house are 18 years old or over? We would be glad to have someone take you to register. Would you like to make an appointment for transportation? Will you need a baby sitter?" (These suggested remarks may be adapted for a telephone canvass.)

Don't forget. . .

Literature should be left at each household telling the date, time and place of registration.

MAILING AND TELEPHONE CANVASSES

1. Using the lists acquired, plan on a mailing to all unregistered voters in the selected areas to remind them of the deadline for registration.
2. A list should be kept of the names and addresses of all unregistered voters who will receive a mailing.
3. Assign volunteer workers to look up the telephone numbers. Assign a specific number of telephone calls to each volunteer worker for a follow-up telephone call, and be sure to assign only the number of calls the volunteer can effectively handle.
4. When making a telephone canvass, be certain to remind the unregistered voter of the date, time and place of voter registration, and always offer any service that may encourage the individual to register to vote.

As effective as a combined program of mailing and telephoning may be, personal contact through a door-to-door canvass should not be neglected.

REGISTRATION FACILITIES

A registration drive will be successful to the extent that the actual places of registration are accessible. Registration conducted only in the county courthouse or city hall is a great deterrent to any drive because it means that registration becomes inconvenient, if not impossible, for many people. In such cases, leaders of the drive are forced to set up elaborate systems of transportation which require time and money to operate.

When state election codes permit, local registration authorities should be urged to:

- extend registration facilities to firehouses, schools, libraries, and other locations that are easily accessible;
- establish evening and Saturday registration hours to aid working people;
- appoint deputy registrars;
- set up mobile registration units (trailers are good for this) at points where people work and shop.

PUBLICITY FOR THE DRIVE

While the door-to-door canvass and/or the mailing and telephone campaigns are underway, they should be backed up by the use of every kind of available publicity.

Radio - TV - Newspapers

Radio and TV stations are prime channels for promoting registration. Stations should be urged to give free time for:

- special five-minute talks by prominent civic leaders about the importance of voter registration;
- spot announcements urging registration, giving the dates, times and places for registration;
- announcements about the drive in the regular news broadcasts.

Daily and weekly newspapers should be urged to run:

- news stories on the registration drive;
- information on how, when and where to register.

Other Channels

Other sources for reaching the public should be used.

- Businesses can be persuaded to include registration slogans and information in their window displays.
- Handbills can be distributed door-to-door, at street corners, in front of factories, schools and supermarkets - anywhere large numbers of people are found.
- Theaters can be asked to run registration spots between films.
- Clergymen can be asked to urge their congregations to register.
- Sound equipment can be used to stimulate interest and to remind people of the importance of registration.

THE CLOSING DAYS OF REGISTRATION

The registration organization should be geared to move into full swing on the closing days of registration. Every available volunteer should be used to:

- telephone all unregistered voters
- drive automobiles
- knock on doors
- provide baby-sitting services
- drive sound trucks
- distribute handbills.

Centralize the transportation system. Set aside a telephone at central headquarters, with a well-publicized number, so that unregistered voters can call for transportation.

In addition to the specific appointments made during the door-to-door canvass, teams of volunteers with cars should be used in all unregistered areas. Drivers should go to homes on the unregistered list, urge the residents to register, and offer immediate transportation. Two-man teams of volunteers, one driving and one knocking on doors, are effective in this situation.

Chartered bus transportation to registration offices can be used where distances are significant and buses are available at small cost. Schools, churches or labor groups may be willing to lend available buses. Use of buses must be backed up by publicity in areas where they will be available.

If enough volunteers are available on the closing days of registration, door-to-door block workers can be assigned to priority blocks. This activity, even when cars are not available, is often highly effective.

VOTER IDENTIFICATION SURVEY PROJECT:
Developed by Mary Pat Marshall
State Coordinator - Indiana

SAMPLE COUNTY
Population 30,000

CALLS NEEDED: 5,000
WORKERS NEEDED: 1. Team Captain Supervisor
2. Team Captains (2) two
3. Phoners (20) Twenty

Team Captain Supervisor

Team Captain A		Team Captain B	
Phoners		Phoners	
1	6	1	6
2	7	2	7
3	8	3	8
4	9	4	9
5	10	5	10

BUDGET: (Based on 5,000 calls and 20 phoners)

Booklets (23)	$4.00
Forms (840)	33.60
Mailings (2,500)	187 50
Printing (5,000)	100.00
Phones (3 for 1 month)	214.00
Office	100.00
	$639.10

PHONE PLAN: 3 workers per day for 23 days in March

25 calls per phoner per hour
x3 phoners
75
x3 hours shift
225
x23 working days
675
675 total calls made

mple (tentative schedule) based on fourmonths
uary/February
Preparation:
Voter Registration List
Budget
Place to phone
Information on Incumbents
Recruiting workers and training
Begin collecting information on candidates
rch - DO PHONING
pril- 1st week:
1. meet with candidates showing results of poll thus far
2. phoning should continue
2nd week:
Prepare and print poll of candidates that will be distributed to pro-life voters. (Alternative - when phoning is completed, find block captain for each block surveyed Three days before election, get materials to block captain to pass out on his block. He also helps get the vote out on Election Day.
4th week
Mail out material (radio and newspaper coverage)

ay - Election day:
GET OUT THE VOTE!
1. Volunteers to babysit
2. Volunteers to drive
3. Volunteers to work at the polls

Board of Directors

MEMO: From Felicia Goeken
Voter Identification Survey
National Coordinator

The column on the left is a sample of tremendous amount of "brain power" and "drive" being exercised by the grass-roots movement in connection with National Right to Life's Voter Identification survey.

As you know, National Right to Life Committee is a 501 (c) (4) organization who does not endorse candidates. Our National Voter ID Project is geared to only identifying the pro-life registered voter.

However, the imagination and dedication of local right to life organizations is unlimited. Since the Forms used in the National project are marginally defined, i.e "local" - Congressional District - and State, we are sure the use of the information will be unlimited at the local and State level.

The booklet developed by National for the Voter ID Project - Phase I, is complete, but as I travel to the various States and speak with Boards and at State Conventions, I have discovered some very basic questions - almost the same questions in each State - that need to be answered.

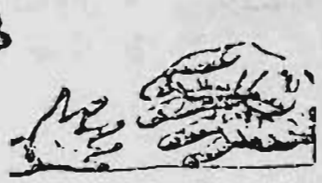
Several people have suggested that a cassette tape by the National Coordinator would be very helpful for the State Coordinators. There is every intention to make such a recording within the next few weeks, for distribution to the State Coordinators.

Therefore - I am asking the State Coordinators to call or write me within the next week, and advise me of particular information they would like to see included on the tape.

States that do not have coordinators yet, will be contacted through their Director to the National Right to Life Committee.

Information concerning local and/or State informational materials, such as Indiana has developed, and problems and creative concepts used for particular problems in particular locales, i.e. such as Nebraskas' use of CBs should be shared, so we can all help each other.

YOURS FOR LIFE, FOR EVERYONE,
Felicia Goeken



If only ALL the hands that reach could touch.

MOST OFTEN QUESTIONS ASKED ON VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
(This type of information to be included on cassette tape)

1. What will happen to the names collected?

2. Will there ever be a mailing or action taken with the names from our area without prior consultation or approval from our State?

3. How is the project going to be funded?

4. If we can't get it done by our time schedule - how do we update it?

5. Why do we have to have triplicate forms, won't just one do?

6. What other benefits can we realize when the project is completed?

7. If, as you say, tests have proven that most voters oppose the Supreme Court decision, why aren't pro-abortion candidates defeated?

etc., etc., etc., etc.

I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT IF WE GET OVER THE "MOLE HILLS" THE MOUNTAIN WILL

TAKE CARE OF ITSELF.

So please add to my list the questions you are being asked the most and we will get them answered on the cassette; hopefully on one side; then the State Coordinator can put their message on the other side.

In this manner they can be used "within" pro-life groups for education on the Voter ID.

In fact you can save 13¢ if you are one of the States who have received the forms and respond to the informational request that you recently received concerning the possibility of receiving twice as many forms as you ordered.

Thank you kindly,

Felicia

AMES W. MAY
TIFIED SHORTHAND REPORTER
R R #2, BOX 65
DWARDSVILLE, ILLINOIS 62025

First Class

3 1 0 1 0 2 3 3 5 0 5

Mr. R. Lee Andersen, Esq.
Office of the General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
Washington, D. C. 20463

CERTIFIED
MAIL

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

June 18, 1981

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

James Bopp, Jr.
BOPP, BRAMES & HAYNES
900 Sycamore Building
19 South Sixth Street
Terre Haute, Indiana 47807

Re: MUR 958

Dear Mr. Bopp:

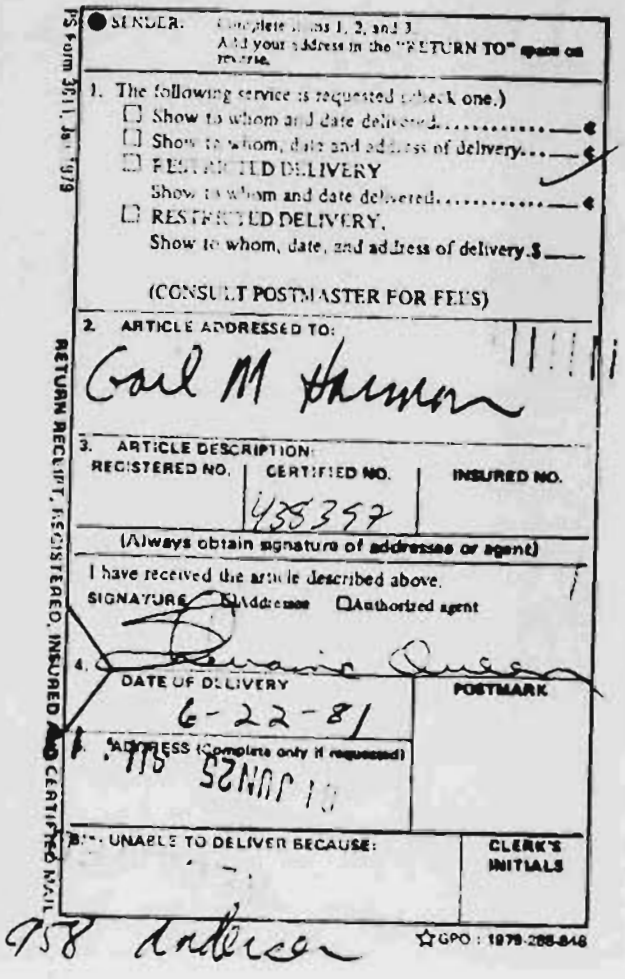
This is to advise you that after an investigation was conducted, the Commission concluded on June 16, 1981, that there is no probable cause to believe that your client, National Right to Life Committee, Inc., violated the Act. Accordingly the file in this matter, numbered MUR 958, has been closed. This matter will become part of the public record within 30 days. Should you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record please do so within 10 days.

If you have any questions, contact R. Lee Andersen at (202)523-5071.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

7 3 1 0 2 1 1 3 6



PS Form 3811, Jan. 1979

RETURN RECEIPT, REGISTERED, INSURED AND CERTIFIED MAIL

SENDER: Complete items 1, 2, and 3. Add your address in the "RETURN TO" space on reverse.

1. The following service is requested (check one.)
- ☐ Show to whom and date delivered.....¢
- ☐ Show to whom, date and address of delivery.....¢
- ☐ RESTRICTED DELIVERY
  Show to whom and date delivered.....¢
- ☐ RESTRICTED DELIVERY.
  Show to whom, date, and address of delivery.$

(CONSULT POSTMASTER FOR FEES)

2. ARTICLE ADDRESSED TO:
Carl M Hamm

3. ARTICLE DESCRIPTION:

REGISTERED NO.	CERTIFIED NO.	INSURED NO.
	455357	

(Always obtain signature of addressee or agent)

I have received the article described above.
SIGNATURE ☐Addressee ☐Authorized agent
Lorraine Queen

4. DATE OF DELIVERY
6-22-81

POSTMARK

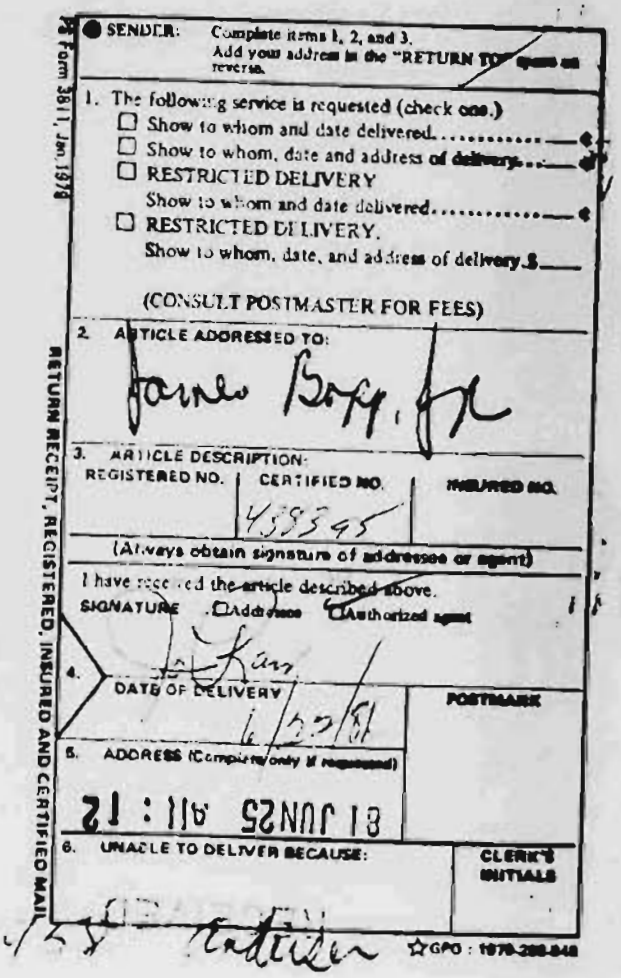
5. ADDRESS (Complete only if requested)
81 JUN25 P11:12

6. UNABLE TO DELIVER BECAUSE:

CLERK'S INITIALS

958 Anderson

☆GPO : 1979-288-848



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  Show to whom and date delivered.....¢
- ☐ RESTRICTED DELIVERY.
  Show to whom, date, and address of delivery.$

(CONSULT POSTMASTER FOR FEES)

2. ARTICLE ADDRESSED TO:
James Bopp, Jr.

3. ARTICLE DESCRIPTION:

REGISTERED NO.	CERTIFIED NO.	INSURED NO.
	455345	

(Always obtain signature of addressee or agent)

I have received the article described above.
SIGNATURE ☐Addressee ☐Authorized agent
L Kam

4. DATE OF DELIVERY
6/23/81

POSTMARK

5. ADDRESS (Complete only if requested)
81 JUN25 A11:12

6. UNABLE TO DELIVER BECAUSE:

CLERK'S INITIALS

Anderson

☆GPO : 1979-288-848

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

James Bopp, Jr.
BOPP, BRAMES & HAYNES
900 Sycamore Building
19 South Sixth Street
Terre Haute, Indiana 47807

R.L.A. 6/17/81

Re: MUR 958

Dear Mr. Bopp:

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If you have any questions, contact R. Lee Andersen at (202)523-5071.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

RLA/dmm 06/04/81

3 1 0 2 3 5 0 0 0 2 0

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

June 18, 1981

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Gail M. Harmon
SHELDON, HARMON & WEISS
1725 I Street, N.W.
Suite 506
Washington, D.C. 20006

Re: MUR 958

Dear Ms. Harmon:

This is in reference to the complaint you filed with the Commission on April 30, 1979, concerning a voter identification project.

Based on your complaint, the Commission determined there was reason to believe that National Right to Life Committee, Inc., ("NRLC") violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441b, 433 and 434, provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended and instituted an investigation of this matter. After an investigation was conducted and a brief of the General Counsel was considered, the Commission concluded on June 16, 1981, that there was no probable cause to believe that NRLC violated the Act. Accordingly, the file in this matter, numbered MUR 958, has been closed. This matter will become part of the public record within 30 days. Should you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record, please do so within 10 days. The Federal Election Campaign Act allows a Complainant to seek judicial review of the Commission's dismissal of this action. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(8).

If you have any questions, please contact R. Lee Anderson, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 523-4071.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

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If you have any questions, please contact R. Lee Andersen, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 52305071.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

RLA/dmm 06/04/81

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
) MUR 958
National Right to Life Committee, Inc.)

CERTIFICATION

I, Lena L. Stafford, Recording Secretary for the Federal Election Commission meeting on June 16, 1981, do hereby certify that the Commission decided in a vote of 4-0 to take the following actions regarding MUR 958:

1. Find NO probable cause to believe that the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. committed a violation of 2 U.S.C. §441b by preparing, printing and selling copies of its Voter Identification Project handbook to state and local pro-life groups or by consulting with such groups as to the possible uses which might be made of the survey results.

2. Find NO probable cause to believe that the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., violated 2 U.S.C. §433 or 434 by failing to register with or report to the Commission as a political committee.

3. CLOSE THE FILE.

4. Send the letters attached to the General Counsel's June 4, 1981 Report.

Commissioners Aikens, Reiche, Thomson, and Tiernan voted affirmatively. Commissioners Harris and McGarry abstained.

Attest:

6-17-81
Date

Lena L. Stafford
Recording Secretary

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES STEELE

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/JODY CUSTER jc

DATE: JUNE 11, 1981

SUBJECT: OBJECTION - MUR 958 General Counsel's Report dated 6-4-81; Received in OCS, 6-10-81, 10:08

The above-named document was circulated on a 48 hour vote basis at 4:00, June 10, 1981.

Commissioner Harris submitted an objection at 12:19, June 11, 1981.

This matter will be placed on the Executive Session Agenda for Tuesday, June 16, 1981.

June 10, 1981

MEMORANDUM TO: Marjorie W. Emmons

FROM: Phyllis A. Kayson

SUBJECT: MUR 958

Please have the attached General Counsel's Report distributed to the Commission on a 48 hour tally basis. Thank you.

Attachment

cc: Andersen

SENSITIVE

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

June 4, 1981

JUN 10 08:08

In the Matter of)
) MUR 958
National Right to Life Committee, Inc.)

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

I. Background

On April 30, 1979, the National Abortion Rights Action League ("NARAL") filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission ("Commission") against the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. ("NRLC") alleging that a Voter Identification Project ("VIP") violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the "Act").

On June 22, 1979, the Commission found reason to believe that NRLC may have violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b or, in the alternative, Sections 433 and 434 of the Act. The Commission served notice on the respondents and requested information in the form of various questions and production of documents. After analysis of the responses, there remained inconsistencies in the evidence, and the Commission, therefore, authorized the issuance of a subpoena for deposition of the national coordinator of the VIP.

On April 20, 1981, the Office of General Counsel mailed a copy of its brief analyzing the matter to the respondents and recommending no probable cause to believe. Having received no further reply from NRLC in this matter, and the statutory time of

fifteen (15) days having passed for such a reply, the Office of General Counsel submits this report to the Commission.

II. Legal Analysis

(See Office of General Counsel's Brief attached).

III. Recommendations

The Office of General Counsel recommends that the Commission:

1. Find no probable cause to believe that the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. committed a violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441b by preparing, printing and selling copies of its Voter Identification Project handbook to state and local pro-life groups or by consulting with such groups as to the possible uses which might be made of the survey results.

2. Find no probable cause to believe that the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., violated 2 U.S.C. § 433 or 434 by failing to register with or report to the Commission as a political committee.

3. Close the file.

4. Send the attached letters.

6/9/81
Date

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Attachments
1. Brief of the Office of General Counsel
2. Letters to Complainant and Respondent.

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

April 6, 1981

In the Matter of	)	
	)	MUR 958
National Right to Life Committee, Inc.	)	
	)	

GENERAL COUNSEL'S BRIEF

I. Statement of the Case

On April 30, 1979, the National Abortion Rights Action League ("NARAL") filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission (the "Commission" or "FEC") against the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. ("NRLC") alleging that the NRLC's Voter Identification Project ("VIP") and NRLC's activities in connection with the VIP may violate the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

On June 22, 1979, the Commission found reason to believe that NRLC may have violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b or in the alternative 2 U.S.C. § 433 and § 434. The Commission's notice of reason to believe letter with questions was sent to NRLC on July 28, 1979. NRLC's response to these questions was received on September 4, 1979. The Commission, on October 31, 1979, authorized the issuance of a subpoena for NRLC's records and reports pertaining to the VIP. These documents were received on November 29, 1979.

The Office of General Counsel analyzed the information submitted to it by NRLC and reported to the Commission on November 5, 1980, that certain inconsistencies appeared in

Attachment I

this evidence. Based upon the need to resolve the inconsistencies in the record, the Commission, on November 6, 1981, authorized the Office of General Counsel to issue a subpoena for the deposition of Felcia Goeken, the National Coordinator of the VIP. The subpoena was issued to Mrs. Goeken on November 17, 1980, and a deposition was scheduled. Analysis of the deposition testimony given by Mrs. Goeken effectively resolves the inconsistencies in the evidence set forth by the Office of General Counsel in the previous General Counsel's Report dated June 19, 1980, and we, therefore, submit this brief to the Commission for consideration.

II. Legal Analysis

Introduction and Background

The possible violations in this matter do not arise from the conduct of the VIP survey. There is no evidence that the survey was conducted in a partisan fashion. Rather, the possible violations arise from the alleged uses to which VIP survey results were put. The principle allegation is that NRLC used the results of the various state and local implementations of the VIP to "get-out-the-vote" on a partisan basis -- that is, by encouraging or assisting those persons to vote who had expressed a pro-life sentiment in the VIP survey, or by making the names of such persons available to candidates expressing pro-life views. As NRLC is a corporation, if such activities resulted from expenditures "in connection with an election," then NRLC has made corporate expenditures and has violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b. In the alternative,

if NRLC is actually a political committee incorporated for liability purposes only, and has made expenditures for the purposes of influencing an election which exceed the $1,000 threshold of 2 U.S.C. § 431(d), then NRLC has violated 2 U.S.C. § 433 and § 434 for failure to register and report.

For either a violation of section 441b or sections 433 and 434 to lie against NRLC, it must be established that NRLC, as an umbrella organization, itself succeeded in carrying out the objectives of the VIP through the state and local groups who apparently implemented the survey. If it cannot be said that the operation was carried out as by one committee (that is, the NRLC and all participating affiliates), no violations can be proven against NRLC. This is because it is apparent from the information which the Commission obtained from the respondent's anwsers to interrogatories and production of documents that the NRLC did not itself conduct the VIP survey. That it did develop the handbook, play some advisory role in implementing the survey, and encourage the individual state and local pro-life groups to go forward with the VIP is, however, also apparent from from these documents.

Inconsistencies in the Evidence

There were a number of inconsistencies in the evidence bearing on the alleged violations that became apparent when the Commission staff began examining the complaint, the NRLC response, and NRLC's initial answers to questions and production

of documents. First, although NRLC claimed that the VIP survey was being conducted in a non-partisan manner, certain statements in a news letter supplied by the complainant and other statements made in the VIP handbook claimed that the VIP survey could help to get votes for pro-life candidates and ensure them the "margin of victory" in upcoming elections. Such statements seemed inconsistent with claims of non-partisanship.

Second, NRLC claimed to be only a vendor of information and not the organizer of the VIP. However, documents submitted to the FEC by NRLC indicated that Mrs. Goeken, as National Coordinator of the project, was in contact with state pro-life groups, providing various kinds of assistance and encouragement on the VIP.

Third, NRLC stated that it made no expenditures to pay for the preparation, publication or dissemination of the VIP handbook or the conduct of the survey as all of these expenses were paid for by the profits from sales of the handbook to state and local pro-life groups. However, it was unclear whether such profits paid for the start-up costs of the VIP, Mrs. Goeken's salary, or other incidential expenses.

Fourth, at the time the complaint was filed, the VIP survey was just getting under way, and it was not possible to say what the results might be, let alone discuss how such results might be subsequently used. However, there were indications that the VIP had been tested in several states by NRLC, and that these tests may have been used for the purpose of influencing

federal elections in those states. Finally, the denials made by NRLC as to the uses of VIP results in 1979 might no longer have held true for the 1980 election cycle.

Description of VIP Survey

According to deponent Goeken, the VIP voter survey was developed by a county pro-life organization in New York state.[1/] Members of the Board of Directors for NRLC were mailed copies of the survey questions and format. The Board of Directors decided to adopt the voter identification project for NRLC, and Felicia Goeken, being Secretary to the Board at this time, was appointed to be the National Coordinator of the project.

The VIP pre-survey testing discussed in previous reports was not conducted by NRLC. Nor did NRLC direct or control any testing that was done among state pro-life groups. Furthermore, at least for the state of Illinois, Mrs. Goeken stated that the results of the test survey were not used for the purpose of supporting pro-life candidates.[2/] According to Mrs. Goeken, states

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1/ The bulk of the information which follows is derived from the documents and answers to questions produced by NRLC and the testimony of Felecia Goeken, the National Coordinator of the VIP project, and should be digested with caution given the potential for self-serving representations. However, for purposes of this discussion, it is assumed that the information is given to the Commission as a good-faith effort to respond to our inquiry. Moreover, it appears to be a reasonable explanation of the relationship among the various entities concerned with the operation of the VIP project.

2/ In addition to being the National Coordinator of the VIP, Mrs. Goeken is the State Director of the National Right to Life Committee for Illinois and has direct knowledge of Illinois' implementation of the VIP. As State Director, she is also a sitting member of the Board of Directors of NRLC.

wishing to try out a voter identification survey before the development of the VIP, did so independently of NRLC.

The minutes of an April 1978 Board meeting show and the testimony of Mrs. Goeken confirms that NRLC made a $10,000 appropriation for start-up costs associated with the VIP. Mrs. Goeken stated that this $10,000 has been the only appropriation made by respondent for the VIP, and that it was used to pay for the various costs associated with preparing printing and distributing the VIP handbooks and other expenses of the project.[3/] However, the price of the VIP materials was set so that if the materials were sold to state and local pro-life groups in sufficient numbers, profits from their sales would entirely reimburse NRLC. As of the date of her deposition, Mrs. Goeken reported sales of the VIP materials by NRLC sufficient to pay for all of the costs associated with the VIP.

According to Mrs. Goeken NRLC's role in the VIP was effectuated solely through her efforts. She stated that the NRLC Board of Directors did not participate in oversight of the day-to-day operation of the project. Mrs. Goeken undertook such oversight based upon her knowledge of NRLC standing policies. As National Coordinator she was also the only contact person for state and local groups.

3/ NRLC solicited contributions specifically for use in the VIP project. According to Mrs. Goeken, if these were earmarked for use on the project, the contributions were included in the $10,000 appropriation.

Mrs. Goeken described her National Coordinator's job as, in part, that of a consultant to the state and local pro-life groups on the VIP project. Once a group invited Mrs. Goeken to make a presentation to their membership, she would travel to a meeting and give a presentation to those attending explaining how the VIP would work and what results could be expected. Then, upon the request of a State Director of such a group, Mrs. Goeken would make materials available to the group. Mrs. Goeken's subsequent contact with the state or local group was limited to communications with the State Coordinator of the VIP once this person was determined by the state or local group.

Relationship Between NRLC and Other Pro-life Groups

One of the questions raised in the initial investigation of this matter was whether the state and local pro-life groups involved in the VIP survey were in effect part of the NRLC and for purposes of the Act merely one national political committee or one corporation. Information obtained from Mrs. Goeken indicates that although NRLC characterizes state and local groups as "affiliates", the state and local groups are functionally autonomous under the policies of the Board of Directors of NRLC as well as in the practical conduct of their affairs. NRLC has no veto power over any action of a state or local pro-life group; nor may any state or local group require

the NRLC to follow any particular course of action.[4/] Membership in NRLC at the national level is optional for members of pro-life groups at the state or local level. Accordingly, no portion of their dues is allocated to the NRLC from payments made to the state or local group. In short, there is no substantial evidence that NRLC and the state and local pro-life groups implementing the VIP acted as one nation-wide organization. In addition, NRLC is unwavering in its claim that it made no use of the results of the VIP in connection with any federal election.

Mrs. Goeken described the following limitations in the relationship between NRLC and the pro-life groups purchasing VIP materials. First, NRLC was not privy to any of the computer information which the state and local groups generated in tabulating the results of their surveys. It was a specific policy of NRLC in organizing the VIP to advise pro-life groups to draft their agreements with computer contractors limiting access to the VIP information. NRLC has received no reports or summaries of the raw data from the VIP. Each pro-life group collected and made use of their data as they saw fit.

4/ The Board of Directors of NRLC is composed, however, of the State Directors from all participating states plus a number of directors elected at large. There is, therefore, representation of the state groups at the national level. Individual members of state and local groups elect this State Director. (The state boards are composed of directors of local pro-life groups organized along congressional district lines).

Second, NRLC, having no access to the data from the VIP survey, had no capability to effect changes in the voting behavior of any group of voters in the 1980 elections based upon the survey results.

Third, NRLC has no authority to order or direct state and local pro-life groups to take any particular course of action to promote pro-life candidates. Neither do state and local pro-life groups have any authority to direct the conduct of the NRLC business.[5/] NRLC did not monitor the progress of the participating pro-life group's conformance to the handbook's plan and did not receive feedback from participating pro-life groups concerning the success of the implementation of the survey or the uses to which the survey results were put.[6/]

Fourth, Mrs. Goeken stated that in her capacity as National Coordinator of the VIP project, she provided information on what restrictions the FECA imposed upon the use of survey results by variously organized pro-life groups, including political action committees, unincorporated associations and non-profit corporations. According to Mrs. Goeken, she advised the groups that the Act forbade incorporated groups from using the survey results to influence federal elections, and that if

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5/ According to NRLC's articles of incorporation and bylaws, the Board of Directors of NRLC is made up of the State Directors of all of the affiliated groups plus a number of directors at large.

6/ Mrs. Goeken described the VIP handbook of instructions as "aspirational." Thus she characterized the materials touting possible the political uses of the survey results as merely suggestions over which NRLC had control.

lists of identified pro-life voters were made available to any candidates, the lists would have to be sold or leased at commercially justifiable rates to avoid making unintended political contributions to federal candidates. Thus it seems use of the VIP survey results was within the sole discretion of State Directors Coordinators of the VIP survey and not NRLC.

Conclusion

There is no substantial evidence that NRLC used the VIP survey results in connection with any federal election. In fact, the project appears to have been designed with the FECA's restrictions in mind. The NRLC appears to have purposefully isolated itself from the day-to-day conduct of the VIP and, furthermore, made no use of the survey results. It appears from the statements of deponent Felicia Goeken, the National Coordinator of VIP, that profits from the sale of the VIP handbooks and materials to the state and local pro-life groups were sufficient to pay for all NRLC's start-up costs associated with the VIP, the printing and dissemination costs of the handbooks and Mrs. Goeken's salary.

Given the seller/buyer relationship between NRLC and the pro-life groups participating in the VIP and efforts made by NRLC to insulate itself from decision making authority over the implementation of the project, there is insufficient factual basis for finding that NRLC made expenditures in connection with any federal election in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441b. Therefore, the Office of General Counsel recommends that the Commission

find no probable cause to believe that NRLC committed violations of 2 U.S.C. § 441b by preparing, printing and selling of its Voter Identification Project handbook to state and local pro-life groups or by consulting with such groups as to the possible uses which might be made of the survey results.

With respect to the possible alternative violations of 2 U.S.C. §§ 433 and 434, legal liability under the Act hinges upon whether or not for purposes of the Act, NRLC is a political committee. By definition, an organization such as NRLC would have to receive contributions or make expenditures in excess of $1,000 for the purposes of influencing any federal election in order to be considered a political committee. 2 U.S.C. §§ 431(4), 431(8) and (9). As demonstrated above, there is no evidence that NRLC's preparing, printing and selling the VIP handbook to state and local pro-life groups spilled over into control of the uses of survey results. Thus considering the insulation of NRLC from the state an local pro-life groups implementing the VIP, there is no basis for concluding that NRLC received contributions or made expenditures for the purpose of influencing any federal election. Therefore, the Office of General Counsel recommends that the Commission find no probable cause to believe that NRLC committed violations of §§ 433 or 434 for failing to register with or report to the Commission as a political committee.

Recommendations

The Office of General Counsel recommends that the Commission:

1. Find no probable cause to believe the National Right to

Life Committee, Inc. committed violations of 2 U.S.C. § 441b by preparing, printing and selling copies of its Voter Identification Project handbook to state and local pro-life groups or by consulting with such groups as to the possible uses which might be made of the survey results.

2. Find no probable cause to believe that National Right to Life committee, Inc. violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 433 or 434 by failing to register with or report to the Commission as a political committee.

12 April 1988
Date

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Gail M. Harmon
SHELDON, HARMON & WEISS
1725 I Street, N.W.
Suite 506
Washington, D.C. 20006

Re: MUR 958

Dear Ms. Harmon:

This is in reference to the complaint you filed with the Commission on April 30, 1979, concerning a voter identification project.

Based on your complaint, the Commission determined there was reason to believe that National Right to Life Committee, Inc., ("NRLC") violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441b, 433 and 434, provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended and instituted an investigation of this matter. After an investigation was conducted and a brief of the General Counsel was considered, the Commission concluded on June , 1981, that there was no probable cause to believe that NRLC violated the Act. Accordingly, the file in this matter, numbered MUR 958, has been closed. This matter will become part of the public record within 30 days. Should you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record, please do so within 10 days. The Federal Election Campaign Act allows a Complainant to seek judicial review of the Commission's dismissal of this action. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(8).

If you have any questions, please contact R. Lee Andersen, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 52305071.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Attachment 2

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

James Bopp, Jr.
BOPP, BRAMES & HAYNES
900 Sycamore Building
19 South Sixth Street
Terre Haute, Indiana 47807

Re: MUR 958

Dear Mr. Bopp:

This is to advise you that after an investigation was conducted, the Commission concluded on June , 1981, that there is no probable cause to believe that your client, National Right to Life Committee, Inc., violated the Act. Accordingly the file in this matter, numbered MUR 958, has been closed. This matter will become part of the public record within 30 days. Should you wish to submit any factual or legal materials to appear on the public record please do so within 10 days.

If you have any questions, contact R. Lee Andersen at (202)523-5071.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES STEELE

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS /JODY CUSTER

DATE: APRIL 27, 1981

SUBJECT: MUR 958 - Interim Investigative Report #1, dated 4-21-81; Signed 4-23-81: Received in OCS 4-24-81, 11:38

The above-named document was circulated to the Commission on a 24 hour no-objection basis at 2:00, April 24, 1981.

There were no objections to the Interim Investigative Report at the time of the deadline.

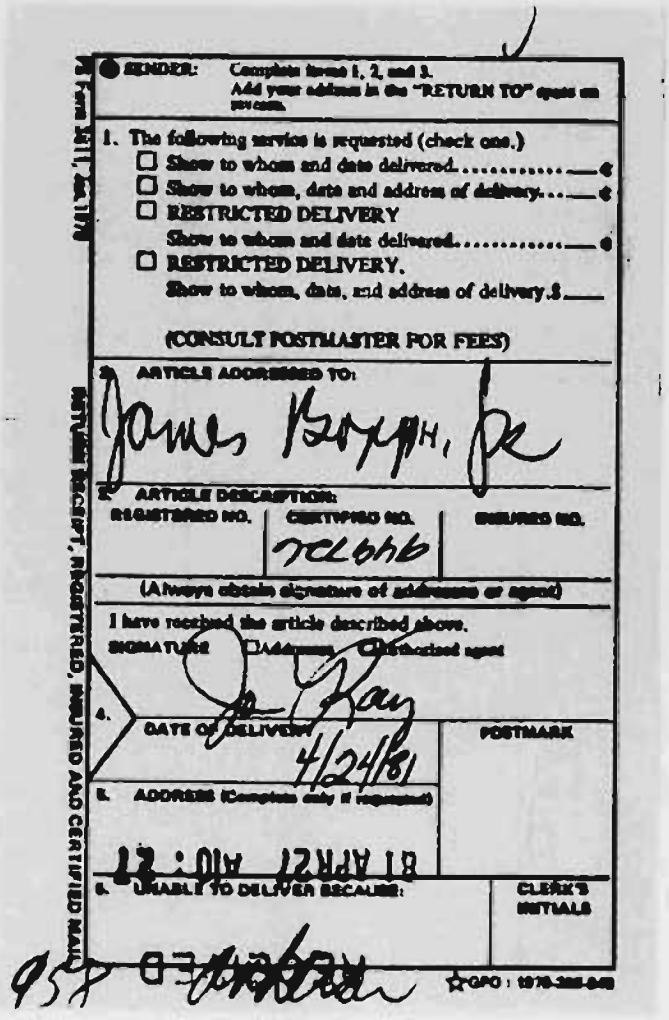
April 24, 1981

MEMORANDUM TO: Marjorie W. Emmons

FROM: Elissa T. GArr

SUBJECT: MUR 1072

Please have the attached Interim Invest Report distributed to the Commission on PINK PAPER. Thank you.



PS Form 3811, Dec. 1980

RETURN RECEIPT, REGISTERED, INSURED AND CERTIFIED MAIL

● SENDER: Complete items 1, 2, and 3.
Add your address in the "RETURN TO" space on reverse.

1. The following service is requested (check one.)
- ☐ Show to whom and date delivered.....¢
- ☐ Show to whom, date and address of delivery.....¢
- ☐ RESTRICTED DELIVERY
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- ☐ RESTRICTED DELIVERY.
  Show to whom, date, and address of delivery.$____

(CONSULT POSTMASTER FOR FEES)

2. ARTICLE ADDRESSED TO:
James Brown H, Jr

3. ARTICLE DESCRIPTION:

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I have received the article described above.
SIGNATURE ☐ Addressee ☐ Authorized agent
J. Ray

4. DATE OF DELIVERY 4/24/81 POSTMARK

5. ADDRESS (Complete only if requested)

81 APR 27 AM 7:27

6. UNABLE TO DELIVER BECAUSE: CLERK'S INITIALS

RECEIVED

958

☆GPO : 1978-265-815

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

April 20, 1981

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

James Bopp, Jr.
BRAMES, BOPP & HAYNES
900 Sycamore Building
19 South 6th Street
Terre Haute, Indiana 47807

Re: MUR 958

Dear Mr. Bopp:

Based on a complaint filed with the Commission on April 30, 1979, and information supplied by your client, the Commission determined on June 22, 1979, that there was reason to believe that your client had violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b, 433 and 434, provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and instituted an investigation of this matter.

After considering all the evidence available to the Commission, the Office of General Counsel is prepared to recommend that the Commission find no probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred. The Commission may or may not approve the General Counsel's Recommendation.

Submitted for your review is a brief stating the position of the General Counsel on the legal and factual issues of the case. Within fifteen days of your receipt of this notice, you may file with the Secretary of the Commission a brief (ten copies if possible) stating your position on the issues and replying to the brief of the General Counsel. Three copies of such brief should also be forwarded to the Office of General Counsel, if possible. The General Counsel's brief and any brief which you may submit will be considered by the Commission before proceeding to a vote of no probable cause to believe a violation has occurred.

Should you have any questions, please contact R. Lee Anderson at (202)523-5071.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosure
Brief

April 20, 1981

MEMORANDUM TO: Marjorie W. Emmons

FROM: Elissa T. Garr

SUBJECT: MUR 958

Please have the attached Memo and Brief distributed to the Commission on an informational basis. Thank you.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

81 APR 20 A9:50

April 20, 1981

MEMORANDUM TO: The Commission

FROM: Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

SUBJECT: MUR 958

Attached for the Commission's review is a brief stating the position of the General Counsel on the legal and factual issues of the above-captioned matter. A copy of this brief and a letter notifying the respondent of the General Counsel's intent to recommend to the Commission a finding of no probable cause to believe was mailed on April 20, 1981. Following receipt of the Respondent's reply to this notice, this Office will make a further report to the Commission.

Attachments

1. Brief
2. Letter to Respondent

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

April 6, 1981

In the Matter of	)	
	)	MUR 958
National Right to Life Committee, Inc.	)	
	)	

GENERAL COUNSEL'S BRIEF

I. Statement of the Case

On April 30, 1979, the National Abortion Rights Action League ("NARAL") filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission (the "Commission" or "FEC") against the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. ("NRLC") alleging that the NRLC's Voter Identification Project ("VIP") and NRLC's activities in connection with the VIP may violate the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

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Attachment I

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if NRLC is actually a political committee incorporated for liability purposes only, and has made expenditures for the purposes of influencing an election which exceed the $1,000 threshold of 2 U.S.C. § 431(d), then NRLC has violated 2 U.S.C. § 433 and § 434 for failure to register and report.

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Description of VIP Survey

According to deponent Goeken, the VIP voter survey was developed by a county pro-life organization in New York state.[1/] Members of the Board of Directors for NRLC were mailed copies of the survey questions and format. The Board of Directors decided to adopt the voter identification project for NRLC, and Felicia Goeken, being Secretary to the Board at this time, was appointed to be the National Coordinator of the project.

The VIP pre-survey testing discussed in previous reports was not conducted by NRLC. Nor did NRLC direct or control any testing that was done among state pro-life groups. Furthermore, at least for the state of Illinois, Mrs. Goeken stated that the results of the test survey were not used for the purpose of supporting pro-life candidates.[2/] According to Mrs. Goeken, states

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1/ The bulk of the information which follows is derived from the documents and answers to questions produced by NRLC and the testimony of Felecia Goeken, the National Coordinator of the VIP project, and should be digested with caution given the potential for self-serving representations. However, for purposes of this discussion, it is assumed that the information is given to the Commission as a good-faith effort to respond to our inquiry. Moreover, it appears to be a reasonable explanation of the relationship among the various entities concerned with the operation of the VIP project.

2/ In addition to being the National Coordinator of the VIP, Mrs. Goeken is the State Director of the National Right to Life Committee for Illinois and has direct knowledge of Illinois' implementation of the VIP. As State Director, she is also a sitting member of the Board of Directors of NRLC.

wishing to try out a voter identification survey before the development of the VIP, did so independently of NRLC.

The minutes of an April 1978 Board meeting show and the testimony of Mrs. Goeken confirms that NRLC made a $10,000 appropriation for start-up costs associated with the VIP. Mrs. Goeken stated that this $10,000 has been the only appropriation made by respondent for the VIP, and that it was used to pay for the various costs associated with preparing printing and distributing the VIP handbooks and other expenses of the project.[3/] However, the price of the VIP materials was set so that if the materials were sold to state and local pro-life groups in sufficient numbers, profits from their sales would entirely reimburse NRLC. As of the date of her deposition, Mrs. Goeken reported sales of the VIP materials by NRLC sufficient to pay for all of the costs associated with the VIP.

According to Mrs. Goeken NRLC's role in the VIP was effectuated solely through her efforts. She stated that the NRLC Board of Directors did not participate in oversight of the day-to-day operation of the project. Mrs. Goeken undertook such oversight based upon her knowledge of NRLC standing policies. As National Coordinator she was also the only contact person for state and local groups.

3/ NRLC solicited contributions specifically for use in the VIP project. According to Mrs. Goeken, if these were earmarked for use on the project, the contributions were included in the $10,000 appropriation.

Mrs. Goeken described her National Coordinator's job as, in part, that of a consultant to the state and local pro-life groups on the VIP project. Once a group invited Mrs. Goeken to make a presentation to their membership, she would travel to a meeting and give a presentation to those attending explaining how the VIP would work and what results could be expected. Then, upon the request of a State Director of such a group, Mrs. Goeken would make materials available to the group. Mrs. Goeken's subsequent contact with the state or local group was limited to communications with the State Coordinator of the VIP once this person was determined by the state or local group.

Relationship Between NRLC and Other Pro-life Groups

One of the questions raised in the initial investigation of this matter was whether the state and local pro-life groups involved in the VIP survey were in effect part of the NRLC and for purposes of the Act merely one national political committee or one corporation. Information obtained from Mrs. Goeken indicates that although NRLC characterizes state and local groups as "affiliates", the state and local groups are functionally autonomous under the policies of the Board of Directors of NRLC as well as in the practical conduct of their affairs. NRLC has no veto power over any action of a state or local pro-life group; nor may any state or local group require

the NRLC to follow any particular course of action.[4/] Membership in NRLC at the national level is optional for members of pro-life groups at the state or local level. Accordingly, no portion of their dues is allocated to the NRLC from payments made to the state or local group. In short, there is no substantial evidence that NRLC and the state and local pro-life groups implementing the VIP acted as one nation-wide organization. In addition, NRLC is unwavering in its claim that it made no use of the results of the VIP in connection with any federal election.

Mrs. Goeken described the following limitations in the relationship between NRLC and the pro-life groups purchasing VIP materials. First, NRLC was not privy to any of the computer information which the state and local groups generated in tabulating the results of their surveys. It was a specific policy of NRLC in organizing the VIP to advise pro-life groups to draft their agreements with computer contractors limiting access to the VIP information. NRLC has received no reports or summaries of the raw data from the VIP. Each pro-life group collected and made use of their data as they saw fit.

4/ The Board of Directors of NRLC is composed, however, of the State Directors from all participating states plus a number of directors elected at large. There is, therefore, representation of the state groups at the national level. Individual members of state and local groups elect this State Director. (The state boards are composed of directors of local pro-life groups organized along congressional district lines).

Second, NRLC, having no access to the data from the VIP survey, had no capability to effect changes in the voting behavior of any group of voters in the 1980 elections based upon the survey results.

Third, NRLC has no authority to order or direct state and local pro-life groups to take any particular course of action to promote pro-life candidates. Neither do state and local pro-life groups have any authority to direct the conduct of the NRLC business.[5/] NRLC did not monitor the progress of the participating pro-life group's conformance to the handbook's plan and did not receive feedback from participating pro-life groups concerning the success of the implementation of the survey or the uses to which the survey results were put.[6/]

Fourth, Mrs. Goeken stated that in her capacity as National Coordinator of the VIP project, she provided information on what restrictions the FECA imposed upon the use of survey results by variously organized pro-life groups, including political action committees, unincorporated associations and non-profit corporations. According to Mrs. Goeken, she advised the groups that the Act forbade incorporated groups from using the survey results to influence federal elections, and that if

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5/ According to NRLC's articles of incorporation and bylaws, the Board of Directors of NRLC is made up of the State Directors of all of the affiliated groups plus a number of directors at large.

6/ Mrs. Goeken described the VIP handbook of instructions as "aspirational." Thus she characterized the materials touting possible the political uses of the survey results as merely suggestions over which NRLC had control.

lists of identified pro-life voters were made available to any candidates, the lists would have to be sold or leased at commercially justifiable rates to avoid making unintended political contributions to federal candidates. Thus it seems use of the VIP survey results was within the sole discretion of State Directors Coordinators of the VIP survey and not NRLC.

Conclusion

There is no substantial evidence that NRLC used the VIP survey results in connection with any federal election. In fact, the project appears to have been designed with the FECA's restrictions in mind. The NRLC appears to have purposefully isolated itself from the day-to-day conduct of the VIP and, furthermore, made no use of the survey results. It appears from the statements of deponent Felicia Goeken, the National Coordinator of VIP, that profits from the sale of the VIP handbooks and materials to the state and local pro-life groups were sufficient to pay for all NRLC's start-up costs associated with the VIP, the printing and dissemination costs of the handbooks and Mrs. Goeken's salary.

Given the seller/buyer relationship between NRLC and the pro-life groups participating in the VIP and efforts made by NRLC to insulate itself from decision making authority over the implementation of the project, there is insufficient factual basis for finding that NRLC made expenditures in connection with any federal election in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441b. Therefore, the Office of General Counsel recommends that the Commission

find no probable cause to believe that NRLC committed violations of 2 U.S.C. § 441b by preparing, printing and selling of its Voter Identification Project handbook to state and local pro-life groups or by consulting with such groups as to the possible uses which might be made of the survey results.

With respect to the possible alternative violations of 2 U.S.C. §§ 433 and 434, legal liability under the Act hinges upon whether or not for purposes of the Act, NRLC is a political committee. By definition, an organization such as NRLC would have to receive contributions or make expenditures in excess of $1,000 for the purposes of influencing any federal election in order to be considered a political committee. 2 U.S.C. §§ 431(4), 431(8) and (9). As demonstrated above, there is no evidence that NRLC's preparing, printing and selling the VIP handbook to state and local pro-life groups spilled over into control of the uses of survey results. Thus considering the insulation of NRLC from the state an local pro-life groups implementing the VIP, there is no basis for concluding that NRLC received contributions or made expenditures for the purpose of influencing any federal election. Therefore, the Office of General Counsel recommends that the Commission find no probable cause to believe that NRLC committed violations of §§ 433 or 434 for failing to register with or report to the Commission as a political committee.

Recommendations

The Office of General Counsel recommends that the Commission:

1. Find no probable cause to believe the National Right to

Life Committee, Inc. committed violations of 2 U.S.C. § 441b by preparing, printing and selling copies of its Voter Identification Project handbook to state and local pro-life groups or by consulting with such groups as to the possible uses which might be made of the survey results.

2. Find no probable cause to believe that National Right to Life committe, Inc. violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 433 or 434 by failing to register with or report to the Commission as a political committee.

12 Apr 1988
Date

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

April 20, 1981

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

James Bopp, Jr.
DRANES, BOPP & HAYNES
900 Sycamore Building
19 South 6th Street
Terre Haute, Indiana 47807

Re: MUR 958

Dear Mr. Bopp:

Based on a complaint filed with the Commission on April 30, 1979, and information supplied by your client, the Commission determined on June 22, 1979, that there was reason to believe that your client had violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b, 433 and 434, provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and instituted an investigation of this matter.

After considering all the evidence available to the Commission, the Office of General Counsel is prepared to recommend that the Commission find no probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred. The Commission may or may not approve the General Counsel's Recommendation.

Submitted for your review is a brief stating the position of the General Counsel on the legal and factual issues of the case. Within fifteen days of your receipt of this notice, you may file with the Secretary of the Commission a brief (ten copies if possible) stating your position on the issues and replying to the brief of the General Counsel. Three copies of such brief should also be forwarded to the Office of General Counsel, if possible. The General Counsel's brief and any brief which you may submit will be considered by the Commission before proceeding to a vote of no probable cause to believe a violation has occurred.

Should you have any questions, please contact R. Lee Andersen at (202)523-5071.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Enclosure
Brief

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON DC 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES STEELE

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/MARGARET CHANEY
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY TO THE COMMISSION

DATE: FEBRUARY 12, 1981

SUBJECT: MUR 958 - Interim Investigative Report #7, dated 2-9-81; Signed 2-10-81; Received in OCS 2-10-81, 5:00

The above-named document was circulated to the Commission on a no-objection basis at 11:00, February 11, 1981.

There were no objections to the Interim Investigative Report at the time of the deadline.

February 10, 1981

MEMORANDUM TO: Marjorie W. Emmons

FROM: Elissa T. Garr

SUBJECT: MUR 968

Please have the attached Interim Invest Report distributed to the Commission. Thank you.

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1981 FEB 10 P 5: 00

February 9, 1981

In the Matter of	)	
	)	MUR 958
National Right to Life Committee, Inc.	)	

INTERIM INVESTIGATIVE REPORT #7

On January 16, 1981, staff of the Office of General Counsel took the deposition of a witness in this matter. We received a signed transcript of the deposition today and expect to be able to report back to the Commission by the end of February.

2/9/81
Date

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

December 23, 1980

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

James Bopp, Jr.
BRAMES, BOPP & HAYNES
900 Sycamore Building
19 South Sixth Street
Terre Haute, Indiana

Re: MUR 958

Dear Mr. Bopp:

This is to confirm that pursuant to your telephone conversations with R. Lee Andersen, attorney for the Federal Election Commission, the date and time of the deposition of Ms. Felicia Goeben has been rescheduled. The new date and time for the deposition is January 26, 1981, at 10:00 a.m., and any and all dates adjourned to by the Commission. The location for the deposition remains unchanged, that being, Room 217, Federal Building, 501 Bell Street, Alton, Illinois.

If you have any questions, please contact R. Lee Andersen at (202)523-5071.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

By: Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

R.S.A. 12/22/80

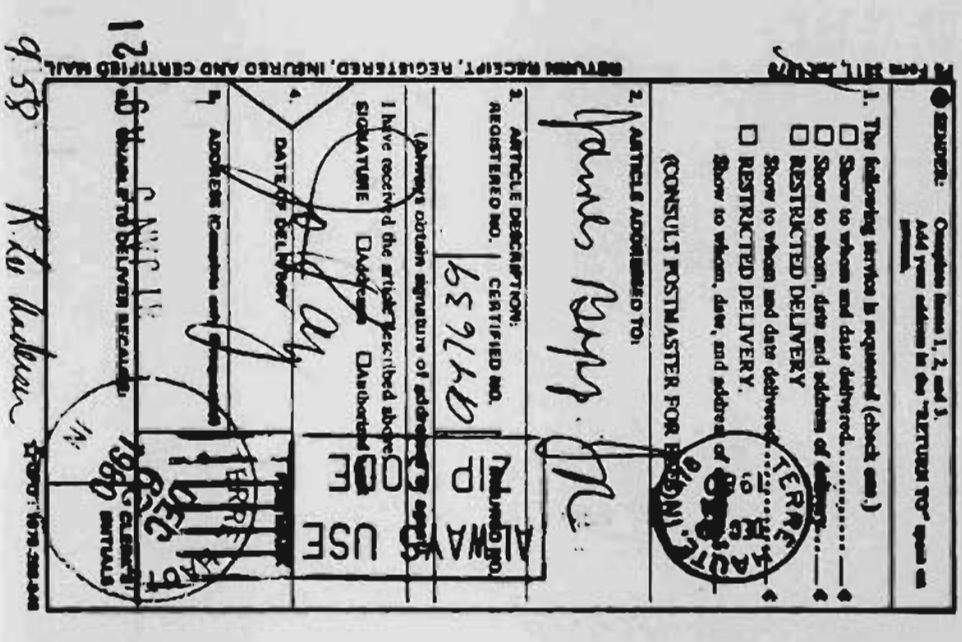
James Bopp, Jr.
HAMMES, BOPP & HAINES
900 Sycamore Building
19 South Sixth Street
Terre Haute, Indiana

Re: MUR 958

Dear Mr. Bopp:

This is to confirm that pursuant to your telephone conversations with R. Lee Andersen, attorney for the Federal Election Commission, the date and time of the deposition of Ms. Felicia Boeken has been rescheduled. The new date and time for the deposition is January 26, 1981, at 10:00 a.m., and any and all dates adjourned to by the Commission. The location for the deposition remains unchanged, that being, Room 217, Federal Building, 501 Bell Street, Alton, Illinois.

If you have any questions, please contact R. Lee Andersen at (202)523-5071.



BRAMES, BOPP & HAYNES
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
900 SYCAMORE BUILDING
19 SOUTH SIXTH STREET
TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA 47807

ARNOLD H. BRAMES
JAMES BOPP, JR.
DAVID D. HAYNES

TELEPHONE
(812) 238-2421

79 NOV 29 AM 8 47

11760

November 26, 1979

516

Mr. David Federman
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K Street N.W.
Washington, DC 20463

Re: MUR 958

Dear Mr. Federman:

Enclosed are copies of the documents you subpoenaed regarding the above matter. I have enclosed an inventory of all documents in our possession which you have requested and which we have provided herewith.

The only exception is your request for all correspondence with state and local coordinators of the project. Such correspondence is voluminous. As a result, I have included all correspondence with just one state, Wyoming, as an example of the type of correspondence. After reviewing it, if you wish copies of the correspondence with all other states, please let me know.

If I can be of further assistance to you in this matter, please contact me.

Sincerely,

James Bopp, Jr.
Attorney at Law

Enclosures

kgt

79 NOV 29 A 9:39

INVENTORY OF DOCUMENTS

2/19/78	letter from S. Cornthwaite to F. Goeken
1/12/78	letter from F. Goeken to S. Cornthwaite
10/24/77	letter from F. Goeken to S. Cornthwaite
3/7/78	letter from F. Goeken to N. Davis
11/6/78	letter from F. Goeken to N. Davis
	Voter Identification Survey Phase I by F. Goeken
7/21/78	Update Report, Voter ID Project, Phase I by F. Goeken
4/3/78	Report to Board Members of NRLC, Inc. on Voter Identification Project - Phase I by F. Goeken (page 1)
6/9/78	Memo re Voter Identification Project - Phase I by F. Goeken
8/3/77	Memo to Executive Committee of NRLC from F. Goeken
5/28/77	Memo to all NRLC Inc. Directors State Organizations re Voter Identification Workshop at NRLC Convention from F. Goeken
12/28/76	Memo to all State Right To Life offices from F. Goeken re registered voter telephone survey
11/17/77	Memo to state voter ID coordinator Bill Moffatt re 3 part snap-out VID Record Form from F. Goeken
	Memo re Voter Identification Survey Project from F. Goeken
10/1/77	Minutes of NRLC Board of Directors meeting
8/25-6/78	Minutes of NRLC Executive Committee meeting
4/7-8/79	Minutes of NRLC Board of Directors meeting
6/19/79	Minutes of NRLC Executive Committee meeting
1/20-21/79	Minutes of NRLC Board of Directors meeting
	Notice from F. Goeken re computer
3/79	Voter Identification Project Report from F. Goeken, Alabama
1/19/78	Map
3/79	Voter Identification Project report from F. Goeken, California, Connecticut, Florida, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, New York, North Carolina, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin

Wyoming Right to Life Committee, Inc.
P O BOX 1208
CASPER, WYOMING 82602

TELEPHONE 237-7132

February 19, 1978

Mrs. Felecia Goeken
412 Langdon
Alton, Illinois 62002

Dear Felecia:

Please don't faint from this but I finally have securred a state coordinator for the Voter Identification rpoject for Wyoming.

This gal is new and has not been active very long, knows little about what she is getting into, so please let her down gently. This project will be a hard task in Wyoming because of the state's rural structure. There are very few large areas that are densely populated, in fact practically none here so much of the calling will ultimately be toll calling. Sometimes I almost think it might be cheaper to go door-to-door.

Anyway I have sent her a copy of the Phase I booklet and so that is all that she knows about the project. I truly hope she works out for us - it has been almost a year long struggle just to get this far.

My best regards to you and your family and please excuse the typing!

Sincerely in life,

Sharon Cornthwaite

Wyomign Voter-Identification Coordinator

Natalie Davis
175 Wyoming
Lander, Wyoming 82520
307-332-5360

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

January 12, 1978

Mrs. Sharon Cornwaithe
3703 Alpine
Casper WYOMING 82601

Dear Sharon,

For the past several weeks we have been contacting all of the States who have appointed Coordinators for the Voter ID, and asking them to prepay an order for the forms, with a minimum order for $100. Several of them did, and some even went beyong the requested minimum of $100.

This has enabled us to go to print with our first order of 200,000. Of course, we realize that is just a 'drop in the bucket', considering our ultimate needs, but it certainly is a beginning.

We will of course ship prepaid orders first, and then orders accompanied by payment

I am trying to get a projection on needs of the States in the immediate future, so we won't come up 'short' on materials when the different States need them.

As I look over the Wyoming report you gave me on the results of your efforts there is no doubt that the identified pro-life vote in your state would have impact.

In the 1976 election (Wyoming At Large) the results were:

Teno Roncallo (D. Cheyenne)	85,725
Larry Hart(R.,Powell)	69,178

The use of the forms (3 pc. with carbons) for the information to be available at local, State and National level will be vital to really get the most out of the labors and money expended, i.e. computerized.

We are now looking at regional concepts of computerizing for most efficient operation, i.e. not one big computerization, but regionally throughout the country via geography.

However, for now, I would like to give a complete report to theBoard inJanuary, and a projection and some kind of word on the status of the project in each State will really help.

Would like to hear from your prior to Board meeting.

YOURS FOR LIFE FOR EVERYONE,

Felicia

Felicia Goeken, National Coordinator, Voter ID Project

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

October 24, 1977

MEMO: Mrs. Sharon Corathwaite
3703 Alpine
Casper, WY 82601

Dear Mrs. Corathwaite:

As soon as the Board minutes are sent out, you will notice they include an updated report on the Voter ID Project, Phase I.
I am delighted so many States have responded, both in naming their State Coordinator and in keeping in touch and letting us know that they are looking for the "key" person within their State to act as Coordinator.

Today, I am writing all those Directors who have not yet found that person, enclosing the complete, updated, edited voter ID booklet and asking for a report back, i.e. has your State reached a decision on participation, are they having any particular problems, and as we have asked before, what can we do to help?

I realize there is still much to be done in explaining the complete Project, but do think the information within the booklet gives enough information to begin the structure (see pages 8 and 9).

At any rate, as National Coordinator of the Project, I would appreciate hearing from you, (whether it's good news or bad news), soon.

It will be very helpful to me to know what problems are arising in the very beginning. What questions need to be answered that have not been, and what explanations need to be detailed more.

When we are ready to order the forms that are to be used to tally results, we need to know three things:

1. [illegible] by precincts or by alphabetical name order.
2. Since we can save much by ordering the forms in bulk orders of 100,000 (if by precincts, nine names are on one form; if alphabetically six names) (34¢ per sheet.) it is very important that we know when we might expect to reach the goal of 100,000.

Hope to hear from you soon, like I said, whether it's good news or bad.

Thank you for your assistance in making this Project easier to report.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Felicia Gerken
412 Langdon
Utica, IL 61373

enclosure

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

National Office — National Press Building, Suite 557 — Washington, D. C. 20045
Special Projects Office — P. O. Box 2971 — Tulsa, OK. 74101
NRL NEWS Editorial Office — 5516 Lyndale Ave. South — Minneapolis, MN 55419

March 7, 1978

NatalieDavis
Voter ID State Coordinator
175 Wyoming
Lander, Wyoming 82520

Dear Natalie,

Welcome to the world of the Voter ID Project!

Sharon Cornwaithe recently sent your name - and was certainly pleased to have a Coordinator for Wyoming.

Since I am uncertain how much information you have on the Project, I am only including the latest mailing to you and we will go from there. Please feel free to contact me at any time for any information or assistance that you need.

We realize what a job we have ahead of us, but we also realize the motive to do the job is the greatest - to save lives.

The cooperation and tremendous effort put forth on this project by the States and the willing hands and working hearts is heart-warming.

We hope no one is reluctant because of a lack of confidence, because, after all, this has never been done by anyone before and we are all learning together.

It has been tested in enough states, partially, to make us confident that it is one of the primary, if not THE project that will make the difference in seeking a Human Life Amendment.

Again - welcome aboard - and again - please don't hesitate to ask anything you need to know to assist in the job you have accepted.

YOURS FOR LIFE, FOR EVERYONE,

Felicia

Mrs. Felicia Goeken
National Coordinator-Voter ID
412 Langdon Street
Alton,IL 62002
Telephone 465-3211 (area code 618)

cc: Sharon Cornwaithe

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Mrs. Felicia Goeken · National Coordinator
412 Longdon St., Alton, IL 62002 (618-465-3211)

November 6, 1978

Natalie Davis
175 Wyoming
Lander, WY 82520

Dear Natalie:

Am communicating with all state coordinators and/or state directors regarding the Voter I.D. project. With the hope that everybody has some energy left after the November 7th election, as previously reported, we now have 32 state coordinators. We are not only asking for reports from those who have implemented it, we are also asking those who are just beginning to share with us any of their particular problems, whether they be financial, motivating the grass rooter, et al.

I would like to submit as complete report as possible, be it good news or bad news, to our Executive Committee at our December 1st meeting. Am also asking the various states for a projection of any material they may need in the four to six months.

We are shooting for a goal to finish this Phase I by the end of 1979, so it can be effective in the 1980 elections. We stand here prepared to help in any we can with any particular problem.

Will appreciate your cooperation.

YOURS FOR LIFE, FOR EVERYONE,

Felicia Goeken, National Coordinator
Voter Identification Project

VOTER IDENTIFICATION SURVEY
PHASE I

Definition, i.e. poll vs. survey
A survey only measures attitudes of those contacted
A Poll is a statistical sampling with projectability
OUR PROJECT IS A SURVEY

There should NOT be press announcements or newsletter articles at the local level of either the planned survey or results, without approval of the State Coordinator. Continuity in reporting concepts and releasing information should be maintained throughout the State.

Dependent upon your state organizations own tax status, and/or the organization within your State purchasing the Voter ID materials, please double-check on the us of the results. Since your State purchases the materials from NRLC, your State determines the purchasing or selling of information, i.e. use of the mailing lists.

Staffing:

For most effectiveness and controlability find full-time volunteer as Congressional District Supervisor, to 1. Recruit and train volunteers, 2. Develop flow chart of activities and calendar of deadlines for each part of the program, 3. Supervise fund-raising activities to pay for the program and 4. Organize follow-up when survey is done.

State organization participating should release its' State Coordinator for full time volunteer work as the State Coordinator if at all possible. It is a full time effort and will require all of the energy of that State Coordinator. Situation might vary where an efficient office is established that releases the State Coordinator from the actual work of written communications; but if that situation doesn't exist please try to free up that State Coordinator.

Phone Bank - Advantages
A. Easier to manage
B. Generate more enthusiasm among phoners
C. Less margin of error in questions and reporting
D. More productive per person hours.

REVIEW THE VOTER I.D. BOOK

If National News Media begins to make inquiries, PLEASE, refer to the National Coordinator.

When possible "live" workshops create much more interest and participation than written reports.

Fringe benefits of the survey:

A profile of the State - its' strengths and weaknesses
Tighter organizational structure within the State - contacts within Congressional Districts, Counties, Cities and Precincts or Wards
The recording of such information for your own state files
Increased awareness among the voters that this IS an issue to be concerned with when they go to the polls.

PLEASE UTILIZE THE NATIONAL COORDINATOR WHEN SEEKING ANSWERS TO SPECIFIC PROBLEMS OR IN SHARING A SUCCESSFUL NEW IDEA THAT HAS WORKED FOR YOU!

GOOD COMMUNICATION IS A KEY THAT OPENS MANY DOORS!

Felicia Gocken, National Coordinator

National RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE — Suite 341, National Press Bldg. — 529 14th Street, N.W. — Washington, D. C. 20045 — (202) 638-4398

July 21, 1978

UPDATE REPORT - VOTER ID PROJECT - PHASE I
TO ALL STATE DIRECTORS AND STATE COORDINATORS

A quick, one-page report was recently mailed to the Directors, with the minutes, from the National office. (A copy of that report is also enclosed with this later report to the State Coordinators).

#1. HOW IS THE VOTER ID PROJECT DOING, NATION-WIDE?
ALABAMA: Starting the project in the Montgomery area; as per telephone call from Mr. Ray Dutton, July 18, 1978.

ALASKA: As of a month ago, one legislative district completed, starting on a second.

ARIZONA: ordered first forms in December of 1977

ARKANSAS:Named State Coordinator early in 1978

CALIFORNIA:

COLORADO: Ordered first forms July 1978

CONNECTICUT:

DELAWARE:

WASHINGTON,D.C.:

GEORGIA:

FLORIDA:

HAWAII:

IDAHO:

ILLINOIS: Ordered first forms early in 1978, has State Coordinator

INDIANA:Appointed coordinator, late 1977, invited National Coordinator to State Convention; project going very well

IOWA: Appointed coordinator, late 1977, invited National Coordinator to State Convention; part of project computerized in time for their SUCCESSFUL primary election.

KANSAS:

KENTUCKY: Named State Coordinator, July 1978

LOUISIANA:

MAINE: named State Coordinator September 1977, has ordered forms

MARYLAND:

MASSACHUSETTS:

MINNESOTA: Doing a survey independent of NRLC

MICHIGAN: State Coordinator appointed January 1978, continuous material order of forms

MISSISSIPPI:

MISSOURI: Appointed State Coordinator late, 1977. First order of forms shipped February 1978.

MONTANA:

NEVADA:

NEW HAMPSHIRE:

NEBRASKA: Involved in a type of survey since early 1977. Invited National Coordinator to State Convention.

NEW JERSEY: Appointed State Coordinator early 1978.

NEW MEXICO:

NEW YORK: Appointed State Coordinator early 1978, also assistant state coordinator. Has coordinator for each Congressional District.

NORTH CAROLINA: Appointed State Coordinator September, 1977, ordered forms. December 1977.

NORTH DAKOTA:

OHIO: piloted earlier state survey. Appointed Coordinator July 1977, first order of forms November 1977.

OKLAHOMA:

OREGON: Appointed State Coordinator late 1977.

PENNSYLVANIA: Appointed State Coordinator late 1977. Pre ordered materials, late 1977.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Appointed State Coordinator, late 1977.

RHODE ISLAND:

SOUTH DAKOTA: Appointed State Coordinator, September 1977. Pre-ordered materials.

TENNESSEE: Appointed State Coordinator, September 1977. Recent phone call indicates they are ready to order forms.

TEXAS: Appointed State Coordinator July 1977. Forms ordered.

UTAH:

VERMONT:

VIRGINIA: appointment of State Coordinator in near future, possibility.

WASHINGTON:

WEST VIRGINIA: Appointed State Coordinator, July 1978

WISCONSIN: Appointed State Coordinator early 1978.

WYOMING: Appointed State Coordinator FEbruary 1978.

SUMMATION: Twenty-seven (27) States are at some stage of the Voter ID Project.

At least seven of the remaining States have indicated they are "gung-ho" on the project, and are seeking the "key person" to be State Coordinator.

IF ANY OF THE REPORTING ON THESE STATES ARE IN ERROR - PLEASE LET ME KNOW!

#2. ORDERING MATERIALS:

As of NOW, all materials will be ordered from the National Coordinator: 412 Langdon Street, Alton,IL 62002. Telephone: 618-465-3211.

All orders should come FROM the State Coordinator or the State Director. Individual chapters or organizations throughout the State MUST come through either of these two. PAYMENT SHOULD ACCOMPANY ORDER, OR AT BEST, BE MAILED WITHIN 30 days of order. (Strike that should, for the present, and add MUST).

With better arrangements on printing of forms, and shipment of materials, you do not have to place big orders. On the Forms, packed 1100 to a box, you can order one box (either 6600 names or 9900 names, depending on Form A or B), at a time as areas begin the survey, if you wish. Since we are using UPS from a central location, orders can go out same-day, or next day after order. YOU ARE NOT BILLED FOR SHIPPING, COST OF SHIPPING IS BUILT INTO THE PRICE OF FORMS.

Since the June convention we have shipped 28,400 Forms - so DO NOT WAIT UNTIL THE LAST MINUTE IF YOU ARE PLANNING TO ORDER FORMS. Let me know a little in advance, especially if it is a large order - so we won't be caught without necessary amount.

BOOKLETS: Another matter! The booklets take 4 to 6 weeks for printing. Without advance notice of a possible order, could very well deplete our supply. We must pay for books, ½ at time of printing and ½ at time the printer ships them to us. So orders on the booklets must be accompanied by payment. Again, no shipping charges to you, they are built in the price of booklet.

SUMMATION: Don't think an area of your State can't afford to do the project, or at least, START the project, since all materials do not have to be ordered at the same time, but can be ordered by your need.

#3. GOAL:
When questioned by the media at the St. Louis Convention, I told them we thought we could complete this project in 1½ years. This remark is geared to total effectiveness for the 1980 election. It is also geared because so many of the States who are involved have reported excellent side benefits, i.e. finding new people, cooperative efforts of muliple groups within the State, etc.

#3. Western Mailing Computer Service.
Each State Director and/or State Coordinator should have the brochure from Western Mailing. If for some reason - like undelivered mail - you do not have, please contact me immediately.

#4. CASSETTE TAPE: Each State Coordinator and/or State Director should have the cassette tape by the National Coordinator. If not - contact me immediately.

#5. COMMUNICATIONS: When you begin compiling your results of any given area, please forward them to me, as media will soon begin asking about our responses.
With prayers and good wishes for the hardest working people I know, YOURS FOR LIFE, FOR

MEMO: Voter Identification Proj[illegible] - Phase I
FROM: Felicia Goeken, National Coordinator
TO: State Directors and State Coordinators

July 1978: written previous to July 21 report:

#1. The new orders of Form B's are now in Alton, at 412 Langdon Street, 62002. They are pre-packaged in lots of 1100 Forms, weighing 31 pounds. Therefore, they can be shipped 3300 forms per shipment in a single day, UPS. Order packaged same day as order is received. Already 18,500 have been shipped SINCE the convention. We can get speedier service on the printing now, but PLEASE, if you are aware of intent to order in the near future, let me know so the forms will be available, i.e. if several large ordrs come in at the same time our supply may be depleted all at once, and there may be a delay, and the delay may be on YOUR order.

#2. For those who were not at the Board meeting, or may have misplaced it (attached) is a sheet to (REPLACE) the order form in the Western Mailing folder you were sent the week prior to the Convention. Destroy the one in the folder. The folder you were sent was IT. We had one for each State.

#3. I have extra cassette tapes of the one you recently received. For Directors who are finding coordinators and have need for another one, rest assured I will mail the new Coordinators a cassette as I receive their name and address.

#4. SINCE the Convention: new Coordinators have been named in Kentucky, Colorado ordered their first forms, excited interesting prospect for a Virginia coordinator, West Virginia has named a coordinator, Tennessee called and will soon be ordering forms and all in all the project is moving ahead with full speed. At present 26 States have coordinators and are at one stage or another.

#5. This brings us to a small problem. The press is beginning to ask questions about the project. They are still a bit incredulous that we are even attempting such a thing, and I'm not quite sure they are taking it seriously. HOWEVER - that is to our advantage. While you may get some local coverage when you begin the project, THIS project is one that will work better, without a lot of press or news coverage. Kind of think of us as moles, working under-ground, or working without the pro-abortionists and/or candidates realizing how much we are "digging" into their very life-line: the registered voter. If they do not take this project seriously, and if the pro-abortionists group do not copy us (as they have with so much of our strategy), in about a year and a half, just prior to 1980 elections, it is possible for us to have "under-mined" their entire back-yard. We could pull the ground right out from under them, when, having identified the registered voters, we then inform the registered voter, and most important of all, get them to the polls to vote pro-life. This project is not a glamorous one, it is not a strategy that we can bluff our way through. But if you doubt its importance, ask any elected official, or prospective candidate for office, what he would give for the results of such an identification process with the data in a computer, and volunteers to implement the project. If you wonder whether or not it is worth all of the work and the expense of doing it, then you can only ask yourself, "How much do I want to restore the right to life to all, and how much do I want a Human Life Amendment to the Constitution?" The bottom line will be decided, ultimately with the voters of this country. The people that won't move out of their easy chair to register to vote will play no part in restoring the right to life. It is the registered voter who CARES about having people in leadership roles who are willing to tackle the issues with a moral base, that will make history.

#6. We are running low on the booklets; the printing takes at least four weeks after we order, and must be paid for, ½ at printing and ½ on shipment from the printer. We must do some pre-planning on these.

#7. Finally, thank you one and all for your prepaid orders, your patience in the problems of shipping; which are now resolved, and for tackling the job.

Felicia Goeken, National Coordinator

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

National Office -- National Press Building, Suite 357 — Washington, D. C., 20045
Special Projects Office — P. O. Box 2991 — Tulsa, OK., 74101
NRL NEWS Editorial Office — 3516 Lyndale Ave., South — Minneapolis, MN 55419

April 3, 1978

To Board Members of NRLC, Inc.
& Voter I.D. State Coordinators

REPORT

Voter Identification Project - Phase I

There were so many things I wanted to share with you this past week-end, basically because I wanted your input on this Project. It is moving fast, and decisions must be made - and the assistance, both financially and creative, that I am getting from the people within the various States has proved invaluable to the project.

As National Coordinator I have been in Iowa, Indiana, Missouri, Florida and will be going to Nebraska in April. You all hive the report asking for need for specific information to be put on a cassette tape. I haven't heard from anyone yet, and time is of the essence, so I will proceed with the cassette on the basis of problems, questions and good ideas from the States that I have been in contact with.

Points of information that I wanted a sharing from the Board were:

#1. Jane Muldoon and Gloria Klein have found a computer system in Michigan who can handle any number of names that are cultivated by the survey. They are now developing that system at the best possible price--------FREE.
The system will include all of the information at the top of the survey form, plus the responses to the six questions asked.

Jane and Gloria have the cost factor for entering the information, and for labels coming out of the computer. It will be sent to you soon.

There are two ways we can work with the company. #1. NRLC,Inc. can contract with them, OR each State can contract with them individually, through the National Coordinator of the Project.

My thoughts are leaning heavily towards each State contracting separately. The reasons are two-fold. #1. Because of National's present financial situation, and #2. The concern over the States of the use of the names it will have gathered. When it becomes necessary for the States to become part of a national mailing, their names could be released, only if the Director and/or State coordinator notified the company. The burden would fall on NRLC, to maintain close cooperation and good relations with the States, and share with the States the purpose of, and content of a national mailing. I needed to know, What do you think? Iowa is ready to begin computerizing a portion of their results by the middle of May.

#2. Physical handling of materials. Judie Brown has been invaluable in her assistance with the physical mail-out, and record-keeping in the Washington office.(Pat McCormack tells me he is really developing muscles lugging boxes of forms and books).
I know it is extra work for them, and though everything is photo-copied (all exchanges of communication from myself and Judie to and from State coordinators) and exact files are in my office and in Washington it has presented some day to day problems, especially

National RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

MEMO: Voter Identification Project - Phase I
June 9, 1978
FROM: National Coordinator-Felicia Goeken

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

TO:
State Coordinators: Report from Western American Mailers* i.e. computer service
Cassette tape(one side only) - under separate cover
Board of Directors: Only those Directors who DO NOT have appointed state coordinators

*Clarification - under "1. What procedures do we use to set up my voter survey names?" Says, "Simply collect all of your voter survey forms both "A" and "B" copies." should say, "Simply collect all of the STATE SURVEY COORDINATOR'S copies of Forms A & B". (Congressional district & team captain copies will remain within those entities)

The report from Western American Mailing in Michigan was printed for our purposes, with the assistance of Jane Muldoon, and the company printed them at no cost to us. I would like to RE-EMPHASIZE the necessity of all States using the same project materials and the same computer house. Short cuts and momentary financial savings may look inviting for the moment - but the long range plans for this project and its' effectiveness in securing a Human Life Amendment depends on the entire project being done in unison, or being done in the same manner in each State.

A cassette tape is being sent, as indicated, under separate cover. (One-side is recorded by Felicia Goeken, National coordinator; one side is blank).
PURPOSE: In traveling have discovered the same basic questions are asked, and need to be answered - the written word is not digested as well as verbal explanations.
The National Coordinator's message does not go into great detail, the concept being that the State Coordinator should cut a message on the other side - detailing the needs and procedures within their own individual State. Then - have tape duplicated for distribution within your State to chapters, and/or other groups. This can serve as an educational tool and motivate and save travel for the State coordinators.
The National Coordinator's message contains no particular pearls of wisdom- but both the need and the message has been derived from requests and experience out in the field.

We will have 100,000 Form B's available by the time the Convention rolls around. My office is within 30 minutes of the Convention site. If anyone is driving or has urgent need of Form B and can tote them home, just bring your check (notice how that always comes up?) and they will be available. We will have a minimal number of Voter ID booklets at the Convention, and also minimal number of Western Mailing brochures.

Several coordinators have indicated they have been so busy DOING the project, they haven't had time to report their progress. We understand, preferable that problem exists, than having many reports of not being able to get the project started. Some of you are already using your current results, we hope they are successful and you bring the good news to the Convention. We will have a workshop on the Voter ID Project on Friday, June 30th, and in addition, we are trying to set up a special caucus for the State Coordinators, and/or state Directors who are not yet into the Project.

We hope to be making some decisions at the NRLC Board meeting regards the physical implementation of ordering and handling materials, to avoid the problems we have had (actually caused by erroneous packaging at the printers).

As National Coordinator, I have learned a great deal from those of you who are implementing the project in your own states, and hopefully, we will continue to learn from each other through our successes and failures and new ideas.

See ya' at the Arch - remember our Convention theme - It's Work, But It's Worth It!

YOURS FOR LIFE, FOR EVERYONE, Felicia

Felicia Goeken - 412 Langdon, Alton, IL 62002
618-4653211

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

National Office — National Press Building, Suite 527 — Washington, D. C. 20045
Special Projects Office — P. O. Box 2991 — Tulsa, Ok. 74101
NRL NEWS Editorial Office — 5316 Lyndale Ave., South — Minneapolis, MN 55419

August 3, 1977

MEMO: To all members of the Executive Committee - NRLC, Inc. & Gloria Klein
FROM: Felicia Goeken--Co-Project Director, Voter ID Survey

As you could see from the Voter ID report I attached to the recent minutes of the Executive Committee meeting. the State Directors are interested and by way of their telephone conversations, enthusiastic about the Voter ID Project. In fact, interest is growing in many areas - and best of all, there appears to be a willingness to "self-discipline" as per Voter ID booklet, in order to build the necessary organizational structure to get the job done right.

More than one person has expressed their pleasure that National is laying out a plan involving the grass-roots, and willing to take the responsibility of leadership.

I see only one problem, and that is, if we cannot keep up with the States on the Project, they will "take off" on their on, since the grass-roots always seems to be able to outstrip the leadership.

"Keeping up" - as usual, depends on available funds to stay a step ahead.

The primary purpose of this memo is to attempt to set a policy whereby any donors who were particularly interested in ear-marking funds on the condition they be used on this project, could receive a guarantee that the funds would be used only for that purpose. I don't believe that I, as co-director, or co-Project chairman, or whatever, could do that without the approval and authority of the Executive Committee. I get more excited about this entire project each day, because of the input and interest it is receiving, and of course because it involves the grass-roots and makes them aware that National Right to Life is alive and well, and most of all, working with them.

Will certainly appreciate all counsel and suggestions and would hope to resolve it at the August 27th Executive Committee meeting.

YOURS FOR LIFE, FOR EVERYONE, Felicia Goeken

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

National Office — National Press Building, Suite 537 — Washington, D.C. 20045
State Projects Office — P.O. Box 2991 — Tulsa, OK 74101
NRL News Bureau Office — 5518 Cumbria Ave. South — Minneapolis, MN 55417

May 28, 1977

MEMO: To All NRLC, Inc. Directors
State Organizations
FROM: Voter Identification Survey Directors
Gloria Klein - Michigan
Felicia Goeken - Illinois
SUBJECT: Voter Identification Workshop at
NRLC Convention '77 (Sunday a.m.)

The National Right to Life Committee, Inc.'s Voter Identification Survey and its beginning implementation as a National project will begin at the workshop in Chicago.

A lot of time, money and effort has gone into the project, and we feel it is wise to "secure" the workshop at the Convention.

It is not our intention to "limit" it - in anyway -for "right to lifers".

However, we do not believe that the possibility of "non-right-to-lifers" attempting to capitalize on our developed plans are unreal. We have tried to come up with a method that will guarantee that ONLY right to lifers will attend this workshop; and at the same time that NONE of our right to lifers attending the Convention will miss the workshop.

YOU CAN HELP!

We are devising a card to be placed in the conventioneer's packet. It will indicate that all who choose to attend the Voter I.D. workshop should seek out their State Director, Gloria Klein, or Felicia Goeken for verification of their right to life status. Realizing that some Conventioneers may over-look the card in their packet, if you can do what time allows at the State level to make sure people from your State who want to attend the work-shop have some kind of proper identification; it will help.

We realize this is still a "less than perfect" method of accomplishing our goal - to have all right to lifers present who are interested - we believe the importance of securing the workshop is great enough to make the attempt.

YOUR COOPERATION IS GREATLY APPRECIATED!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

Card sample(not necessarily finished product)

Name State Organization Chapter

Address Zip Phone #(area code)

State Director to National Right to Life

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

National Office — National Press Building, Suite 537 — Washington, D. C. 20045
Special Projects Office — P. O. Box 2991 — Tulsa, OK. 74101
NRL NEWS Editorial Office — 5316 Lyndale Ave. South — Minneapolis, MN 55419

December 28, 1976

MEMO: All State Right to Life Offices
FROM: Felicia Goeken
SUBJECT MATTER: Registered Voter Telephone Survey

The National Right to Life Committee adopted the registered voter telephone survey as a project. Gloria Klein of Michigan and Felicia Goeken of Illinois were named to head the project. Many of you have received Illinois, Michigan and Ohio's format for conducting the survey. In order to make a nation-wide report to the Board of Directors of National at their January Board meeting, will you please provide the following information?

1. Has the survey been started in your State?
2. If it has, can you send a sample of the format used?
   If not, can you state the reason?
3. Can the National Right to Life Committee provide specific assistance to you?
   What particular assistance is needed?
4. Thus far, all three States named above have shown extremely high pro-life results - if you have ANY results tallied, will you please include them in your report.

We will appreciate all comments and questions concerning the registered voters telephone survey for compilation by January 15th. Please send directly to Mrs. Felicia Goeken, 412 Langdon Street, Alton, Illinois 62002.

Thank you!

YOURS FOR LIFE, FOR EVERYONE,

Felicia Goeken

Mrs. Felicia Goeken

FILE V.I.D. ALASKA

November 17, 1977

MEMORANDUM OF ACTION

TO: STATE VOTER I. D. CO-ORDINATOR Mr. Bill Moffatt

FR: Felicia Goeken, NRLC VOTER I.D. Director

RE: 3 part snap-out V.I.D. Record Form

First of all, I must ask you to take this information to your State Board immediately as I will require a response from you within fifteen days of receipt of this letter.

The three-part snap-out forms can be ordered from a printer NOW. However, the cost of this order will total $8,000. This amount will give us 100,000 of form A and 100,000 of form B - enough of each form to satisfy our immediate requirements as we implement the V.I.D. program within your state.

Unfortunately, the National Right to Life Committee does not have this total amount in reserve at this time. Therefore, I must ask that your state assist us so that this printing can get underway now. If I am able to order the forms by December 1, you will all have your required number no later than February 1, 1978.

Therefore, TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE. Remember, the Voter I.D. Survey can be the single most effective tool that the right-to-life movement has ever had. All it requires is a little sacrifice which must be made now in order for us to achieve our goal in the near future.

WHY ARE TWO FROM NECESSARY? Because, certain states list their voters by street while others list them in alphabetical order. We must have forms to accomodate both types of voter listings at the state level.

-CAN YOU SEND AT LEAST $100?

-WILL YOU TAKE THE 3-PART SNAP OUT FORM IN EXCHANGE FOR THIS AMOUNT OF MONEY?

-CAN YOU SEND THIS AMOUNT OR A LARGER AMOUNT NOW?

Please, consider the ramifications of NOT being able to implement our Voter I.D. I can't imagine that we would fail simply because of purse strings. We really need your help - we thank you for giving it to us.

Yours for life for everyone,

(Mrs.) Felicia Goeken
Voter I.D. Director

VOTER IDENTIFICATION SURVEY PROJECT
Developed by Mary Pat Marshall
State Coordinator - Indiana

SAMPLE COUNTY
Population 30,000

CALLS NEEDED: 5,000
WORKERS NEEDED: 1. Team Captain Supervisor
2. Team Captains (2) two
3. Phoners (20) Twenty

Team Captain Supervisor

Team Captain A		Team Captain B	
Phoners		Phoners	
1	6	1	6
2	7	2	7
3	8	3	8
4	9	4	9
5	10	5	10

BUDGET: (Based on 5,000 calls and 20 phoners)

Booklets (23)	$4.00
Forms (840)	33.60
Mailings (2,500)	187 50
Printing (5,000)	100.00
Phones(3 for 1 month)	214.00
Office	100.00
	$639.10

PHONE PLAN: 3 workers per day for 23 days in March

25 calls per phoner per hour
x3 phoners
75
x3 hours shift
225
x23 working days
675
5175 total calls made

ample (tentative schedule) based on fourmonths

nuary/February
Preparation:
Voter Registration List
Budget
Place to phone
Information on Incumbents
Recruiting workers and training
Begin collecting information on candidates

rch - DO PHONING

pril- 1st week:
1. meet with candidates showing results of poll thus far
2. phoning should continue

2nd week:
Prepare and print poll of candidates that will be distributed to pro-life voters. (Alternative - when phoning is completed, find block captain for each block surveyed Three days before election, get materials to block captain to pass out on his block. He also helps get the vote out on Election Day.

4th week
Mail out material(radio and newspaper coverage)

ay - Election day:
GET OUT THE VOTE!
1. Volunteers to babysit
2. Volunteers to drive
3. Volunteers to work at the polls

Have sent this to All State Right to Life Coordinators AND Board of Directors

MEMO: From Felicia Gocken
Voter Identification Survey
National Coordinator

The column on the left is a sample of tremendous amount of "brain power" and "drive" being exercised by the grass-roots movement in connection with National Right to Life's Voter Identification survey

As you know, National Right to Life Committee is a 501 (c) (4) organization who does not endorse candidates. Our National Voter ID Project is geared to only identifying the pro-life registered voter.

However, the imagination and dedication of local right to life organizations is unlimited. Since the Forms used in the National project are marginally defined, i.e "local" - Congressional District - and State, we are sure the use of the information will be unlimited at the local and State level.

The booklet developed by National for the Voter ID Project - Phase I, is complete, but as I travel to the various States and speak with Boards and at State Conventions, I have discovered some very basis questions - almost the same questions in each State - that need to be answered.

Several people have suggested that a cassette tape by the National Coordinator would be very helpful for the State Coordinators. There is every intention to make such a recording within the next few weeks, for distribution to the State Coordinators.

Therefore - I am asking the State Coordinators to call or write me within the next week, and advise me of particular information they would like to see included on the tape.

States that do not have coordinators yet, will be contacted through their Director to the National Right to Life Committee.

Information concerning local and/or State informational materials, such as Indiana has developed, and problems and creative concepts used for particular problems in particular locales, i.e. such as Nebraskas' use of CBs should be shared, so we can all help each other.

YOURS FOR LIFE, FOR EVERYONE,
Felicia Gocken

If only ALL the hands that reach could touch.

MOST OFTEN QUESTIONS ASKED ON VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
(This type of information to be included on cassette tape)

1. What will happen to the names collected?

2. Will there ever be a mailing or action taken with the names from our area without prior consultation or approval from our State?

3. How is the project going to be funded?

4. If we can't get it done by our time schedule - how do we update it?

5. Why do we have to have triplicate forms, won't just one do?

6. What other benefits can we realize when the project is completed?

7. If, as you say, tests have proven that most voters oppose the Supreme Court decision, why aren't pro-abortion candidates defeated?

etc., etc., etc., etc.

I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT IF WE GET OVER THE "MOLE HILLS" THE MOUNTAIN WILL

TAKE CARE OF ITSELF.

So please add to my list the questions you are being asked the most and we will get them answered on the cassette; hopefully on one side; then the State Coordinator can put their message on the other side.

In this manner they can be used "within" pro-life groups for education on the Voter ID.

In fact you can save 13¢ if you are one of the States who have received the forms and respond to the informational request that you recently received concerning the possibility of receiving twice as many forms as you ordered.

Thank you kindly,

Felicia

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

National Office - National Press Building, Suite 537 - Washington, D.C. 20045
Special Projects Office — P.O. Box 2491 — Tulsa, Okla. 74101
NRL News National Office — 5516 Lyndale Ave. South — Minneapolis, Minn. 55419

Minutes

National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

The Turf Hotel - Albany, New York - October 1, 1977 Convened 9:30 a.m.

The quarterly Board of Directors meeting of the National Right to Life Committee was called to order by the Chairman of the Board, presiding officer, Dr. Carolyn Gerster.

ROLL CALL: Attached - 31 Present, 3 Present by Proxy (total throughout Board meeting)

Parliamentarian - Mr. James Bopp

Guests: Anthony Lauinger, James Bothell, Fran Warson, Mr. Ross, Ed Golden

QUORUM: Quorum established with 25 Directors present.

MOTION: Onofrio, seconded
"To adopt standing rules, as read by the Chair".
MOTION PASSED: voice vote

DISCUSSION: Agenda

MOTION: Celine Williams, seconded
"To adopt agenda as read by the Chair"
MOTION PASSED: voice vote

MINUTES OF PREVIOUS MEETING:
MOTION: Tj Bosgra, seconded
"To adopt minutes of previous meeting, with correction offered by the Secretary"
MOTION PASSED: voice vote
CORRECTION TO June 1977 Board meeting:
LEGAL ACTION PROJECT: Special members appointed by Dr. Mildred F. Jefferson, to assist the legal action project: Bob Winn, Chairman; Andrew O'Keefe, litigation, Thea Rossi Barron, Robert Dopi of Iowa, and Mary Hunt.

TREASURER'S REPORT: Mrs. Mary Hunt, assisted by Mrs. Judie Brown
Mrs. Hunt announced opening of a reserve savings account for deposit of percentage of revenue from direct mail receipts.
Financial statement was distributed to Board members present.
Treasurer gave verbal presentation of unaudited quarterly report with assistance of Mrs. Brown from the Washington office.
MOTION: Mary Hunt, seconded
"That the Board enter into a closed session for remainder of Treasurer's financial report"
MOTION PASSED: voice vote - no dissent
Treasurer reminded members of standing rule which requires each Director who receives a written financial report to acknowledge receipt by Director's own signature.
The treasurer gave a complete report, updated to September 29th on accounts payable and accounts receivable of all three offices, Washington, Tulsa and National Right to Life News.
REPORT ACCEPTED BY CHAIR

PRESIDENT'S REPORT: Dr. Mildred F. Jefferson

Dr. Jefferson reported on the Hyde language, restated NRLC's position for the Hyde language of last year, urged continual bombardment of our own Congressmen. Reported on near collapse of most recent conference committee, and that it appeared the Conference almost collapsed trying to compromise - with no visible reason.

Report on NRLC Convention '77 documentary

NRL News: Dr. Jefferson reported that applications for editors and proposals for printers were coming in, various considerations underway.

DISCUSSION: Documentary - State participation, i.e. assuming responsibility for payment of TV shows done in each State.

President reported on two resolutions to be considered for implementation concerned with financial status.

MOTION: Felicia Goeken, seconded,

"That all transfer of funds from the General Account in D.C. shall require the approval of two out of the following three people:
President, Vice-President and Treasurer"

MOTION PASSED: voice vote

MOTION: Ann O'Donnell, seconded,

"That expenditures of the corporation be immediately reduced to the projected income of $25,000 per month to include monthly operating expenditures in Washington and Tulsa, and including $5,000 monthly, thereof, to be applied to accrued debt."

MOTION PASSED: with the States of Texas and Washington abstaining.

DISCUSSION: John Wadday, Tennessee director, commenting on assistance received by States from National projects, urged all States to assist National in raising money to defray current indebtedness.

RECESS: 12 noon, lunch

RECONVENED: 1:30 P.M.

REPORT: Special Project Vice-President - Dr. Robert Krebsbach
Present concept of local showings of documentary with telephone banks tied in
Availability of video tapes in 2" and 3/4" reels. 2" for TV stations, and 3/4" for viewing and use on video tape machines. Directors interested in purchasing video tapes should contact Tulsa office.

Additional guests: Prof. Robert Byrne, Kathy Quinn, John Grimes, Ernie Ohlhoff

REPORT: Resolution committee - Geline Williams
Mrs. Williams reported out the following 3 resolutions:

"Whereas Sean Morton Downey, a dedicated worker in the cause of the right to life, has generously given to the National Right to Life Committee all rights to his beautiful recording of "Gotta Right to Live,"

We, the Board of Directors of the National Right to Life Committee, express our admiration and gratitude for his generosity and commitment in singing for the unborn child."

"Whereas, an important contribution contribution to the pro-life cause in America

has been made by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops through the initiation and implementation of the Pro-Life Pastoral Plan, and
Whereas, we hereby reaffirm our continued mutual commitment toward the restoration of the value and reverence for each human life in society,
BE IT RESOLVED, that a fromal letter of commendation and congratulation be sent from the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., to the National Conference of Catholic Bishops to commemorate the second anniversary of the Pro-Life Plan in November of 1977."

"Whereas, the full implementation of political action is necessary to affect the goals of the right to life effort, a Human Life Amendment to the Constiution, and
Whereas the implementation reqires the continued support and election of Congressmen who are dedicated to the principles of our founding fathers, the guarantee of the inalienable right to life,
The National Right to Life Committee recognizes and commends the founding of the Life Amendment Political Action Committee, known as LAPAC,Inc.
We encourage the cooperation and support the efforts of LAPAC,Inc."

MOTIONS:
#1-Sean Morton Downey---Motion:Felicia Goeken, seconded
MOTION PASSED-voice vote
#2-National Conference of Catholic Bishops---Motion, Jean Doyle, seconded
MOTION PASSED-voice vote
#3-LAPAC,Inc.-Motion to table for further discussion, Mary Hunt, seconded
MOTION PASSED- voice vote

REPORT-By-laws Committee - Charles Onofrio
MOTION: Charles Onofrio, seconded
"To adopt Amendment as sent to Board members under Article VIII, paragraph 1A"
AMENDMENT: Dr. Mildred F. Jefferson:"To amend by dealing separately with Associate membership."
AMENDMENT PASSED: voice vote
DISCUSSION: Legal implications assuring state organizations corporate status is the same as Nationals', dropping the wording of individual in membership,
MOTION: Felicia Goeken, seconded
"That the Article Viii amendment be referred to the legal advisory committee"
AMENDMENT: Dr. J.C. Willke, seconded,
"That Article VIII be referred to the Executive Committee, for a legal opinion".
AMENDED MOTION: Carried, voice vote

REPORT: Finance Committee-Dr. Robert Krebsbach
Discussion of Revenue sharing and offer of professional assistance to States' Fund Raising efforts.

REPORT: States Organization-Bill Polito
MOTION: Bill Politio, seconded, that Board go into a closed session
MOTION PASSED, voice vote

Mr. Polito presented each Director present with written legal evaluation on tax status and political action organization. Evaluation included latest update on IRS and FEC regulations of organizational structures.

REPORT: Thea Rossi Barron
Information on disposition of Hyde language, conference committee and White House meeting with Midge Constance(Dr. Jefferson, Dr. Willke and Ms. Barron).

Discussion: John Waddey reports Tennessee has passed a resolution to support NRLC, Inc.
Urged Directors to be "member" 52 weeks a year in support of NRLC.
RECESSED: 5:35 P.M.

RECONVENED: October 2nd, 9 A.M.

REPORT: Credentials Committee-Jean Doyle
"Sara Thomas of Guam, qualified for At-Large Director"
MOTION: Jean Doyle, seconded,
"That Sara Thomas be elected as at-large Director"
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

REPORT: State Programs(Mary Believeau & Sharon Cornwaithe), Believeau, reporting
DISCUSSION: "What should states programs be?", i.e. coordination with other committees to develop specific programs, request reports from States as to type of assistance needed for individual states programs.

REPORT: Citizen's Lobby-Jean Doyle
Plans to coordinate state "right to Lifers" trained for lobbying in Washington. Suggested that January would be ideal time. Chairman of Citizen's lobbyists would coordinate the trained lobbyists, lay out schedule's for coming into Washington, D.C., right to life groups and States' Organizations willingness to send their lobbyist to Washington for the organized, cooperative effort.
MOTION: Sally Rausher, seconded
"That each State will be responsible for assigning two people for the official NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE Lobby Committee".
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

REPORT: Legal Action Project - Mary Hunt and Jim Bopp
Contacts and cases referred to Special Counsel: 36 from 21 States
Cases referred but declined: 11
Cases recomended to Legal Liaison Comm.: 6
Cases approved: 5
Cases Declined: 1
Cases pending with Special Counsel's office: 6
DISCUSSION: Ken Vanderhoef and Willian Polito recommended that medical malpractise suits with damages should not be bais for suit for NRLC.

NRLC Convention Report: Ann O'Donnell
Report on plans for Convention '78 at Stauffer Towers in St. Louis, Missouri
Tenative program presented to Directors.
Convention Report '77, Marcy Sneed:
Presented complete financial report (attached)
MOTION: Dr. Willke, seconded
"To commend Convention '77 Committee on a most successful Convention".

REPORT: Voter Identification Survey Project, Phase 1 - Felicia Goeken
(Attached) Report on States who have appointed Coordinator's for survey. Prices on two-part and three-part snap out computer ready forms. Completed books available within two weeks @ 15¢ each, computer forms, if ordered in cooperative effort for quantity prices will be 4¢ each. Reiteration of need to cooperate with plans as set forth in Voter ID booklet, for a successful nation-wide effort.
Dr. Jefferson announced that Felicia Goeken will be National Coordinator, to be placed on salary and expense for implementation of the project.
MOTION: Felicia Goeken, seconded
"To adopt the 3-part snap out forms for the survey"
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

DISCUSSION: Ken Vanderhoef appealed for funds for AUL case pending. Dr. Jefferson requested that copies of donations to AUL be sent to NRLC to record as additional funds to AUL thru NRLC.

MOTION: Mary Hunt, seconded:
"That the Board of Directors appoint a Newspaper Review Committee composed of; Dr. Carolyn Gerster, Marge Montgomery, Mary Ellen Mulholland, Celine Williams and Bill Collition. Purpose of this committee will be to review the present operating proceedures and policies of NRL News and to recommend either their continuance or to propose changes thereto at the January meeting of the Board".
DISCUSSION: Dr. Carolyn Gerster read a letter from Alice Hartle, former NRL News Editor, to the Board of Directors.
MOTION TO ALLOW READING BY Ann O'Donnell, seconded: carried voice vote.

MOTION FAILED: voice vote

DISCUSSION: Publisher Dr. Jefferson assured Directors that future issues would be forthcoming. Time being near adjournment time no further action was recommended.

Meeting adjourned: 12 noon.

Minutes Approved Jan 21/1978 (date)

Felicia R. Goeken

Felicia R. Goeken, Secretary

Carolyn Gerster M.D.
Chairman of the Board

October Board meeting report

UPDATE Voter Identification Survey Project - Phase I

ALABAMA
ALASKA
ARIZONA: Nancy Roach(Coordinated, first order for forms received)
ARKANSAS
CALIFORNIA: Mrs. Driesbach
COLORADO
CONNECTICUT
DELAWARE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
FLORIDA: Katherine Walsh
GEORGIA
HAWAII
IDAHO
ILLINOIS: Mrs. Darlene Degenhardt(First presentation to state-wide, October 15th)
INDIANA
IOWA: Robert Dopf (F. Goeken attending state-wide meeting October 22nd-Iowa paying expenses)
KANSAS
KENTUCKY
LOUISIANA
MAINE: Nancy Cote
MARYLAND
MASSACHUSETTS
MICHIGAN: Meeting planned for structure.
MINNESOTA: Ruby Kerbeste (proceeding with own structure)
MISSISSIPPI
MISSOURI
MONTANA
NEBRASKA: Ann Bowen
NEVADA
NEW HAMPSHIRE
NEW MEXICO
NEW YORK Payment for 6600 booklets
NORTH CAROLINA: Mr. John W. Dowd
NORTH DAKOTA
OHIO: Mr. Bill Brueggmeyer
OKLAHOMA
OREGON: Mrs. Linda Peccie
PENNSYLVANIA: Denise Neary
RHODE ISLAND
SOUTH CAROLINA
SOUTH DAKOTA: George Bondora
TENNESSEE: Mr. Kent Pruett
TEXAS: Mr. Tom Murphy
UTAH
VERMONT (response, working on Coordinator)
VIRGINIA(response, working on Coordinator)
WEST VIRGINIA
WISCONSIN
WYOMING

NYPLC: F. Goeken attending Convention for program on Voter ID(NYPLC COVERING EXPENSES)

DIRECTORS AND/OR COORDINATORS REQUESTED TO REPORT TYPE OF REGISTRATION USED IN STATE, ie listed by streets or voters names alphabetically.
Orders for booklets and/or forms must be accompanied by payments.
Registration lists by streets will carry 9 names on each form
Registration lists alphabetically will carry 6 names on form.
Booklets 15¢ each, computer ready forms(3-part snap out) 4¢ each

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE -- Suite 341, National Press Bldg — 529 14th Street, N.W. -- Washington, D.C. 20045 — (202) 638-4366

MINUTES

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC. - EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

August 25 - 26, 1978 O'Hare Hilton, Chicago, Illinois

CALL TO ORDER: 8:40 P.M August 25, Presiding: Dr. Carolyn Gerster, President

ROLL CALL: Dr. Carolyn Gerster, Ann Bowen, Ann O'Donnell, John Waddey, Dr. Bill Colliton. Felicia Goeken
Guests: Sean Morton Downey, Jr , James Bopp, Esq., General Counsel
Arriving late: August 25th, Dr. J.C. Willke, Jane Muldoon

OPENING PRAYER: John Waddey

MINUTES: Secretary, Felicia Goeken, read minutes from previous meeting; Minutes approved as read.

AGENDA: Treasurer's Report:Dr. Colliton
NRL News: William Moloney
LAPAC: Sean Morton Downey, Jr.
Fund-raising: James Bothell
Defenders of Life: Dr. J.C. Willke
Legislative and Lobbying

Treasurer's Report: Dr. Colliton

Operational costs being determined as record-keeping, previously in various offices, all being drawn together. Modus-operandi: two signatures to transfer from general account to the operating account. The treasurer asked the administrative element to prepare a budget, projecting proposed annual income and expenditures
Treasurer will be preparing a cash flow form each week and accounts payable on a current basis for a current report to the Board each meeting
Also recommened reinstitution of a percentage (5%) to be set aside in a savings account
The President suggested, if no objection, that copies of flow sheet be sent to the Executive Committee.

DISCUSSION: Current situation regarding solution of dollar figures with Liz Jefferies and Media V accounts.

MOTION: Dr. William Colliton, seconded

"With regard to trying to settle those business problems of the previous administration, in areas of dispute or disagreement, the General Counsel for the Corporation will obtain all documentation available from NRLC,Inc. resources and those making a claim against the Corporation.
With this data in hand, the General Counsel will recommend to the President and the Executive Committee, a variety of actions that may be considered."

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

REPORTS: Voter ID Project-Felicia Goeken

attached

Reported approximately 30 States in some stage of Voter ID Written report and inventory presented to the Treasurer All accounting to be handled from the Washington office, all materials from project to be expedited from Alton

Legal Action Project: James Bopp, Esq

Report on Akron-type ordinance in Louisiana, Florida case,etc. Noted that original appropriation from the Board for the project was $75,000 the first year, $125,000 the second year Due to local funding and assistance from local attorneys, the cost has been less than $20,000
Reported the good of defending legislative victories Greater service if positive and affirmative actions can be taken. Most exciting area, attacking euthanasia legislation before enactment which might possibly avoid the need for legislative battles at later date.

MOTION: Ann O'Donnell, seconded

"That the NRLC Convention Standing Committee Chairman investigate possible convention sites and make recommendations to the Board.
Upon the appointment of a State Convention Chairman, that authority for that Convention will be vested in that State Chairman of that Committee. The NRLC Convention Chairman will be available for consultation at the invitation of the State Committee.
The total expense to NRLC,Inc. for investigation and consultation will not exceed $500 annually

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

RECESS: 11:30 P.M.

RECONVENED: August 26, 1978 9:30 a.m.

Present, in addition to original roll call, Kenneth VanDerhoef, Esq.

Schedule for Executive Committee and Board meetings for the year 1978-1979

Executive Committee to meet approximately every six weeks. When in conjunction with the Board meeting, Exec. Comm. will meet all day prior, others will be all day Saturday, and Friday evening before.

DATES:

Executive Committee	October 27, 1978 - Rodeway Inn, Chicago (all day)
BOARD	October 28 - 29 - Rodeway Inn, Chicago
Executive Committee	December 1 - 2 - St. Louis
Executive Committee	January 19th - Washington, D.C
BOARD	January 20 - 21 - Washington,D C
Executive Committee	March 2 - 3
Executive Committee	March 30
BOARD	March 31-April 1
Executive Committee	May 18 - 19
Executive Committee	June 20 - 9 a.m
BOARD	June 20 - noon - June 21 - noon

NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO MEET 9 a.m. June 22 for transition duties.
NRLC ANNUAL CONVENTION June 21 - 24

REPORT - NRL News: Bill Moloney

Editor reported on concept of State newspaper insertion in NRL News 4 pages, $150 first thousand, additional $6.00 per thousand

MOTION:

"That the Editor of NRL News prepare a cost factor report for insertion of State newspapers in NRL News for a 5,000 mailing and a 20,000 mailing. Each State to bear its own cost. Report to be presented to Ann O'Donnell".

MOTION CARRIED : voice vote

Discussion of label service to NRL News. Computer house needs 17 days notice Editor to send changes every week - changes can be returned within 5 days. Dr. J. C. Willke, as special projects officer will make the contact to assure efficient label service to newspaper.
Report on increasing circulation; to have envelope inserts, gift subscriptions, names of three friends for one-time corpimentary issue. Current circulation 37,000, 14,500 subscribers, others are donors. Editor reported aborption of 35,000 donor names with no cost provided.
Master list shows 12,400 subscribers ($6.00 per year) and 23,662 donors within past 6 months of $3.00 or more. This totals 36,062 does not equalize with master list total of 45,834.
Accountant recommends subscription receipts go to area responsible and no names be added except by subscription. (Under 2nd class postage limited to 10% free).
Discussion on primary purpose of NRL News, i.e. composed to serve the unititated, hort news stories, case follow-ups.
Editor: runs newspaper, hiring and firing, by-lines etc.
Policy: Board of Directors
Publisher: Monthly column
Recommendation - spot light the President, other featured column decided on content with Vice-President.

LAPAC Report: Sean Morton Downey, Jr
Written brochure to Executive Committee - personal qualifications:
Lawyer by education, lobbyist by background, past 12 years.
ITT-General Manager & Vice Pres - 1972-1976 Democrat National Committee.
Will make contact through State NRLC Directors for State LAPAC's.
Members of LAPAC Board: Sean Morton Downey,Jr.,Dr Carolyn Gerster, Dr. Robert Sassone, Paul Brown, Felicia Goeken, Dr. J. C. Willke, Jean Doyle.Death Valley Walk will share with States who send a person to participate, i.e. pledges from that State
Report on previous weeks contacts on the Hill. Asked for consideration as NRLC's lobbyist, present calendar for scheduling of lobbying, and budget proposal.
Recessed: lunch 12:15 P.m
Reconvened: 12:35 p.m.

Discussion of purposes and needs for lobbyist. President has received resignation of Thea Barron. Concentration on RLA, need for policy to direct the lobbyist from the Board of Directors.

REPORT: Fund-raising, James Bothell
Discussion of past problems and possibility of working together in the future.
Failings since June board meeting for purpose of "doing as much for each other as possible with as little damage as possible to NRLC or Bothell".
Bothell has been paid August consultation fee of $2,000 and all NRLC,inc. debts incurred in mailing to be paid immediately.

Mr. Bothell stated he feels he has been sorely abused, financially & personally. Stated that the computer program has developed 14,000 names at Bothell expense. Claimed short-sightedness on part of the Board was responsible for failure to raise project 3,000,000 dollars this year.
Figure of 30¢ per dollar raised submitted. Discussion of list ownership and use of. Dr. Willke cited problems in converting a tape, Mr. Bothell indicated he should contact Mr. Hitchcock (programmer) and he would assist.
Mr Bothell stated that a long term contract would assure the surrender of ownership of the list mentioned in the contract, i.e. ownership would rest with NRLC.
Reported 57,000 total on tape; 38,000 active, 4,000 information mailing, 2,000 should not receive any mail

MOTION: Ann O'Donnell, seconded

"Not to renew the James Bothell, Inc. contract"

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

MOTION: Ann Bowen, seconded

"That NRLC, Inc. enter into an agreement with Francis Litz, for no more than two fund-raising mailing, prior to October 27, 1978 Board meeting.

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote
RECOMMENDATION: That proposals from directmail firms(including Bothell) be considered.
REPORT: Special Project - Dr. J.C. Willke

Defenders of Life fundraising program.Revenue sharing plan, local and/or State organizations, and National Right to Life. 15 member Board to remain independent of NRLC. Percentages still being worked out - but basic break-down allows 10% to State organizations, 10% to NRLC,Inc., and 40 - 45% to primary organization designated by donor, 20% discretionary for grants and loans and 20% operational. Board members include Dr. Willke, Dr Gerster, John Waddey, Ann O'Donnell, Bill Polito, Jean Doyle, Margaret Turk. Complete report to be presented to Board of Directors in October

Report on Washington office to be mailed.

MEETING ADJOURNED: 5:05 P.M.

Approved 10/27/78 (date)

Felicia Goeken, Secretary

Dr. Carolyn Gerster, President

April, 1978

VOTER IDENTIFICATION SURVEY PROJECT - PHASE I

ORIGINAL BUDGET : Board appropriation $10,000.00

Travel for committee review	$990.00
Design-type setting, camera ready	750.00
Illustration	300.00
Cover design & logos	150.00
Editing	700.00
Bannon	2110.00
	$5000.00
Booklets Printing costs; 20,000	2200.00
	$7200.00

INCOME

Purchase of Materials by States

Books	$1,525.87
Forms	2,652.00
Forms (acct. rec/ble)	972.00
	$5,149.87
Donations, other than material purchases	$1,024.80
Total income	$6,174.67

EXPENDITURE

May 10, 1977

Voter Survey Conference

Air fares	$664.00	
Hotel	56.34	
Goeken	68.90	(phone)
Bannon	88.00	(phone)
Meals & meeting room	101.55	
Limo	12.00	
Bannon: preparation & meeting	212.00	
		$1202.79 paid

Booklets

Design, type setting camera ready	$750.00
Illustration	300.00
Cover Design & logos	150.00
Editing	700.00
Printing (20,000)	2200.00
Bannon	1898.00
	$5998.00
	$7200.79 paid

Salary-National Coordinator
$378.83 e/o week
(started in October)

TOTAL as of March 30th $3,409.47

Misc. expenses (shipping) not totaled

FORMS

(Savings of $1183.00 from original price, by competitive bidding)

200,000	$4798.00 paid
Air-freight for January	76.00 paid

INVENTORY

Form A	10 cases	$730.00
Form B	½ case	36.00

Plus overshipment to States (still checking) unknown factor
(1800 forms per case)

Books

Approx. 8,000 (@ 15¢ ea. $1200.00

Total inventory plus unknown factor in the field $1966.00

INCOME	$6,174.67
INVENTORY	1,966.00
	$8,140.67 plus unknown factor in the field

ORIGINAL APPROPRIATION- March, 1977	$10,000.00
Meeting, plans, books, & Coordinator salary (thru March 1978)	$10,610.26
Forms-designed, printed & shipped	$ 4,874.00
EXPENDITURE	$15,484.26
INCOME & INVENTORY	8,140.67
plus unknown factor, which could be as high as $3,600.00	

Total expenditure minus income & inventory dependent on unknown factor could be either $7,343.59 or $3,700.00.

MINUTES

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC. - QUARTERLY BOARD MEETING
APRIL 7-8, 1979 - RODEWAY INN, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

CALL TO ORDER: 9:35 A.M.
PRESIDING: Joan Doyle - in the absence of the Chairman of the Board
INVOCATION: John Waddey
ROLL CALL: Quorum established. (See attached roll call.)

AGENDA

MOTION - Bill Colliton
To adopt agenda as presented.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

SECRETARY'S REPORT - Felecia Goeken
Jack Willke requested the following correction in the minutes:
Page 4 - Delete "Groups must be 501(C)(4) status for contractual agreement as a primary group."
Add "PACs will not qualify for use of the Defenders fundraising method."

MOTION - Bill Colliton
To accept the secretary's report as corrected.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

TREASURER'S REPORT - Bill Colliton
A written report was distributed to the Board. This report is being attached to the minutes sent to Board members who were not present. Under Dr. Gerster's direction the expenses have been reduced considerably. In a three month period the average monthly expenses have been cut from $59,000 to $54,000. Also, the change in fund deficit came in the face of greatly reduced monthly income. A meeting of the Budget Review Committee is scheduled for May 18. Mr. Colliton was commended by the Board for the excellent work he has done.

FUNDRAISING REPORT - Jack Willke
Results of the recent fundraising direct mail appeals: Oct. legal action letter and follow-up $89,000, Nov. voter identification letter $34,500 (mailed late), Christmas letter $26,000 (mailed late). The recent PEACE letter replaced the scheduled letter and is a possible bonanza with $36,000 coming in the first 9 days. A follow-up will be sent soon. This is a C-3 mailing, and an analysis has been made showing that 57% of the functioning of the Washington Office can be paid with C-3 funds.

The mailing list is growing substantially. It is double what we had from Bothell with a total mailing of 68,000. Dr. Willke thanked those who have been sending in names from the state organizations. Maryland sent 50,000 names from petition papers and prospected 10,000 of these with volunteers handstuffing the mailing. Florida has sent in 4,500. A total of 6,500 has come from Alaska, Arkansas, and Dayton. Nebraska is preparing a contract for the use of their names. Massachusetts has offered 80,000 for a one-time mailing. These will be sent the PEACE letter. Dr. Willke asked all the Directors to request their states to submit names. He emphasized that if we could send the PEACE letter to enough new donors, it is possible that we could eliminate all our debts.

NRLC has just acquired a nonprofit mail permit for the C-4 to mail at the nonprofit 2.7¢ rate rather than 9.4¢ each. Dr. Willke urged all states who have not applied for this nonprofit rate or have been denied it to contact Sandy Faucher, Director from Maine, for information how to get a nonprofit permit. Maine won the initial appeal from Washington and has a packet of information available on the application and appeal procedure.

NRL News mailings: total of 13,231 in March - existing: of 9,700 paid subscriptions, 200 samples 370 sent to $100 donors, and 3,000 sent to Old donors. This 13,000 range has been held for the past 3 months.

The Defenders fundraising project is in operation. San Diego and Cincinnati are now receiving monthly income checks. The Board of Directors has dropped to 14 due to one resignation. A Defenders Board meeting will be held in June in conjunction with the NRLC Convention. The sign-up card is being redesigned. Defenders has start-up costs to liquidate, and states are urged to send in donor cards as soon as they are signed. Directors were reminded that this is not an organization to join - it is a method to raise funds.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT - Dr. Carolyn Gerster

The Executive Committee is working well as a team. The January Board meeting resolution to reduce the expense budget has resulted in the following: Tulsa office closed, WATS line taken out, NRL News dropped free mailings - reduced from 55,000 to 19,000, Washington Office staff cut and salaries reduced, small copy machine eliminated, Washington Office rent reduced by $700 by eliminating rooms, requests sent out that mailing packets be paid for by recipients, volunteers have replaced some staff, resignation of Jack Felky and Judie Brown. The resignation of Judie Brown and the circumstances surrounding it were explained in depth to the Board. After volunteering to go on part time at half salary, Judie requested reinstatement of her full salary of $30,000 and expenses of $500 per month. Due to the financial condition of NRLC this was not possible.

Dr. Gerster advised that the NRLC logo (double circle and flame) is now being used by the Crusade for Life and was on the recent fundraising letter from Dr. Jefferson for Crusade for Life. Jim Bopp will check to see whether the NRLC logo was ever copyrighted, and Dr. Gerster will be sending a letter explaining the use of this logo to our donors. A resolution was read from Massachusetts Citizens for Life denying any affiliation with Crusade for Life, and it was suggested that other states can use the same wording to explain the situation.

The Judge has ruled on the Bothell contracts that the C-4 contract is still in effect but the C-3 is not under contract and can be used freely. The committee to settle the suit will have to make a decision as soon as possible. Another meeting between NOW and pro-life groups is scheduled for April 19; NRLC will not participate. The Three Year Plan for a Human Life Amendment prepared by Chuck Donovan was presented to the Board and will be mailed to all Board members. A Selection Committee consisting of Ralph Shultz, Ann Bowen, and Bill Colliton was appointed to search for an Executive Director for NRLC, search to take about 6 weeks. September and January Executive Committee and Board meetings scheduled as follows: Sept. 14 - Executive Committee, Sept. 15 & 16 - Board; Jan. 19 - Executive Committee, Jan. 20 & 21 - Board.

MOTION - Jane Muldoon
That the preliminary plan that has been presented to the Board by Carolyn be circulated to the entire Board and that each state's input be solicited and a committee of 2 or 3 people be assigned the task of receiving input and preparing for the June Board meeting a final three year plan.
FRIENDLY AMENDMENT - Dr. Carolyn Gerster
Add after Carolyn "and approved by the Executive Committee meeting March 2 and 3."
FRIENDLY AMENDMENT ACCEPTED.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

Committee to review three year policy to consist of Darla St. Martin, Sharon Cornthwaite, and Ann O'Donnell.

LEGISLATIVE REPORT - Ann O'Donnell

Chuck Donovan prepared testimony and gave it before the Senate Subcommittee on HEW Appropriation He would like to know if the office should bring in persons to give testimony.

MOTION - Jeanne Head
That whenever the opportunity arises for public testimony before Congressional Subcommittees relative to the life issues, NRLC provide, whenever feasible, one or more persons to give oral testimony.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

RECESS 1:00 P.M.

RECONVENED 2:30 P.M.

LOBBYIST REPORT - Sean Downey
Sean reported that the Special Committee for Population Control was defeated. The circumstances surrounding his recent letter to the Board of Directors dealing with his resignation as lobbyist for NRLC was explained by Sean. Ann Bowen reiterated the Executive Committee's reason for asking Sean to resign from LAPAC was because it was felt that there existed a conflict between his holding positions as both NRLC lobbyist and Chairman of LAPAC. Sean stated that he would not resign from LAPAC and was therefore resigning as NRLC lobbyist.

MOTION - Bill Colliton
To recess.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

RECESS 3:00 P.M.

RECONVENED 4:45 P.M.

Dr. Gerster requested a polling of the Board as follows:

Do you endorse the recommendation of the Executive Committee to accept Sean Morton Downey's resignation as NRLC lobbyist effective April 30, 1979?

Vote by secret ballot: Yes 21 - No 9 - Abstain 1

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT - Felecia Goeken
Forms are now out to survey 2,000,000 voters with 22 states having voter ID materials. Instructions for voter registration drives interwoven with the Voter ID project were distributed. Instructions for Phase II, use of the voter ID, will come later. ✓ attached 12 copy of Document

NOMINATING COMMITTEE - Felecia Goeken
Nomination sheets were distributed to the Board. Any Board member wishing to run for office or having names to place in nomination who does not have a nomination sheet should contact Felecia. Completed sheets should be mailed to Felecia as soon as possible.

MOTION - Ann Bowen
That we elect one member to fill the vacancy on the Nominating Committee.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

NOMINATION - Sue Morris

MOTION - Jack Willke
That we accept the nominee, Suzanne Morris, by acclamation.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

Delene Williams advised the Board that a pro-life program will be aired on national television on Sunday, May 6, entitled "Old Time Gospel Hour" with Dr. Jerry Falwell.

PAC's - Felecia Goeken
Bill Polito has recommended that states have external rather than internal PAC's. A discussion ensued wherein questions were answered by those state Directors who have had experience or attended seminars concerning the organization and FEC regulations governing PAC's. All Directors were strongly urged to fully investigate the FEC and state laws before making any attempts at PAC organization and, if possible, attend seminars and workshops concerning this.

NRLC LOGO
After a telephone consultation with Jim Bopp concerning the use by Right to Life Crusade of the NRLC logo, the following motion was made:

MOTION - Sharon Cornthwaite
To authorize Dr. Gerster as the President of NRLC to take whatever steps are necessary to secure the integrity of the NRLC name and logo.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

Jim Bopp is also to investigate whether or not the logo had been previously copyrighted.

A newly developed slide presentation was shown by Indiana Right to Life concerning their organizational structure, activities, and objectives.

NRL NEWS - Bill Moloney
A need for increased circulation and advertising was emphasized. State inserts have been done for Alaska and Nebraska. A suit had been brought by the Chicago Sun-Times concerning the reproducing of "The Abortion Profiteers." Permission to reproduce had been received from the Sun-Times by Bill Moloney through a telephone conversation. 13,000 reprints had been sent to subscribers, and requests were received for more. Additional copies were printed, and these were being distributed around the country. At this point the Sun-Times notified NRL News that they were bringing suit against them for copying. The suit was settled by Bill Moloney agreeing not to print any more and to return the remaining copies he held.

RECESS 6:30 P.M.

RECONVENED 10:00 A.M.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE REPORT - Helene Williams
Directors were reminded to have proposed resolutions in to her by May 20. They should be typed, printed, or legibly written.

MOTION - John Stanton
That we continue in the usual way of handling resolutions at the Convention.
MOTION WITHDRAWN.

MOTION - Ken Hiegel
To cease discussion of resolutions.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

BY-LAWS COMMITTEE - Chuck Onofrio
No report.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE - Jean Doyle
The President will be appointing four more members to fill the vacancies on the Credentials Committee.

CITIZENS' LOBBY - Jean Doyle
The success of this project is dependent upon the states and the lobbyist on the Hill. Most states have indicated that they would be willing to handle the costs of sending people in to participate. NRLC would have to cover the costs of training and ensure the cooperation of the NRLC lobbyist. A suggestion was made for a Citizens' Lobby workshop at the Convention by invitation only. Any person who applies to lobby has to be approved by their own state board.

BRACELET PROJECT - Jack Willke
A letter will be sent to all chapters concerning the reduction in their cost of purchasing bracelets from $2.25 to $1.50, allowing chapters a $1.75 profit on each bracelet. The bracelet inventory as of 1/31 was $3,000. The present inventory may be depleted if the sales to the chapters are substantial. At that time we will have to decide whether to go back into production. We should come close to the predicted profits of $10,000 on this project.

NRLC CONVENTION - Jack Willke
Forty-four major organizations will be involved. In addition to the regular workshop rooms there will also be a caucus room for 40-50 people available to any group who applies for its use at no charge, along with being used for small workshops. There will be an instant tape duplication booth where people can get tapes of workshops immediately at a cost of $5. Religious services will be available. Foods will be brought in, and fast food facilities are also available nearby. Jesse Jackson is tentatively scheduled to speak at the banquet. Karl Gunning, Dutch physician, will follow Dr. Brennan on Thursday night. Dr. Gunning will also be doing two workshops, news conferences, and will be introduced at the banquet. Additional information will be forthcoming in the Washington mailings.

COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS - Carolyn Gerster
The committee to prepare the final three-year plan was expanded to include the three members of the Search Committee, with Ann O'Donnell as ex officio member.

The Fundraising Committee will consist of Jack Willke and Mary Hunt with Mary heading the direct mail fundraising.

MEDICAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE - Carolyn Gerster
The NRLC position statement on euthanasia which was prepared at the January Board meeting was read to the Board.

MOTION - Jack Willke
To formally accept the euthanasia position paper.
FRIENDLY AMENDMENT - Mary Hunt
To accept the position statement on euthanasia as read by Carolyn Gerster on Sunday, April 8, with the understanding that before publication the wording will be approved by the Legal Counsel of NRLC.
FRIENDLY AMENDMENT ACCEPTED.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

The position statement will be mailed to the Board.

FLAG PROJECT - John Stanton
Flags will be available at the Convention. After the inventory is depleted we will have to decide whether we want to continue the project.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS:
STATE PAC'S
Additional discussion and questions were answered concerning the organization, activities, and regulations governing PAC's.

MARY HUNT ASSUMED RESPONSIBILITY OF CHAIRING REMAINDER OF MEETING.

NEW BUSINESS:

MARCH FOR LIFE - Jack Willke
Discussion and suggestions were made on how to improve the March, i.e., change the date, discussion with Nellie Gray.

MOTION - Lyle Evelo
That Mary Ellen Mulholland pick two more people to sit down with Nellie Gray to discuss the March.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

STATE LEGAL ACTIONS
Case in New Jersey concerning conscience clause passed in 1974. Girl asked not to work on abortions and was told she could not work on the maternity floor. The case is being taken

to Court and New Jersey Right to Life is paying legal expenses. Pennsylvania passed a "life of the mother" abortion funding bill over the Governor's veto. An injunction followed immediately, and the case is in Appeals Court now. A pro-life person is going to be appointed by the State to represent the commonwealth. AUL and Jim Bopp will also be involved. New York has funding law which just states that it agrees with the federal language and can change as the Hyde Amendment changes. Kentucky has just passed an insurance rider bill that health insurance companies would not cover abortions unless a separate premium rider is added. Blue Cross-Blue Shield has now changed their policy accordingly. Colorado is funding abortions out of state funds as the Court ruled that taxpayers do not have the right to challenge state agencies. This is now in Appeals Court. Michigan is suing the Governor and the Department of Human Services because they funded abortions without following guidelines Also, ruling made by Michigan judge that a fetus is not a person under Michigan law in the criminal code is being appealed. North Dakota tried through Health Systems Agencies to not include funds for abortions in grant money and eliminated funds this year. Virginia has passed informed consent bill and also has attorney general's opinion concerning a policeman who went into an abortion clinic to get records of a 15-year-old girl who had an abortion without the consent or knowledge of her parents. Iowa suggested that all states include feticide legislation in their criminal codes stating that it is a crime for any person other than a physician to take that life. Also suggested legislation to keep abortion funding out of employee disability coverage. South Dakota passed an informed consent bill, but their Governor vetoed.

NARAL Handbook, "Legal Abortion," is available through Ken Hiegel of Arkansas Right to Life.

MEETING ADJOURNED 2:15 P.M.

Approved June 2th 1979
Date

Sandra Faucher
Secretary
Pro Tem

Dr. Carolyn Gerster, President
Joan Doyle Acting Chairman

Democratic National Committee Publication

% State Democratic Party 1974 April Bill Pitz

This is a very general election method, and must be adapted for particular urban and rural areas, which need special considerations.

REGISTRATION

This structure could be inter-woven into the Voter ID project, If enough volunteers are available.

Exact registration information is available from County Clerk Secretary of State State Election Board

INTRODUCTION
STEERING COMMITTEE
REGISTRATION DIRECTOR
VOLUNTEER DIRECTOR
VOLUNTEER WORKERS
KNOW THE REGISTRATION LAWS AND PROCEDURES
ESTABLISHMENT OF PRIORITY AREAS
IDENTIFICATION
RECORDS CHECK
DOOR-TO-DOOR CANVASS
MAILING AND TELEPHONE CANVASSES
REGISTRATION FACILITIES
PUBLICITY FOR THE DRIVE
THE CLOSING DAYS OF REGISTRATION

INTRODUCTION

Voter registration is one of the most difficult kinds of political action.

It is difficult because the administration of registration laws is different everywhere. They are often in the hands of local officials who are over cautious. Registration laws tend to discourage rather than encourage registration.

Voter registration is one of the most rewarding kinds of political action.

The rewards are obvious. Every newly-registered voter adds to the voice of the community and to the strength of the party [illegible]

Voter registration is also critical to any election.

For example, the Freedom to Vote Task Force created by the Democratic National Committee to study registration practices and their effects has found that in the Presidential election of 1968, 47 million citizens did not vote, mainly because they were not registered. The non-voters exceeded by 17 million the total number of people who voted for the winning candidate. Five hundred thousand votes separated the major contenders. For every vote separating the major candidates, 150 people did not vote.

In 1960, there were 330 non-voters for each of the 330,000 votes that separated the major candidates. The winning Presidential candidate in 1960 on the average, carried each county by 170 votes. In each county, on the average, there were 1245 unregistered voters. The winning candidate carried each precinct, on the average by 3 votes. In each precinct, on the average, there were 221 unregistered voters.

Many techniques have been used to promote voter registration, but experience has shown that there are certain basic essentials which a registration drive should incorporate.

STEERING COMMITTEE

Careful planning is crucial to a successful drive. The first organizational step is to establish a Steering Committee of persons interested in registration and willing to assist the drive. All participating groups should be represented on the Steering Committee, and it is often possible to gain the support of other influential individuals by placing them on the committee. The Steering Committee should be as small as possible, but large enough to operate effectively. It is the single coordinating body within which each group or faction has a vote. This committee assumes even greater importance when the registration drive is being coordinated with a number of civic and non-partisan groups.

The duties of the Steering Committee are:

1. Appoint the Registration Director.
2. Appoint the Volunteer Director.
3. Organize necessary subcommittees, (such as finance, publicity and transportation. Successful registration in the precincts is accomplished by hard work, and too many committees can organize you out of business. The fewer the sub-committees, the better.)
4. Arrange for headquarters and supplies. The registration office can be located almost anywhere, but

it should be a permanent headquarters. It is often possible to obtain rent-free space.

5. If possible, persuade local officials to expand registration facilities.

The Steering Committee provides the framework within which leaders of the community can agree upon registration goals, select personnel, raise funds and keep the drive in motion.

REGISTRATION DIRECTOR

One good man or woman in charge of day-to-day operations can mean the difference between success and failure. The registration director should be a capable administrator, skilled in working with people, and acceptable to the various supporting groups. If possible, the job should be full time and salaried.

VOLUNTEER DIRECTOR

The care and feeding of volunteer workers is often overlooked in registration drives. It is necessary to have a full-time volunteer director who understands that volunteers will continue to report for work if they feel a sense of organization and accomplishment. This requires definite work schedules and the assignment of specific tasks to complete. Refreshments and transportation also should be provided whenever possible. The volunteer director is responsible for recruiting workers from supporting organizations, church and civic groups, women's clubs and young people's organizations.

The registration drive can, in fact, be carried out by non-partisan groups or groups with no direct political affiliation. The aim is to have as many people as possible eligible to vote on election day. Corporations, universities, civic clubs, schools and the media can be used as sources of workers and funds for registration drives, as well as vehicles through which to publicize the program. The party can then coordinate its activities within this context.

VOLUNTEER WORKERS

Aim for a large number of workers – Young Democrats, Democratic Women's clubs, college students, labor unions, etc.

Volunteers should be offered the kind of work they like and can do best. Those who like to work with people can ring doorbells. Women who cannot get out may do telephoning from home. Those who like office work can perform clerical duties.

Assign a specific duty to each volunteer worker, door-to-door canvassing, telephoning, mailing, record-keeping. Be sure to assign only the amount of work a volunteer can effectively handle. Constant supervision is of the utmost importance to produce effective results.

Each volunteer should be made to feel he is contributing significantly to a worthwhile program. In this regard, some points that might be stressed are:

- the importance of one vote, and the necessity of a successful registration drive to the Democratic party
- the progress of the drive - especially the number of newly-registered voters.

KNOW THE REGISTRATION LAWS AND PROCEDURES

Know who is eligible to vote, and where and when they can register. Before any drive begins, these should be checked with the county or local official charged with overseeing registration.

ESTABLISHMENT OF PRIORITY AREAS

Try to be specific and register only ~~Democratic~~ voters.

1. Establish as priorities those areas with the highest ratio of ~~enrolled~~ Democrats.
2. Establish as priorities those areas where ~~Democrat~~ candidates won or lost by a small number of votes.

If manpower permits, try to register all unregistered persons, with some basic, common-sense reservations.

IDENTIFICATION

To register large numbers of voters, it is first necessary to find out who they are and where they live. This can be done by ~~records check and door-to-door canvass~~.

RECORDS CHECK

The records check makes it possible to target your efforts directly into unregistered households. It provides field workers a list of unregistered voters with addresses and telephone numbers. The method is simple:

1. Obtain a copy of the voting list for the area in which the registration drive is to be conducted.
2. Obtain a copy of the city directory, police listing, census listing, cross-reference telephone directory, or any other document which lists the names of persons living at each address.
3. Compare these lists to determine names and addresses of those not registered.

DOOR-TO-DOOR CANVASS

The best way to get people registered is with a door-to-door canvass. Nothing is better than face-to-face contact. Before the canvass begins, the volunteers should know:

- the registration requirements of the state
- the dates, times and places to register.

In briefing volunteers, the following points should be stressed:

1. If, while canvassing or telephoning, they are asked questions they cannot answer, they must get accurate information and call back.
2. They must maintain worksheets in good order.
3. As quickly as worksheets are completed, they should

be turned in for use in the next phase of the drive.

4 Canvassing should be done between 9 A.M. and 9 P.M.

5 They should be sure to have enough copies of voter registration literature to distribute. (The literature should explain how, when and where to register, who is eligible, and what the conditions for absentee voting are, and what to do if you have changed your address.)

6 If no one is at home, call again.

7 Be friendly, helpful and courteous. Don't argue.

Suggested remarks for canvassers should be brief and to the point . . .

"Hello, my name is..... I am doing a survey on voter registration for the ~~Democratic party~~; and I dropped by because I understand that you are not registered. How many people in your house are 18 years old or over? We would be glad to have someone take you to register. Would you like to make an appointment for transportation? Will you need a baby sitter?" (These suggested remarks may be adapted for a telephone canvass.)

Don't forget . . .

Literature should be left at each household telling the date, time and place of registration.

MAILING AND TELEPHONE CANVASSES

1 Using the lists acquired, plan on a mailing to all unregistered voters in the selected areas to remind them of the deadline for registration.

2 A list should be kept of the names and addresses of all unregistered voters who will receive a mailing. Assign volunteer workers to look up the telephone numbers. Assign a specific number of telephone calls to each volunteer worker for a follow-up telephone call, and be sure to assign only the number of calls the volunteer can effectively handle.

3 When making a telephone canvass, be certain to remind the unregistered voter of the date, time and place of voter registration, and always offer any service that may encourage the individual to register to vote.

As effective as a combined program of mailing and telephoning may be, personal contact through a door-to-door canvass should not be neglected.

REGISTRATION FACILITIES

A registration drive will be successful to the extent that the actual places of registration are accessible. Registration conducted only in the county courthouse or city hall is a great deterrent to any drive because it means that registration becomes inconvenient, if not impossible, for many people. In such cases, leaders of the drive are forced to set up elaborate systems of transportation which require time and money to operate.

When state election codes permit, local registration authorities should be urged to:

- extend registration facilities to firehouses, schools, libraries, and other locations that are easily accessible.
- establish evening and Saturday registration hours to aid working people;
- appoint deputy registrars;
- set up mobile registration units (trailers are good for this) at points where people work and shop.

PUBLICITY FOR THE DRIVE

While the door-to-door canvass and/or the mailing and telephone campaigns are underway, they should be backed up by the use of every kind of available publicity.

Radio - TV - Newspapers

Radio and TV stations are prime channels for promoting registration. Stations should be urged to give free time for:

- special five-minute talks by prominent civic leaders about the importance of voter registration;
- spot announcements urging registration, giving the dates, times and places for registration;
- announcements about the drive in the regular news broadcasts.

Daily and weekly newspapers should be urged to run:

- news stories on the registration drive;
- information on how, when and where to register.

Other Channels

Other sources for reaching the public should be used:

- Businesses can be persuaded to include registration slogans and information in their window displays.
- Handbills can be distributed door-to-door, at street corners, in front of factories, schools and supermarkets - anywhere large numbers of people are found.
- Theaters can be asked to run registration spots between films.
- Clergymen can be asked to urge their congregations to register.
- Sound equipment can be used to stimulate interest and to remind people of the importance of registration.

THE CLOSING DAYS OF REGISTRATION

The registration organization should be geared to move into full swing on the closing days of registration. Every available volunteer should be used to:

- telephone all unregistered voters
- drive automobiles
- knock on doors
- provide baby-sitting services
- drive sound trucks
- distribute handbills.

Centralize the transportation system. Set aside a telephone at central headquarters, with a well-publicized number, so that unregistered voters can call for transportation.

In addition to the specific appointments made during the door-to-door canvass, teams of volunteers with cars should be used in all unregistered areas. Drivers should go to homes on the unregistered list, urge the residents to register, and offer immediate transportation. Two-man teams of volunteers, one driving and one knocking on doors, are effective in this situation.

Chartered bus transportation to registration offices can be used where distances are significant and buses are available at small cost. Schools, churches or labor groups may be willing to lend available buses. Use of buses must be backed up by publicity in areas where they will be available.

If enough volunteers are available on the closing days of registration, door-to-door block workers can be assigned to priority blocks. This activity, even when cars are not available, is often highly effective.

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
Executive Committee Minutes
June 19, 1979 - 2 P.M., Holiday Inn, Kentucky

Opening Prayer - John Waddley

Presiding - Dr. Carolyn Gerster, President

Roll Call - President- Dr. Carolyn Gerster
Vice-President- Ann O'Donnell
Treasurer- Dr. William Colliton, Jr.
Secretary- Felicia Goeken
John Waddey
Dr. J.C. Willke
Kenneth VanDernoef, Esq.
Jane Muldoon
Ann Bowen

Minutes: Corrections of minutesof May 18-19, 1979.
Page 3: add "Bishop" previous to the name Harrington
Page 3, paragraph 2 delete "decision of the publisher", insert "recommendation of the Budget Committee:

MOTION: Dr. Colliton, seconded:

"Minutes be adopted as corrected"

MOTION CARRIED - voice vote

MOTION: John Waddey, seconded

"That Executive Committee minutes not be distributed to the Board of Directors until they are approved."

MOTION CARRIED - voice vote

Credentials Committee - election - one member needed

MOTION: Ann Bowen, Seconded

"Jane Muldoon nominated and elected by unanimous consent"

MOTION CARRIED: Voice vote

Nominating committee report - discussion pertaining to expenses of the Executive Committee members. At present time option by individual members, in deference to budget considerations. Individual members are paying own expenses, submitting vouchers for possible future payments and/or state organizations are absorbing expenses for individuals. Only vouchers from individuals should be submitted, as opposed to vouchers from State Organizations. Efforts of state organizations toward subsidizing a member of the Executive Committee deeply appreciated, where possible.

Executive Director - Search Committee Report

Search Committee: Ralph Schulz, Dr. William Colliton and Ann Bowen
Twenty-three applications received. Two day interviews with 4 selected candidates.
President personally interviewed cindidate present at meeting - David McCarthy.
Discussion by Executive Committee with Mr. McCarthy covering subject matter of;
Relation ship to President, public visibility of Director, relationship to previous employer.
Secretary and Jane Mulhoon left for Credential's Committee meeting-Ann O.Donnell acting sec'y.
MOTION: Dr. William Colliton,Jr., seconded

"National Right to Life Committee Hire David McCarthy as Executive Director"

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

CONVENTION REPORT: Dr. J. C. Willke

Discussion of best structure for future Convention Committees, availability of those experienced by their actual participation in in previous conventions. Recommendation that committee should continue to be autonomous. NRLC remain as advisory on programming.

MOTION: Dr. J.C. Willke, seconded

"That the chairmanoof the NRLC Convention Committee should be the chairman of the previously completed convention. This person, along with the chairman of the convention once removed, and the chairman of the upcoming convention shall constitute the Convention Committee.
The Convention Committee shall be empowered to search out and recommend to the Board, the location for the next convention."

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

Discussion: Chairmen by name-Ann Bergmann, Ohio-Ann O'Donnell, Missouri & California

Discusssion: Agenda for Board of Directors Meeting.

1. Decision on internal or external PAC
2. NRL News recomendations
3. Voter ID
4. Three-year plan
5. Party Conventions
6. Election of NRLC officers

Dinner: Reconvened 8:05 P.M.

Treasurer and Budget Report - Dr. William Colliton, Jr.

written report by McGinley, Poche and Mallory, unaudited, distributed to Exec.Comm.
Accountants recommendations for completing necessary proceedures for audit.
Discussion that Directors of NRLC share with their state organizations the openess of NRLC's audited report.
Budget $490,000, down from actual budget of $635,000.
Budget review committee (Ann O'Donnell, Ralph Schulz, John Stanton, Dr. William Colliton, Dr. Gerster) to meet prior to Board meeting.

Fund-raising report: Mrs. Mary Hunt
Actual cost of mailing at 18¢, need for 2,000 more donor names. Proliferation of mailing within the movement contributes to drop from $16 to $13.40 average per donor.

(3) Exec. Comm. 9-20/1979

Direct mail budget until prospecting begins still 33%, considered good. excellent

Dr. Colliton commended direct-fund mail participants, Dr. J.C. Willke and Mary Hunt.

Legal Counsel Report: James Bopp

Request by accountant to General Counsel sent while General Counsel was on vacation. Report on Bothell litigation. Need for posting $5,900 within 30-40 days.

Secretary returned - Jane Muldoon returned

Discussion regarding counter-claim and expense involved, limitations on General Counsel regarding settlement. Suggestion to prioritize $5,900 after $10,000 paid for mailing.
NRL logo-informed committee Dr. Jefferson & Right to Life Crusade weressent a letter on May 14th indicating NRLC's claim to ownership. Crusade letter dated May 4th carried logo, General Counsel sent another letter reiterating NRLC's position.

Notification that letters of resignation of 4 NRLC Board members from LPAC Board were submitted by hand to Mr. Paul Brown, on May 28th.
Registration with FEC of "Right to Life Political Action Committee" Carolyn Gerster Chairman and Ann O'Donnell treasurer.
Legal Action Project - no new cases approved by the Legal Advisory Committee since December.

President's Report: Dr. Carolyn Gerster

3 recent trips to Washington, most time spent on the Hill. Sorely in need of increased lobbying efforts. Chuck Donovan discussions with 25 Congressmen, and 50 legislative aides.
Resignation as Honorary Director to NRLC by John Norton Downey, Jr. received, to be effective June 18, 1979.

Voter ID Report: Felicia Coeken

Written report submitted to committee members. Financial report and progress report from the States. Financial report indicates payment for materials from the States are current, in the great majority.

Adjourned 11:45 P.M. June 16th, 1979

Approved: 9/21/79 (date)

Secretary, Felicia Coeken

President, Dr. Carolyn Gerster

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Mrs. Felicia Goeken - National Coordinator
412 Langdon St., Alton, IL 62002 (618-465-3211)

June 4, 1979

ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE

Arizona (checking inventory)	$72.00
California	97.00
Connecticut	55.25
Illinois	203.60
Pennsylvania	386.25
Tennessee	44.00
	$858.10

TOTAL RECEIVABLE $858.10

ACCOUNTS PAYABLE

Bernadette Business Forms $1,013.08
(Original billing 26.30 per M
106,900 form A's shipped:
$2811.47 plus $59.36 freight)

CHECKS ON HAND

$260.50

INVENTORY

	Our cost	Resale value
Form B's 30,800 ($23.25 per M our cost) .02325 ¢ each --------resale value 4¢ each	$716.10	$1,232.00
Form A's 92,700 ($26.30 per M our cost .0263 each----------resale value 4¢ each	$2,438.01	$3,708.00
Books 25 Our cost 10¢ ea. Resale 15¢ ea.	2.50	3.75
	$3,156.61	$4,943.75

NEW SECOND PRINTING OF BOOKS IN PROGRESS 20,000 @ approx 11.4¢ each cost= Approx. $2,280.00

State of Washington agreeable to a $2,000 loan, to be paid back from proceeds of sales

ALL ABOVE COSTS DOES NOT INCLUDE UPS SHIPPING OR COORDINATOR'S SALARY

Submitted by Felicia Goeken, National Coordinator Voter ID Project

cc: Dr. William Colliton, Jr.
Netta Wilson, NRLC office
NRLC Board of Directors

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VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Mrs. Felicia Goeken - National Coordinator
412 Langdon St., Alton, IL 62002 (618-465-3211)

June 4, 1979

ALABAMA - State Coordinator: Linda Zampieri
MATERIAL IN THE STATE- Using NRLC forms - not using computer
Needs time & manpower. Info given at State Board of Directors meetings.
No assistance requested in specific area.

ALASKA - State Coordinator - William Moffatt
Project in process - not using NRLC materials.

ARIZONA - State Coordinator - Karen Mills
MATERIAL IN THE STATE - Using NRLC forms
State Coordinator attempting total inventory as possiblity of over-shipment from the Washington office. Unconfirmed records then indicate:

10 cases shipped	($720)	-(18,000 forms)
original order	($360)	-(9,000 forms)
returned	($288)	-(7,200 forms)
still owing	($72)	-(1,800 forms)

ARKANSAS - State Coordinator - Mrs. Catherine Matthews
No communication

CALIFORNIA - State Coordinator - Mary Ellen McCaffrey
MATERIAL IN THE STATE- Using NRLC forms - Implemented successfully
Voter ID workshop with county leaders and National Coordinator
Account receivable $97

COLORADO - State Coordinator - Sandy Woods
MATERIAL IN THE STATE - Using NRLC Forms

CONNECTICUT - State Coordinator - Kathy Kergaravat
MATERIAL IN THE STATE - Using NRLC Forms - own computer
Account receivable - $55.25; back-ordered 25 books (not charged)

DELAWARE - No communication

D.C. - No communication

FLORIDA - State Coordinator - Michelle Hains
MATERIAL IN THE STATE
Previous pilot program without NRLC forms implemented successfully
State Board meeting brought in National Coordinator.
Request for form letter to distribut for explanation

GEORGIA - No communication

HAWAII - Giving consideration - verbal communication

IDAHO- Report-consideration for Idaho PAC to do the project, i.e.
Patrick Monaghan, Esq.

ILLINOIS - State Coordinator - Felicia Goeken,i.e. State office
MATERIALS IN STATE - holding regional workshops - Using NRLC forms
Account receivable $203.60

INDIANA - StateCoordinator - Mary Pat Marstall
MATERIALS IN STATE - National Coordinator at State Convention
Using NRLC Forms - using central computer

IOWA - State Coordinator - Robert Dopf
MATERIALS IN STATE - Coordinator holding workshops - Using NRLC forms & central computer. Implemented successfully.

KANSAS - Verbal communication-interest expressed-Voter ID books sent, interested in implementation for 1980

KENTUCKY - State Coordinator - Michael Peak
MATERIALS IN STATE - Using NRLC Forms - inquiry re: computer

LOUISIANA - No communication

MAINE - State Coordinator - Nancy Cote
MATERIALS IN STATE -Using NRLC forms, central computer
Utilizing newsletter and speaking engagements to set up Voter ID

MARYLAND - Dr. William Colliton (& Peg)
Booklets in State. Planning to do the project. Will use NRLC forms
Holding regional meetings. National Coordinator at State meeting.

MASSACHUSETTS - State Coordinator - thru State office
National Coordinator in Mass.-May,1979 Will use NRLC forms

MICHIGAN - State Coordinator - Sue Colligan
MATERIALS IN STATE Using NRLC forms - central computer.
State office contacts all locals and encourages them to continue

MINNESOTA - Doing A project - independent

MISSISSIPPI - Inquiry, materials sent. No report

MISSOURI - State Coordinator - Ann O'Donnell
MATERIALS IN THE STATE using Nrlc forms - not computer
National Coordinator - 2 regional meetings

MONTANA - State Coordinator - Diane Etchart
MATERIALS IN THE STATE - Using NRLC Forms, will use central computer

NEBRASKA - State Coordinator - Ann Bowen
Has been piloting since 1977 - use own forms & booklet

NEVADA - Report Pro Family is working in this area and will continue on their own.

NEW HAMPSHIRE - No communication

NEW JERSEY - State Coordinator - Kathy Glynn
No report on method of distributing information

NEW MEXICO - No communication

NEW YORK - State Coordinator - Frank McKay
MATERIALS IN THE State - using NRLC forms

NORTH CAROLINA - State Coordinator - John Dowd
Materials in State - not yet begun

NORTH DAKOTA - No communication

OHIO - State Coordinator moved - waiting appointment of new one
Materials in State - using NRLC forms

OKLAHOMA - No communication

OREGON - State Coordinator - Lynda Harrington
Planning to do the project, use NRLC forms

PENNSYLVANIA - State Coordinator - Denise Neary
MATERIAL IN STATE - using NRLC forms - will use central computer
Using State Federationmeetings to promote project. Primary problem - funds.
Account receivable - $386.25

RHODE ISLAND - No communication

SOUTH CAROLINA - State Coordinator - Paul Beach
Will be doing pilot project in selected counties

SOUTH DAKOTA - State Coordinator - George Bondora
Pilot activity in 1978. No recent communication

TENNESSEE - State Coordinator - Kent Pruett
MATERIAL IN STATE - Project in progress - report excellent results
Accounts receivable - $44 (Form B's held until needed)

TEXAS - State Coordinator - Tom Murphy
MATERIAL IN THE STATE - much individual interest expressed from wide area.
No report on original effort of 1978. Organization outside of state
organization working thru State Coordinator.

UTAH - No communication

VERMONT - Much interest expressed - No communication since 1977

VIRGINIA - State Coordinator - Kathleen D. Martin
MATERIAL IN THE STATE - piloting in small areas

WASHINGTON - State Board order introductory packet &computer info for study

WEST VIRGINIA - State Coordinat - Becky Romero 6/79 ordered forms & books
No communication

WISCONSIN - State Coordinator - Jeanne Zahalka
MATERIALS IN STATE - National Coordinator workshop to State Board
Implemented successfully - good informational work being done throughout
the State by statecoordinator.

WYOMING - State Coordinator - Natalie Davis
No communication

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

MINUTES

Board of Directors - January 20-21, 1979
Hotel Washington

Convened 10 a.m.
INVOCATION: John Waddey
PRESIDING: Jean Doyle, Vice-chairman of the Board

ROLL CALL: Attached

QUORUM ESTABLISHED

READING AND ADOPTION OF STANDING RULES

READING AND ADOPTION OF PROPOSED AGENDA

REPORT: Credential's Committee
Proper authority established for two proxies
Kenneth Van Derhoef proxy to Dr. William Colliton
Joseph Witherspoon proxy to Mr. John Stanton
New Directors presenting credentials;
Jean Head - New York
Ralph Schulz - Mississippi
Lyle Evelo - South Dakota
Anthony Lauinger - Oklahoma
Alternate delegate credentials
Peg Grady for Jo Higgins (At-large)

INTRODUCTION OF GUESTS
TIMEKEEPER: Mrs. Lyle Evelo
MINUTES: Dr. William Colliton moved to accept minutes of the previous meeting with the following corrections:
Page 5, 1st paragraph
add "Impact of project will be a minimum of $32,500 income".
Page 7, 1st resolution, Article 4;
add "by April 30, 1979 records will be ready for audit, with recommendation it be considered an annual audit".

MINUTES APPROVED AS CORRECTED

TREASURER'S REPORT: Dr. William Colliton, Jr.
Written reports distributed of present and projected budget
Absent Director's who wish to receive a copy of Budget Review materials and/or Financial Statement should request from the Secretary.
Treasurer seeking direction on depth and regularity of reports desired by the Board of Direcaors. Reemphasized audit for 1978-79 year. Expense to McGinley-Roche will not be excessive since internal accounting control proceedures will reduce number of hours previously required by their firm to prepare reports.

Recommendation: Chair recommended use of overhead projector for future financial reports, when feasible.

Review of budget prepared by Wade Jackson and discussion.
Importance of budget review committee to transcend administration change and maintain a consistent, responsible fiscal policy, recommended by the Executive Committee, subject to the President's approval.

Executive Committee Report: Dr. J.C. Willke

Reduction of costs and expenses:

a) Rent to be reduced by reduction of office size
b) One leased Xerox returned
c) Changes in staff in Washington office
d) Overhead of direct mail greatly reduced
e) Recommendations for reductions for NRL News
    1. No more than 12 pages until further notice
    2. Donors of $10 or more within past 12 months and $6.00 subscriptions will receive newspaper. (Previously $3.00 donors).
    3. Eliminate equivalent of one full-time employee.
    4. Institute new bookkeeping system

Ann O'Donnell - Further report Exec. Comm.

Assistance to NRL News from Wade Jackson to be provided.
Urged Directors to contact NRL News direct regarding subscriptions that may have been paid and not honored, especially May thru August of 1978. Problem not with NRL News, but original tape.
States encouraged to institute subscription drive for NRL News.
Recommended that States report successful programs for increasing subscriptions to NRLC Washington office.

MOTION TO RECESS: carried, voice vote
12:15 p.m.
RECONVENED : 1:45 p.m.

MOTION: John Stanton, seconded
"To accept new agenda"

MOTION CARRIED, voice vote

Executive Committee (continuation) Report - Ann O'Donnell

Washington office staff and salaries and Report on office functions. Asked for recommendations from the Board on priority functions - as they see the office functions.
Ann stressed Washington office costs nearly mandates that primary function should be the lobbying and efforts directed to Congress, i.e. not at cost of elimination of any other function, but prioritizing when needed.
Ann O'Donnell stated that with present staff cuts her availability to be in the Washington office 4-5 days per week, with NRLC paying expenses would assure administrative availability in the Washington office.

MOTION: Ann Bowen, seconded
"At this time, during discussion of employee's duties and salaries that employees be excused from the discussion".
MOTION CARRIED: Voice Vote

Discussion:
Distribution of functions and duties of Washington office staff
Continuity remaining intact. Noted that Judie Brown has volunteered to be in the half-time position. Ann O'Donnell reported her cost will be approximately $220 per week, to be in the Washington office 4-5 days per week.

MOTION: Mary Ellen Mulholland, seconded

"That the Board of Directors register a vote of confidence, in appreication of Judie Brown and Sean Morton Downey, Jr.'s activities on behalf of the National Right to Life Committee."

MOTION CARRIED: Voice Vote

FUND-RAISING REPORT: Dr. J.C. Willke
Explanation of previous method of direct-mail, i.e. contracting with a consultant, who sub-contracted with computer house, envelope companies and mailing houses, with contractual rebates to the consultant.
New method, with Frank Litz allows for NRLC to contract separately for additional services, necessary to direct-mail proceedure.
Donor tape: 45,500 names on (as opposed to 52,000 names figure previously given) Of those, 13,500 were non-donors, 32,257 names were donors. Of those 23,600 had given $3.00 or more. 13,400 had given $10 or more, those who had given $10 or more within the past 12 months, 6,600. Both NRL News subscribers and donors were on the tape. 2,000 lapsed subscribers - given notice, but not responding - were dropped from the tape. New names, 12,797 from another pro-life source have been added. Additional 2,300 names, plus "friends names submitted" now bring out total again to about 50,000.

New names from chapters and affiliates will be prepared by volunteer assistance in Ohio and Michigan.
Volunteerism for this project from other States will be welcomed.

Tj. Bosgra suggested that assistance for creative efforts in preparing materials for direct-mail project might be available through volunteer efforts of talent within the pro-life movement.
Dave Porter queried the practicality of numerous mailings. Board responses indicated "petition" names not practical for fund-raising.

MOTION: Tj. Bosgra, seconded Lyle Evelo

"I move that the Nebraska suggestions regarding the(<u>further</u>)use of state mailing lists be handled as follows:
A committee be appointed to review the Nebraska proposed contract. That this be forwarded to State Directors for input and a recommendation be brought to the Executive Committee, and permit them to act according to their best judgment."
Friendly Amendment; Chuck Heatherly , to add "further", before " use of state mailing lists" - accepted

DISCUSSION: Nebraska contract allowed reimbursement to the State on one out of four uses of their mailing list, annually, on a percentage basis.

COMMENT: Treasurer reminded the needed clarification if the state organization involved is of c-3 status.
Mary Hunt and Ann Bowen volunteered to serve on committee.
Appointment of committee within authority of the President.

Recommendation: Chair recommended use of overhead projector for future financial reports, when feasible.

Review of budget prepared by Wade Jackson and discussion.
Importance of budget review committee to transcend administration change and maintain a consistent, responsible fiscal policy, recommended by the Executive Committee, subject to the President's approval.

Executive Committee Report; Dr. J.C. Willke

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Ann O'Donnell stated that with present staff cuts her availability to be in the Washington office 4-5 days per week, with NRLC paying expenses would assure administrative availability in the Washington office.

MOTION: Ann Bowen, seconded
"At this time, during discussion of employee's duties and salaries that employees be excused from the discussion".
MOTION CARRIED: Voice Vote

REPORT: The Defenders of Human Life, Inc : Dr. J. C Willke

Explanation of "The Defenders" a separate entity from NRLC, Inc. Not a "competing" right to life organization, but an organization to serve as a vehicle for the right to life "movement" in a cooperative fund-raising effort
The Defenders computerization efforts in Terre Haute, bank facilitating the forms in Indianapolis
Testing of "mail-out" effort, bulk mail with form attached has not proven successful. Possible change of simplification of present form being used.
New donor brochure being printed, availability around the end of February.
Information and instruction available from Defenders of Human Life, Inc P.O Box 2009, La Mesa, California, 92041 telephone (714) 440-8275.
Groups must be 501 c-4 status for contractual agreements as a primary group, i.e. as opposed to being a recipient as a state or national organization. Donor has privilige of selection as per instructions of organization implementing program by contract.
MOTION: John Stanton, seconded Sandra Baucher

"That the National Right to Life Committee Board go on record as being in favor of Defenders for Human Life concept.

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

DISCUSSION ON IMPLEMENTATION: Indiana (Mary Hunt) will share with other States who are interested Indiana's plan for implementation. State organization be primary, to receive 50% + 10%, and return 50%, i.e. 30% of total donated, to local groups participating. C-3 groups can be recipients.

Standard letter of explanation being prepared for presentation to a bank that is unfamiliar with proceedure or alternative of paper transfer vs. electronic transfer.

REPORT: Dr. William Colliton

Application for liability insurance has been signed by the President and forwarded to insurance company.

On behalf of Patti Ruth Linbeck, announcement of Texas Right to Life, 5th Annual Conference, February 24, 1979 at Marriott in Austin. Dr. Gerster and Mr Van Derhoef to be speakers, invitation extended to the Board.

REPORT: Voter Identification Project, Felicia Goeken

All materials for project being shipped by UPS from Alton. Duplicate files of project in Alton and Washington office. Financial account facilitated through Washington.
As National Coordinator, workshops presented thus far, in Iowa, Indiana, Nebraska, California, Maryland, Illinois, Florida, New York, upcoming in Wisconsin. Thirty-three States now have coordinator, Canada is seeking help to implement in British Columbia.
National Coordinator asked for better reporting and communication from State Coordinators and/or Director. Requested brief report on status within each State by February 15th, i.e. successes and/or specific problems.
Project should be completed as near as possible by late 1979, early 1980.
Information should be placed in computer in reasonable numbers as project progresses to avoid over-load of influx of thousands of names from all over the country at one time.
Stressed the project is NOT a media event, but for the purpose of identifying the pro-life voter.

Discussion:
Minnesota supported concept of low-key approach to the project with media. Cautioned about reporting numbers of completed survey calls, as it announces the strength of the project and eliminates the element of surprise.

Report (cont.) Reemphasized that States are purchasing necessary tools (book and forms) from NRLC, completes project, contracts as individual State with the computer-house, names are controlled by the State. If C-4 group does the survey, any use of the names by a political action committee (C-5) must be a commercial exchange, with purchase of names at fair market value.
Stress legal implications come from the USE of the names, i.e. educational or political. Stressed that use of names for fund-raising is not productive.

REPORT: Citizens Lobby Project Jean Doyle

No action since last Board meeting. Discussion and planning with new lobbyist for NRLC. States expressing interest are Maryland, Tennessee, Illinois New Jersey , Wisconsin and Oregon.

Bracelet Project: Dr. J. C. Willke

Total inventory at present 2,450 with 1,000 unpacked ones to be finished. $300 balance with all bills paid. Project not moving through State organization, but individual sales indicate there is still interest.

MOTION: Mary Ellen Mulholland, seconded

"To allow local groups to order the right to life bracelets directly from NRLC, Inc. at the purchase price of $1.50, until present inventory is depleted".

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

STATE'S ORGANIZATION - Report - Ann Bowen

Information to be forthcoming from Mr. Bill Polito on IRS requirements for states organization regarding c-3,c-4,c-5 (political action committee). Seminars available on political action committee. $185 course fee, or booklet can be bought separate for $20. Information for purchasing book should go out from Washington office. Practising Law Institute 810 Seventh Ave., New York, New York 10019 for "The Corporation in Politics - 1979" with check for $20 will purchase the book.

MOTION: Anthony Lauinger, seconded

"That a period of time be set aside at the April board meeting, for the purpose of informational discussion on establishment of political action committees".

MOTION PASSED: voice vote

REPORT: Flag Project - Dr. William Colliton
New Project Director to be Mr. John Stanton, Pennsylvania Director.
Flag project needs a promotional program, primary purpose to familiarize right to lifers with NRLC logo.
Rose Project - Robert Lepak requests that NRLC,Inc. handle the project from the Washington office. Seeking a responsible Board member to accept Project Director position, with physical handling being done in Washington.

Announcement: John Waddey, Tennessee

Availability of "Dear Minister" letter, adaptable to quick copy, signed by John Waddey along with small pamplet of sample sermon, i.e. "mother's day" "father's day".

RECESS to reconvene at 6:30 P.M.

Dinner 6:30 p.m. - reconvened 8:15 P.M.

MOTION: Charles Onofrio, seconded - to consider the question

"That Honorary Directors of NRLC,Inc. be allowed the privilege of making motions."

MOTION TO CONSIDER: passed voice vote

MOTION: Charles Onofrio, seconded

"That Honorary Directors of NRLC,Inc. be allowed the privilege of making motions."

Discussion: By-laws are explicit in forbidding Honorary Directors the right to vote, but makes no mention of allowance for presenting motions.

MOTION: Mary Hunt, seconded Darla St. Martin
"That a secret ballot be held"
MOTION FAILED: voice vote

MAIN MOTION - Division of House - Motion failed, 12 to 20

Presentation of proposed resolution on Euthanasia by General Counsel, James Bopp, Esq.

MOTION: to adopt Euthanasia Resolution, Philip Moran, seconded by Geline Williams
Friendly Amendment: Jane Muldoon
That discussion and adoption be accomplished paragraph by paragraph

MOTION-as amended- CARRIED: voice vote

* Due to the length of discussion and number of motions and amendments only the resolution, its' passage, failure or amendment will be recorded.

MOTION: 1st WHEREAS clause; WHEREAS, euthanasia is the purposeful killing of a dependent individual;
"That dependent individual" be changed by deleting "dependent" and changing individual to "human being". Final wording to be:
WHEREAS, euthanasia is the purposeful killing of a human being"
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

DISCUSSION: Advisability of changing: "by another because death is deemed preferable to life" to: "for his or societys' alleged benefit "
MOTION: Anthony Laulnger, seconded
"To table the 1st WHEREAS clause"
MOTION TO TABLE CARRIED: voice vote

MOTION: To adopt the 2nd WHEREAS, seconded
Original "WHEREAS, the language of the euthanasia movement is imprecise, inaccurate and, at times, incorrect since, dignity lies in the individual, not in

his death, illness may be terminal but life enjoyable and what was extraordinary yesterday is common place today;"

AMENDED to : "WHEREAS, the language of the proponets of euthanasia is imprecise, inaccurate and, at times in correct, and since dignity lies in the life of the human being, not in his death, illness may be terminal but life is precious and what was "extraordinary treatment" yesterday may be common place today;"

MOTION: TO ACCEPT the 2nd WHEREAS clause as amended (seconded)
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

MOTION: To pass the 3rd WHEREAS clause, seconded
Original; "WHEREAS, handicapped newborn children are commonly, purposely left to die;"
AMENDED: "WHEREAS handicapped newborn children as well as the handicapped of all other ages are, with increasing frequency, purposely left to die;"
MOTION: To ACCEPT the 3rd WHEREAS clause as amended (seconded)
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

Further discussion and suggested amendments were not formally accepted nor any motions passed. Proposal to continue discussion on January 21st.

MOTION TO RECESS ; seconded and carried

RECESS : 11:30 p.m.

RECONVENED January 21, 1979 9:45 a.m.

OPENING PRAYER: Tj Bosgra

REPORT: Convention 1978 - Ann O'Donnell
Report attached for absent Directors Profit contributions towards printing of forms and organizational book, by Missouri..

Convention 1979 - Dr. J. C. Willke
Northern Kentucky and Cincinnatti co-hosting. Registration to be same as 1978, includes 4 meals. General session, Thursday evening, workshops all day Friday, general session Friday night(political), workshops Saturday morning, and in afternoon. Hotel complex, 10minutes from airport. Campus arrangement. Limited exhibit space. Interdenominational prayer breakfast Sunday morning, plus ethical medical panel.
Banquet speaker to be announced at later date. Closing, 45 minute General session and grand "March" in Cincinnatti.

Convention 1980 - Charles Heatherly
Anaheim, California. Excellent facilities for camping, good variety of hotels Reasonable prices, Family Life night on Friday at Disneyland

REPORT - President, Dr. Carolyn Gerster

Reduction of office expenses, i.e. Closing of Watts line, reduction of rent, 900 chapters remitted payment for mailings Shift of employees and prioritizing of staff.
Restructuring of donors receiving NRL News from $3 00 donors to $10 00 donors.
Tim Kraft to be liaison for legislative and lobbyist to President Carter.

DISCUSSION: Discussion of media reporting that LAPAC is "arm" of NRLC. Clarification that media is at fault in reporting NRLC and LAPAC are different organizations

REPORT: Washington Office - Judie Brown

Question & Answer period: Does Washington keep a file on all State laws?
YES

Policy on Mailings: Aug. 29 commenced revamping mailing list (1912 names)
Over 900 have responded with remittance for mailings
No mailings halted, note "pay when you can".
Only names dropped those who failed to express any interest after receiving the questionaire three times.
Mail to Directors ONLY, stamped Confidential.
Directors will receive a rough draft to Directors of those within their State receiving the mailing.
Bulk mailings are now number, i.e. #1, #2, #3.

Recess: 10:45 a.m.
to reconvene at 12 noon.

RECONVENED 12:15

REPORT: Dr Richard Watson - National Doctors for Life Committee

To develop Doctors participation Urged that physicians must be informed and encouraged. Do not presume that physicians are aware of the issue Medical mailings from National to be used . Advised of a "summary" method to reduce volume of mail, with pertinent basic information on single sheet, coded in margin for easy reference. Information and physician contact: Dr Richard Watson - 345A Arguelo, San Francisco, CA, 94129. Also working to coordinate physicians, and medical professional pro-life groups Announced that on March 12 there would be a 5 hour debate at the California Medical Society (portions to be televized).

REPORT: National Pro-Life Nurses Assoc -Peg Grady - alternate for Jo Higgins
The National Association for Pro-Life Nurses Association will soon be reinstituting their own newspaper Advised that the "pro-choice" are looking for leadership in professional organizations, pro-life nurses and their organizations should be made aware

REPORT: Veterans' Organization - Felicia Goeken
Column in Stars and Stripes, military newspaper, calling for Veterans to join the National Right to Life Committee. Liaison with Dr. Gilbert Bogen, names to be coded into computer VETRL as membership is received by NRLC.

REPORT: General Counsel - James Bopp, Esq.
Lists being sent to States of NRLC may NOT be used for fund-raising, ONLY for internal purposes, until further notification by NRLC. Lists being sent to State offices, i.e seated NRLC Director for that State.
Corporation employees should be instructed not to participate in "criminal acts" i.e sit-ins.
Report on litigation with James Bothell, Inc. Temporary restraining order modified to allow fund-raising for NRLC, Inc., stipulated may distribute to State organizations, with proper instructions.

REPORT: Dr. Gerster reported that 44 page issue of NRL News would be reprinted with correction and deletions of advertising for use throughout the country to expose the operations of abortion clinics - i.e. reprint of the Chicago Sun-Times series.

MOTION: Ann Bowen, seconded

"Proposed amendment to by-laws as mailed to the Board of Directors in compliance with the bylaws of NRLC,Inc., regarding Absence at Board of Directors meetings."

Friendly amendment: "To change Director proxy to read 'his alternate'; to delete 'as provided in Article III Section 14. To delete or his Proxy and add after who shall, 'in person or by alternate'; and to add, 'This by-law effective at the 1979 annual meeting'."
AMENDED MOTION TO READ:

ABSENCE FROM MEETINGS - If a Director or his alternate fails to attend at least one Board of Directors meeting during a 12 month period, beginning with the annual meeting, such office of Director shall be declared vacant. Thereafter the Director and State organization shall be notified no later than 20 days after the annual meeting. The state shall have 30 days from after such notice to elect a new Director, who shall, in person or by alternate attend the next Board meeting of NRLC. Failure by the State to elect a Director and notify the NRLC 20 days after such election of Director; the Board of Directors may fill this vacancy by appointment until the next annual meeting.
This by-law effective at the 1979 annual meeting."

MOTION CARRIED 17 ayes, 8 nays 2/3 majority as required

MOTION: Ann Bowen, seconded Charles Onofrio
"WHEREAS, the National Right to Life Committee, comprised of a Board of Directors, one from each State, has served and been served by the largest constituency of pro-life volunteers throughout the Nation, and
WHEREAS, the growth of the movement has created a need for even a greater input of expertise by all those who are dedicated and experienced in the many and varied aspects of issues relating to the right to life issues, and
WHEREAS, we, the Board of Directors of NRLC,Inc. realize the contribution of many individuals in specific areas of expertise on the life ethics issue,
WE RESOLVE, that NRLC,Inc. shall establish a National Advisory Board. The members will serve, with the sincere gratitude of NRLC,Inc. to further assist the right to life grass-roots movement in their efforts."
FRIENDLY AMENDMENT: Nominations for inclusion on this Board to be made to NRLC Board by the President. ACCEPTED
MOTION CARRIED: as amended, voice vote

REPORT: Legislative - Sean Morton Downey, Jr
House side - 12 vote margin for the HLA ; higher margin on funding
Senate side - 43 in favor to 57 opposed
Primary thrust this session will be the Human Life Amendment, NRLC will concentrate on that Amendment, peripheral areas only secondary.
No co-op efforts with pro-abortion groups on secondary issues
Human Life Amendments introduced in new 96th Congress:
Jake Garn and Jesse Helms in the Senate
James Oberstar and Henry Hyde in the House of Representatives

REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION AND RESPONSE FROM BOARD OF DIRECTORS:
Requests for information, to share and coordinate efforts towards influencing Congress, should be give priority by the Board of Directors, as individuals within their own State. If there is doubt as to how to obtain given information requested, please call the Washington office. Without proper exchange of information between the State Directors and Washington lobbyist, error margin is greater.

MOTION : Jane Muldoon, seconded
"Therefore; BE IT RESOLVED, that the Board of Directors of NRLC,Inc. directs the President and Executive Committee to take reasonable action to reduce the expense budget, if possible, for the balance of this fiscal year unless the monthly income increases to $53,000 per month needed to reach the projected $713,000 budget"

FRIENDLY AMENDMENT: Dr. William Colliton - to change "increases" to "exceeds" ACCEPTED
FRIENDLY AMENDMENT: John Stanton - "Wade Jackson be formally thanked for his assistance with the budget review committee". ACCEPTED

MOTION: passed, voice vote, as amended.
MOTION READS:
"Therefore, be it resolved that the Board of Directors of NRLC,Inc. directs the President and Executive Committee to take reasonable action to reduce the expense budget, if possible, for the balance of this fiscal year unless the monthly income exceeds $53,000 per month needed to reach the projected $713,000 budget.
Wade Jackson be formally thanked for his assistance with the budget review committee".

The recent death of Mrs. Alton (Celia) Hall, former Director of Mississippi was announced. Secretary was instructed to send letter of condolences on behalf of NRLC Board of Directors.

MOTION: Roger Kergaravat(alternate delegate, Conn.), seconded Onofrio
"That the National Right to Life Committee vacate the wording of the NRLC's Human Life Amendment in favor of the wording of SJ Resolution 12 of the 96th Congress of the U.S. of A."
Discussion:
That the Board of Directors of Connecticut Right to Life Committee, by unanimous vote, resolves that the Director from Connecticut to National Right to Life at its' January 1979 annual meeting, present the position of Connecticut Right to Life Committee on the NRLC Human Life Amendment.
MOTION: To postpone until annual June meeting, seconded MOTION FOR POSTPONEMENT CARRIED
DISCUSSION AND REPORT: LAPAC - Sean Morton Downey, Jr.
(Question and Answer): Affirmation that LAPAC,Inc. and NRLC,Inc. are two separate organizations
Report of LAPAC is available from the Federal Election Commission
Suggestion that President of NRLC correct, where possible, media reports that the two corporations are one and the same, i.e. while we cannot control the media, we do have the opportunity and the privilege of correction.

RECESS:
RECONVENED 10:30 P.M.

DISCUSSION: Continuing discussion on Euthanasia Resolution
Due to small number of Directors present, further action on remaining WHEREAS clauses of resolution postponed.

ADJOURNMENT: 12:30 a.m.

Felicia Goeken
Felicia Goeken, Secretary

Approved April 7, 1979 (date)

Jean Doyle
Jean Doyle, Acting Chairman

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

Correspondence

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

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Mrs. Felicia Goeken - National Coordinator
412 Langdon St., Alton, IL 62002 (618-465-3211)

References to question on NRLC computer, made only to clarify the central computer available to all States, in Michigan. States contract individually and information available only by release to individual within the State who contracts on behalf of their State. No member of NRLC, not even the National Coordinator of the survey has access to this computer as far as requesting read-outs or information or materials.

Felicia Goeken

Felicia Goeken, National Coordinator

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Mrs. Felicia Goeken - National Coordinator
412 Longdon St., Alton, IL 62002 (618-465-3211)

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT REPORT

March 1979

MEMO: State Director and/or
State Coordinator

The Voter Identification Project is being met with great enthusiasm in the States that are involved.
The flow of information is a different matter. Have reached the conclusion that perhaps some of you are so busy DOING IT, you don't have time to report; but then again some of you who are NOT DOING IT are not giving any indication as to the primary problem you may be having.

This mailing will include: #1. A form-type reply. PLEASE take a few seconds and respond. #2. Maps and articles. #3. A personal letter of evaluation with specific questions for your specific State. #4. optional work-sheet

As National Coordinator, I am attempting to #1. Ascertain a reasonable budget for the coming year; #2. Establish a pattern for ordering materials so they will be available at time of need.

TO ACCOMPLISH THOSE TWO THINGS - I NEED YOUR HELP!

STATE Alabama STATE DIRECTOR TO NRLC Linda Walters

STATE COORDINATOR - VOTER ID Linda Zampieri

WE ARE DOING THE PROJECT ——— WE ARE PLANNING TO DO THE PROJECT yes X

IF YES (see below)

We are using NRLC forms ——— We will use NRLC forms Yes X

We are using NRLC computer No We will use NRLC computer No

IF YOUR STATE IS NOT DOING THE SURVEY, PLEASE SEE BELOW:

We are not yet involved in the Voter ID Project because:

Financial reasons ____ Can't find coordinator ____ Not needed in our State ____

Time, manpower, but mostly organization not ready

FOR STATE COORDINATORS:
A recent article in the National Right to Life News has brought iquiries from individuals AND chapters within States who are doing the project.

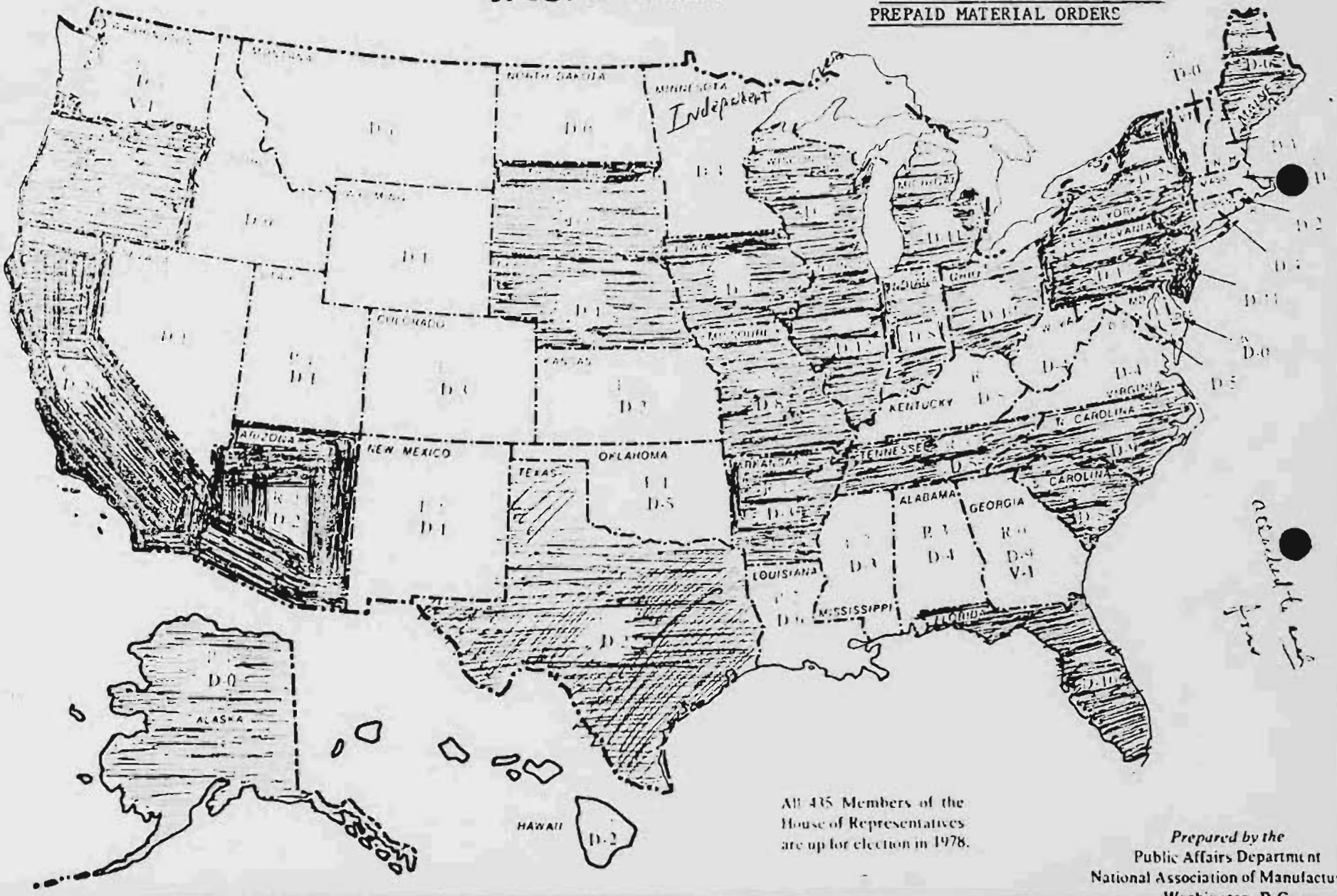
What means are you using to make the chapters and grass-roots aware of the project?
State board of directors meetings
Do you need assistance in any specific area to "get the word out" within your State? No

The House of Representatives of the 95th Congress

DEMOCRATS – 289

VACANCIES – 2

SOLID COLORED STATES HAVE STATE COORDINATORS AND/OR PREPAID MATERIAL ORDERS



All 435 Members of the House of Representatives are up for election in 1978.

Prepared by the
Public Affairs Department
National Association of Manufactu
Washington, D.C.

Voter Identification Project - Phase I January 19, 1978

	1	2	3	4	
ALABAMA			X		
ALASKA	X				
ARIZONA	X	$360			
ARKANSAS	X			X	
CALIFORNIA	X	$183			
COLORADO				X	
CONNECTICUT				X	
DELAWARE				X	
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA				X	
FLORIDA	X	$100			Trans.NC-Feb. 10-11
GEORGIA				X	
HAWAII			X		
IDAHO				X	
ILLINOIS	X	$283			
INDIANA	X	$100			Trans.NC-Feb. 25
IOWA	X				Pd.transportation NC
KANSAS				X	
KENTUCKY			X		
LOUISIANA				X	
MAINE	X	$100			
MARYLAND			X		
MASSACHUSETTS			X		
MICHIGAN		$200			
MINNESOTA		doing independently			
MISSISSIPPI				X	
MISSOURI	X	Approx. $500 enroute			Met with NC & SC
MONTANA				X	
NEBRASKA	X				
NEVADA				X	
NEW HAMPSHIRE				X	
NEW JERSEY	X				
NEW MEXICO				X	
NEW YORK		$1,000			
NORTH CAROLINA	X	$100			
NORTH DAKOTA				X	
OHIO	X	$905.50			
OKLAHOMA			X		
OREGON	X				
PENNSYLVANIA	X	$100			
RHODE ISLAND				X	
SOUTH CAROLINA	X				
SOUTH DAKOTA	X	$100			voted 2nd $100
TENNESSEE	X	$50			
TEXAS	X				
UTAH				X	
VERMONT			X		
VIRGINIA			X		
WASHINGTON				X	
WEST VIRGINIA				X	
WISCONSIN	X				
WYOMING				X	
NYPLC	Paid transportation, NC, to convention				

Column #1 Appointed State Coordinator
#2 prepaid materials order
#3 Communicating
#4 No communication from Director

NC - National Coordinator
SC - State Coordinator

Total received from States $3,459.00
Approx., enroute 600.00

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE — Suite 341, National Press Bldg — 529 14th Street N.W. — Washington, D.C. 20045 — (202) 638-4096

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Mrs. Felicia Goeken - National Coordinator
412 Langdon St., Alton, IL 62002 (618-465-3211)

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT REPORT

March 1979

MEMO: State Director and/or
State Coordinator

The Voter Identification Project is being met with great enthusiasm in the States that are involved.
The flow of information is a different matter. Have reached the conclusion that perhaps some of you are so busy DOING IT, you don't have time to report; but then again some of you who are NOT DOING IT are not giving any indication as to the primary problem you may be having.

This mailing will include: #1. A form-type reply. PLEASE take a few seconds and respond. #2. Maps and articles. #3. A personal letter of evaluation with specific questions for your specific State. #4. optional work-sheet

As National Coordinator, I am attempting to #1. Ascertain a reasonable budget for the coming year; #2. Establish a pattern for ordering materials so they will be available at time of need.

TO ACCOMPLISH THOSE TWO THINGS - I NEED YOUR HELP!

STATE [illegible] STATE DIRECTOR TO NRLC [illegible]

STATE COORDINATOR - VOTER ID [illegible]

WE ARE DOING THE PROJECT Yes WE ARE PLANNING TO DO THE PROJECT _____
IF YES (see below)

We are using NRLC forms Yes We will use NRLC forms _____

We are using NRLC computer _____ We will use NRLC computer X

IF YOUR STATE IS NOT DOING THE SURVEY, PLEASE SEE BELOW:

We are not yet involved in the Voter ID Project because:

Financial reasons _____ Can't find coordinator _____ Not needed in our State _____

FOR STATE COORDINATORS:
A recent article in the National Right to Life News has brought inquiries from individuals AND chapters within States who are doing the project.

What means are you using to make the chapters and grass-roots aware of the project? See #1

Do you need assistance in any specific area to "get the word out" within your State? No

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE — Suite 341, National Press Bldg — 529 14th Street, N.W. — Washington, D.C. 20045 — (202) 638-4096

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Mrs. Felicia Goeken - National Coordinator
412 Longdon St., Alton, IL 62002 (618-465-3211)

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT REPORT

March 1979

MEMO: State Director and/or
State Coordinator

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TO ACCOMPLISH THOSE TWO THINGS - I NEED YOUR HELP!

STATE CONNECTICUT STATE DIRECTOR TO NRLC ANDREW J. O'[illegible], ESQ.

STATE COORDINATOR - VOTER ID KATHY [illegible], CHAIRMAN, OF BRD., CRLC

WE ARE DOING THE PROJECT X WE ARE PLANNING TO DO THE PROJECT
IF YES (see below)

We are using NRLC forms X We will use NRLC forms

We are using NRLC computer NO, HAVE COMPUTERIZED ~~and Lists.~~ We will use NRLC computer

IF YOUR STATE IS NOT DOING THE SURVEY, PLEASE SEE BELOW:

We are not yet involved in the Voter ID Project because:

Financial reasons Can't find coordinator Not needed in our State

---

FOR STATE COORDINATORS:
A recent article in the National Right to Life News has brought inquiries from individuals AND chapters within States who are doing the project.

What means are you using to make the chapters and grass-roots aware of the project?

Do you need assistance in any specific area to "get the word out" within your State? NO

STATE Florida STATE DIRECTOR TO NRLC Jean Doyle

STATE COORDINATOR - VOTER ID [illegible]

WE ARE DOING THE PROJECT yes (Group) WE ARE PLANNING TO DO THE PROJECT _____
IF YES (see below)

We are using NRLC forms yes We will use NRLC forms _____

We are using NRLC computer no We will use NRLC computer ?

IF YOUR STATE IS NOT DOING THE SURVEY, PLEASE SEE BELOW:

We are not yet involved in the Voter ID Project because:

Financial reasons _____ Can't find coordinator _____ Not needed in our State _____

FOR STATE COORDINATORS:
A recent article in the National Right to Life News has brought inquiries from individuals AND chapters within States who are doing the project.

(1) What means are you using to make the chapters and grass-roots aware of the project?
Voter Survey has been brought up at state board meetings for chapters (cont)
(2) Do you need assistance in any specific area to "get the word out" within your State? yes
Would appreciate any form letter of explanation to send out

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE — Suite 341, National Press Bldg — 529 14th Street, N.W. — Washington, D.C. 20045 (202) 638-4390

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Mrs. Felicia Goeken - National Coordinator
412 Langdon St., Alton, IL 62002 (618-465-3211)

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT REPORT

March 1979

MEMO: State Director and/or
State Coordinator

The Voter Identification Project is being met with great enthusiasm in the States that are involved.
The flow of information is a different matter. Have reached the conclusion that perhaps some of you are so busy DOING IT, you don't have time to report; but then again some of you who are NOT DOING IT are not giving any indication as to the primary problem you may be having.

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As National Coordinator, I am attempting to #1. Ascertain a reasonable budget for the coming year; #2. Establish a pattern for ordering materials so they will be available at time of need.

TO ACCOMPLISH THOSE TWO THINGS - I NEED YOUR HELP!

- Felicia

STATE Idaho STATE DIRECTOR TO NRLC Dr. R. L. Peterson

STATE COORDINATOR - VOTER ID None

WE ARE DOING THE PROJECT _____ WE ARE PLANNING TO DO THE PROJECT ?
IF YES (see below)

We are using NRLC forms _____ We will use NRLC forms _____

We are using NRLC computer _____ We will use NRLC computer _____

IF YOUR STATE IS NOT DOING THE SURVEY, PLEASE SEE BELOW:

We are not yet involved in the Voter ID Project because:

Financial reasons _____ Can't find coordinator _____ Not needed in our State _____

See attached letter.

FOR STATE COORDINATORS:
A recent article in the National Right to Life News has brought iquiries from individuals AND chapters within States who are doing the project.

What means are you using to make the chapters and grass-roots aware of the project?

Do you need assistance in any specific area to "get the word out!" within your State? _____

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Mrs. Felicia Goeken - National Coordinator
412 Langdon St., Alton, IL 62002 (618-465-3211)

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT REPORT

March 1979

MEMO: State Director and/or
State Coordinator

The Voter Identification Project is being met with great enthusiasm in the States that are involved.
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TO ACCOMPLISH THOSE TWO THINGS - I NEED YOUR HELP!

STATE [illegible] STATE DIRECTOR TO NRLC [illegible]

STATE COORDINATOR - VOTER ID [illegible]

WE ARE DOING THE PROJECT [illegible] WE ARE PLANNING TO DO THE PROJECT _____
IF YES (see below)

We are using NRLC forms [illegible] We will use NRLC forms _____

We are using NRLC computer [illegible] We will use NRLC computer _____

IF YOUR STATE IS NOT DOING THE SURVEY, PLEASE SEE BELOW:

We are not yet involved in the Voter ID Project because:

Financial reasons _____ Can't find coordinator _____ Not needed in our State _____

FOR STATE COORDINATORS:
A recent article in the National Right to Life News has brought iquiries from individuals AND chapters within States who are doing the project.

What means are you using to make the chapters and grass-roots aware of the project?

Do you need assistance in any specific area to "get the word out" within your State? _____

STATE Iowa STATE DIRECTOR TO NRLC Margaret Tuck

STATE COORDINATOR - VOTER ID Robert Dorf

WE ARE DOING THE PROJECT yes WE ARE PLANNING TO DO THE PROJECT _____
IF YES (see below)

We are using NRLC forms yes We will use NRLC forms _____

We are using NRLC computer yes We will use NRLC computer _____

IF YOUR STATE IS NOT DOING THE SURVEY, PLEASE SEE BELOW:

We are not yet involved in the Voter ID Project because:

Financial reasons _____ Can't find coordinator _____ Not needed in our State _____

FOR STATE COORDINATORS:
A recent article in the National Right to Life News has brought iquiries from individuals AND chapters within States who are doing the project.

What means are you using to make the chapters and grass-roots aware of the project?

Do you need assistance in any specific area to "get the word out" within your State? _____

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE - Suite 341, National Press Bldg - 529 14th Street, N.W. - Washington, D.C. 20045 - (202) 638-4186

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Mrs. Felicia Goeken - National Coordinator
412 Langdon St., Alton, IL 62002 (618-465-3211)

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT REPORT

March 1979

MEMO: State Director and/or
State Coordinator

The Voter Identification Project is being met with great enthusiasm in the States that are involved.
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As National Coordinator, I am attempting to #1. Ascertain a reasonable budget for the coming year; #2. Establish a pattern for ordering materials so they will be available at time of need.

TO ACCOMPLISH THOSE TWO THINGS - I NEED YOUR HELP!

STATE Mo. STATE DIRECTOR TO NRLC Ann O'Donnell

STATE COORDINATOR - VOTER ID Ann O'Donnell (for now)

WE ARE DOING THE PROJECT Yes WE ARE PLANNING TO DO THE PROJECT _____
IF YES (see below)

We are using NRLC forms Yes We will use NRLC forms _____

We are using NRLC computer No We will use NRLC computer _____

IF YOUR STATE IS NOT DOING THE SURVEY, PLEASE SEE BELOW:

We are not yet involved in the Voter ID Project because:

Financial reasons _____ Can't find coordinator _____ Not needed in our State _____

FOR STATE COORDINATORS:
A recent article in the National Right to Life News has brought iquiries from individuals AND chapters within States who are doing the project.

What means are you using to make the chapters and grass-roots aware of the project?

Do you need assistance in any specific area to "get the word out" within your State? 4/1/79

We need you!

Ann

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE - Suite 343, National Press Bldg. - 529 14th Street N.W.
Washington D.C. 20045 (202) 638-4196

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Mrs. Dolores Gorken - National Coordinator
412 Longdon St., Alton, IL 62002 (618-465-3211)

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT REPORT

March 1979

MEMO: State Director and/or
State Coordinator

The Voter Identification Project is being met with great enthusiasm in the States that are involved.
The flow of information is a different matter. Have reached the conclusion that perhaps some of you are so busy DOING IT, you don't have time to report; but then again some of you who are NOT DOING IT are not giving any indication as to the primary problem you may be having.

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As National Coordinator, I am attempting to #1. Ascertain a reasonable budget for the coming year; #2. Establish a pattern for ordering materials so they will be available at time of need.

TO ACCOMPLISH THOSE TWO THINGS - I NEED YOUR HELP!

file 2W
5-3-79

4/15/79

STATE MD STATE DIRECTOR TO NRLC Wm F COLLITON, JR, MD

STATE COORDINATOR - VOTER ID Peg & Bill Colliton

WE ARE DOING THE PROJECT _____ WE ARE PLANNING TO DO THE PROJECT X
IF YES (see below)

We are using NRLC forms _____ We will use NRLC forms X, I believe

We are using NRLC computer _____ We will use NRLC computer NOT KNOWN

IF YOUR STATE IS NOT DOING THE SURVEY, PLEASE SEE BELOW:

We are not yet involved in the Voter ID Project because:

Financial reasons _____ Can't find coordinator _____ Not needed in our State _____

when every thing else FAILS, WORK A DEAL

NOW HAVING REGIONAL MEETINGS AROUND STATE - HOPE TO HAVE COORDINATOR IN Y - 6 wks

FOR STATE COORDINATORS:
A recent article in the National Right to Life News has brought inquiries from individuals AND chapters within States who are doing the project.

What means are you using to make the chapters and grass-roots aware of the project?

Do you need assistance in any specific area to "get the word out" within your State? _____

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE — Suite 341, National Press Bldg — 529 14th Street, N.W. — Washington, D.C. 20045 — (202) 638-4386

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Mrs. Felicia Goeken - National Coordinator
412 Langdon St., Alton, IL 62002 (618-465-3211)

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT REPORT

March 1979

MEMO: State Director and/or
State Coordinator

The Voter Identification Project is being met with great enthusiasm in the States that are involved.
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TO ACCOMPLISH THOSE TWO THINGS - I NEED YOUR HELP!

STATE _____ STATE DIRECTOR TO NRLC _____

STATE COORDINATOR - VOTER ID _____

WE ARE DOING THE PROJECT _____ WE ARE PLANNING TO DO THE PROJECT _____
IF YES (see below)

We are using NRLC forms _____ We will use NRLC forms _____

We are using NRLC computer _____ We will use NRLC computer _____

IF YOUR STATE IS NOT DOING THE SURVEY, PLEASE SEE BELOW:

We are not yet involved in the Voter ID Project because:

Financial reasons _____ Can't find coordinator _____ Not needed in our State _____

FOR STATE COORDINATORS:
A recent article in the National Right to Life News has brought inquiries from individuals AND chapters within States who are doing the project.

What means are you using to make the chapters and grass-roots aware of the project?

Do you need assistance in any specific area to "get the word out" within your State? _____

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Mrs. Felicia Goeken - National Coordinator
412 Langdon St., Alton, IL 62002 (618-465-3211)

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT REPORT

March 1979

MEMO: State Director and/or
State Coordinator

The Voter Identification Project is being met with great enthusiasm in the States that are involved.
The flow of information is a different matter. Have reached the conclusion that perhaps some of you are so busy DOING IT, you don't have time to report; but then again some of you who are NOT DOING IT are not giving any indication as to the primary problem you may be having.

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TO ACCOMPLISH THOSE TWO THINGS - I NEED YOUR HELP!

- Felicia

STATE Michigan STATE DIRECTOR TO NRLC Jane Muldoon

STATE COORDINATOR - VOTER ID Sue Colligan

WE ARE DOING THE PROJECT Yes WE ARE PLANNING TO DO THE PROJECT _____
IF YES (see below)

We are using NRLC forms Yes We will use NRLC forms _____

We are using NRLC computer Yes We will use NRLC computer _____

IF YOUR STATE IS NOT DOING THE SURVEY, PLEASE SEE BELOW:

We are not yet involved in the Voter ID Project because:

Financial reasons _____ Can't find coordinator _____ Not needed in our State _____

FOR STATE COORDINATORS:
A recent article in the National Right to Life News has brought iquiries from individuals AND chapters within States who are doing the project.

What means are you using to make the chapters and grass-roots aware of the project?
The State office contacts all locals and encourages them to continue.
Do you need assistance in any specific area to "get the word out" within your State? _____
No

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Mrs. Felicia Gocken - National Coordinator
412 Langdon St., Alton, IL 62002 (618-465-3211)

Enclosed CPA 7.5a

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT REPORT

March 1979

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TO ACCOMPLISH THOSE TWO THINGS - I NEED YOUR HELP!

STATE [illegible] STATE DIRECTOR TO NRLC [illegible]

STATE COORDINATOR - VOTER ID [illegible]

WE ARE DOING THE PROJECT _____ WE ARE PLANNING TO DO THE PROJECT [illegible]
IF YES (see below)

We are using NRLC forms [illegible] We will use NRLC forms [illegible]

We are using NRLC computer _____ We will use NRLC computer [illegible]

IF YOUR STATE IS NOT DOING THE SURVEY, PLEASE SEE BELOW:

We are not yet involved in the Voter ID Project because:

Financial reasons _____ Can't find coordinator _____ Not needed in our State _____

FOR STATE COORDINATORS:
A recent article in the National Right to Life News has brought iquiries from individuals AND chapters within States who are doing the project.

What means are you using to make the chapters and grass-roots aware of the project?

Do you need assistance in any specific area to "get the word out" within your State? [illegible]

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE Suite 341, National Press Bldg. - 529 14th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20045 (202) 638-4196

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Mrs. Felicia Goeken - National Coordinator
412 Langdon St., Alton, IL 62002 (618-465-3211)

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT REPORT

March 1979

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State Coordinator

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TO ACCOMPLISH THOSE TWO THINGS - I NEED YOUR HELP!

STATE [illegible] STATE DIRECTOR TO NRLC [illegible]

STATE COORDINATOR - VOTER ID [illegible]

WE ARE DOING THE PROJECT _____ WE ARE PLANNING TO DO THE PROJECT ✓
IF YES (see below)

We are using NRLC forms _____ We will use NRLC forms ✓

We are using NRLC computer _____ We will use NRLC computer ?

IF YOUR STATE IS NOT DOING THE SURVEY, PLEASE SEE BELOW:

We are not yet involved in the Voter ID Project because:

Financial reasons_____ Can't find coordinator_____ Not needed in our State_____

FOR STATE COORDINATORS:
A recent article in the National Right to Life News has brought iquiries from individuals AND chapters within States who are doing the project.

What means are you using to make the chapters and grass-roots aware of the project?

Do you need assistance in any specific area to "get the word out" within your State?_____

F Hennington

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Mrs. Felicia Goeken - National Coordinator
412 Langdon St., Alton, IL 62002 (618-465-3211)

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT REPORT

March 1979

MEMO: State Director and/or
State Coordinator

The Voter Identification [illegible]
that are involved.
The flow of informati[illegible]
perhaps some of you [illegible]
again some of you [illegible]
primary problem [illegible]

with great enthusiasm in the States

[illegible] eached the conclusion that
av[illegible] time to report; but then
[illegible] indication as to the

This mailing wil[illegible]
and respond. #2. [illegible]
specific questior

take a few seconds
of evaluation with
ork-sheet

As Nationa[illegible] "oor
the comin[illegible] yea.
a[illegible]lab[illegible]

reasonable budget for
ials so they will be

A: Pennsylvania — John Stanton _____

[illegible] COORDINA — Denise Neary _____

E ARE DOING THE — Yes — PROJECT _____
IF [illegible]

[illegible] NF. forms — Yes _____

[illegible] NRLC — Yes _____

OCK STATE [illegible]

[illegible]

name [illegible] easons_ — n our State _____

_____

OR STATE COORDINATO[illegible]
[illegible] recent article in [illegible]
[illegible]viduals AND ch — quiries from

[illegible]re — of the pro[illegible]

We are having state federation meetings to provide — within your s[illegible]
project. Our only stumbling block may prove to be funds, to get names and [illegible]

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Mrs. Felicia Goeken - National Coordinator
412 Langdon St., Alton, IL 62002 (618-465-3211)

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT REPORT

March 1979

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State Coordinator

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TO ACCOMPLISH THOSE TWO THINGS - I NEED YOUR HELP!

STATE _____ STATE DIRECTOR TO NRLC _____

STATE COORDINATOR - VOTER ID _____

WE ARE DOING THE PROJECT _____ WE ARE PLANNING TO DO THE PROJECT _____
IF YES (see below)

We are using NRLC forms _____ We will use NRLC forms _____

We are using NRLC computer _____ We will use NRLC computer _____

IF YOUR STATE IS NOT DOING THE SURVEY, PLEASE SEE BELOW:

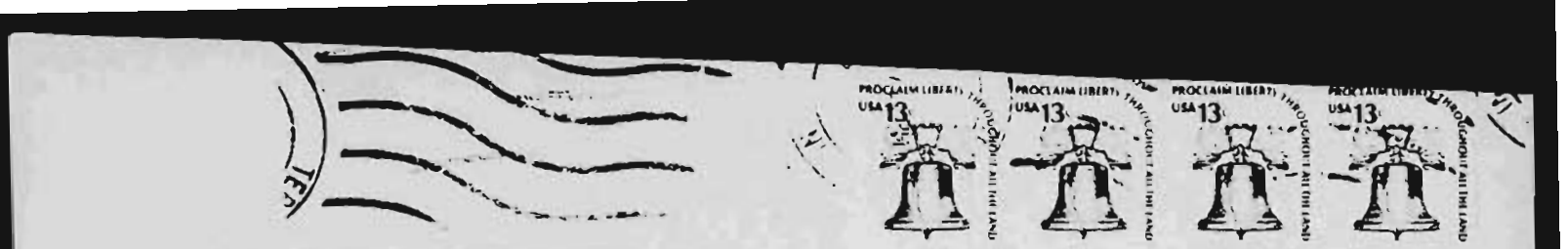
We are not yet involved in the Voter ID Project because:

Financial reasons _____ Can't find coordinator _____ Not needed in our State _____

FOR STATE COORDINATORS:
A recent article in the National Right to Life News has brought iquiries from individuals AND chapters within States who are doing the project.

What means are you using to make the chapters and grass-roots aware of the project?

Do you need assistance in any specific area to "get the word out" within your State?



AMES, BOPP & HAYNES
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
900 SYCAMORE BUILDING
19 SOUTH SIXTH STREET
TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA 47807

Mr. David Federman
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K Street N.W.
Washington, DC 20463

79 NOV 29 A10:12

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

November 25, 1980

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Felicia Goeken
412 Langdon
Alton, Illinois 62002

Re: MUR 958

Dear Ms. Goeken:

Please find enclosed a subpoena requesting your appearance for deposition on December 12, 1980.

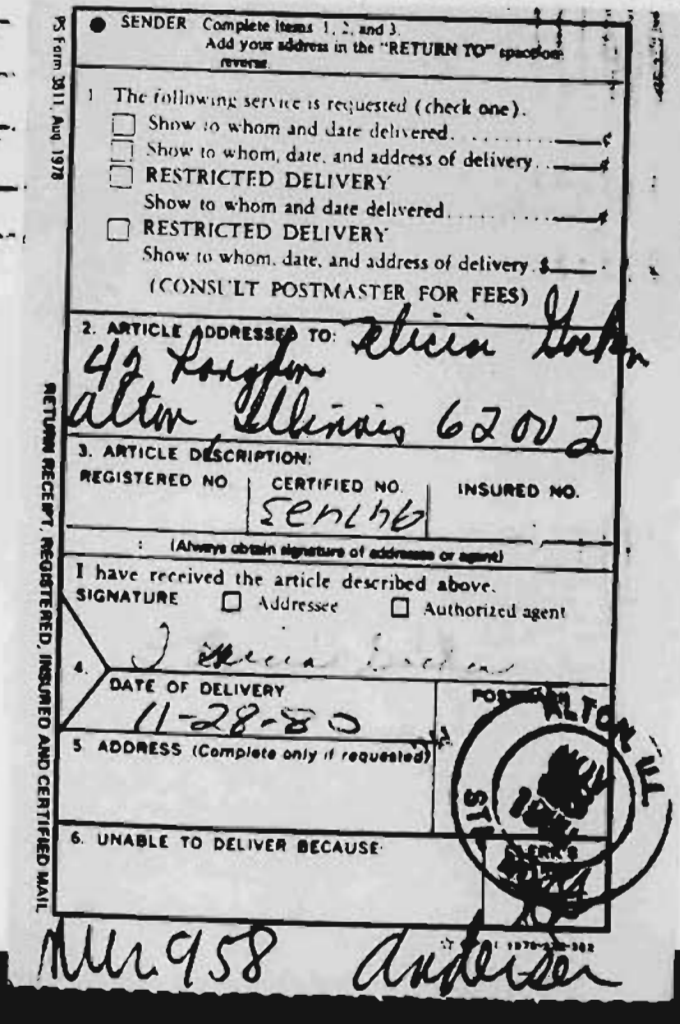
Pursuant to Commission regulations (11 C.F.R. § 111.12), you will find enclosed witness fees for your attendance.

If you have any questions, please contact R. Lee Andersen, the attorney assigned to this matter at (202)523-5071.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel



PS Form 3811, Aug. 1978

SENDER Complete items 1, 2, and 3.
Add your address in the "RETURN TO" space on reverse

1. The following service is requested (check one).
- ☐ Show to whom and date delivered. ..... ¢
- ☐ Show to whom, date, and address of delivery. ..... ¢
- ☐ RESTRICTED DELIVERY
  Show to whom and date delivered. ..... ¢
- ☐ RESTRICTED DELIVERY
  Show to whom, date, and address of delivery. $
  (CONSULT POSTMASTER FOR FEES)

2. ARTICLE ADDRESSED TO: Felicia Goeken
42 Langdon
Alton Illinois 62002

3. ARTICLE DESCRIPTION:
REGISTERED NO. | CERTIFIED NO. 5e1176 | INSURED NO.
(Always obtain signature of addressee or agent)

I have received the article described above.
SIGNATURE ☐ Addressee ☐ Authorized agent
4. Felicia Goeken

DATE OF DELIVERY 11-28-80
POSTMARK ALTON ILL.

5. ADDRESS (Complete only if requested)

6. UNABLE TO DELIVER BECAUSE:

RETURN RECEIPT, REGISTERED, INSURED AND CERTIFIED MAIL

MUR 958 Andersen

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Subpoena to Appear for Deposition Upon

Oral Examination

TO: Felicia Goeken
412 Langdon
Alton, Illinois 62002

RE: Matter Under Review 958

At the instance of the Federal Election Commission, pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §437d(a)(3) and (4), you are hereby ordered to appear for deposition in connection with the Commission's investigation of possible violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, by the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

Notice is hereby given that the deposition is to be taken at Room 217, Federal Building, 501 Bell St., Alton, Illinois at 9:30 a.m. December 12, 1980, and any and all dates adjourned to by the Commission.

WHEREFORE, the Vice-Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set his hand at Washington, D.C., on this 17th day of November, 1980.

JOHN WARREN McGARRY
Vice-Chairman
Federal Election Commission

ATTEST:

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

TREASURY
FISCAL SERVICE
DIVISION OF DISBURSEMENT

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Check No. 79,636,871
SYMBOL 3004

United States Treasury 15-51/000

PAY TO THE ORDER OF FELICIA GOEKEN

DOLLARS	CTS.
$****30	00

MONTH	DAY	YEAR
11	21	80

95350001

FEC
WASH DC
W1041

FE1AW082 WITNESS
MUR 958 FEC

Henry H. Eden

DO NOT FOLD, SPINDLE OR MUTILATE
KNOW OUR ENDORSER . . . REQUIRE IDENTIFICATION

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

RHF

Felicia Goeken
412 Langdon
Alton, Illinois 62002

Re: MUR 958

Dear Ms. Goeken:

Please find enclosed a subpoena requesting your appearance for deposition on December 12, 1980.

Pursuant to Commission regulations (11 C.F.R. § 111.12), you will find enclosed witness fees for your attendance.

If you have any questions, please contact R. Lee Andersen, the attorney assigned to this matter at (202)523-5071.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

BY: Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES STEELE

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/MARGARET CHANEY mc

DATE: NOVEMBER 18, 1980

SUBJECT: SUBPOENA IN RELATION TO MUR 958

The attached subpoena, approved by a vote of 6-0 on November 5, 1980, has been signed and sealed this date.

ATTACHMENT:
Subpoena - Goeken

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
)
National Right to Life)
Committee, Inc.)

MUR 958

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Recording Secretary for the Federal Election Commission's Executive Session on November 5, 1980, do hereby certify that the Commission decided by a vote of 6-0 to authorize the issuance of a subpoena for deposition of Felicia Goeken, coordinator of the Voter Identification Project for the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

Attest:

11-6-80
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES STEELE

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/MARGARET CHANEY

DATE: OCTOBER 28, 1980

SUBJECT: OBJECTION - MUR 958 - General Counsel's Report dated 6-19-80; Signed 10-24-80; Received in OCS 10-27-80, 11:32

The above-named document was circulated on a 48 hour vote basis at 4:00, October 27, 1980.

Commissioner Aikens submitted an objection at 4:29, October 28, 1980.

This matter will be placed on the Executive Session Agenda for Thursday, November 6, 1980.

October 27, 1980

MEMORANDUM TO: Marjorie W. Emmons

FROM: Elissa T. Garr

SUBJECT: MUR 958

Please have the attached General Counsel's Report distributed to the Commission onaa 48 hour tally basis. Thank you.

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

June 19, 1980

80 OCT 27 All: 32

In the Matter of)
) MUR 958
National Right to Life Committee, Inc.)

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

Background

On April 30, 1979, the National Abortion Rights Action League ("NARAL") filed a complaint against the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. ("NRLC") alleging that NRLC's Voter Identification Project ("VIP") and NRLC's activities in connection with the VIP may violate the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

On June 22, 1979, the Commission found reason to believe that NRLC may have violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b or in the alternative 2 U.S.C. § 433 and § 434.[1/] The Commission's reason to believe notification letter with interrogatories was sent on July 28, 1979. NRLC's responses to the interrogatories were received on September 4, 1979. Thereafter, the Commission, on October 31, 1979, authorized the issuance of a subpoena for NRLC's records and

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1/ The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, Pub. L. No. 92-225, 86 Stat. 3, was amended by the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974, Pub. L. No. 93-443, 88 Stat. 1263, the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1976, Pub. L. No. 94-283, 90 Stat. 2, and the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1979, Pub. L. No. 96-187, 93 Stat. 1339. The provisions of the Act were re-codified in Chapter 14 of Title 2, United States Code, and chapters 95 and 96 of Title 26, United States Code. The 1979 Amendments became effective January 10, 1980. However, unless otherwise noted all references to the Act and Regulations are to the provisions in effect at the time the complaint was filed and are not to the recently amended provisions.

reports pertaining to the NRLC. These documents were received on November 29, 1979.

Voter Identification Project

According to NRLC, the VIP is a nationwide survey of the views of registered voters on abortion. Although NRLC coordinates the project, its implementation is left to state right to life organizations. The states purchase the necessary materials through the national organization, conduct the survey and then store the results in a central computer. NRLC does not have access to the individual names and data in the computer, as each state has sole control and access to its own data (The June 18, 1979, First General Counsel's Report contains a detailed description of the VIP at pages 1-4).

Analysis

As stated in the First General Counsel's Report, the possible violations in this matter do not arise from the VIP itself. The survey is to be conducted in a non-partisan manner, candidates are not mentioned, and the questions are directed solely toward gathering opinions on the abortion issue. Rather, the possible violations arise from the uses made of the survey results. Specifically, it is alleged in the complaint and accompanying materials that the results of the survey are being used to conduct get-out-the-vote drives in a partisan manner. If it can be established that NRLC used the VIP results to conduct

get-out-the-vote drives and if it can be shown that the get-out-the-vote drives are conducted on a partisan basis, NRLC would appear to be making expenditures within the meaning of the Act.

As NRLC is a corporation, and if in fact the expenditures are made "in connection with an election," then NRLC has made corporate expenditures and has violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b. In the alternative, if NRLC is actually a political committee incorporated for liability purposes only, and has made expenditures which exceed the $1,000 threshold of 2 U.S.C. § 431(d), then NRLC has violated 2 U.S.C. § 433 and § 434 for failure to register and report. 2/

The evidence adduced from NRLC's response to the Commission's notification of reason to believe finding as well as the response to the Commission's subpoena for production of documents and materials remains contradictory and inconsistent on the question of whether partisan use has been or is about to be made of the survey results. According to NRLC, the local organizations contact registered voters and identify their positions on abortion issues in a non-partisan manner. However, these statements are inconsistent with the claims made by NRLC in its fund-raising brochures and with the documents which were submitted to the Commission as part of the original complaint. (See

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2/ To date, NRLC has not indicated that it is a political committee incorporated in conformance with 11 C.F.R. § 114.12(a) for liability purposes only so as not to be subject to 2 U.S.C. § 441b.

First General Counsel's Report at pages 2 and 3 and complaint attached as Exhibit 1 at page 2). In these materials NRLC discusses how the survey results can be used to deliver a "margin of victory" for the pro-life candidates. This is to be accomplished through the VIP follow-up procedure whereby those voters which have been identified as pro-life are encouraged to vote.

NRLC denies conducting such partisan electioneering. However, NRLC's characterization of itself as only the seller of information regarding the VIP rather than the organizer of the project, creates doubt as to how much credence the Commission should give to NRLC's denial, since it is based on the crucial assumption that NRLC is not the organizer of the VIP. Furthermore, NRLC's disavowal of its alleged role as organizer and director of the VIP is contradicted by its continuing efforts to coordinate and encourage the state groups in their use of the VIP. (See communications with state groups attached as Exhibit 2 at pages 1-5).

Even if the VIP materials are bought and paid for by the state and local groups at a reasonable profit to NRLC (in itself a factual issue about which the Commission has little concrete documentation), the fundraising letter sent to members of NRLC specifically soliciting contributions from its members for the VIP is inconsistent with the notion that the NRLC uses none of its own funds to prepare the materials (See the fundraising letter attached as Exhibit 3 at page 3). Furthermore, if the cost of the

VIP materials and their development are inadequately covered by the purchases made by local groups, that part paid for by contributions to NRLC by its members might constitute expenditures by NRLC. NRLC cannot ignore the legal implications of the entire VIP project just because it happens to sell certain forms and booklets to state groups.[3/] Furthermore, it appears that a significant duty of one of the staff members of NRLC, Felicia Goeken, is to coordinate the VIP by communicating with the various state, pro-life coordinators throughout the country. (See documents attached as Exhibit 2 at pages 6-11). This may be a cost to the NRLC beyond that paid for with the purchase of materials.

Finally, evidence in the possession of the Office of General Counsel indicates that the VIP may have already been used in the 1978 Iowa general election.[4/] In addition, NRLC's denial of any

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3/ These state groups are characterized as "affiliates" by NRLC where it suits the public relations purposes of NRLC. (See Exhibit 3 at page 4). Accordingly, there may not be the measure of independence among these groups which the responses from NRLC have attempted to convey to the Commission raising the possibility of affiliation among the state groups under 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(5) and 11 C.F.R. § 100.14(c).

4/ The NRLC's response to the Commission subpoena does show that the VIP or at least the VIP concept has been "tested" on the state level. According to this response, the Iowa Right to Life organization had at least some of their survey completed in time for the 1978 federal elections. NRLC appears to take at least partial credit for the victory of the Pro-Life Senate candidate in the Iowa election (See Exhibit 2 at page 7 and Exhibit 3 at page 2).

partisan activity in its responses to Commission inquiries in August and November of 1979 may no longer hold true at this stage of the VIP operation as it is possible that VIP results were used in the 1980 primaries. For the reasons stated above further investigation is necessary for the Office of General Counsel to make recommendations on the merits of the alleged 2 U.S.C. § 441b violation as well as the 2 U.S.C. § 433 and § 434 violations.

The Office of General Counsel therefore recommends that the Commission authorize a subpoena for deposition of Felicia Goeken, coordinator of the VIP for NRLC so that additional information can be obtained to clear up the above noted inconsistencies in the evidence associated with this matter.

Recommendation

1. Authorize the issuance of a subpoena for deposition of Felicia Goeken, coordinator of the Voter Identification Project for the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

Attachments

1. Exhibit 1, Complaint
2. Exhibit 2, NRLC's response to Commission subpoena (excerpts)
3. Exhibit 3, Fundraising Voter by NRLC
4. Subpoena authorization
5. Subpoena

24 October 1980
DATE

CHARLES N. STEELE
GENERAL COUNSEL

MUR 958

SHELDON, HARMON, ROISMAN & WEISS
1725 I Street, N.W.
Suite 506
Washington, D.C. 20006

TELEPHONE
(202) 833 9070

KARIN P. SHELDON
GAIL M. HARMON
ANTHONY Z. ROISMAN
ELLEN R. WEISS
WILLIAM S. JORDAN, III *
* ADMITTED IN MICHIGAN ONLY

April 30, 1979

Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen:

On behalf of National Abortion Rights Action League ("NARAL") I am filing a complaint against National Right to Life Committee ("NRLC") for violation of the Federal election laws.

NRLC is a non-profit membership corporation organized to lobby the United States Congress on "pro-life" or "anti-choice" issues. Its relationship with its associated political committee, Life Amendment Political Action Committee (LAPAC) is the subject of another complaint filed today.

NRLC and LAPAC have attributed their alleged success in the November 1978 elections to the success of NRLC's Voter Identification Project. As its name implies, NRLC's Voter Identification Project involves telephone polls of registered voters to identify those sympathetic to NRLC's cause and then providing them with such services as candidate endorsements, encouragement to go to the polls or transportation to the polls. The project is more fully explained in both the letter from Carolyn Gerster, NRLC President, soliciting funds for NRLC for this project (Exhibit "A") and in the copyrighted booklet, "Voter Identification Program, Phase I Voter Survey Project," (Exhibit "B"). Additional information about the Voter Identification Project is contained in the attached articles from May 5, 1978 "Cedar Rapids Gazette" (Exhibit "C"), and the December 1978 "Communicator," official newspaper of Indiana Right to Life (Exhibit "D").

Corporate contributions to political campaigns or political action committees are, of course, prohibited by law. 2 U.S.C. 441b. This prohibition applies to NRLC's inkind contribution of information gained through its Voter Identification Project. Advisory Opinions

Exhibit 1.

issued by the Federal Election Commission have considered the following elements of voter identification projects to be prohibited corporate contributions if they are performed by a corporation and donated to a political committee: computer analysis of constituent questionnaire (AO-77-26); expenses of efforts to get sympathetic voters registered (AO-77-26); transfer of computer tape of names and addresses of registered voters (AO-77-10).

Some of the costs of the NRLC's Voter I.D. program are (1) the cost of preparing and publishing the booklet attached as Exhibit "B" and any other booklets which would explain subsequent phases of the program, (2) the costs of the voter registration list, (3) the cost of the telephone calls (77,500 calls per Congressional District (p. 7 of Exhibit "B") x $.06/call x 335 Congressional Districts), (4) the cost of the 3 piece carbon sets for recording the information (pp. 20-22 of Exhibit "B"), (5) the cost of staff time on local, state and national levels devoted to this project.

NRLC may allege that the Voter I.D. project involves public education rather than expenditures for the purposes of influencing elections, but this is clearly not true. If the project was designed to identify new members or educate the public, telephoners would explain and discuss the issue and record the points of view of all people whether registered to vote or not; the instructions on pages 18-19, however, make it clear that the survey is designed only to elicit the opinions of voters. The project is designed "to help deliver the pro-life votes which you have worked so hard to identify." (Exhibit "B", p. 24). "Properly used, a well organized, full constituency voter identification survey can produce a 5% to 10% increase in a candidates' vote... When we complete our survey and organize our get-out-the-vote operation, WE CAN DELIVER THE MARGIN OF VICTORY FOR PRO-LIFE CANDIDATES." (Exhibit "B" p. 6).

NRLC would be hard put to defend on the theory that the Voter I.D. Project is actually conducted by local pacs. Gersters' fundraising letter, the booklet, printed forms for recording information, and instruction to telephoners, "I am a volunteer for the National Right to Life Committee" all mark it as a project of NRLC.

We request that you investigate to what extent the 1978 Voter Identification Project involved prohibited corporate contributions.

Further we request that the Federal Election Commission investigate the Voter Identification Project explained in NRLC's 1979 letter and that it prohibit any transfer of information gleaned through the project to a political committee unless it is at fair market value.

We are today sending a copy of this complaint to NRLC and LAPAC. Since the law in the area is relatively clear, NRLC will henceforward be on notice that it cannot give the results of the Voter Identification Project to LAPAC, candidates or other political committees.

I have prepared this complaint and believe that it is true and correct to the best of my knowledge. This complaint was not filed on behalf of or at the request or suggestion of any candidate.

Sincerely,

Gail M. Harmon

GMH/gc

Subscribed and sworn to before
me this 30 day of April, 1979.

Notary Public

[illegible], 1981

Wyoming Right to Life Committee, Inc.
P.O. BOX 1208
CASPER, WYOMING 82602
TELEPHONE 237-7132

February 19, 1978

Mrs. Felecia Coeken
412 Langdon
Alton, Illinois 62002

Dear Felecia:

Please don't faint from this but I finally have securred a state coordinator for the Voter Identification rpoject for Wyoming.

This gal is new and has not been active very long, knows little about what she is getting into, so please let her down gently. This project will be a hard task in Wyoming because of the state's rural structure. There are very few large areas that are densely populated, in fact practically none here so much of the calling will ultimately be toll calling. Sometimes I almost think it might be cheeper to go door-to-door.

Anyway I have sent her a copy of the Phase I booklet and so that is all that she knows about the project. I truly hope she works out for us - it has been almost a year long struggle just to get this far.

My best regards to you and your family and please excuse the typing!

Sincerely in life,

Sharon Cornthwaite

Wyomign Voter-Identification Coordinator

Natalie Davis
175 Wyoming
Lander, Wyoming 82520
307-332-5360

Exhibit 2.

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

January 12, 1978

Mrs. Sharon Cornwaithe
3703 Alpine
Casper WYOMING 82601

Dear Sharon,

For the past several weeks we have been contacting all of the States who have appointed Coordinators for the Voter ID, and asking them to prepay an order for the forms, with a minimum order for $100. Several of them did, and some even went beyong the requested minimum of $100.

This has enabled us to go to print with our first order of 200,000. Of course, we realize that is just a "drop in the bucket", considering our ultimate needs. but it certainly is a beginning.

We will of course, ship prepaid orders first, and then orders accompanied by payment.

I'm trying to get a projection on needs of the States in the immediate future, so we won't come up "short" on materials when the different States need them.

As I look over the Wyoming report you gave me on the results of your efforts there is no doubt that the identified pro-life vote in your state would have impact.

In the 1976 election (Wyoming At Large) the results were:

Teno Roncallo* (D. Cheyenne)	85,725
Larry Hart(R.,Powell)	66,178

The use of the forms (3 pc. with carbons) for the information to be available at local, State and National level will be vital to really get the most out of the labors and money expended, i.e. computerized.

We are now looking at regional concepts of computerizing for most efficient operation, i.e. not one big computerization, but regionally throughout the country via geography.

However, for now, I would like to give a complete report to theBoard inJanuary, and a projection and some kind of word on the status of the project in each State will really help.

Would like to hear from your prior to Board meeting.

YOURS FOR LIFE FOR EVERYONE,

Felicia

Felicia Coeken, National Coordinator, Voter ID Project

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

October 24, 1977

MEMO: Mrs. Sharon Cornthwaite
2703 Alpine
Casper, WY 82601

Dear Mrs. Cornthwaite:

As soon as the Board minutes are sent out, you will notice they include an updated report on the Voter ID Project, Phase I.
I am delighted so many States have responded, both in naming their State Coordinator and in keeping in touch and letting us know that they are looking for the "key" person within their State to act as Coordinator.

Today, I am writing all those Directors who have not yet found that person, enclosing the complete, updated, edited Voter ID booklet and asking for a report back, i.e. has your State reached a decision on participation, are they having any particular problems, and as we have asked before, what can we do to help.

I realize there is still much to be done in explaining the complete Project, but do think the information within the booklet gives enough information to begin the structure (see pages 8 and 9).

In any case, as National Coordinator of the Project, I would appreciate hearing from you, whether it's good news or bad news), soon.

It will be very helpful to me to know what problems are arising in the very beginning. What questions need to be answered that have not been, and what explanations need to be detailed more.

When we are ready to order the forms that are to be used to tally results, we need to know two things:

1. [illegible] registration lists by counties or by alphabetical name order.
2. [illegible] such by ordering the forms in bulk orders of 100,000 (1 [illegible] pins [illegible] are to be used to alphabetically sort names) (2¢ per sheet. It is very important that we know when we might expect to reach the goal of 100,000.

Hope to hear from you soon, like I said, whether it's good news or bad.

Thank you for your assistance in making this Project easier to report.

[illegible],

Mrs. Patricia Madison
411 Langdon
Alton, IL 62002

pm/ltr

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

National Office — National Press Building, Suite 537 — Washington, D. C. 20045
Special Projects Office — P. O. Box 2991 — Tulsa, OK. 74101
NRL News Editorial Office — 3516 Lyndale Ave., South — Minneapolis, MN 55419

March 7, 1978

NatalieDavis
Voter ID State Coordinator
175 Wyoming
Lander, Wyoming 82520

Dear Natalie,

Welcome to the world of the Voter ID Project!

Sharon Cornwaithe recently sent your name - and was certainly pleased to have a Coordinator for Wyoming.

Since I am uncertain how much information you have on the Project, I am only including the latest mailing to you and we will go from there. Please feel free to contact me at any time for any information or assistance that you need.

We realize what a job we have ahead of us, but we also realize the motive to do the job is the greatest - to save lives.

The cooperation and tremendous effort put forth on this project by the States and the willing hands and working hearts is heart-warming.

We hope no one is reluctant because of a lack of confidence, because, after all, this has never been done by anyone before and we are all learning together.

It has been tested in enough states, partially, to make us confident that it is one of the primary, if not THE project that will make the difference in seeking a Human Life Amendment.

Again - welcome aboard - and again - please don't hesitate to ask anything you need to know to assist in the job you have accepted.

YOURS FOR LIFE, FOR EVERYONE,

Felicia

Mrs. Felicia Goeken
National Coordinator-Voter ID
412 Langdon Street
Alton,IL 62002
Telephone 465-3211 (area code 618)

cc: Sharon Cornwaithe

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Mrs. Felicia Goeken - National Coordinator
412 Langdon St., Alton, IL 62002 (618-465-3211)

November 6, 1978

Natalie Davis
175 Wyoming
Lander, WY 82520

Dear Natalie:

Am communicating with all state coordinators and/or state directors regarding the Voter I.D. project. With the hope that everybody has some energy left after the November 7th election, as previously reported, we now have 32 state coordinators. We are not only asking for reports from those who have implemented it, we are also asking those who are just beginning to share with us any of their particular problems, whether they be financial, motivating the grass rooter, et al.

I would like to submit as complete report as possible, be it good news or bad news, to our Executive Committee at our December 1st meeting. Am also asking the various states for a projection of any material they may need in the four to six months.

We are shooting for a goal to finish this Phase I by the end of 1979, so it can be effective in the 1980 elections. We stand here prepared to help in any we can with any particular problem.

Will appreciate your cooperation.

YOURS FOR LIFE, FOR EVERYONE,

Felicia Goeken, National Coordinator
Voter Identification Project

VOTER IDENTIFICATION SURVEY
PHASE I

Definition, i.e. poll vs. survey
A survey only measures attitudes of those contacted
A Poll is a statistical sampling with projectability
OUR PROJECT IS A SURVEY

There should NOT be press announcements or newsletter-articles at the local level of either the planned survey or results, without approval of the State Coordinator. Continuity in reporting concepts and releasing information should be maintained throughout the State.

Dependent upon your state organizations own tax status, and/or the organization within your State purchasing the Voter ID materials, please double-check on the us of the results. Since your State purchases the materials from NRLC, your State determines the purchasing or selling of information, i.e. use of the mailing lists.

Staffing:

For most effectiveness and controlability find full-time volunteer as Congressional District Supervisor, to 1. Recruit and train volunteers, 2. Develop flow chart of activities and calendar of deadlines for each part of the program, 3. Supervise fund-raising activities to pay for the program and 4. Organize follow-up when survey is done.

State organization participating should release its' State Coordinator for full time volunteer work as the State Coordinator if at all possible. It is a full time effort and will require all of the energy of that State Coordinator. Situation might vary where an efficient office is established that releases the State Coordinator from the actual work of written communications; but if that situation doesn't exist please try to free up that State Coordinator.

Phone Bank - Advantages
A. Easier to manage
B. Generate more enthusiasm among phoners
C. Less margin of error in questions and reporting
D. More productive per person hours.

REVIEW THE VOTER I.D. BOOK

If National News Media begins to make inquiries, PLEASE, refer to the National Coordinator.

When possible "live" workshops create much more interest and participation than written reports.

Fringe benefits of the survey:

A profile of the State - its' strengths and weaknesses
Tighter organizational structure within the State - contacts within Congressional Districts, Counties, Cities and Precincts or Wards
The recording of such information for your own state files
Increased awareness among the voters that this IS an issue to be concerned with when they go to the polls.

PLEASE UTILIZE THE NATIONAL COORDINATOR WHEN SEEKING ANSWERS TO SPECIFIC PROBLEMS OR IN SHARING A SUCCESSFUL NEW IDEA THAT HAS WORKED FOR YOU!

GOOD COMMUNICATION IS A KEY THAT OPENS MANY DOORS!

Felicia Goeken

Felicia Goeken, National Coordinator

National RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

July 21, 1978

UPDATE REPORT - VOTER ID PROJECT - PHASE I
TO ALL STATE DIRECTORS AND STATE COORDINATORS

A quick, one-page report was recently mailed to the Directors, with the minutes, from the National office. (A copy of that report is also enclosed with this later report to the State Coordinators).

#1. HOW IS THE VOTER ID PROJECT DOING, NATION-WIDE?
ALABAMA: Starting the project in the Montgomery area; as per telephone call from Mr. Ray Dutton, July 18, 1978.

ALASKA: As of a month ago, one legislative district completed, starting on a second.

ARIZONA: ordered first forms in December of 1977

ARKANSAS:Named State Coordinator early in 1978

CALIFORNIA:

COLORADO: Ordered first forms July 1978

CONNECTICUT:

DELAWARE:

WASHINGTON,D.C.:

GEORGIA:

FLORIDA:

HAWAII:

IDAHO:

ILLINOIS: Ordered first forms early in 1978, has State Coordinator

INDIANA:Appointed coordinator, late 1977, invited National Coordinator to State Convention; project going very well

IOWA: Appointed coordinator, late 1977, invited National Coordinator to State Convention; part of project computerized in time for their SUCCESSFUL primary election.

KANSAS:

KENTUCKY: Named State Coordinator, July 1978

LOUISIANA:

MAINE: named State Coordinator September 1977, has ordered forms

MARYLAND:

MASSACHUSETTS:

MINNESOTA: Doing a survey independent of NRLC

MICHIGAN: State Coordinator appointed January 1978, continuous material order of forms

MISSISSIPPI:

MISSOURI: Appointed State Coordinator late, 1977. First order of forms shipped February 1978.

MONTANA:

NEVADA:

NEW HAMPSHIRE:

NEBRASKA: Involved in a type of survey since early 1977. Invited National Coordinator to State Convention.

NEW JERSEY: Appointed State Coordinator early 1978.

NEW MEXICO:

NEW YORK: Appointed State Coordinator early 1978, also assistant state coordinator. Has coordinator for each Congressional District.

NORTH CAROLINA: Appointed State Coordinator September, 1977, ordered forms. December 1977.

NORTH DAKOTA:

OHIO: piloted earlier state survey. Appointed Coordinator July 1977, first order of forms November 1977.

OKLAHOMA:

OREGON: Appointed State Coordinator late 1977.

PENNSYLVANIA: Appointed State Coordinator late 1977. Pre ordered materials, late 1977.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Appointed State Coordinator, late 1977.

RHODE ISLAND:

SOUTH DAKOTA: Appointed State Coordinator, September 1977. Pre-ordered materials.

TENNESSEE: Appointed State Coordinator, September 1977. Recent phone call indicates they are ready to order forms.

TEXAS: Appointed State Coordinator July 1977. Forms ordered.

UTAH:

VERMONT:

VIRGINIA: appointment of State Coordinator in near future, possibility.

WASHINGTON:

WEST VIRGINIA: Appointed State Coordinator, July 1978

WISCONSIN: Appointed State Coordinator early 1978.

WYOMING: Appointed State Coordinator FEbruary 1978.

SUMMATION: Twenty-seven (27) States are at some stage of the Voter ID Project.

At least seven of the remaining States have indicated they are "gung-ho" on the project, and are seeking the "key person" to be State Coordinator.

IF ANY OF THE REPORTING ON THESE STATES ARE IN ERROR - PLEASE LET ME KNOW!

#2. ORDERING MATERIALS:

As of NOW, all materials will be ordered from the National Coordinator: 412 Langdon Street, Alton,IL 62002. Telephone: 618-465-3211.

All orders should come FROM the State Coordinator or the State Director. Individual chapters or organizations throughout the State MUST come through either of these two. PAYMENT SHOULD ACCOMPANY ORDER, OR AT BEST, BE MAILED WITHIN 30 days of order. (Strike that should, for the present, and add MUST).

With better arrangements on printing of forms, and shipment of materials, you do not have to place big orders. On the Forms, packed 1100 to a box, you can order one box (either 6600 names or 9900 names, depending on Form A or B), at a time as areas begin the survey, if you wish. Since we are using UPS from a central location, orders can go out same-day, or next day after order. YOU ARE NOT BILLED FOR SHIPPING, COST OF SHIPPING IS BUILT INTO THE PRICE OF FORMS.

Since the June convention we have shipped 28,400 Forms - so DO NOT WAIT UNTIL THE LAST MINUTE IF YOU ARE PLANNING TO ORDER FORMS. Let me know a little in advance. especially if it is a large order - so we won't be caught without necessary amount.

BOOKLETS: Another matter! The booklets take 4 to 6 weeks for printing. Without advance notice of a possible order, could very well deplete our supply. We must pay for books, ½ at time of printing and ½ at time the printer ships them to us. So orders on the booklets must be accompanied by payment. Again, no shipping charges to you, they are built in the price of booklet.

SUMMATION: Don't think an area of your State can't afford to do the project, or at least, START the project, since all materials do not have to be ordered at the same time, but can be ordered by your need.

#3. GOAL:
When questioned by the media at the St. Louis Convention, I told them we thought we could complete this project in 1½ years. This remark is geared to total effectiveness for the 1980 election. It is also geared because so many of the States who are involved have reported excellent side benefits, i.e. finding new people, cooperative efforts of muliple groups within the State, etc.

#3. Western Mailing Computer Service.
Each State Director and/or State Coordinator should have the brochure from Western Mailing. If for some reason - like undelivered mail - you do not have, please contact me immediately.

#4. CASSETTE TAPE: Each State Coordinator and/or State Director should have the cassette tape by the National Coordinator. If not - contact me immediately.

#5. COMMUNICATIONS: When you begin compiling your results of any given area, please forward them to me, as media will soon begin asking about our responses.
With prayers and good wishes for the hardest working people I know, YOURS FOR LIFE, FOR

July 17, '85 -
another Reminder to Judicial report:

MEMO: Voter Identification Project - Phase I
FROM: Felicia Goeken, National Coordinator
TO: State Directors and State Coordinators

#1. The new orders of Form 3's are now in Alton, at 412 Langdon Street, 62002. They are pre-packaged in lots of 1100 Forms, weighing 31 pounds. Therefore, they can be shipped 3300 forms per shipment in a single day, UPS. Order packaged same day as order is received. Already 18,500 have been shipped SINCE the convention. We can get speedier service on the printing now, but PLEASE, if you are aware of intent to order in the near future, let me know so the forms will be available, i.e. if several large ordrs come in at the same time our supply may be depleted all at once, and there may be a delay, and the delay may be on YOUR order.

#2. For those who were not at the Board meeting, or may have misplaced it (attached) is a sheet to REPLACE the order form in the Western Mailing folder you were sent the week prior to the Convention. Destroy the one in the folder. The folder you were sent was IT. We had one for each State.

#3. I have extra cassette tapes of the one you recently received. For Directors who are finding coordinators and have need for another one, rest assured I will mail the new Coordinators a cassette as I receive their name and address.

#4. SINCE the Convention: new Coordinators have been named in Kentucky, Colorado ordered their first forms, excited interesting prospect for a Virginia coordinator, West Virginia has named a coordinator, Tennessee called and will soon be ordering forms and all in all the project is moving ahead with full speed. At present 26 States have coordinators and are at one stage or another.

#5. This brings us to a small problem. The press is beginning to ask questions about the project. They are still a bit incredulous that we are even attempting such a thing, and I'm not quite sure they are taking it seriously. HOWEVER - that is to our advantage. While you may get some local coverage when you begin the project, THIS project is one that will work better, without a lot of press or news coverage. Kind of think of us as moles, working under-ground, or working without the pro-abortionists and/or candidates realizing how much we are "digging" into their very life-line: the registered voter. If they do not take this project seriously, and if the pro-abortionists group do not copy us (as they have with so much of our strategy), in about a year and a half, just prior to 1980 elections, it is possible for us to have "under-mined" their entire back-yard. We could pull the ground right out from under them, when, having identified the registered voters, we then inform the registered voter, and most important of all, get them to the polls to vote pro-life. This project is not a glamorous one, it is not a strategy that we can bluff our way through. But if you doubt its importance, ask any elected official, or prospective candidate for office, what he would give for the results of such an identification process with the data in a computer, and volunteers to implement the project. If you wonder whether or not it is worth all of the work and the expense of doing it, then you can only ask yourself, "How much do I want to restore the right to life to all, and how much do I want a Human Life Amendment to the Constitution?" The bottom line will be decided, ultimately with the voters of this country. The people that won't move out of their easy chair to register to vote will play no part in restoring the right to life. It is the registered voter who CARES about having people in leadership roles who are willing to tackle the issues with a moral base, that will make history.

#6. We are running low on the booklets; the printing takes at least four weeks after we order, and must be paid for, ½ at printing and ½ on shipment from the printer. We must do some pre-planning on these.

#7. Finally, thank you one and all for your prepaid orders, your patience in the problems of shipping; which are now resolved, and for tackling the job.

Felicia Goeken, National Coordinator

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

National Office — National Press Building, Suite 537 — Washington, D. C. 20045
Special Projects Office — P.O. Box 3291 — Tulsa, OK. 74101
NRL News Editorial Office — 5516 Lyndale Ave. South — Minneapolis, MN 55419

April 3, 1978

To Board Members of NRLC, Inc.
& Voter I.D. State Coordinators

REPORT

Voter Identification Project - Phase I

There were so many things I wanted to share with you this past week-end, basically because I wanted your input on this Project. It is moving fast, and decisions must be made - and the assistance, both financially and creative, that I am getting from the people within the various States has proved invaluable to the project.

As National Coordinator I have been in Iowa, Indiana, Missouri, Florida and will be going to Nebraska in April. You all have the report asking for need for specific information to be put on a cassette tape. I haven't heard from anyone yet, and time is of the essence, so I will proceed with the cassette on the basis of problems, questions and good ideas from the States that I have been in contact with.

Points of information that I wanted a sharing from the Board were:

#1. Jane Muldoon and Gloria Klein have found a computer system in Michigan who can handle any number of names that are cultivated by the survey. They are now developing that system at the best possible price--------FREE.
The system will include all of the information at the top of the survey form, plus the responses to the six questions asked.

Jane and Gloria have the cost factor for entering the information, and for labels coming out of the computer. It will be sent to you soon.

There are two ways we can work with the company. #1. NRLC,Inc. can contract with them, OR each State can contract with them individually, through the National Coordinator of the Project.

My thoughts are leaning heavily towards each State contracting separately. The reasons are two-fold. #1. Because of National's present financial situation, and #2. The concern over the States of the use of the names it will have gathered. When it becomes necessary for the States to become part of a national mailing, their names could be released, only if the Director and/or State coordinator notified the company. The burden would fall on NRLC, to maintain close cooperation and good relations with the States, and share with the States the purpose of, and content of a national mailing. I needed to know. What do you think? Iowa is ready to begin computerizing a portion of their results by the middle of May.

#2. Physical handling of materials. Judie Brown has been invaluable in her assistance with the physical mail-out, and record-keeping in the Washington office.(Pat McCormack tells me he is really developing muscles lugging boxes of forms and books).
I know it is extra work for them, and though everything is photo-copied (all exchanges of communication from myself and Judie to and from State coordinators) and exact files are in my office and in Washington it has presented some day to day problems, especially

IONAL OFFICERS
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...O'Donnell, R.N.
...Vice President
...C. Willke, M.D.
...President, Special Projects
...Patricia Goeden
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...F. Collison, Jr., M.D.
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...Sarah Thomas
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...AGE DIRECTORS
...Robert (Bob) Higgins, R.N.
...ional Right to Life Nurses for Life
...J. Donnell, R.N.*
...BRARY DIRECTOR
...Marion Downey, Jr.
...
...mber, Executive Committee

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE
National Press Building, Suite 341
529 14th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20045

17

Dear Right to Life Supporter:

This is the most exciting letter I have ever written!

I can't tell you how happy I am to share with you the news about many stunning and significant victories we've seen in this election just as occurred in the recent primaries.

Did you know that pro-abortion Senators Brooke of Massachusetts and Hathaway of Maine have lost their seats? I especially wanted to open with this good news.

Here's more:

In the Senate, at least six pro-life men have been elected to seats that were held by pro-abortion people.

In Minnesota David Durenberger took the Humphrey seat and Rudy Boschwitz won over Wendel Anderson.

In Iowa -- an exquisite upset -- Roger Jepson defeated Sen. Richard Clark.

In New Hampshire Gordon Humphrey defeated pro-abortion Sen. Thomas McIntyre.

Colorado saw William Armstrong defeat Floyd Haskell.

In So. Dakota Larry Pressler will replace pro-abortion Sen. James Abourezk.

Also we note that pro-life Senator Jesse Helms was re-elected in North Carolina.

More good news...

Three of the most important victories by pro-life men in governorship races were: Al Quie of Minnesota, Edward King of Massachusetts and James Rhodes of Ohio.

Of the House seats, we had equally good news. First of all... ALL strong pro-life incumbents were returned to the House and all reasonably close races where abortion was a major issue were won by pro-life people with the exception of Senator Robert Griffin of Michigan. Next, you'll want to know that two very vocal pro-abortion Congresswomen were defeated: Rep. Martha Keys of Kansas

(over, please)

Exhibit 3.

and Rep. Helen Meyner of New Jersey.

Now let me mention a few of the "Good News Victories" from other states: in Wyoming, pro-lifer Richard Cheney won over Bill Bagley. In Indiana, Joel Deckard defeated pro-abortion Congressman David Cornwell. In Illinois, strong pro-life Representative Henry Hyde was re-elected and pro-life newcomer Daniel Crane upset Rep. Terry Bruce. Also in Illinois, a strong friend of pro-life, Congressman Martin Russo, was returned to office. Rep. Robert Dornan of California and Rep. Robert Bauman of Maryland were re-elected. In Minnesota, pro-lifer Arlen Erdahl won the congressional seat vacated by Al Quie when he decided to run for governor.

By the time this letter reaches you, no doubt you will know of many more national and local pro-life public officials who were elected or returned to office. In almost all of these races it is an unquestionable fact that the magnificent effort given by thousands of right to life workers in NRLC's Voter Identification Project meant the difference of victory to people who will work to save the lives of thousands of tiny babies.

> My friend...I can tell you this...the politicians out there are getting the message. They are beginning to realize what the people of this country think about the heinous abortion laws which allow the merciless killing of tiny babies.

Yes, we lost a few, but in balance we're way ahead.

The pro-abortionists, just a few years ago were fully expecting us to go away. They hoped that we would be just another protest movement that would falter and fade.

But were they ever wrong!

The issue of whether or not to allow the legalized killing of unborn babies to continue has become, in more and more areas, THE issue. In addition to being the issue in the November 7 election, it was the deciding factor in taking pro-abortion Senator Clifford Case (R-NJ), and Congressman Donald Fraser (DFL-MINN) out of public life in the primaries.

We are winning our goal to restore to the Constitution what we had all assumed was already there, and that is equal protection, under law, of all innocent human lives whether born or unborn. This is what the Human Life Amendment will do.

The way all amendments (since the original ten) have been passed to date, has been through the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives with a two-thirds vote. We are close to this in the House. We are closer to it in the Senate now than we were before this election, but still, more Senators must be replaced and we must change the minds of others. We're convinced that three-fourths of the states will ratify the Human Life Amendment once we get over our problem with Congress and they pass it.

Can it be done?

Yes, we're convinced that it can if we start to work now!

How will we do it?

Well, it all began less than two years ago. That's when we formed the National Right to Life Committee's Voter Identification Project. If your local or state Right to Life group is not already involved in this extremely effective program, it will be before the 1980 elections roll around.

> For that is the date we have set for full nationwide participation. That is when pro-lifers will win the majority of all targeted seats in city, county, and state elections...as well as in U.S. Senate and House of Representative races.

Let me explain how "Voter Identification" works -- and why it can't fail to produce the promised results -- if we are successful in expanding from our current projects to a nationwide campaign.

Briefly, "Voter Identification" starts with a skillfully designed telephone survey of all registered voters -- precinct by precinct -- to reveal those who are pro-life, those who are pro-abortion, and those who are still undecided on this crucial issue.

It will require a real dedication and a lot of hard work by all of you, but you can all help -- even those who are "shut-in" by illness or injury. All you need is a little time and a phone.

You'll also need direction, trained leaders, the lists to call, the reports to fill out and the instruction booklets. Finally, you'll need to store the information in retrievable form, on computer tapes. Of course, this will cost money, far more money than NRLC has now. That is why I am asking you in this letter to be as generous as you can with financial help now.

A huge job? Certainly it is! But one that can be accomplished if we all work together. We need your support now.

And especially: we need your prayers!!!

What will the Voter Identification Project tell us? Well, as an example, the first area to complete the 100,000 phone calls necessary to canvass two entire Congressional districts, was Cincinnati.

What was the result? Cincinnati found out that 75% of its registered voters opposed all abortion (except to save the mother's life), 10% were undecided, and only 15% approved abortion, including those who only approved it for rape pregnancies or other rare reasons. It is no accident that all four Congressmen from Southwestern Ohio are pro-life.

From the very earliest survey results -- up until the present time --

(over, please)

our experience has shown that pro-lifers outnumber pro-abortionists by a majority as high as five to one in some areas. And in no significant areas have pro-abortionists ever outnumbered pro-lifers!

This proves what we have been saying all along
-- that the majority of Americans are pro-life.

Since National Right to Life's Voter I.D. Project has now substantiated this fact, the minds of many politicans have been changed!!!

Are there other benefits from this program? Yes, very many. The identification of pro-life voters will substantially enlarge and strengthen your pro-life group. Also, you can mail or contact the undecided to try to sway them, as well as go to the pro-lifers to strengthen them, to educate them, to ask for help and most importantly, to get them out to vote. The possibilities are vast.

A large order? Yes, but one that could be accomplished across the entire USA in the next two years. No! Let's not say "can be" but rather "must be." The Voter Identification Project can change the course of history in the next two years!

The pro-life movement may not have the backing of the abortion elitists, but we do have real people power. NRLC has 1,800 affiliated chapters in all 50 states. You are represented through your local chapter and through your state Right to Life group on the board of directors of the NRLC.

Your check for $50, $25, $15 or more will enable us to keep our momentum sizzling and expand it as wide as we can in the next election...as well as... to continue all of our other projects and activities which are now coordinated out of our Washington office.

Please help us with as large a contribution as you can. You will find an envelope enclosed for your convenience. I know I can count on you again. Thank you.

Yours for the Right to Life

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.
President

P.S. In September, we were surprised and saddened when our capable Washington lobbyist, Thea Rossi Barron, submitted her resignation. We are pleased, for her, that she has started working in the new position she wanted. She is a full-time lobbyist for a foreign country. Clouds, however, often have silver linings. I'm pleased to tell you that we have engaged the services of Mr. Sean Morton Downey, Esq. As our new lobbyist. He has had vast political experience and already has been of great help in Congress. Together with Mr. Charles Donnovan and Barbara Barrody, our new political researchers, we expect to sharply increase our visibility, activity and influence on Capitol Hill.

CG:pp/ru

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

AUTHORIZATION TO ISSUE SUBPOENA FOR DEPOSITION

The Federal Election Commission hereby authorizes the issuance of a subpoena for deposition of Felicia Goeken in connection with MUR 958.

Max L. Friedersdorf
Chairman

Thomas E. Harris
Commissioner

John Warren McGarry
Vice Chairman

Frank P. Reiche
Commissioner

Joan D. Aikens
Commissioner

Robert O. Tiernan
Commissioner

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES STEELE

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/MARGARET CHANEY

DATE: JUNE 12, 1980

SUBJECT: MUR 958 - Interim Investigative Report #6, dated 6-6-80. Signed 6-10-80; Received in OCS 6-10-80, 3:03

The above-named document was circulated to the Commission on a 24 hour no-objection basis at 11:00, June 11, 1980.

There were no objections to the Interim Investigative Report at the time of the deadline.

June 10, 1980

MEMORANDUM TO: Marjorie W. Emmons

FROM: Elissa T. Garr

SUBJECT: MUR 958

Please have the attached Interim Invest Report distributed to the Commission. Thakkyyou.

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE
COMMISSION SECRETARY

80 JUN 10 P 3: 08

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
June 6, 1980

In the Matter of	)	MUR 958
National Right to Life, Inc.	)	

INTERIM INVESTIGATIVE REPORT #6

The Office of the General Counsel is continuing to analyze the extensive factual record in this matter. During the process of analyzing this record inconsistencies in the materials which the respondent has submitted to the Commission have appeared which make further investigation of this matter necessary. We expect to submit a General Counsel's Report to the Commission discussing the evidence and the need for possible further investigation within two weeks.

10 June 1980
Date

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES STEELE

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/MARGARET CHANEY

DATE: APRIL 24, 1980

SUBJECT: MUR 958 - Interim Investigative Report #5 dated 4-10-80: Signed 4-22-80: Received in OCS 4-23-80, 9:53

The above-named document was circulated to the Commission on a 24 hour no-objection basis at 4:00, April 23, 1980.

There were no objections to the Interim Investigative Report at the time of the deadline.

April 23, 1980

MEMORANDUM TO: Marjorie W. Emmons

FROM: Elissa T. Garr

SUBJECT: MUR 958

Please have the attached Interim Invest Report distributed to the Commission. Thank you.

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

April 10, 1980

80 APR 22 P0:53

In the Matter of)
) MUR 958
)
National Right to Life, Inc.)

INTERIM INVESTIGATIVE REPORT #5

The Office of the General Counsel has received detailed factual material regarding this matter. We expect to report to the Commission on our analysis of this within three weeks.

22 April 1980
Date

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES STEELE

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/MARGARET CHANEY mc

DATE: FEBRUARY 12, 1980

SUBJECT: MUR 958 - Interim Investigative Report #4; dated 2-4-80. Signed 2-8-80. Received in OCS 2-11-80, 10:42

The above-named document was circulated to the Commission on a 24-hour no-objection basis at 4:00, February 11, 1980.

There were no objections to the Interim Investigative Report at the time of the deadline.

February 11, 1980

MEMORANDUM TO: Marjorie W. Emmons

FROM: Elissa T. Garr

SUBJECT: MUR 958

Please have the attached Interim Invest Report on MUR 958 distributed to the Commission.

Thank you.

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
February 4, 1980

80 FEB 11 A10: 42

In the Matter of	)	
	)	MUR 958
National Right To Life Committee, Inc.	)	
	)	

INTERIM INVESTIGATIVE REPORT #4

This matter involves possible violations of 2 U.S.C. §433, §434, and §441b stemming from the respondent's activities in connection with a voter identification project. This project is designed to determine registered voters' views on the abortion question. The two main issues in this case are whether partisan get-out-the-vote drives are conducted utilizing the information obtained through the project and, if so, the extent of the respondent's involvement with the local and state right to life groups which actually implement the project and have access to the results.

These issues are under evaluation and a full report on this matter will be submitted to the Commission within two weeks.

8 February 1980
Date

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES STEELE

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS

DATE: DECEMBER 4, 1979

SUBJECT: MUR 958 - Interim Investigatory Report dated 11-30-79; Received in OCS 12-3-79, 10:51

The above-named document was circulated to the Commission on a 24-hour no-objection basis at 4:00, December 3, 1979.

There were no objections to the Interim Investigatory Report at the time of the deadline.

December 3, 1979

MEMORANDUM TO: Marjorie W. Emmons

FROM: Jane Colgrove

SUBJECT: MUR 958

Please have the attached Interim Investigative Report on MUR 958 distributed to the Commission on a 24 hour no-objection basis.

Thank you.

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

DEC 3 10:5?

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
National Right To Life Committee, Inc.	)	MUR 958
	)	

INTERIM INVESTIGATORY REPORT

On October 31, 1979 the Commission authorized the issuance of a subpoena for the production of documents to the respondent. The subpoena was received by the respondent's attorney on November 8, 1979. Thereafter, on November 26, 1979 staff spoke with respondent's attorney who stated that the documents would be placed in the mail on that date.

Once the documents are received and evaluated, a full report will be submitted to the Commission.

30 November 1979
Date

Charles N. Steele
Acting General Counsel

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

November 2, 1979

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. James Bopp, Jr.
Attorney at Law
Suite 101 Sycamore Building
19 South Sixth Street
Terra Haute, Indiana 47807

RE: MUR 958

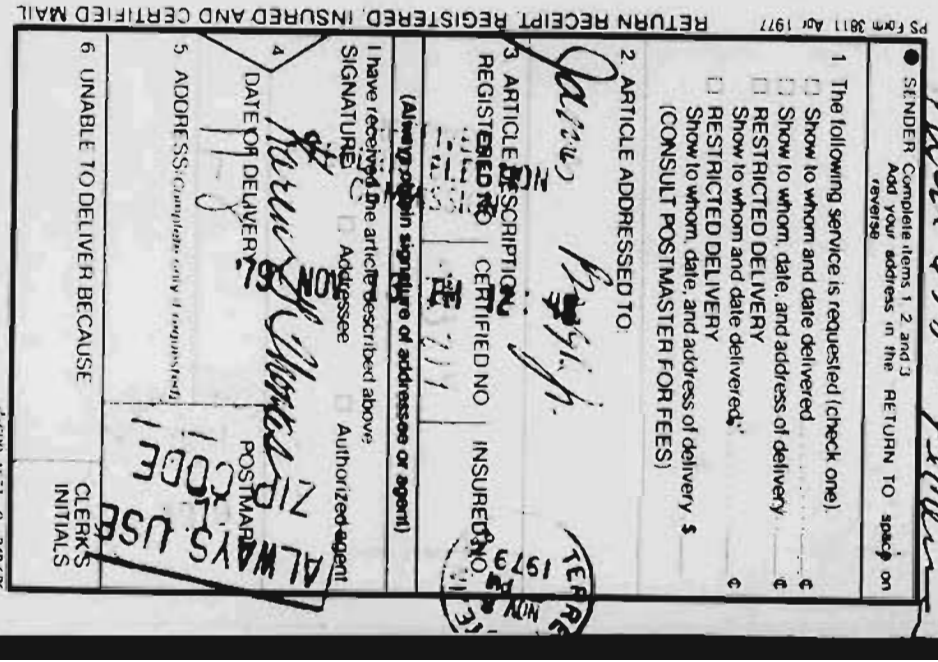
Dear Mr. Bopp:

In furtherance of its investigation in the above-referenced matter, the Commission has issued a subpoena to the National Right To Life Committee, Inc. for the production of documents relating to the Voter Identification Project. The subpoena is enclosed herewith.

If you have any questions regarding this matter please contact David Federman, the attorney assigned to this case, at 202/523-4073.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
Acting General Counsel



CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. James Bopp, Jr.
Attorney at Law
Suite 101 Sycamore Building
17 South Sixth Street
Terra Haute, Indiana 47807

RE: MUR 958

Dear Mr. Bopp:

In furtherance of its investigation in the above-referenced matter, the Commission has issued a subpoena to the National Right To Life Committee, Inc. for the production of documents relating to the Voter Identification Project. The subpoena is enclosed herewith.

If you have any questions regarding this matter please contact David Federman, the attorney assigned to this case, at 202/523-4073.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
Acting General Counsel

Enclosure

Subpoena

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	
National Right to Life Committee, Inc.	)	MUR 958
	)	

SUBPOENA

TO: National Right To Life Committee, Inc.
National Press Building
529 14th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20045

The Federal Election Commission, pursuant to its powers set forth in 2 U.S.C. §437d(a)(3), hereby subpoenas the documents listed below and requests that they be made available for inspection and copying at the offices of the National Right To Life Committee, Inc., within ten (10) days of the receipt of this subpoena:

1. Report on the Voter Identification Survey Project presented and distributed to the board of the National Right To Life Committee, Inc. at its meeting of October 2, 1977.

2. Report on the Voter Identification Project presented by Felicia Goeken at the meeting of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.'s Executive Committee of August 25-26, 1978.

3. Report on the Voter Identification Project presented by Felicia Goeken at the January 20-21, 1979 meeting of the National Right To Life Committee, Inc.'s Board of Directors.

4. Report on the Voter Identification Project presented by Felicia Goeken at the April 7-8, 1979 meeting of the National Right To Life, Inc.'s Board of Directors.

5. Report on the Voter Identification Project presented by Felicia Goeken at the June 17-20, 1979, meeting of the National Right To Life Committee, Inc.'s Executive Committee.

6. All other documents, records and materials pertaining to the National Right To Life Committee, Inc.'s Voter Identification Project, including, but not limited to, all instruction and implementation materials, all correspondence with the state and local coordinators of the project, all internal memoranda concerning the project, and all printed materials used in the project.

WHEREFORE, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission has hereunto set his hand at the Office of the Commission, 1325 K Street, Northwest, Washington, D.C. 20463, this 1st day of November, 1979.

Robert O. Tiernan

Robert O. Tiernan
Chairman

ATTEST:

Marjorie W. Emmons

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES STEELE

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/MARGARET CHANEY

DATE: NOVEMBER 1, 1979

SUBJECT: SUBPOENA IN RELATION TO MUR 958

The attached subpoena, approved by a vote of 5-0 on October 31, 1979, has been signed and sealed this dated.

ATTACHMENT:
Subpoena -
NRLC

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
)
National Right To Life)
Committee, Inc.)

MUR 958

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary to the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on October 31, 1979, the Commission approved by a vote of 4-0 the issuance of the subpoena, attached to the General Counsel's Memorandum dated October 25, 1979, to the National Right To Life Committee, Inc.

Voting for this determination were Commissioners Tiernan, Harris, McGarry, and Reiche.

Attest:

10/31/79
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

Received in the Office of the Commission Secretary: 10-25-79, 4:08
Circulated on 48 hour vote basis: 10-26-79, 2:00

October 25, 1979

MEMORANDUM TO: Marge Emmons

FROM : Jane Colgrove

SUBJECT: MUR 958

Please have the attached Memo to the Commission on MUR 958 distributed to the Commission on a 48 hour tally basis.

Thank you.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

October 25, 1979

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Commission

FROM: William C. Oldaker

RE: MUR 958 - Request for Issuance of Subpoenas

Background

On June 22, 1979, the Commission found reason to believe that the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. ("NRLC") may have violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 433, 434, and 441b. These findings were based on the NRLC's Voter Identification Program ("V.I.P.") get-out-the-vote activities. It appeared that the NRLC was conducting a nationwide poll of registered voters to determine voter views on the abortion issue, and then using the results to encourage those voters who shared the organization's viewpoint on abortion to get-out-and-vote for the candidates which NRLC supported.

The Commission's reason to believe notification letter included a set of interrogatories intended to elucidate details of the NRLC V.I.P. NRLC's responses to the interrogatories were received on September 4, 1979 (Attachment 1).

NRLC's Responses

NRLC's responses to the interrogatories and the reason to believe notification indicate that the V.I.P. was developed by the NRLC, with its implementation left to local and state right to life groups, which NRLC claims are autonomous. The NRLC states that it paid the development costs, and then sold or sells, at a reasonable profit, instruction brochures and forms to the state and local groups who actually conduct the voter survey. NRLC indicated that the state and local groups use the results of the survey to influence legislators to vote for pro-life legislation. According to the NRLC, the local and state groups also sell the survey results, at market value, to various political action committees, who utilize the results to support and endorse candidates. In conclusion, the NRLC states:

> The National Right to Life Committee does not, therefore, direct the survey nor do they have access to the results. The survey is conducted completely by the separate and independent state and local groups, and the results are utilized by them in the manner set forth above.

Analysis

As stated in the General Counsel's Report dated June 18, 1979, the possible violations in this matter do not arise from the V.I.P., itself. The survey is conducted in a non-partisan manner, candidates are not mentioned, and the questions are directed solely toward gathering opinions on the abortion issue. Rather, the possible violations arise from what might subsequently be done with the survey results. Specifically, it appeared from the complaint and accompanying materials that the results of the survey were being used to conduct get-out-the-vote drives in a partisan manner. As such, the expenses involved in the partisan vote drives would constitute expenditures under the Act (2 U.S.C. § 431(f)), reportable under 2 U.S.C. § 434 and possibly prohibited by 2 U.S.C. § 441b.

The NRLC has taken the position that although it developed the V.I.P,, it has nothing to do with the conduct of the project and, moreover, has no access to the results of the survey.

As stated in its response, the NRLC sells the V.I.P. materials to independent state and local groups who conduct the survey and use it "to determine the attitudes of registered voters within their state or county regarding abortion, the government funding of abortion, and whether their attitude on abortion would effect their vote." 1/

However, the materials filed with the complaint, as well as documents submitted by the NRLC to the Commission in its response to MUR 961, indicate that the NRLC's role in the V.I.P. may be greater than its responses in this matter indicate.

The NRLC in its pamphlet entitled "National Right To Life Committee, Inc. VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROGRAM-Phase I - Voter SURVEY PROJECT" states,

> Properly used, a well-organized, full constitutency voter identification survey can produce a 5% to 10% increase in a candidate's vote.

1/ NRLC response to Interrogatory No. 5.

Further in the pamphlet, it is stated:

> [when] we complete our survey and organize our get-out-the-vote operations, WE CAN DELIVER THE MARGIN OF VICTORY FOR PRO-LIFE CANDIDATES.

In addition, the minutes of meetings of the board of directors and executive board of the NRLC reveal that on five occasions from October 1977 through June 1979 the NRLC-VIP was discussed. These discussions apparently focused on reports on the VIP submitted by its national coordinator, Ms. Felicia Goeken, also secretary of the NRLC. Specifically, the minutes from the October 2, 1977, NRLC meeting state:

> REPORT: Voter Identification Survey Project, Phase I - Felicia Goeken (Attached) Report on States who have appointed Coordinator's for survey. Prices on two-part and three-part snap out computer ready forms. Completed books available within two weeks @ $ .15, computer forms, if ordered in cooperative effort for quantity prices will be $ .04 each. Reiteration of need to cooperate with plans as set forth in Voter ID booklet, for a successful nation-wide effort. Dr. Jefferson announced that Felicia Goeken will be National Coordinator, to be placed on salary and expense for implementation of the project.
> MOTION: Felicia Goeken, seconded "To adopt the 3-part snap out forms for the survey."
> MOTION CARRIED: voice vote.

The minutes from the January 20-21, 1979, NRLC Board of Directors meeting state:

> REPORT: Voter Identification Project, Felicia Goeken All materials for project being shipped by UPS from Alton, Duplicate files of project in Alton and Washington office. Financial account facilitated through Washington.
> As National Coordinator, workshops presented thus far, in Iowa, Indiana, Nebraska, California, Maryland, Illinois, Florida, New York, upcoming in Wisconsin. Thirty-three States now have coordinator, Canada is seeking help to implement in British Columbia. National Coordinator asked for better reporting and communication from State Coordinators and/or Director.

Requested brief report on status within each State by February 15th, i.e. successes and/or specific problems.
project should be completed as near as possible by late 1979, early 1980.
Information should be placed in computer in reasonable numbers as project progresses to avoid over-load of influx of thousands of names from all over the country at one time.
Stressed the project is NOT a media event, but for the purpose of identifying the pro-life voter.

The minutes from the January 20-21, 1979, meeting contradict the NRLC's responses to the interrogatories in two respects. In response to Interrogatory No. 7, the NRLC denied that the VIP is used to identify those voters who are pro-life. However, the minutes state "Stressed the VIP is not a media event, but for the purpose of identifying the pro-life voter." The NRLC in response to Interrogatory No. 13 denied having access to the results of the VIP. However, the minutes state "Information should be placed in computer in reasonable numbers to project programs to avoid over-load of influx of thousands of names from all over the country at one time."

It, therefore, appears that the extent of the NRLC's involvement in the VIP is unclear. Prior to either recommending closing this matter or proceeding to the reasonable cause to believe stage, the full extent of NRLC's involvement in the VIP should be explored. If it is found that state and local groups are not autonomous, independent groups, but are, in reality, connected to the NRLC, and, if it is found that the get-out-the-vote activities based on the VIP survey are, in fact, partisan, then violations of 2 U.S.C. §§ 433, 434, and possibly 441b may have occurred.

In order to resolve this matter, it is recommended that the Commission issue the attached subpoena for the reports prepared by the NRLC national coordinator and discussed at its meetings. These should shed light on the extent of the NRLC's involvement in the VIP.

Recommendation

Authorize the issuance of the attached subpoena.

Attachments

Attachment 1 - Letter from James Bopp, Jr. with interrogatories
Subpoena
Authorization to Issue Subpoena
Letter to James Bopp, Jr.

ATTACHMENT 1

Federman

FRANCIS & BRAMES
LAWYERS
SUITE 101 SYCAMORE BUILDING
19 SOUTH SIXTH STREET
TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA 47807

LEROY A. FRANCIS
ARNOLD H. BRAMES
WILLIAM E. COOK
GARY V. RIDER
JAMES BOPP, JR.

LOUIS R. HILLEARY 1941
PAUL R. SHAFER, 1965

TELEPHONE
232-9501
AREA CODE 812

August 24, 1979

David Federman
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20463

Re: MUR 958

Dear Mr. Federman:

Enclosed are the answers to your interrogatories.

The National Right To Life Committee is a separate and independent organization from state and local Right To Life organizations. The only connection between the National Right To Life Committee and any other Right To Life organization is that the state Right To Life group in each state and the District of Columbia is authorized to designate one of their members as the National Director from that state who sits on the Board of Directors of the National Right To Life Committee.

The Voter Identification Project was developed by the National Right To Life Committee to be implemented by state and local Right To Life groups. The instruction booklet and forms were developed by the National Right To Life Committee and the development cost was paid for by the Committee. Thereafter, the National Right To Life Committee has offered for sale, including a reasonable profit, the instruction brochure and forms to state and local Right To Life groups. They buy the material and conduct the voter survey.

The results of the survey are used by Right To Life groups to persuade local legislators that a majority of the voters in their district are pro-life, thereby attempting to persuade them to vote for pro-life legislation. In addition, local and state Right To Life groups send educational material to undecided voters in an attempt to educate the public on the question of abortion. Also, local and state Right To Life groups sell, at market value, the results of the survey to various political action committees who utilize the material to support and endorse candidates.

(continued)

79 SEP 4 P 3:59

The National Right To Life Committee does not, therefore, direct the survey nor do they have access to the results. The survey is conducted completely by the separate and independent state and local groups and the results are utilized by them in the manner set forth above.

If I can be of further assistance to you in this matter, please let me know.

Sincerely,

James Bopp, Jr.
Attorney at Law

Enclosures

cc: National Right To Life Committee

kgt

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
Answer to Interrogatories
Voter Identification Project: MUR 958

1. Is the National Right to Life Committee ("NRLC") incorporated? If so, please submit the articles of incorporation, by-laws, and constitution of the NRLC, INC.

ANSWER: Attached

2. If answer to (1) is yes, is NRLC incorporated for liability purposes only?

ANSWER: Yes

3. Is the NRLC a membership organization?

ANSWER: Yes

4. If answer to (3) yes, please state the qualifications for membership.

ANSWER: See the attached by-laws of the National Right To Life Committee.

5. Does the NRLC conduct a Voter-Identification Program? ("V.I.P.")

ANSWER: No. The National Right To Life Committee has only developed the materials including the instruction booklet and forms for the project.

6. If answer to (5) is yes, please state the purposes of the V.I.P.

ANSWER: The purpose for the development of the Voter Identification Survey was to allow state and local Right To Life groups to determine the attitudes of registered voters within their state or county regarding abortion, the government funding of abortion and whether their attitude on abortion would effect their vote.

7. Does the NRLC use the V.I.P. to identify those voters who are "pro-life."

ANSWER: No. See answer to Interrogatory #6.

8. Does the NRLC utilize the results of the V.I.P. to encourage "pro-life" voters to vote?

ANSWER: No

9. Does the NRLC encourage the "pro-life" voters to vote for the "pro-life" candidates?

ANSWER: No

10. In which Congressional districts was the V.I.P. conducted in 1978?

ANSWER: Since state and local Right To Life groups are independent and autonomous from the National Right To Life Committee, the National Right To Life Committee does not know how many districts in which the Voter Identification Project was conducted in 1978. The National Right To Life Committee does know the individuals and groups to which it sold the instruction booklets and forms.

11. In which Congressional districts will the V.I.P. be conducted in 1979 and 1980?

ANSWER: Unknown, see answer to Interrogatory #10.

12. What is the cost of conducting the V.I.P. in each Congressional district? Nationwide?

ANSWER: Unknown, see answer to Interrogatory #10.

13. Has the NRLC given the results of the V.I.P. to candidates for federal office?

ANSWER: No, the National Right To Life Committee does not have access to the results of the survey.

14. If answer to (13) if yes, please state which candidates received the results?

ANSWER: Not applicable

15. Has the NRLC given the results of the V.I.P. to any political committees?

ANSWER: No, the National Right To Life Committee does not have access to the results of the survey.

16. If answer to (15) is yes, please state which political committees were given the results.

ANSWER: Not applicable

17. Has the NRLC given the results of the V.I.P. to any groups whatsoever?

ANSWER: No, the National Right To Life Committee does not have access to the results of the survey.

18. If answer to (17) is yes, please state which groups were given the results.

ANSWER: Not applicable

National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
1200 15TH ST., N.W.
SUITE 500
WASHINGTON, DC 20005

OFFICE OF RECORDER OF DEEDS, D. C.
Corporation Division
Sixth and D Streets, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

Date)
8/3/74

CERTIFICATE

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that all provisions of the District of Columbia Non-profit Corporation Act have been complied with and ACCORDINGLY this Certificate of Incorporation

is hereby issued to the NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

as of the date hereinafter mentioned.

Date May 14, 1973

PETER S. RIDLEY,
Recorder of Deeds, D.C.

Alfred Goldstein
Superintendent of Corporations

Government of the District of Columbia
Form NDC 33
Oct. 1972

7642

National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
200 15TH ST., N.W.
SUITE 500
WASHINGTON, DC 20005

Date)

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

OF

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

To: Recorder of Deeds
Washington, D.C.

We, the undersigned, natural persons of the age of 21 or more, acting as incorporators of a corporation, adopt the following Articles of Incorporation for such corporation, pursuant to the District of Columbia Non-Profit Corporation Act:

ARTICLE I

The name of the corporation (hereinafter referred to as the Committee) shall be the NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

ARTICLE II

The Committee is to have perpetual existence.

ARTICLE III

In order to guarantee the right to life of all people of the United States of America, the purposes of the NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC., are to engage in educational, charitable, scientific and political activities, projects or purposes including specifically, but not in limitation of the foregoing:

A. To promote respect for the worth and dignity of all human life, including the life of the unborn child from the moment of conception.

B. To promote, encourage and sponsor such amendatory and statut y measures which will provide protection for human life before and after birth, particularly for the defenseless, the incompetent, and the impaired and the incapacitated.

FILED
MAY 14 1973
By

C. To engage in such activities as shall be set forth in the bylaws of the Committee which will assist in the accomplishment of those purposes immediately aforementioned.

ARTICLE IV

The Committee is not organized for pecuniary profit and shall not have authority to issue capital stock or shares of any kind.

The Committee shall be a membership corporation and its revenue shall be derived from membership fees and/or such other sources as may be prescribed from time to time by the Board of Directors.

Membership in the Committee shall be open to any individual, partnership, trust, firm or corporation in the sole and absolute discretion of the Board of Directors.

Membership in the Committee may be divided into such classifications for annual membership dues or for the election of directors or for such other purposes as the bylaws of the Committee may prescribe or as the Board of Directors may from time to time designate.

Subject to the provisions of the articles of incorporation of the Committee, the conditions, terms, privileges, rights, and duties of membership shall be stated or provided for in the bylaws of the Committee.

ARTICLE V

The management, affairs, business and concerns of the Committee shall be vested in the members. However, all details of management, affairs, business and concerns of the Committee are delegated to a Board of Directors, including the power of amending the certificate of incorporation and except as otherwise provided by statute, the certificate of incorporation or the bylaws of the Committee. The number of directors which shall constitute the whole Board

shall be fixed by, in the manner provided in, the bylaws of the Committee. Subject to the provisions of the certificate of incorporation the bylaws may provide, with respect to the directors, for their qualifications (including, but not limited to and without limitation, provisions for the representation by each director of a designated state, district, region or other geographical area); for the place, time, method and manner for their nomination and election or appointment (including provisions for the election of a director or directors by members located in a designated state, district, region or other geographical area); for the appointment or designation of alternates; for filling of vacancies; for their removal from office and/or recall; for their meetings; and, generally, for their rights, powers, duties, privileges and restrictions and responsibilities.

ARTICLE VI

The address of the Corporation's initial registered office is

1801 K St. NW
Washington, D.C.

The name of its initial registered agent at such address is

Joseph W. Gartlan, Jr.
1801 K St. NW
Washington, D.C.

The principal place of business and headquarters of the Committee shall be in a city designated in the bylaws. The Board of Directors may establish other offices in such place or places as it may deem expedient for the transaction of the business and the affairs of the Committee.

ARTICLE VII

The number of Directors constituting the initial Board of Directors is 9 (nine), and the names and addresses of the persons who are to serve as the initial Board of Directors until the first annual meeting, or until their successors be elected and qualified are:

Caroline Gorster, M.D. 4641 E. Crystal Lane
Paradise Valley, Arizona 85253

John B. Beliveau, Esq.	12 Surry Lane Lewiston, Maine 04240
Martin McKernan, Jr., Esq.	601 Chews Landing Road Haddonfield, New Jersey 08033
Marjory Mecklenburg	1219 West 51st Street Minneapolis, Minnesota 55419
Kenneth Van Derhoef, Esq.	3808 43rd Ave. N.E. Seattle, Washington 98104
Edward J. Golden	4 Willowbrook Lane Troy, New York 12180
Gloria Klein	33728 Tawas Trail Westland, Michigan 48185
Jay Bowman	3187 Francine Drive Decatur, Georgia 30033
Judith Fink	835 Vermont Avenue Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15234

ARTICLE VIII

The private property of the members of the Committee of any and all classes, the directors, officers and incorporators shall not be subject to the payment of corporate debts to any extent whatever.

ARTICLE IX

The officers of the Committee shall be a president, one or more vice-presidents, a secretary and a treasurer and an executive director and such other officers and/or assistants as the Board of Directors shall provide.

ARTICLE X

The bylaws may provide for the designation of honorary members of the Board of Directors who shall not have voting privileges.

ARTICLE XI

The name and address of each incorporator is:

Joseph V. Gartlan, Jr.
3507 Woodside Road
Alexandria, Virginia 22310

Joseph V. Gartlan, Jr.

Eleanor M. Cook
13506 Westwind Drive
Silver Spring, Maryland 20904

Eleanor M. Cook

Joseph A. Lampe
3924 Dakota Avenue
St. Louis Park, Minnesota 55416

Joseph A. Lampe

Date: May 14, 1973.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, ss:

I, _____, a notary public, hereby certify that on the 14th day of May, 1973, personally appeared before me Joseph V. Gartlan, Jr., Eleanor M. Cook and Joseph A. Lampe, who signed the foregoing document as incorporators and that the statements therein contained are true.

Notary Public

My commission expires _____

BYLAWS

THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

ARTICLE I

PURPOSE

In order to guarantee the right to life of all people of the United States of America, the purposes of the NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC., are to engage in educational, charitable, scientific and political activities, projects or purposes including specifically, but not in limitation of the foregoing:

1. To promote respect for the worth and dignity of all human life, including the life of the unborn child from the moment of conception.

2. To promote, encourage and sponsor such amendatory and statutory measures which will provide protection for human life before and after birth, particularly for the defenseless, the incompetent, and the impaired and the incapacitated.

3 To engage in such activities as shall be set forth in the bylaws of the Committee which will assist in the accomplishment of those purposes immediately aforementioned.

ARTICLE II

OFFICES

The principal office of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be at Washington,D.C. The corporation may have such other office or offices, within or without the District of Columbia, as the Board of Directors may determine or as the affairs of the corporation may require, from time to time.

ARTICLE III

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. GENERAL POWERS. The affairs of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., shall be managed by its Board of Directors. Directors need not be residents of the District of Columbia.

2. NUMBER AND TENURE. The number of Directors shall not be less than three (3) nor more than sixty-one (61). Each State Director shall hold office until his or her successor shall have been elected. Each At Large Director shall hold office until the next annual meeting.

3. ELECTION OF STATE DIRECTORS. Each State and the District of Columbia may elect one State Director to serve on the Board of Directors. The time, place and manner of electing the State Director shall be decided by each State and the District of Columbia but shall, generally speaking, be done annually in conformity with these bylaws.

4. NOTIFICATION OF ELECTION OF STATE DIRECTORS. Each state shall elect its State Director and notify the Board of Directors by filing the results of said election in the principal office of National Right to Life Committee, Inc., within 10 days of said election and no later than thirty(30)days prior to the commencement

to state the date of said election, the number of votes cast, the place where it was held, the manner of voting, the total votes eligible to be cast, the qualifications for eligible voters, the total votes cast, the names and addresses of each candidate and the number of votes cast for each, and finally, the name and address of the newly elected State Director and the number of votes he or she received. The information shall be filed in a sealed envelope labeled with the new State Director's name and address and the caption "election results", to be opened by the Credentials Committee only in the event of a challenge from within said state. The Board of Directors shall be notified of intended challenges to the election of any State Director by notice in writing filed in the principal office of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., no later than ten (10) days prior to the commencement of any Board meeting. Said notice shall clearly specify the reasons for the challenge and shall be served upon the challenged State Director no later than ten (10) days prior to the commencement of the meeting. Such notice may be served by Registered or Certified Mail to the address of the State Director as listed in the records of the National Right to Life Committe, Inc.

5. CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE. Any challenge to the authority of a State Director to be seated on the Board of Directors shall be decided by a Credentials Committee composed of five (5) non-challenged Directors, which shall be appointed by the Board of Directors, or by the Executive Committee if the Board of Directors has not done so twenty (20) days prior to the annual meeting. The Credentials Committee shall hold hearings on said challenge and determine by majority vote the authority of any challenged State Director to be seated on the Board of Directors. The decision of the Credentials Committee may be appealed to the Board of Directors. A majority decision by the Board of Directors is final and non-appealable.

6. ELECTION OF AT LARGE DIRECTORS. At Large Directors may be elected by the Board of Directors. The number of At Large Directors shall not exceed a number equal to twenty percent (20%) of the elected State Directors. The elections for At Large Directors shall immediately follow the seating of the State of Directors. Nominations shall be by petition signed by not less than five (5) State Directors. No State Director shall sign more than one such petition. At Large Directors shall be elected by majority vote of the State Directors. Election as an At Large Director may occur at any duly convened meeting of the Board of Directors, provided nominations for such are mailed to all Directors ten days prior to the opening of such meeting.

7. RESIGNATION OF DIRECTORS. A director may resign at any time from the Board of Directors by giving written notice to the President. Such resignation shall be effective on the date designated in such notice, or if no date is designated, then upon receipt by the President. Unless otherwise stipulated, acceptance of such resignation shall not be necessary for it to be effective.

8. REMOVAL OF DIRECTORS. By a vote of two-thirds (2/3) of the Directors, any Director who is judged as unwilling or unable to fulfill his or her duties may be removed at any meeting of the Board of Directors upon the written initiative of at least six (6) Director presented to the President, and after appropriate hearing. The proposed removal shall be stated in the notice to be given for such meeting, such meeting notice to be mailed 20 days before said meeting.

9. VACANCIES. Any vacancy occurring on the Board of Directors shall be filled by the jurisdiction which such State Director represented.

10. COMPENSATION. Directors as such shall not receive any compensation for their services; but nothing contained herein shall be construed to preclude any Director from serving the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., in any other capacity and receiving compensation therefore. Directors with financial interests in the Pro-Life movement should exercise care to avoid conflicts of interest.

11. MEETINGS.

(A) The annual meeting of the Board of Directors shall be held during the second or third quarter of each calendar year at such time and place as is decided upon by the Board of Directors. The Board of Directors may provide by resolution for the time and place, either within or without the District of Columbia, for the holding of additional regular meetings.

(B) Special meetings of the Board of Directors shall be called by the Chairman of the Board upon majority vote of the Executive Committee or by petition of a number of Directors equal to at least twenty-five percent (25%) of the full Board of Directors.

(C) Notice of any regular or special meeting of the Board of Directors shall be given at least twenty (20) days prior to the meeting by written notice delivered personally or sent by mail or telegram to each Director at the address shown for such Director in the records of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. If mailed, such notice shall be deemed to be delivered when deposited in the United States mail in a sealed envelope, so addressed, with postage prepaid thereon. If notice be given by telegram, such notice shall be deemed to be delivered when the telegram is delivered to the telegraph company. The attendance of a Director at any meeting shall constitute a waiver of notice of such meeting. Neither the business to be transacted, nor the purpose of any regular or special meeting of the Board of Directors need be specified in the notice of such meeting unless specifically required by law or by these bylaws.

12. QUORUM. A majority of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting of the Board of Directors. For purposes of establishing a quorum, a State Director shall not be considered present if his or her proxy is held by another Director.

13. INFORMAL ACTION BY DIRECTORS. Any action required by law to be taken at a meeting of the Board of Directors may be taken without a meeting if a consent in writing, setting forth the action so taken, shall be signed by all of the Directors.

14. PROXY VOTES. A State Director may assign his or her vote to another Director, or to a person from the same state, by proxy executed in writing. No person may exercise more than one (1) proxy. The presence of a Director at a meeting revokes his or her proxy. A proxy cannot be exercised from a director, unless said Director, or an alternate from that State has been physically present at a regular Board meeting within the preceeding two meetings. In the event of such absence of a State's right to give proxy, said State will also not be counted in determining a quorum or for passage of amendments to the bylaws.

15. VOTE BY MAIL AND TELEPHONE. A vote to be taken by the Board of Directors on any matter may be conducted by mail, telephone, or other electronic device.

16. VOTING BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. Each Director shall be entitled to cast one (1) vote on all matters that come before the Board of Directors. Cumulative voting shall not be allowed.

17. COMMITTEES AND ADVISORS. The Board of Directors may from time to time appoint committees, advisory boards or councils to perform functions designated by the Board. Minutes shall be kept of the meetings of all such committees, advisory boards or councils.

ARTICLE IV

HONORARY DIRECTORS

There shall be another class of directors called Honorary Directors who may attend all meetings of the Board of Directors but will not have voting privilliges. Honorary

Directors will be selected because of their unique contribution to the pro-life movement. Nominations for Honorary Directors may be made upon the written initiative of any six (6) Directors. Honorary Directors shall be elected by the Board of Directors and shall serve for indefinite terms subject to reconfirmation by the board at each annual meeting.

ARTICLE V

OFFICERS

1. OFFICERS. The Officers of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., shall be a President, an Executive Vice President, Other Vice Presidents (the number thereof, if any, to be determined by the Board of Directors), a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Chairman of the Board, a Vice Chairman of the Board, and such other officers as may be elected in accordance with the provisions of this Article. The Board of Directors may elect or appoint such other officers as it shall deem desirable, such officers to have the authority and peform the duties prescribed from time to time by the Board of Directors. The Officers of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., must be elected from the members of the Board of Directors. A State Director elected to serve as an officer, may elect to serve as an At Large Director during term of office, and allow another to serve as Director. Any two or more offices may be held by the same person, except for the offices of President and Secretary.

2. ELECTION AND TERM OF OFFICE. The President, Executive Vice President, Other Vice Presidents (if any), Secretary, Treasurer, Chairman of the Board and Vice Chairman of the Board of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at the regular annual meeting of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. The Board of Directors shall elect a Nominating Committee of five Directors who shall receive nominations in writing to these offices. The Nominating Committee shall place in nomination each name so received, and such additional names as it deems appropriate. The candidate receiving the most votes for each office will be the winner providing he or she has received the affirmative votes of a majority of those voting. If no candidate for an office receives the majority of the votes, then the two (2) highest candidates for that office shall run in a run-off election, the winner being the person obtaining the highest number of votes. If the election of officers shall not be held at such meeting, such election shall be held as soon thereafter as convenient. Other offices may be created and filled at any meeting of the Boardof Directors. Each officer shall hold office until a successor shall have been duly elected and shall have been qualified.

3. REMOVAL AND RESIGNATION. Any officer elected or appointed by the Board of Directors may be removed after appropriate hearing by the Board of Directors, notice of such hearing having been mailed 20 days prior, whenever in its judgment the best interest of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. would be served thereby. Any officer may resign at any time by giving written notice to the Chairman of the Board or the Secretary of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

4. VACANCIES. A vacancy in any office because of death, resignation, removal, disqualification or otherwise, may be filled by the Board of Directors for the unexpired portion of the term.

5. DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

(A) THE PRESIDENT. The President shall act as the chief executive officer of the corporation, preside at all meetings of the Executive Committee and perform all duties incident to chairing these meetings, sign and execute all legal instruments, serve as an ex-officio member of all committees except the nominating committee, make certain that all orders and resolutions of the Board of Directors and Executive Committee are carried into effect and appoint all committees, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.

(B) THE EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT. The Executive Vice President shall assist the President in the performance of his or her duties, and shall perform those duties in the absence or inability of the President.

(C) OTHER VICE PRESIDENTS. Other Vice Presidents may have such duties as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

(D) THE SECRETARY. The Secretary shall keep the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors in one or more books provided for that purpose; shall see that all notices are duly given in accordance with the provisions of these bylaws or as required by law; shall be custodian of the records of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.; shall keep a register of the postal addresses of each Director of the Committee, and in general, shall perform all the duties incident to the office of Secretary and such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors. The Secretary, with the approval of the Executive Committee, may assign such duties to another.

(E) THE TREASURER. The Treasurer shall have charge and custody of, and be responsible for, all funds and assets of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. He or she shall receive and give receipt for money payable to the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., from any sources, and SHALL DEPOSIT ALL SUCH MONEY IN THE NAME OF AND TO THE CREDIT OF the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., in such banks and other depositories as shall be selected by the Executive Committee. He or she shall, in general, perform all the duties incident to the office of Treasuer, including the maintenance of complete and accurate books and records of account, and such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors. Such duties may, with the approval of the Executive Committe, be assigned to another.

(F) CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall preside at the first annual meeting of the Board of Directors until the Board shall elect its own chairman. The Chairman of the Board of Directors shall perform all duties incident to the office and such other duties as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

(G) VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. The Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors shall assist the Chairman of the Board of Directors in the performance of his or her duties, and shall perform those duties in the absence or inability of the Chairman of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VI

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee shall consist of nine (9) members. The President and the Executive Vice President of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall serve as Chariman and Vice Chariman, respectively, and voting members of the Executive Committee. The Secretary and Treasurer shall also be voting members of the Executive Committee. The remaining members of the Executive Committee shall be members of the Board of Directors and shall be elected by the Board of Directors at the annual meeting. The nomination, election, removal, resignation, and filling of any vacancies for said remaining positions shall be in the manner specified for officers in Article V Above; provided, however, that the remaining members of the Executive Committee shall be elected on a single ballot. Cumulative voting shall be prohibited. This Committee shall, between meetings of the Board, exercise all the powers of the Board, with such specific limitations as the Board may, in its discretion, determine.

ARTICLE VII

STAFF

1. EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. The Executive Committee may appoint an Executive Director who shall serve at the pleasure of the Executive Committee. A vacancy in the position may be filled at any meeting of the Executive Committee. The Executive Director may be paid a salary, in the discretion of the Executive Committee. Between meetings of the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee, the Executive Director shall be responsible to the President for day-to-day operation of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. He or she shall be empowered with such financial responsibilites and authority as specified by the Executive Committee.

2. OTHER STAFF. The Executive Director shall have the power to hire other staff and perform other personnel functions. He may delegate duties to them. The provisions of this paragraph shall be subject to policies and procedures defined by the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VIII

MEMBERS

The members of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be divided into four (4) classes:

1. STATE DIRECTORS. A State Director is a duly elected member of the Board of Directors who is then serving in office as a State Director. A State Director shall have the right to vote on the management and affairs of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., as provided for in the bylaws.

2. AT LARGE DIRECTORS. An At Large Director is a duly elected member of the Board of Directors who has been elected pursuant to the provisions of Article III above. At Large Directors shall have the right to vote on the management and affairs of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., as provided for in the bylaws.

3. HONORARY DIRECTORS. An Honorary Director is an ex-officio and non-voting member of the National Right to Life Committee, Incl, elected by the Board of Directors in acknowledgement of his or her unique contributions to the pro-life movement.

4. ASSOCIATE MEMBERS. An Associate Member is any individual, partnership, trust, firm or corporation, who or which shall pay annual dues to be set by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE IX

CHECKS AND DEPOSITS OF FUNDS

All checks, drafts or orders for the payment of money, notes or other evidences of indebtedness issued in the name of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be signed by such officer or officers, agent or agents and in such manner as shall be determined from time to time by the Executive Committee. All funds of the National Right to Life Committee,Inc. shall be deposited TO THE CREDIT OF THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO COMMITTEE, INC. in such banks or other depositories as shall be determined from time to time by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE X

CORPORATE SEAL

The Corporate Seal shall be a metallic seal and shall be kept in the possession of the Secretary of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., or in the principal

ffice of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

ARTICLE X

BOOKS AND RECORDS

National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall keep correct and complete books and ecords of accounts and shall also keep minutes of the proceedings of its Board of irectors and committees having any of the authority of the Board of Directors, and hall keep at its registered or principal office a record giving the names and ddresses of the Directors entitled to vote. All books and records of the National ight to Life Committee, Inc. may be inspected by any Director, or his or her agent r attorney, for any proper purpose at any reasonable time.

ARTICLE XII

INDEMNIFICATION

National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall indemnify each member of the oard of Directors, each committee member and each officer of the National Right to ife Committee, Inc., now or hereafter a member of the Board of Directors, committee ember or officer, his or her heirs, executors, and administrators, against all costs, xpenses and liabilities, including settlements approved by the Board of Directors, easonably incurred or imposed upon him or her in connection with or resulting from any ction, criminal or otherwise, suit or proceeding or the compromise thereof, prior to inal adjudication to which he or she is or may be a party by reason of his or her eing or having been a member of the Board of Directors, committee member of officer f National Right to Life Committee, Inc. except in relation to matters as to which e or she, if finally adjudged in such action, suit or proceeding, to have been egligent or derelict in the performance of his or her duty as a member of the Board of Directors or as an officer of National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

Provided, however, that in criminal actions the Director, committee member or fficer of National Right to Life Committee, Inc. had no reasonable grounds to believe hat his or her conduct was unlawful. The Board of Directors may purchase such insurance s is necessary to effectuate this policy of indemnification.

In the event that a question arises as to whether or not such Director, committee ember or officer of National Right to Life Committee, Inc. has met the standars of conduct hereinabove set forth in this Article, such question shall be conclusively determined by the Board of Directors acting by a quorum consisting of Directors who are not involved in such claim, action, suit or proceeding, or by the written opinion of reputable, disinterested legal counsel selected by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE XIII

WAIVER OF NOTICE

Whenever any notice is required to be given under the provisions of the District of Columbia Non-Profit Corporation Act or under the provisions of the Articles of Incorporation or the Bylaws of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., waivers thereof in writing, signed by each person entitled to such notice, whether before or after the times stated therein, shall be deemed equivalent to the giving of such notice.

ARTICLE XIV

VOTE BY MAIL

Notwithstanding any other provisions of these bylaws, where these bylaws allow voting by mail or other electronic device, those Directors voting by mail or other

electronic device shall be included as present for the purposes of determining a quorum on only such subject matter of the vote taken by [redacted] or other electronic device.

ARTICLE XV

AMENDMENTS TO THE BYLAWS

These bylaws may be altered, amended or repealed, or new bylaws may be adopted at any meeting, by a two-thirds (2/3) vote of the Board of Directors; provided, however, that at least ten (10) days notice be given of the intention to alter, amend or repeal, or adopt new bylaws, prior to such meeting; and that such notice shall include the proposed change or a discussion of the substance and issues involved.

ARTICLE XVI

PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY

The rules contained in the current edition of Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised shall govern the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., in all cases to which they are applicable and in which they are not inconsistent with these bylaws or any special rules of order the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. may adopt, and any statutes applicable to this organization.

Revised - 1974-1975-1977

June 1979 - amended to be effective June 1979.
Repealed & adopted as follows:

ABSENCE FROM MEETINGS - If a Director or his alternate fails to attend at least one Board of Directors meeting during a 12 month period, beginning with the annual meeting, such office of Director shall be declared vacant. Thereafter the Director and State organization shall be notified no later than 20 days after the annual meeting. The state shall have 30 days from after such notice to elect a new Director, who shall, in person or by alternate attend the next Board meeting of NRLC. Failure by the State to elect a Director and notify the NRLC 20 days after such election of Director; the Board of Directors may fill this vacancy by appointment until the next annual meeting.
This by-law effective at the 1979 annual meeting."

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

AUTHORIZATION TO ISSUE SUBPOENA

The Commission hereby authorizes the issuance of a subpoena to the following organization in connection with MUR 958:

National Right To Life Committee, Inc.
National Press Building
529 14th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20045

Robert O. Tiernan
Chairman

Thomas E. Harris
Commissioner

Max L. Friedersdorf
Vice Chairman

John W. McGarry
Commissioner

Joan D. Aikens
Commissioner

Frank P. Reiche
Commissioner

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. James Bopp, Jr.
Attorney at Law
Suite 101 Sycamore Building
19 South Sixth Street
Terra Haute, Indiana 47807

RE: MUR 958

Dear Mr. Bopp:

In furtherance of its investigation in the above-referenced matter, the Commission has issued a subpoena to the National Right To Life Committee, Inc. for the production of documents relating to the Voter Identification Project. The subpoena is enclosed herewith.

If you have any questions regarding this matter please contact David Federman, the attorney assigned to this case, at 202/523-4073.

Sincerely,

William C. Oldaker
General Counsel

Enclosure

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES STEELE

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/MARGARET CHANEY mc

DATE: SEPTEMBER 11, 1979

SUBJECT: MUR 958 - Interim Investigative Report dated 9-7-79; Received in OCS 9-10-79, 9:42

The above-named document was circulated to the Commission on a 24-hour no-objection basis at 4:00, September 10, 1979.

There were no objections to the Interim Investigative Report at the time of the deadline.

September 10, 1979

MEMORANDUM TO: Marge Emmons

FROM: Jane Colgrove

SUBJECT: MUR 958

Please have the attached Interim Investigative Report on MUR 958 distributed to the Commission on a 24 hour no-objection basis.

Thank you.

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
)
The National Right to Life) MUR 958 (79)
Committee, Inc.)

79 SEP 10 A9:42

INTERIM INVESTIGATORY REPORT

On June 26, 1979, the Commission found reason to believe that the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. ("NRLC") may have violated 2 U.S.C. §433, §434, and §441b. On July 3, 1979, the notification letter, together with a set of interrogatories, was sent to the NRLC. On July 13, 1979, the attorney for the NRLC requested an extension of time in which to respond to the interrogatories. Due to the extensive nature of the interrogatories, this office did not deny the request. The responses to the interrogatories were received in this office on September 4.

After an evaluation of the responses is conducted, a report will be submitted to the Commission.

9/7/79
Date

William C. Oldaker
General Counsel

FRANCIS & BRAMES
LAWYERS
SUITE 101 SYCAMORE BUILDING
19 SOUTH SIXTH STREET
TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA 47807

LEROY A. FRANCIS
ARNOLD H. BRAMES
WILLIAM E. COOK
GARY V. RIDER
JAMES BOPP, JR.

LOUIS R. HILLEARY, 1961
PAUL R. SHAFER, 1965

TELEPHONE
232-9501
AREA CODE 812

August 24, 1979

David Federman
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20463

Re: MUR 955

Dear Mr. Federman:

Enclosed are the answers to your interrogatories.

The National Right To Life Committee is a separate and independent organization from state and local Right To Life organizations. The only connection between the National Right To Life Committee and any other Right To Life organization is that the state Right To Life group in each state and the District of Columbia is authorized to designate one of their members as the National Director from that state who sits on the Board of Directors of the National Right To Life Committee.

The Voter Identification Project was developed by the National Right To Life Committee to be implemented by state and local Right To Life groups. The instruction booklet and forms were developed by the National Right To Life Committee and the development cost was paid for by the Committee. Thereafter, the National Right To Life Committee has offered for sale, including a reasonable profit, the instruction brochure and forms to state and local Right To Life groups. They buy the material and conduct the voter survey.

The results of the survey are used by Right To Life groups to persuade local legislators that a majority of the voters in their district are pro-life, thereby attempting to persuade them to vote for pro-life legislation. In addition, local and state Right To Life groups send educational material to undecided voters in an attempt to educate the public on the question of abortion. Also, local and state Right To Life groups sell, at market value, the results of the survey to various political action committees who utilize the material to support and endorse candidates.

(continued)

SEP 4 3: 59

The National Right To Life Committee does not, therefore, direct the survey nor do they have access to the results. The survey is conducted completely by the separate and independent state and local groups and the results are utilized by them in the manner set forth above.

If I can be of further assistance to you in this matter, please let me know.

Sincerely,

James Bopp, Jr.
Attorney at Law

Enclosures

cc: National Right To Life Committee

kgt

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
Answer to Interrogatories
Voter Identification Project: MUR 958

1. Is the National Right to Life Committee ("NRLC") incorporated? If so, please submit the articles of incorporation, by-laws, and constitution of the NRLC, INC.

ANSWER: Attached

2. If answer to (1) is yes, is NRLC incorporated for liability purposes only?

ANSWER: Yes

3. Is the NRLC a membership organization?

ANSWER: Yes

4. If answer to (3) yes, please state the qualifications for membership.

ANSWER: See the attached by-laws of the National Right To Life Committee.

5. Does the NRLC conduct a Voter-Identification Program? ("V.I.P.")

ANSWER: No. The National Right To Life Committee has only developed the materials including the instruction booklet and forms for the project.

6. If answer to (5) is yes, please state the purposes of the V.I.P.

ANSWER: The purpose for the development of the Voter Identification Survey was to allow state and local Right To Life groups to determine the attitudes of registered voters within their state or county regarding abortion, the government funding of abortion and whether their attitude on abortion would effect their vote.

7. Does the NRLC use the V.I.P. to identify those voters who are "pro-life."

ANSWER: No. See answer to Interrogatory #6.

8. Does the NRLC utilize the results of the V.I.P. to encourage "pro-life" voters to vote?

ANSWER: No

9. Does the NRLC encourage the "pro-life" voters to vote for the "pro-life" candidates?

ANSWER: No

10. In which Congressional districts was the V.I.P. conducted in 1978?

ANSWER: Since state and local Right To Life groups are independent and autonomous from the National Right To Life Committee, the National Right To Life Committee does not know how many districts in which the Voter Identification Project was conducted in 1978. The National Right To Life Committee does know the individuals and groups to which it sold the instruction booklets and forms.

11. In which Congressional districts will the V.I.P. be conducted in 1979 and 1980?

ANSWER: Unknown, see answer to Interrogatory #10.

12. What is the cost of conducting the V.I.P. in each Congressional district? Nationwide?

ANSWER: Unknown, see answer to Interrogatory #10.

13. Has the NRLC given the results of the V.I.P. to candidates for federal office?

ANSWER: No, the National Right To Life Committee does not have access to the results of the survey.

14. If answer to (13) is yes, please state which candidates received the results?

ANSWER: Not applicable

15. Has the NRLC given the results of the V.I.P. to any political committees?

ANSWER: No, the National Right To Life Committee does not have access to the results of the survey.

16. If answer to (15) is yes, please state which political committees were given the results.

ANSWER: Not applicable

17. Has the NRLC given the results of the V.I.P. to any groups whatsoever?

ANSWER: No, the National Right To Life Committee does not have access to the results of the survey.

18. If answer to (17) is yes, please state which groups were given the results.

ANSWER: Not applicable

National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
1200 15TH ST., N.W.
SUITE 500
WASHINGTON, DC 20005

OFFICE OF RECORDER OF DEEDS, D. C.
Corporation Division
Sixth and D Streets, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

Date)
8/3/74

CERTIFICATE

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that all provisions of the District of Columbia Non-profit Corporation Act have been complied with and ACCORDINGLY this Certificate of Incorporation

is hereby issued to the NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

as of the date hereinafter mentioned.

Date May 14, 1973

PETER S. RIDLEY,
Recorder of Deeds, D. C.

Alfred Columbus
Superintendent of Corporations

Government of the District of Columbia
Form 1-D-C 33
Oct. 1952

7042

ational Right to Life Committee, Inc.
200 15th ST., N.W.
UITE 500
ASHINGTON, DC 20005

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

OF

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

Date)

To: Recorder of Deeds
Washington, D.C.

We, the undersigned, natural persons of the age of 21 or more, acting as incorporators of a corporation, adopt the following Articles of Incorporation for such corporation, pursuant to the District of Columbia Non-Profit Corporation Act:

ARTICLE I

The name of the corporation (hereinafter referred to as the Committee) shall be the NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

ARTICLE II

The Committee is to have perpetual existence.

ARTICLE III

In order to guarantee the right to life of all people of the United States of America, the purposes of the NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC., are to engage in educational, charitable, scientific and political activities, projects or purposes including specifically, but not in limitation of the foregoing:

A. To promote respect for the worth and dignity of all human life, including the life of the unborn child from the moment of conception.

B. To promote, encourage and sponsor such mandatory and statutory measures which will provide protection for human life before and after birth, particularly for the defenseless, the incompetent, and the impaired and the incapacitated.

FILED
MAY 14 1973

c. To engage in such activities as shall be set forth in the bylaws of the Committee which will assist in the accomplishment of those purposes immediately aforementioned.

ARTICLE IV

The Committee is not organized for pecuniary profit and shall not have authority to issue capital stock or shares of any kind.

The Committee shall be a membership corporation and its revenue shall be derived from membership fees and/or such other sources as may be prescribed from time to time by the Board of Directors.

Membership in the Committee shall be open to any individual, partnership, trust, firm or corporation in the sole and absolute discretion of the Board of Directors.

Membership in the Committee may be divided into such classifications for annual membership dues or for the election of directors or for such other purposes as the bylaws of the Committee may prescribe or as the Board of Directors may from time to time designate.

Subject to the provisions of the articles of incorporation of the Committee, the conditions, terms, privileges, rights, and duties of membership shall be stated or provided for in the bylaws of the Committee.

ARTICLE V

The management, affairs, business and concerns of the Committee shall be vested in the members. However, all details of management, affairs, business and concerns of the Committee are delegated to a Board of Directors, including the power of amending the certificate of incorporation and except as otherwise provided by statute, the certificate of incorporation or the bylaws of the Committee. The number of directors which shall constitute the whole Board

shall be fixed by, or in the manner provided in, the bylaws of the Committee. Subject to the provisions of the certificate of incorporation the bylaws may provide, with respect to the directors, for their qualifications (including, but not limited to and without limitation, provisions for the representation by each director of a designated state, district, region or other geographical area); for the place, time, method and manner for their nomination and election or appointment (including provisions for the election of a director or directors by members located in a designated state, district, region or other geographical area); for the appointment or designation of alternates; for filling of vacancies; for their removal from office and/or recall; for their meetings; and, generally, for their rights, powers, duties, privileges and restrictions and responsibilities.

ARTICLE VI

The address of the Corporation's initial registered office is

1801 K St. NW
Washington, D.C.

The name of its initial registered agent at such address is

Joseph V. Gartlan, Jr.
1801 K St. NW
Washington, D.C.

The principal place of business and headquarters of the Committee shall be in a city designated in the bylaws. The Board of Directors may establish other offices in such place or places as it may deem expedient for the transaction of the business and the affairs of the Committee.

ARTICLE VII

The number of Directors constituting the initial Board of Directors is 9 (nine), and the names and addresses of the persons who are to serve as the initial Board of Directors until the first annual meeting, or until their successors be elected and qualified are:

Caroline Forster, M.D. 4641 E. Crystal Lane
Paradise Valley, Arizona 85253

John B. Beliveau, Esq.	12 Surry Lane Lewiston, Maine 04240
Martin McKernan, Jr., Esq.	601 Chews Landing Road Haddonfield, New Jersey 08033
Marjory Mecklenburg	1219 West 51st Street Minneapolis, Minnesota 55419
Kenneth Van Derhoef, Esq.	3808 43rd Ave. N.E. Seattle, Washington 98104
Edward J. Golden	4 Willowbrook Lane Troy, New York 12180
Gloria Klein	33728 Tawas Trail Westland, Michigan 48185
Jay Bowman	3187 Francine Drive Decatur, Georgia 30033
Judith Fink	835 Vermont Avenue Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15234

ARTICLE VIII

The private property of the members of the Committee of any and all classes, the directors, officers and incorporators shall not be subject to the payment of corporate debts to any extent whatever.

ARTICLE IX

The officers of the Committee shall be a president, one or more vice-presidents, a secretary and a treasurer and an executive director and such other officers and/or assistants as the Board of Directors shall provide.

ARTICLE X

The bylaws may provide for the designation of honorary members of the Board of Directors who shall not have voting privileges.

ARTICLE XI

The name and address of each incorporator is:

Joseph V. Gartlan, Jr.
3507 Woodside Road
Alexandria, Virginia 22310

Joseph V. Gartlan, Jr.

Eleanor M. Cook
13506 Westwind Drive
Silver Spring, Maryland 20904

Eleanor M. Cook

Joseph A. Lampe
3924 Dakota Avenue
St. Louis Park, Minnesota 55416

Joseph A. Lampe

Date: May 14, 1973.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, ss:

I, _____, a notary public, hereby certify that on the 14th day of May, 1973, personally appeared before me Joseph V. Gartlan, Jr., Eleanor M. Cook and Joseph A. Lampe, who signed the foregoing document as incorporators and that the statements therein contained are true.

Notary Public

My commission expires _____

THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

ARTICLE I

PURPOSE

In order to guarantee the right to life of all people of the United States of America, the purposes of the NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC., are to engage in educational, charitable, scientific and political activities, projects or purposes including specifically, but not in limitation of the foregoing:

1. To promote respect for the worth and dignity of all human life, including the life of the unborn child from the moment of conception.

2. To promote, encourage and sponsor such amendatory and statutory measures which will provide protection for human life before and after birth, particularly for the defenseless, the incompetent, and the impaired and the incapacitated.

3 To engage in such activities as shall be set forth in the bylaws of the Committee which will assist in the accomplishment of those purposes immediately aforementioned.

ARTICLE II

OFFICES

The principal office of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be at Washington,D.C. The corporation may have such other office or offices, within or without the District of Columbia, as the Board of Directors may determine or as the affairs of the corporation may require, from time to time.

ARTICLE III

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. GENERAL POWERS. The affairs of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., shall be managed by its Board of Directors. Directors need not be residents of the District of Columbia.

2. NUMBER AND TENURE. The number of Directors shall not be less than three (3) nor more than sixty-one (61). Each State Director shall hold office until his or her successor shall have been elected. Each At Large Director shall hold office until the next annual meeting.

3. ELECTION OF STATE DIRECTORS. Each State and the District of Columbia may elect one State Director to serve on the Board of Directors. The time, place and manner of electing the State Director shall be decided by each State and the District of Columbia but shall, generally speaking, be done annually in conformity with these bylaws.

4. NOTIFICATION OF ELECTION OF STATE DIRECTORS. Each state shall elect its State Director and notify the Board of Directors by filing the results of said election in the principal office of National Right to Life Committee, Inc., within 10 days of said election and no later than thirty(30)days prior to the commencement

to [illegible] date of said election, [illegible] place where it was held, the manner of voting, the total votes eligible to be cast, the qualifications for eligible voters, the total votes cast, the names and addresses of each candidate and the number of votes cast for each, and finally, the name and address of the newly elected State Director and the number of votes he or she received. The information shall be filed in a sealed envelope labeled with the new State Director's name and address and the caption "election results", to be opened by the Credentials Committee only in the event of a challenge from within said state. The Board of Directors shall be notified of intended challenges to the election of any State Director by notice in writing filed in the principal office of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., no later than ten (10) days prior to the commencement of any Board meeting. Said notice shall clearly specify the reasons for the challenge and shall be served upon the challenged State Director no later than ten (10) days prior to the commencement of the meeting. Such notice may be served by Registered or Certified Mail to the address of the State Director as listed in the records of the National Right to Life Committe, Inc.

5. CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE. Any challenge to the authority of a State Director to be seated on the Board of Directors shall be decided by a Credentials Committee composed of five (5) non-challenged Directors, which shall be appointed by the Board of Directors, or by the Executive Committee if the Board of Directors has not done so twenty (20) days prior to the annual meeting. The Credentials Committee shall hold hearings on said challenge and determine by majority vote the authority of any challenged State Director to be seated on the Board of Directors. The decision of the Credentials Committee may be appealed to the Board of Directors. A majority decision by the Board of Directors is final and non-appealable.

6. ELECTION OF AT LARGE DIRECTORS. At Large Directors may be elected by the Board of Directors. The number of At Large Directors shall not exceed a number equal to twenty percent (20%) of the elected State Directors. The elections for At Large Directors shall immediately follow the seating of the State of Directors. Nominations shall be by petition signed by not less than five (5) State Directors. No State Director shall sign more than one such petition. At Large Directors shall be elected by majority vote of the State Directors. Election as an At Large Director may occur at any duly convened meeting of the Board of Directors, provided nominations for such are mailed to all Directors ten days prior to the opening of such meeting.

7. RESIGNATION OF DIRECTORS. A director may resign at any time from the Board of Directors by giving written notice to the President. Such resignation shall be effective on the date designated in such notice, or if no date is designated, then upon receipt by the President. Unless otherwise stipulated, acceptance of such resignation shall not be necessary for it to be effective.

8. REMOVAL OF DIRECTORS. By a vote of two-thirds (2/3) of the Directors, any Director who is judged as unwilling or unable to fulfill his or her duties may be removed at any meeting of the Board of Directors upon the written initiative of at least six (6) Director presented to the President, and after appropriate hearing. The proposed removal shall be stated in the notice to be given for such meeting, such meeting notice to be mailed 20 days before said meeting.

9. VACANCIES. Any vacancy occurring on the Board of Directors shall be filled by the jurisdiction which such State Director represented.

10. COMPENSATION. Directors as such shall not receive any compensation for their services; but nothing contained herein shall be construed to preclude any Director from serving the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., in any other capacity and receiving compensation therefore. Directors with financial interests in the Pro-Life movement should exercise care to avoid conflicts of interest.

11. MEETINGS.

(A) The annual meeting of the Board of Directors shall be held during the cond or third quarter of each calendar year at such time and place as is decided on by the Board of Directors. The Board of Directors may provide by resolution for e time and place, either within or without the District of Columbia, for the olding of additional regular meetings.

(B) Special meetings of the Board of Directors shall be called by the Chairman f the Board upon majority vote of the Executive Committee or by petition of a mber of Directors equal to at least twenty-five percent (25%) of the full Board f Directors.

(C) Notice of any regular or special meeting of the Board of Directors shall be given t least twenty (20) days prior to the meeting by written notice delivered personally r sent by mail or telegram to each Director at the address shown for such Director in he records of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. If mailed, such notice shall be eemed to be delivered when deposited in the United States mail in a sealed envelope, o addressed, with postage prepaid thereon. If notice be given by telegram, such notice hall be deemed to be delivered when the telegram is delivered to the telegraph company. The attendance of a Director at any meeting shall constitute a waiver of notice of uch meeting. Neither the business to be transacted, nor the purpose of any regular r special meeting of the Board of Directors need be specified in the notice of such eeting unless specifically required by law or by these bylaws.

12. QUORUM. A majority of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting of the Board of Directors. For purposes of establishing a quorum, a State Director shall not be considered present if his or her proxy is eld by another Director.

13. INFORMAL ACTION BY DIRECTORS. Any action required by law to be taken at a meeting of the Board of Directors may be taken without a meeting if a consent in writing, setting forth the action so taken, shall be signed by all of the Directors.

14. PROXY VOTES. A State Director may assign his or her vote to another Director, or to a person from the same state, by proxy executed in writing. No person may exercise more than one (1) proxy. The presence of a Director at a meeting revokes his or her proxy. A proxy cannot be exercised from a director, unless said Director, or an alternate from that State has been physically present at a regular Board meeting within the preceeding two meetings. In the event of such absence of a State's right to give proxy, said State will also not be counted in determining a quorum or for passage of amendments to the bylaws.

15. VOTE BY MAIL AND TELEPHONE. A vote to be taken by the Board of Directors on any matter may be conducted by mail, telephone, or other electronic device.

16. VOTING BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. Each Director shall be entitled to cast one (1) vote on all matters that come before the Board of Directors. Cumulative voting shall not be allowed.

17. COMMITTEES AND ADVISORS. The Board of Directors may from time to time appoint committees, advisory boards or councils to perform functions designated by the Board. Minutes shall be kept of the meetings of all such committees, advisory boards or councils.

ARTICLE IV

HONORARY DIRECTORS

There shall be another class of directors called Honorary Directors who may attend [illegible] of the Board of Directors but will not have voting privilages. Honorary

Directors will be selected because of their unique [illegible] movement. Nominations for Honorary Directors may be made upon the written initiative of any six (6) Directors. Honorary Directors shall be elected by the Board of Directors and shall serve for indefinite terms subject to reconfirmation by the board at each annual meeting.

ARTICLE V

OFFICERS

1. OFFICERS. The Officers of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., shall be a President, an Executive Vice President, Other Vice Presidents (the number thereof, if any, to be determined by the Board of Directors), a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Chairman of the Board, a Vice Chairman of the Board, and such other officers as may be elected in accordance with the provisions of this Article. The Board of Directors may elect or appoint such other officers as it shall deem desirable, such officers to have the authority and peform the duties prescribed from time to time by the Board of Directors. The Officers of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., must be elected from the members of the Board of Directors. A State Director elected to serve as an officer, may elect to serve as an At Large Director during term of office, and allow another to serve as Director. Any two or more offices may be held by the same person, except for the offices of President and Secretary.

2. ELECTION AND TERM OF OFFICE. The President, Executive Vice President, Other Vice Presidents (if any), Secretary, Treasurer, Chairman of the Board and Vice Chairman of the Board of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at the regular annual meeting of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. The Board of Directors shall elect a Nominating Committee of five Directors who shall receive nominations in writing to these offices. The Nominating Committee shall place in nomination each name so received, and such additional names as it deems appropriate. The candidate receiving the most votes for each office will be the winner providing he or she has received the affirmative votes of a majority of those voting. If no candidate for an office receives the majority of the votes, then the two (2) highest candidates for that office shall run in a run-off election, the winner being the person obtaining the highest number of votes. If the election of officers shall not be held at such meeting, such election shall be held as soon thereafter as convenient. Other offices may be created and filled at any meeting of the Boardof Directors. Each officer shall hold office until a successor shall have been duly elected and shall have been qualified.

3. REMOVAL AND RESIGNATION. Any officer elected or appointed by the Board of Directors may be removed after appropriate hearing by the Board of Directors, notice of such hearing having been mailed 20 days prior, whenever in its judgment the best interest of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. would be served thereby. Any officer may resign at any time by giving written notice to the Chairman of the Board or the Secretary of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

4. VACANCIES. A vacancy in any office because of death, resignation, removal, disqualification or otherwise, may be filled by the Board of Directors for the unexpired portion of the term.

5. DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

(A) THE PRESIDENT. The President shall act as the chief executive officer of the corporation, preside at all meetings of the Executive Committee and perform all duties incident to chairing these meetings, sign and execute all legal instruments, serve as an ex-officio member of all committees except the nominating committee, make certain that all orders and resolutions of the Board of Directors and Executive Committee are carried into effect and appoint all committees, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.

(B) THE EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT. The Executive Vice President shall assist the President in the performance of his or her duties, and shall perform those duties in the absence or inability of the President.

(C) OTHER VICE PRESIDENTS. Other Vice Presidents may have such duties as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

(D) THE SECRETARY. The Secretary shall keep the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors in one or more books provided for that purpose; shall see that all notices are duly given in accordance with the provisions of these bylaws or as required by law; shall be custodian of the records of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.; shall keep a register of the postal addresses of each Director of the Committee, and in general, shall perform all the duties incident to the office of Secretary and such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors. The Secretary, with the approval of the Executive Committee, may assign such duties to another.

(E) THE TREASURER. The Treasurer shall have charge and custody of, and be responsible for, all funds and assets of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. He or she shall receive and give receipt for money payable to the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., from any sources, and SHALL DEPOSIT ALL SUCH MONEY IN THE NAME OF AND TO THE CREDIT OF the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., in such banks and other depositories as shall be selected by the Executive Committee. He or she shall, in general, perform all the duties incident to the office of Treasuer, including the maintenance of complete and accurate books and records of account, and such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors. Such duties may, with the approval of the Executive Committe, be assigned to another.

(F) CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall preside at the first annual meeting of the Board of Directors until the Board shall elect its own chairman. The Chairman of the Board of Directors shall perform all duties incident to the office and such other duties as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

(G) VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. The Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors shall assist the Chairman of the Board of Directors in the performance of his or her duties, and shall perform those duties in the absence or inability of the Chairman of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VI

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee shall consist of nine (9) members. The President and the Executive Vice President of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall serve as Chariman and Vice Chariman, respectively, and voting members of the Executive Committee. The Secretary and Treasurer shall also be voting members of the Executive Committee. The remaining members of the Executive Committee shall be members of the Board of Directors and shall be elected by the Board of Directors at the annual meeting. The nomination, election, removal, resignation, and filling of any vacancies for said remaining positions shall be in the manner specified for officers in Article V Above; provided, however, that the remaining members of the Executive Committee shall be elected on a single ballot. Cumulative voting shall be prohibited. This Committee shall, between meetings of the Board, exercise all the powers of the Board, with such specific limitations as the Board may, in its discretion, determine.

ARTICLE VII

STAFF

1. EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. The Executive Committee may appoint an Executive Director who shall serve at the pleasure of the Executive Committee. A vacancy in the position may be filled at any meeting of the Executive Committee. The Executive Director may be paid a salary, in the discretion of the Executive Committee. Between meetings of the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee, the Executive Director shall be responsible to the President for day-to-day operation of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. He or she shall be empowered with such financial responsibilites and authority as specified by the Executive Committee.

2. OTHER STAFF. The Executive Director shall have the power to hire other staff and perform other personnel functions. He may delegate duties to them. The provisions of this paragraph shall be subject to policies and procedures defined by the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VIII

MEMBERS

The members of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be divided into four (4) classes:

1. STATE DIRECTORS. A State Director is a duly elected member of the Board of Directors who is then serving in office as a State Director. A State Director shall have the right to vote on the management and affairs of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., as provided for in the bylaws.

2. AT LARGE DIRECTORS. An At Large Director is a duly elected member of the Board of Directors who has been elected pursuant to the provisions of Article III above. At Large Directors shall have the right to vote on the management and affairs of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., as provided for in the bylaws.

3. HONORARY DIRECTORS. An Honorary Director is an ex-officio and non-voting member of the National Right to Life Committee, Incl, elected by the Board of Directors in acknowledgement of his or her unique contributions to the pro-life movement.

4. ASSOCIATE MEMBERS. An Associate Member is any individual, partnership, trust, firm or corporation, who or which shall pay annual dues to be set by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE IX

CHECKS AND DEPOSITS OF FUNDS

All checks, drafts or orders for the payment of money, notes or other evidences of indebtedness issued in the name of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be signed by such officer or officers, agent or agents and in such manner as shall be determined from time to time by the Executive Committee. All funds of the National Right to Life Committee,Inc. shall be deposited TO THE CREDIT OF THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO COMMITTEE, INC. in such banks or other depositories as shall be determined from time to time by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE X

CORPORATE SEAL

The Corporate Seal shall be a metallic seal and shall be kept in the possession of the Secretary of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., or in the principal

ffice of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

ARTICLE XI

BOOKS AND RECORDS

National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall keep correct and complete books and ecords of accounts and shall also keep minutes of the proceedings of its Board of irectors and committees having any of the authority of the Board of Directors, and hall keep at its registered or principal office a record giving the names and ddresses of the Directors entitled to vote. All books and records of the National ight to Life Committee, Inc. may be inspected by any Director, or his or her agent r attorney, for any proper purpose at any reasonable time.

ARTICLE XII

INDEMNIFICATION

National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall indemnify each member of the oard of Directors, each committee member and each officer of the National Right to ife Committee, Inc., now or hereafter a member of the Board of Directors, committee ember or officer, his or her heirs, executors, and administrators, against all costs, xpenses and liabilities, including settlements approved by the Board of Directors, easonably incurred or imposed upon him or her in connection with or resulting from any ction, criminal or otherwise, suit or proceeding or the compromise thereof, prior to inal adjudication to which he or she is or may be a party by reason of his or her eing or having been a member of the Board of Directors, committee member of officer f National Right to Life Committee, Inc. except in relation to matters as to which e or she, if finally adjudged in such action, suit or proceeding, to have been egligent or derelict in the performance of his or her duty as a member of the Board f Directors or as an officer of National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

Provided, however, that in criminal actions the Director, committee member or fficer of National Right to Life Committee, Inc. had no reasonable grounds to believe hat his or her conduct was unlawful. The Board of Directors may purchase such insurance s is necessary to effectuate this policy of indemnification.

In the event that a question arises as to whether or not such Director, committee ember or officer of National Right to Life Committee, Inc. has met the standars of conduct hereinabove set forth in this Article, such question shall be conclusively determined by the Board of Directors acting by a quorum consisting of Directors who are not involved in such claim, action, suit or proceeding, or by the written opinion of reputable, disinterested legal counsel selected by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE XIII

WAIVER OF NOTICE

Whenever any notice is required to be given under the provisions of the District of Columbia Non-Profit Corporation Act or under the provisions of the Articles of Incorporation or the Bylaws of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., waivers thereof in writing, signed by each person entitled to such notice, whether before or after the times stated therein, shall be deemed equivalent to the giving of such notice.

ARTICLE XIV

VOTE BY MAIL

Notwithstanding any other provisions of these bylaws, where these bylaws allow voting by mail or other electronic device, those Directors voting by mail or other

electronic device shall be included as present for the purposes of determining a quorum on only such subject matter of the vote taken by mail or other electronic device.

ARTICLE XV

AMENDMENTS TO THE BYLAWS

These bylaws may be altered, amended or repealed, or new bylaws may be adopted at any meeting, by a two-thirds (2/3) vote of the Board of Directors; provided, however, that at least ten (10) days notice be given of the intention to alter, amend or repeal, or adopt new bylaws, prior to such meeting; and that such notice shall include the proposed change or a discussion of the substance and issues involved.

ARTICLE XVI

PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY

The rules contained in the current edition of Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised shall govern the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., in all cases to which they are applicable and in which they are not inconsistent with these bylaws or any special rules of order the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. may adopt, and any statutes applicable to this organization.

Revised - 1974-1976-1977

Jan 1979 - revised to be effective June 1979.
Repealed absence of Policy

ABSENCE FROM MEETINGS - If a Director or his alternate fails to attend at least one Board of Directors meeting during a 12 month period, beginning with the annual meeting, such office of Director shall be declared vacant. Thereafter the Director and State organization shall be notified no later than 20 days after the annual meeting. The state shall have 30 days from after such notice to elect a new Director, who shall, in person or by alternate attend the next Board meeting of NRLC. Failure by the State to elect a Director and notify the NRLC 20 days after such election of Director; the Board of Directors may fill this vacancy by appointment until the next annual meeting.
This by-law effective at the 1979 annual meeting."

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

July 25, 1979

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. James Bopp, Jr.
Attorney at Law
Suite 101 Sycamore Building
19 South Sixth Street
Terre Haute, Indiana 47807

Re: MUR 961
MUR 958

Dear Mr. Bopp:

We have received your written notification that you will be representing the respondents in both MUR 961 and MUR 958. We are also in receipt of your letter requesting an extension of time in which to respond to the Commission's interrogatories in these matters.

The Federal Election Commission has a statutory obligation to conduct its investigations expeditiously pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(3)(A). We therefore request that your response to interrogatories in these matters be completed as soon as possible. Please respond separately to each MUR.

Your cooperation and expedition of this matter will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

William C. Oldaker
General Counsel

GCC#
10595

FRANCIS & BRAMES
LAWYERS
SUITE 101 SYCAMORE BUILDING
19 SOUTH SIXTH STREET
TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA 47807

LEROY A. FRANCIS
ARNOLD H. BRAMES
WILLIAM E. COOK
GARY V. RIDER
JAMES BOPP, JR.

LOUIS R. HILLEARY 1961
PAUL R. SHAFER 1965

TELEPHONE
232-9501
AREA CODE 812

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
79 JUL 17 PM 3:09

July 13, 1979

903131

Mr. David Federman
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K Street N.W.
Washington, DC 20463

Re: MUR 953

Dear Mr. Federman:

This letter is to request a 30-day extension of time to answer the interrogatories we received on July 9, 1979.

As you may be aware, our committee is made up of persons all over the United States and for me to accumulate the information requested I must obtain information and documents from persons in different areas of the country.

We will, therefore, have this information to you by August 20, 1979.

Sincerely,

James Bopp, Jr.
Attorney at Law

kgt

LAW OFFICES
FRANCIS & BRAMES
SUITE 101 SYCAMORE BUILDING
19 SOUTH SIXTH STREET
TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA 47807

Mr. David Federman
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K Street N.W.
Washington, DC 20463

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES STEELE

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS

DATE: JULY 26, 1979

SUBJECT: MUR 958 - Interim Investigatory Report signed by GC 7-24-79, Received by OCS 7-25-79, 11:01

The above-named document was circulated to the Commission on a 24-hour no-objection basis at 4:00, July 25, 1979.

There were no objections to the Interim Investigatory Report at the time of the deadline.

3 1 7 1 2 3 2 5 1

July 25, 1979

MEMORANDUM TO: Marge Emmons

FROM: Elissa T. Garr

SUBJECT: MUR 958

Please have the attached Interim Invest Report on MUR 958 distributed to the Commission.

Thankyou.

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
)
The National Right To Life Committee, Inc.) Mur 958(79)
)
)

INTERIM INVESTIGATORY REPORT

The Office of General Counsel has received an initial response in this matter indicating that respondent would answer the Commission's interrogatories but would require additional time in which to complete its responses.

The Office of General Counsel has written to respondent stressing the Commission's duty to conduct its investigations expeditiously and urging respondent to comply as soon as possible. A complete report will be made to the Commission upon receipt of the respondent's answers to the interrogatories.

7/24/79
Date

William C. Oldaker
General Counsel

MUR #
1054

FRANCIS & BRAMES
LAWYERS
SUITE 101 SYCAMORE BUILDING
19 SOUTH SIXTH STREET
TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA 47807

LEROY A. FRANCIS
ARNOLD R. BRAMES
WILLIAM E. COOK
GARY V. RIDER
JAMES BOPP, JR.

LOUIS R. HILLEARY, 1961
PAUL R. SHAFER, 1965

TELEPHONE
232-9501
AREA CODE 812

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
'79 JUL 12 PM 12:09

July 10, 1979

Mr. David Federman
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K Street N.W.
Washington, DC 20463

Re: MUR 958

Dear Mr. Federman:

This letter is to notify you that I am representing the National Right To Life Committee, Inc. in regards to the above styled matter.

Please direct all further correspondence regarding this matter to me.

Sincerely,

James Bopp, Jr.
Attorney at Law

cc: Dr. Carolyn Gerster
Ms. Anne O'Donnell
Mr. William Olson

kgt

903087

LAW OFFICES
FRANCIS & BRAMES
SUITE 101 SYCAMORE BUILDING
19 SOUTH SIXTH STREET
TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA 47807

PM

15¢ OTHER WINDMILLS HOMES

Mr. David Federman
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K Street N.W.
Washington, DC 20463

79 JUL 12 PM 12:09

July 10, 1979

MEMORANDUM TO: Marge Emmons

FROM: Elissa T. Garr

SUBJECT: Express Advocacy Chart

Please have the attached Memo and chart distributed to the Commission on an informational basis. (Please deliver it to all staff who receive MUR material.) Thank you.

Please return the original to this office.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

79 JUL 10 P4:51

July 10, 1979

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE COMMISSION

FROM: WILLIAM C. OLDAKER
GENERAL COUNSEL

SUBJECT: EXPRESS ADVOCACY CHART
"Pro-Life" MURS

Attached for your consideration is the Express Advocacy Chart which was developed following the Commission's initial discussion of the "Pro-Life" MURs on June 26, 1979. The Chart lists all of the MURs generated by complaints filed by NARAL plus MUR 946, filed by an individual complainant and MUR 996, the RAD referral.

EXPRESS ADVOCACY

MUR IDENTIFICATION & RESPONDENTS	WORDS OF ADVOCACY	IDENTIFICATION OF CANDIDATE	LINKAGE OF CANDIDATE TO ISSUE	TYPE OF PUBLICATION	ACTION TAKEN §441d	§433	§434	§441b
MUR 960-(Weeder) fe Amendment PAC, South Dakota	"ATTENTION ALL VOTERS IN SELECTING YOUR CANDIDATES YOU are voting on a life or death issue" a) "These candidates respect the rights of the defenseless. They will respect yours! VOTE PRO-LIFE!"	Lists only candidates who support a Human Life Amendment.	Opening Statement: "The following candidates support a Human Life Amendment."	Flyer	RTB			
	"A Vote For These Candidates IS A VOTE FOR LIFE" b) VOTE FOR THOSE WHO VALUE LIFE-THEY WILL VALUE YOURS!"	Same as Above	Same as above	Flyer				
Life Amendment PAC, Inc.	LAPAC Endorses and urges your support of the a) following Pro-Life candidates to the House and Senate of the United States on November 7, 1978"	Lists only and endorses Federal candidates Pressler, Abdnor, and Thorsness, pro-life candidates.	Direct discussion of these pro-life candidates' positions on abortion	Flyer	RTB	RTB	RTB	
	"Vote FOR THE UNBORN THERE IS A DIFFERENCE!" b) "Leo Thorsness is strongly opposed to our tax dollars being used for abortions." "VOTE PRO-LIFE TUESDAY, NOV. 7, 1978"	Names of both congressional candidates appear with views on Life Amendment--candidate supporting pro-life postion indicated by "X".	Quote attributed to each candidate appears under name.	Flyer				
MUR 984-(Pesce) ARIZONANS FOR LIFE PAC	"VOTE FOR THE UNBORN IN THE NOV. 7 ELECTION" "Take this brochure with you to the polls a) and vote ONLY for the candidates recommended below." "VOTE PRO-LIFE ON NOVEMBER 7"	The brochure lists only candidates whose position is clearly pro-life.	"THE ELECTION OF THESE PRO-LIFE CANDIDATES WILL HELP ENSURE THE SUCCESS OF OUR GOAL.." followed by a list of candidates running for State and Federal offices.	Brochure	RTB RECOMMENDED	RTB	RTB	

EXPRESS ADVOCACY

MUR IDENTIFICATION & RESPONDENTS	WORDS OF ADVOCACY	IDENTIFICATION OF CANDIDATE	LINKAGE OF CANDIDATE TO ISSUE	TYPE OF PUBLICATION	ACTION TAKEN §441d	§433	§434	§441b
MUR 984-(Pesce) con't ARIZONANS FOR LIFE PAC	b) "Study the candidate's responses, then urge your friends and relatives to join you by going to the polls on September 12 and casting the victorious votes for only pro-life candidates."	Lists all candidates' responses (yes-no) to questionaire on abortion-related issues.	"Yes answers are pro-life."	Pre-Primary Booklet "THE CANDIDATES - HOW THEY STAND"	RTB	RTB RECOMMENDED	RTB	
MUR 885-(Perkins) PRO-LIFE ACTION COUNCIL	a) "Vote for the Unborn on Nov. 7th!" "The unborn cannot speak for themselves but you can speak for them with your vote on Tuesday, November 7th!" We must elect men and women who will work for passage of a Human Life Amendment to the Constitution."	Photos of Senatorial candidates and their position on the Human Life Amendment and abortion. Lists four candidates for the House with views on abortion.	Direct discussion of each candidate's position on abortion.	Pre-election Brochure				
	b) "Vote for the Unborn in the June 6th Primary" "You will help elect candidates who will stand up and defend the most basic of all human rights - the Right to Life! If you will vote on June 6th the election of pro-life candidates will be ensured."	Lists candidates for state & federal primary elections with their views on abortion.	Same as above	Pre-primary Brochure	RCTB	RCTB	RCTB	

EXPRESS ADVOCACY

MUR IDENTIFICATION & RESPONDENTS	WORDS OF ADVOCACY	IDENTIFICATION OF CANDIDATE	LINKAGE OF CANDIDATE TO ISSUE	TYPE OF PUBLICATION	ACTION TAKEN §441d	§433	§434	§441b
MUR 957-(Thedford) Massachusetts Citizens for Life	Headline: "EVERYTHING YOU NEED TO KNOW TO VOTE PRO-LIFE" (3/4" letters). "The Mass. Citizens For Life election survey is an educational service to help you cast an informed vote when you go to the polls on September 19th." "Join us in voting in the Primary and together let us make our votes shout against the continuing killing of the unborn." "...your vote in the primary will make the critical difference in electing pro-life candidates." "Your vote is the best protection..." "-vote pro-life on September 19th..." The last page contains the statement "VOTE PRO-LIFE" and a blank ballot to be filled out and taken to the polls.	Photographs only of candidates in agreement with MCL's position on pro-life. Code used to identify candidates position: "Y"=Supports Pro-Life "N"=Opposes Pro-Life. Pro-Life candidates always listed first.	Direct discussion of each candidate's position on pro-life.	Flyer	RTB	RTB	RTB	
MUR 956-(Pesce) Right to Life Chapters of the Eighth District	a) "(name) has consistently voted for tax funding of abortion in opposition to the Right to Life position" "(name) will vote the Right to Life position..."	Each candidate's views discussed in a separate box on a one page ad. No layout differentiation.	Direct discussion of each candidate's position on abortion.	Newspaper Ad.		RTB Recommended	RTB	
	b) "(name) has consistently voted to spend our tax dollars for abortions." "(name) would vote to stop spending our tax dollars to pay for abortions and would co-sponsor an amendment to outlaw abortions."	Same as Above	Same as Above	Flyer		RTB Recommended	RTB	

EXPRESS ADVOCACY

MUR IDENTIFICATION & RESPONDENTS	WORDS OF ADVOCACY	IDENTIFICATION OF CANDIDATE	LINKAGE OF CANDIDATE TO ISSUE	TYPE OF PUBLICATION	ACTION TAKEN §441d	§433	§434	§441b
MUR 956-(Pesce) con't Mr. Guerin Bernardin (allegedly-Director of RTL-8th)	"We hope te elect a man who will best represent us in the U.S. Congress." "Can a Catholic in good conscience vote for a man who continues to spend our tax dollars to pay for abortion? I can't, and my prayer is that you can't either."	Discussion of the candidate's views on abortion throughout the text of letter. Approximately 15 lines on the candidate supporting RTL's position: 7 for his opponent.	Same as Above	Letter	RTB Recommended			
Citizens for Deckard	(No Express Advocacy Allegation)	--	--	--			RTB Recommended	
MUR 959-(Perkins) Right to Life Committee of New Mexico	"We must be counted in the primaries on Tuesday June 6... If we do not, we must share the blame for allowing the extermination of the unborn."	Code used to indentify candidate's position on pro-life. +Pro-Life -Pro-Abortion NC-Not Committed POB-Personnally opposed but... Blank-Has not been contacted.	List of candidates with use of code to indicate position.	Newsletter		RTB	RTB	RTB
MUR 958 -(Federman National Right to Life Committee (Voter Identification Program)	(No Express Advocacy Allegation)	---	---	--		RTB	RTB	RTB

EXPRESS ADVOCACY

MUR IDENTIFICATION & RESPONDENTS	WORDS OF ADVOCACY	IDENTIFICATION OF CANDIDATE	LINKAGE OF CANDIDATE TO ISSUE	TYPE OF PUBLICATION	ACTION TAKEN §441d	§433	§434	§441b
********** MUR 961-(M. Brown) **********								
Life Amendment PAC, Inc.	(No Express Advocacy Allegation)	---	---	---		RTB		
National Right to Life, PAC.	(No Express Advocacy Allegation)	---	---	---		RTB		
********** MUR 946-(M.Brown) **********								
Life Amendment PAC, Inc.	(No Express Advocacy Allegation)	---	---	---		RTB	RTB Recommended	
National Pro-Life PAC	(No Express Advocacy Allegation)	---	---	---		RTB	RTB Recommended	
********** MUR 996-(M.Brown) **********	RAD REFERRAL ---- AFFILIATION BETWEEN VARIOUS PRO-LIFE GROUPS					RTB REPORT IN PROCESS		

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.
President, National Right To Life
Committee, Inc.
National Press Building
529 14th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20045

RE: MUR 958

Dear Dr. Gerster:

The Federal Election Commission has received a complaint which alleged the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. has committed certain violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 958.

The Commission has reason to believe that the matters alleged therein state a violation of 2 U.S.C. §433, §434 and §441b. Specifically, it appears that NRLC's Voter Identification Program get out the vote activities constitute expenditures under the Act. As such, NRLC may be a political committee under 2 U.S.C. §431(d) with the obligation to register under 2 U.S.C. §433 and file reports under 2 U.S.C. §434. Alternatively, NRLC may have violated 2 U.S.C. §441b which prohibits such expenditures by corporations.

Under the Act, you have an opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken against you. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Additionally, please submit answers to the enclosed interrogatories. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath.

The Commission is under a duty to investigate this matter expeditiously. Therefore, your response should be submitted within ten days after your receipt of this notification.

If you have any questions, please contact David Federman, the attorney assigned to this matter, at 202/523-4073.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. Section 437g(a)(3)(B) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the investigation to be made public.

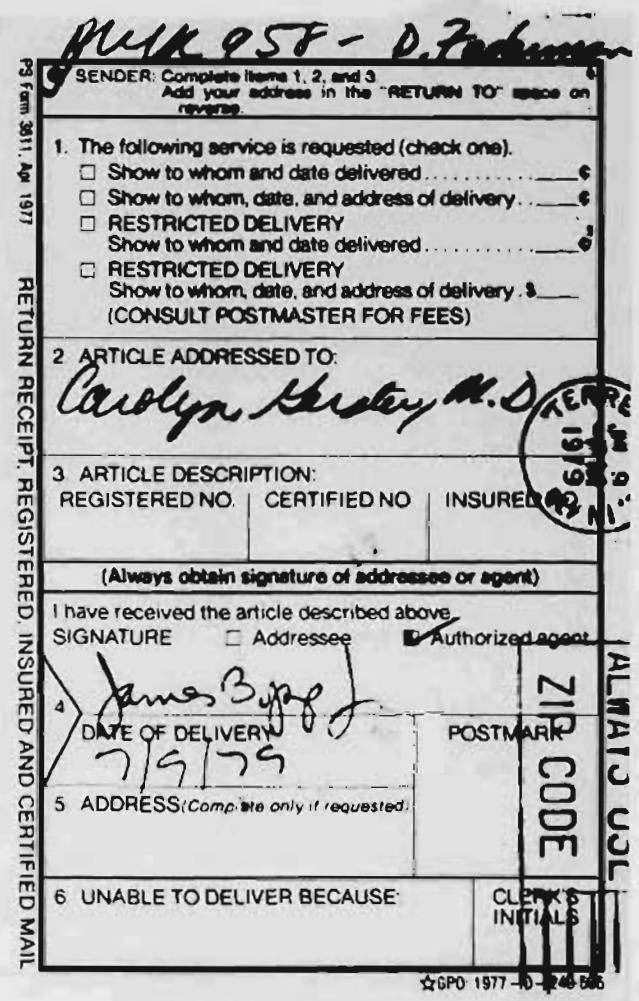
If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please have such counsel so notify us in writing.

Sincerely,

William C. Øldaker
General Counsel

Enclosures

Complaint
Interrogatories



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Sincerely,

William C. Oldaker
General Counsel

Enclosures

Complaint
Interrogatories

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Interrogatories MUR 958

1. Is the National Right to Life Committee ("NRLC") incorporated? If so, please submit the articles of incorporation, by-laws, and constitution of the NRLC, Inc.

2. If answer to (1) is yes, is NRLC incorporated for liability purposes only?

3. Is the NRLC a membership organization?

4. If answer to (3) yes, please state the qualifications for membership.

5. Does the NRLC conduct a Voter-Identification Program? ("V.I.P.")

6. If answer to (5) is yes, please state the purposes of the V.I.P.

7. Does the NRLC use the V.I.P. to identify those voters who are "pro-life."

8. Does the NRLC utilize the results of the V.I.P. to encourage "pro-life" voters to vote?

9. Does the NRLC encourage the "pro-life" voters to vote for the "pro-life" candidates?

10. In which Congressional districts was the V.I.P. conducted in 1978?

11. In which Congressional districts will the V.I.P. be conducted in 1979 and 1980?

12. What is the cost of conducting the V.I.P. in each Congressional district? Nationwide?

13. Has the NRLC given the results of the V.I.P. to candidates for federal office?

14. If answer to (13) is yes, please state which candidates received the results?

15. Has the NRLC given the results of the V.I.P. to any political committees?

16. If answer to (15) is yes, please state which political committees were given the results.

17. Has the NRLC given the results of the V.I.P. to any groups whatsoever?

18. If answer to (17) is yes, please state which groups were given the results.

NOTE: The term "results" as used in questions #8-18 refers to the individual voter preference data and not the overall voter population preference data.

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
)
National Right to Life)
Committee, Inc.)

MUR 958

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary to the Federal Election Commission, certify that on June 26, 1979, the Commission, meeting in an executive session at which a quorum was present, determined by a vote of 4-2 to take the following actions in MUR 958:

1. FIND REASON TO BELIEVE that NRLC has violated 2 U.S.C. §433; §434; and §44lb.

2. Send the letter with questions attached to the General Counsel's June 18, 1979 report in this matter.

Commissioners Harris, McGarry, Thomson, and Tiernan voted affirmatively for these actions; Commissioners Aikens and Friedersdorf dissented.

Attest:

6/28/79
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

corr. 7/3/79

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
)
National Right to Life)
Committee, Inc.)

MUR 958

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Commissioners Harris, McGarry, Thomson, and Tiernan voted affirmatively for these actions; Commissioners Aikens and Friedersdorf abstained.

Attest:

6/28/79
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM TO: CHARLES STEELE

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS

DATE: JUNE 20, 1979

SUBJECT: MUR 958 - First General Counsel's Report dated 6-18-79: Received in OCS 6-18-79, 12:49

The above-named document was circulated on a 48 hour vote basis at 4:00, June 18, 1979.

Commissioner Thomson submitted an objection at 2:50, June 20, 1979, thereby placing MUR 958 on the Executive Session Agenda for Tuesday, June 26, 1979.

June 18, 1979

MEMORANDUM TO: Marge Emmons

FROM: Jane Colgrove

SUBJECT: MUR 958

Please have the attached First General Counsel's Report ON MUR 958 distributed to the Commission on a 48 hour tally basis.

Thank you.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

79 JUN 18 P2: 49

DATE AND TIME OF TRANSMITTAL
BY OGC TO THE COMMISSION JUN 18 1979

MUR # 958
DATE COMPLAINT RECEIVED
BY OGC 6/1/79

STAFF MEMBER Federman

COMPLAINANT'S NAME: National Abortion Rights Action League

RESPONDENT'S NAME: National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

RELEVANT STATUTE: 2 U.S.C. §431; §433; §434; §441b

INTERNAL REPORTS CHECKED: Life Amendment Political Action Committee (LAPAC)

FEDERAL AGENCIES CHECKED: None

SUMMARY OF ALLEGATIONS

The National Abortion Rights Action League ("NARAL") has alleged that the National Right to Life Committee ("NRLC"), by conducting its "Voter Identification Program," ("V.I.P.") has violated 2 U.S.C. §441b. It further alleges that the V.I.P. was used in 1978 and will also be used in 1980.

NARAL's allegations are two-fold: first, that the V.I.P. is itself violative of 2 U.S.C. §441b and second, that NRLC violates 2 U.S.C. §441b by either giving the survey results to the Life Amendment Political Action Committee ("LAPAC" - a registered committee) or simply by using the results of the survey to support those federal candidates who are sympathetic to NRLC's viewpoint.

NRLC VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROGRAM

The NRLC V.I.P. is a nationwide telephone survey of the views of registered voters on abortion.1/ As stated in a letter from NRLC's president, its objective is

> . . . to determine accurately which voters will vote right-to-life as

1/ According to pamphlet entitled "National Right To Life Committee, Inc. VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROGRAM - Phase I - VOTER SURVEY PROJECT. (Appendix A).

> the qualifying issue, those who will not, those who don't care, and those who can be convinced to vote the issue.[2]

The survey is organized by dividing the country into regions, then subdividing by states, and then further division into the Congressional districts. Ultimately, the V.I.P. is intended to elicit the views on abortion of every registered voter in each Congressional district.

Apparently no attempt is made to predetermine the views or political affiliation of the voters. The survey itself is limited to the abortion issue. No candidates, either pro or anti abortion, are mentioned. The survey does include a question as to whether the voter would vote for or against a candidate because of the candidate's position on the abortion question. The final survey question asks the political affiliation of the voter.

On page 6 of the pamphlet it is stated, "Properly used, a well-organized, full constituency voter identification survey can produce a 5% to 10% increase in a candidate's vote." It further states, ". . . when we complete our survey and organize our get-out-the-vote operation, WE CAN DELIVER THE MARGIN OF VICTORY FOR PRO-LIFE CANDIDATES!"

The NRLC V.I.P. pamphlet lists four additional steps which should follow the completion of the survey. They are as follows:

1. A DRIVE TO EDUCATE and move the undecided voter into our ranks.

2. A DRIVE TO INCREASE the zeal and level of activity of those who are pro-life right now.

3. A DRIVE TO IDENTIFY and motivate previously unregistered pro-life voters.

4. A DRIVE ON ELECTION DAY to remind pro-life voters to get out and vote.

The NRLC V.I.P. pamphlet concluded with the following paragraph:

> You have provided the foundation for all of these steps. By the time they are ready to be implemented, your batteries will be recharged and you will be able to help deliver the pro-life votes which you have worked so hard to identify. (Emphasis added).

2/ Letter included in Appendix A.

In addition to providing the NRLC pamphlet describing the V.I.P., NARAL has submitted with its complaint a letter to right to life supporters from NRLC's president and two articles in order to substantiate its allegations.

The letter from NRLC's president (Attachment B) begins by discussing NRLC's victories in electing pro-life candidates over pro-abortion candidates in a number of Congressional, senatorial and gubernatorial races. The letter then states,

> In almost all of these races it is an unquestionable fact that the magnificent effort given by thousands of right to life workers in NRLC's Voter Identification Project meant the difference of victory to people who will work to save the lives of thousands of babies.

The letter continues,

> Also, you can mail or contact the undecided to try to sway them, as well as go to the pro-lifers to strengthen them, to educate them, to ask for help and most importantly, to get them out to vote. (Emphasis added).

In an article in the May 5, 1978 Cedar Rapids Gazette reporting the results of tne V.I.P. in Linn County, Iowa (Attachment C), it is stated that :

> Results of the survey will be passed along to candidates to inform them of voter feelings on abortion matters, and pro-life voters will be informed of candidate positions on abortion issues.

The December 1978 issue of The Communicator (the official newspaper of the Indiana Right To Life, Inc.) in an article entitled, "The President's Report" states the following:

> Both the Voter Identification Program and the newly formed political action committee were used in the 8th Congressional District to help elect a new pro-life Congressman.

The article continued,

> Through the Voter Identification Program we can identify those people in the community who also share our concern that we have not

met before through our activities. And, we can present them with information which will help them make informed pro-life choices on Election Day.3/

PRELIMINARY LEGAL ANALYSIS

The evidence presented indicates that the V.I.P. itself does not appear to be violative of the Act. The survey is conducted in a non-partisan manner; candidates are not mentioned; and all the questions are directed to gathering opinions on the abortion issue. Although the Act might apply to those subsequent get out the vote activities of the NRLC, no section of the Act appears to prohibit or regulate the survey itself.

NARAL has alleged that the NRLC has violated 2 U.S.C. §441b by contributing the results of the survey to LAPAC as well as to particular federal candidates. Although it seems that the survey results were utilized and are going to be utilized to support "pro-life" candidates, no evidence has been submitted indicating that the support is given directly through contributing the survey results, rather than through NRLC get-out-the-vote activities on behalf of "pro-life" candidates.

It does appear that the results of the V.I.P. are used by the NRLC to get out the vote for "pro-life" candidates. Under 11 C.F.R. §100.7 (b)(4) non-partisan activity designed to encourage individuals to register to vote or to vote is exempt from the Act's definition of expenditure. However, non-partisan activity means that "no effort is made to determine the party or candidate preference of individuals before encouraging them to register to vote or to vote." 11 C.F.R. §100.7(b)(4). The evidence shows that the NRLC get out the vote activities may not be non-partisan, as only the "pro-life" voters are encouraged by the NRLC to vote, presumably, for the "pro-life" candidates. Therefore, the expenses involved in these activities may constitute expenditures under the Act. If these expenditures exceeded or exceed $1000 during any calendar year, the NRLC would constitute a political committee within the meaning of 2 U.S.C. §431(d). As a political committee, NRLC is still permitted, under 11 C.F.R. §114.12(a), to incorporate, if it does so for liability purposes only. Since NRLC has neither filed a statement of organization nor periodic disclosure reports with the Commission, it appears to be in violation of 2 U.S.C. §433 and §434.

Alternatively, if it is found that the NRLC is incorporated for reasons other then liability, possible violations of 2 U.S.C. §441b would exist.

3/ The issue of whether Indiana Right To Life has violated the Act is the subject of MUR 956.

RECOMMENDATION

1. Find reason to believe that NRLC has violated 2 U.S.C. §433; §434; and §441b.

2. Send attached letter with questions.

Attachments

1. NRLC Voter Identification Program - Attachment A
2. Letter to Right to Life Supporter - Attachment B
3. Article in 5/5/78 Cedar Rapids Gazette - Attachment C
4. Letter to respondent.

ATTACHMENT

Doug

APR - 6 1983

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROGRAM

Phase I VOTER SURVEY PROJECT

RTL 1233351

The National Right to Life Committee wishes to thank the following people for their special help in preparing this booklet:

National Project Directors
Voter Identification Project
Felicia R. Goeken — Illinois
Gloria Klein — Michigan

Others who participated:

Virgil E. Bertke — Ohio
Bill Brueggemeyer — Ohio
Darlene L. Degenhardt — Illinois
Carolyn Huss — Indiana
David Kaiser — Ohio
Robert McKeon — New York
Michele McRae — Indiana
Jane Muldoon — Michigan
Judy Tomsic — California
John C. Willke, M.D. — Ohio

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529 14 Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20045

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national
RIGHT TO LIFE
committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE — Suite 557 National Press Bldg.
529 14th Street, N.W. — Washington, D.C. 20045

FROM THE PRESIDENT

The proof of political effectiveness is the winning vote. Getting that winning vote depends upon strong organization, strong planning, and careful strategy. The foundation of this kind of political effectiveness is knowing the voters.

The National Right to Life Committee, Inc., has launched a voter survey and identification project which will identify voters on the pro-life issues in every voting precinct in the United States and its territories. The objective is not to develop a conversation piece but to determine accurately which voters will vote the right-to-life as the qualifying issue, those who will not, those who don't care, and those who can be convinced to vote the issue.

After field testing in California, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, and New York, the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., is pleased to present this VOTER SURVEY PROJECT manual to facilitate the work of our loyal and dedicated members who must carry out the hard work of finding the voters.

Be encouraged that by winning the campaigns and the legal protection for life, you are winning life thanks of those who may never know you to thank you. But these United States, our Armies, and the world will be better for your effort.

Mildred F. Jefferson, M.D., President
National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
June 3, 1977

FOREWORD

Pro-life people active in the Right to Life movement have come to realize that we must be very creative if we are to defeat the forces who stand against us. We must develop and implement innovative programs which will capture the attention of America's citizens and her leadership. Pressure, upon those who govern, must be brought to bear by citizens of every station in life.

Time and again, the "caring voters" of this nation have created that pressure by exercising their right to vote. Through education, we can organize and influence a majority of citizens to vote their commitment to life.

You have volunteered to become part of this mammoth effort. With your help, we will succeed.

INTRODUCTION

Candidates for public office have always felt a compelling need to know their level of support prior to election day. During the late 1800's and early 1900's, political machine leaders directed their precinct captains to visit each registered voter in their precinct as many as three times before election day. The captains kept sharp watch as strength shifted from one candidate to another and reported their observations regularly to party headquarters.

As the election drew near, precinct captains visited undecided voters with new literature and more persuasive arguments. As an undecided voter was moved from one column to another, the new totals were sent to headquarters.

On election day, the captain, working with his list of "favorable voters," spent the day making sure that each had voted. In the strongest machine areas, each captain had a quota to fill and he worked as if his job depended on it . . . because it usually did.

Following WWII, Americans, in large numbers, began to lose respect for politicians and the political process. Many simply stopped voting. Precinct organization fell apart, politicians lost touch with the public and volunteer workers became hard to find.

In the late 1950's and early 1960's, politicians believed that careful political polling could identify their main support groups. Mass media advertising, particularly television, was directed specifically at those groups to get them to vote. There were substantial drawbacks to that system. First, it was very expensive. Second, the voters did not always vote, and when they did, many voted for the opposition. Third, the candidates still had very little idea where they stood with the voters until the votes were in and counted.

In order to discern voter support, candidates began to form their own volunteer organizations. Two major problems prevailed. First, since most of the workers were campaign volunteers, their energy was limited. Second, even the most popular candidates had trouble recruiting enough volunteers to fulfill campaign needs.

The question then became: what could candidates, facing limitations of money and small volunteer staffs, do to maximize the number of their supporters and make sure they voted? The most widely accepted answer resulted in the development of the Voter Identification Surveys used in politics today.

Two points pertaining to voter surveys must be understood before we look at their use by Right to Life groups.

A) People tend to confuse "voter identification survey" with a "public opinion poll." The survey, as we use it, *cannot* be projected to apply to the electorate as a whole. *We can speak only for those persons we have questioned.*

B) Properly used, a well organized, full constituency voter identification survey can produce a 5% to 10% increase in a candidate's vote.

Now, a quick look at Right to Life survey efforts before we start on the program.

The Voter I.D. Survey was first used by the Right to Life group in Westchester, New York. Adaptations were used in several states. Where entire congressional districts were completed—a solid majority of the households were found to be pro-life. Local Right to Life groups advised pro-life voters of the positions of both candidates concerning abortion. Happily, in most cases, the pro-life candidates won. Some actually won by majorities which startled even the most astute political observers.

As pro-life candidates continue to win, incumbent elected officials are forced to reevaluate their positions. Many former fence-straddlers realize the value of declaring their support for the Human Life Amendment and other pro-life legislative measures. Stunning victories in one district can bring new support to our movement from politicians in districts hundreds of miles away.

As more candidates take note of our Voter I.D. operations, they are impressed by what they see. Compared to the average political campaign, RTL has many times more volunteers—and they are more deeply committed! Pro-life households appear to constitute a majority of homes in most legislative districts. The importance of this fact is that when we complete our survey and organize our get-out-the-vote operation, WE CAN DELIVER THE MARGIN OF VICTORY FOR PRO-LIFE CANDIDATES!

This is what the voter survey is all about. It is the best tool we have to show political candidates and office holders the true depth of pro-life feeling among registered voters. It also provides two important direct benefits not available through other programs. Both of these relate to our second mission—education of the public. First, the program will identify those registered voters who are undecided on abortion. We can target them for further educational efforts. Second, the block of pro-life voters we identify provides us with an immense pool of potential volunteers. Once their level of awareness regarding abortion is increased, these people can be recruited to serve in any number of ways. For the first time, your local organization will know the feelings of each voting household in your area.

WHEN WE ORGANIZE PROPERLY, TRAIN WELL AND WORK DILIGENTLY, WE WILL BECOME THE FIRST CITIZEN LOBBYING GROUP IN HISTORY TO COMPLETE A TASK OF THIS MAGNITUDE!

To understand how each of the thousands of workers involved in this project relates to the overall program, here is a review of the management structure. Each volunteer, from the national cordinator to the local telephone canvasser, must understand and appreciate the responsibilities and dedication of all other project volunteers. This understanding will bring greater cooperation and produce a spirit of common purpose as we embark upon one of the greatest efforts ever attempted by concerned citizens of this country.

NATIONAL—N.R.L.C. REGIONAL SURVEY COORDINATOR

The country will be divided into regions. Each region will be supervised by an "N.R.L.C. Regional Survey Coordinator."

STATE—STATE SURVEY COORDINATOR

Each state will appoint a "State Survey Coordinator." This coordinator will have full responsibility for the program within the state and will report directly to the state Right to Life group president, and to the N.R.L.C. Regional Survey Coordinator.

STATE—C.D. GROUP SURVEY COORDINATOR

The State Survey Coordinator will sub-divide the state into groups of approximately five congressional districts (C.D.'s) each. Some groupings may be less than five where geography is a problem. Each of these C.D. groupings will be supervised by a "C.D. Group Survey Coordinator."

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT SURVEY SUPERVISOR

Each congressional district will have a "C.D. Survey Supervisor" to manage project operations within the C.D.

Let's look at the numbers involved. A typical congressional district has 465,000 residents. Of these, about 325,000 (70%) are eligible to vote, but only about 195,000 (60%) are registered. These 195,000 registered voters make up approximately 103,000 households (about 1.9 voters per household.) We will be able to locate phone numbers for about 75%, or 77,500 households. The personnel requirement within each C.D. is based on the need to contact each of these 77,500 households. It should be expanded or contracted only if your C.D. has a significantly larger or smaller number of calls to make.

TEAM CAPTAIN SUPERVISORS

A C.D. with 77,500 calls will require 7 "Team Captain Supervisors," each directing 4 Team Captains.

TEAM CAPTAINS

Each Team Captain will be responsible for directing a team which will be assigned 2,200 calls.

Each team will consist of 10 volunteer phoners who will accept responsibility for 220 calls each. Each captain must also recruit 3 substitutes to help out in emergency situations.

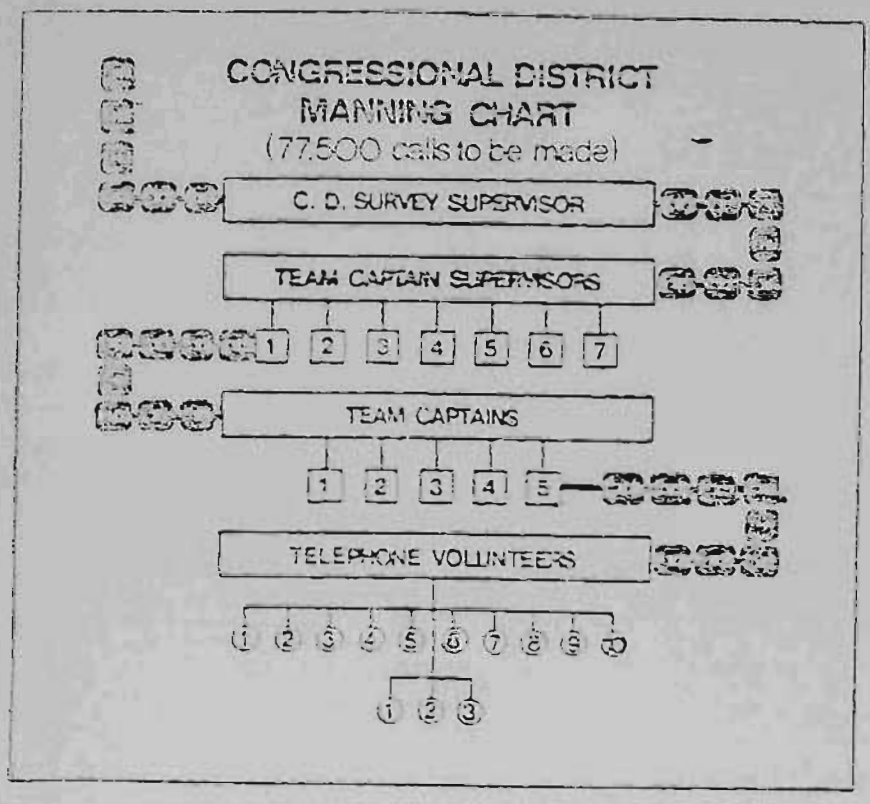


Figure A

So, you see, each person represents an important link in a very long chain. The strength of that chain will be directly related to each volunteer's unselfish cooperation. This means that each of us must follow our job descriptions accurately. Every questionnaire and reporting form must be the same and, all records must be kept in the same precise manner. Our field tests have provided a great opportunity to learn by doing. A few very important items stand out.

LESSONS WE HAVE LEARNED

☐☐ DO IT BY THE BOOK! There is a reason for each step, each piece of the organizational plan, and each question on the survey.

☐☐ If one State Coordinator, one C.D. Coordinator, one Team Captain or one telephone volunteer changes the methodology or a single question . . . they will have broken the chain of reporting in this nationwide survey!

☐☐ Record keeping and adherence to the chain of command is vital to achieving the full benefit not only of the survey portion of this effort, but of the total program!

If we organize as recommended, and if we use the questionaire and record keeping system described in this handbook, we will achieve the degree of organization needed to pass and ratify the Human Life Amendment.

THE TEAM CAPTAIN

Your job begins approximately eight weeks before the date on which telephoning is to begin. You will have two responsibilities during this time.

A) Add phone numbers to your voter registration list and divide the list for your volunteers.

B) Recruit and train 10 phone-volunteers and three substitutes.

Note: Some organizations may wish to assign the task of phone contacting to persons who are at the team captain supervisor level because it is a more manageable task.

FOLLOW THESE STEPS

STEP 1. Secure Voter Registration Lists – for 2200 registered voters from your Team Captain Supervisor. The supervisors, working with the C.D. Survey Supervisor, will have obtained this list from local boards of election or friendly candidates. It is imperative that you work only from a list of *registered* voters to prevent wasting valuable time on people who can't vote because they're not registered!

STEP 2 Recruit people for "phone numbering" — If at all possible, arrange to do the numbering in one location. You may find a junior high or high school class willing to accept the task for several teams or, recruit a few volunteers to come to your home and complete the job in an evening.

There are two sources for matching phone numbers to your voter lists; the city or "criss-cross" directory, and the telephone directory. Each has a specific application to the voter list numbering process. Using either source alone, you will waste untold hours calling unregistered voters!

If your voter registration list is in house number (street) order, you can quickly phone number it by using a "criss-cross" directory. Your local phone company marketing department can tell you which company publishes a "criss-cross" for your area. If your registration list is in alphabetical or any other form, you will have to use the telephone book to secure numbers.

A. Place the telephone number to the right of the voter's name. We will need the left hand margin for other notes. (See Figure B)

B. There may be registered voters with no phone numbers and there will be, in most cases, several voters with the same phone number i.e. members of the same family. Bracket the family members or multiple voters in the same household, and list the phone number only once.

STEP 3 Recruit your telephone crew — You will need ten persons, each willing to call a list of 220 households and ask the survey questions. You will also need at least three substitutes in the event that some of your regulars cannot complete their assignment. Your substitutes can also be used for other jobs and distribute data sheets and place any "clean-up" calls required.

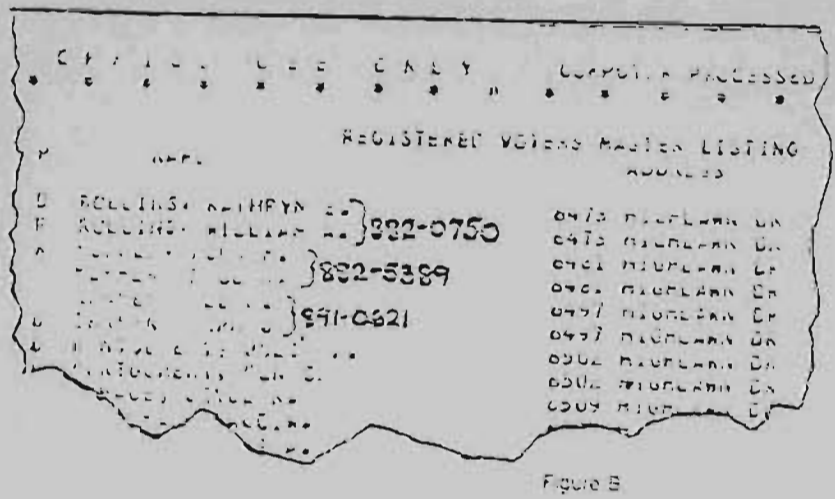
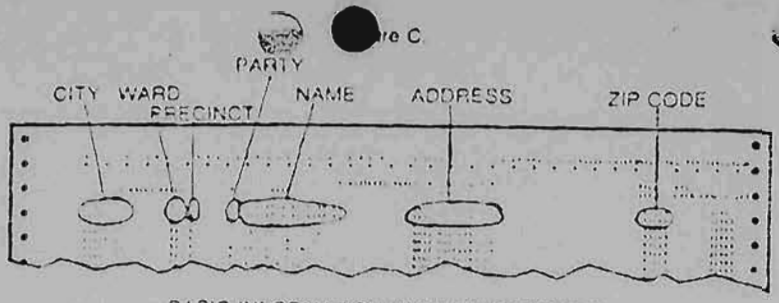
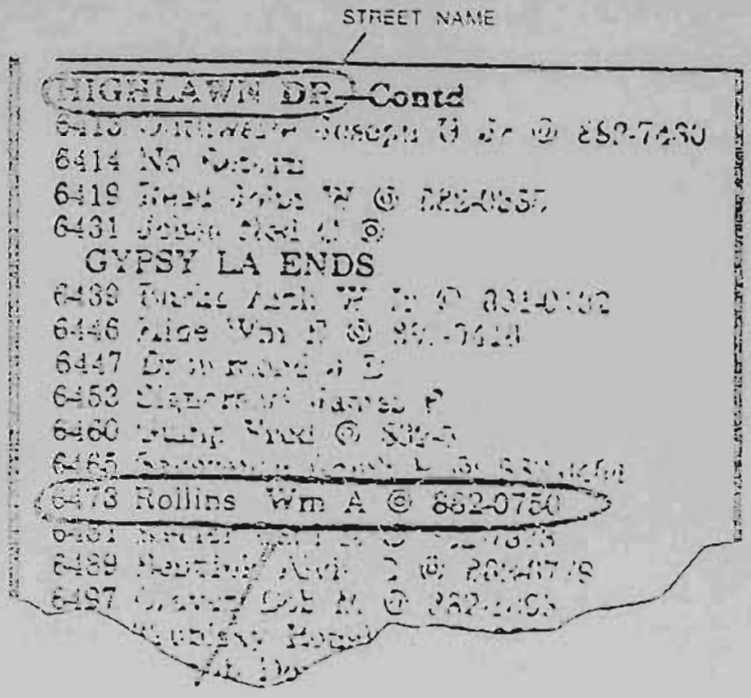


Figure B



BASIC INFORMATION IS TAKEN FROM THE VOTER REGISTRATION LIST.

STREET NAME



LOCATE PHONE NUMBER IN "CITY DIRECTORY" OR CROSS-CROSS. MATCH STREET ADDRESS AND NAME WITH REGISTRATION LIST BEFORE MARKING PHONE NUMBER ONTO REGISTRATION LIST

Figure D

STEP 4. Train your volunteers -- Plan a group training session two weeks before phoning is to begin. (If you feel that those who cannot be at your meeting are avoiding it because they don't want to be involved, find replacements immediately.) Walk each person through every section of this manual, but spend most of the time on the "telephoners" section. "Role playing" is sometimes difficult to do, but it is a great training tool. Attempt to get all of your people to go through several sample calls with you at the meeting. They should also call you at least three times over the next two weeks to try the script out over the phone. Critique each call.

Note: Most telephone companies have booklets available with helpful hints regarding telephone surveys, or sales techniques. If possible, secure one for each volunteer and review it carefully with them.

If you find that some of your volunteers are not able to do the phone survey, find other jobs for them. If they are doing a poor job, you can count on their reduced accuracy and undependable results.

STEP 5. Distribute the lists and forms, begin the phoning -- Each telephone volunteer should receive a section of the voter registration list which contains 220 phone numbers. At the same time, distribute an initial quantity of 30 record forms per phoner.

Deliver the lists to the telephone volunteer about two days before phoning is to begin. This will give you an opportunity to run through the program one last time before actual work begins. Ask the telephoner to complete a minimum of 55 calls per week. Best calling hours are between 6:30 P.M. and 9:30 P.M., Monday through Thursday.

Fridays are usually unproductive.

If the program calls for it, calls can be between 10:00 A.M. and 4:30 P.M. on Saturdays, with fair results. Sundays between 4:00 P.M. and 9:00 P.M.

These hours are recommended because they are the times when people are home and willing to talk. If you must do day time calling, because of a shortage of volunteers, call between 9:00 A.M. - 11:30 A.M. and 1:30 P.M. - 5:00 P.M.

STEP 6. Follow-Up with phoners - A Team Captain must be a Doubting Thomas. In a phone program, you can assume that what you see is *all* you get.

A Team Captain's most important responsibility is to be of assistance to the volunteers. Be alert to potential problems (lost data sheets, mistakes in record keeping, improper phone techniques) and deal with them before they become unmanageable.

A weekly visit to each of your volunteers is the most positive way to prevent time-wasting improper procedures.

If a phone volunteer finds that meeting the call quota is too difficult suggest that you will find someone to assist with the rest of the assigned calls.

Remember, this program must be completed accurately and on time. Otherwise, its value will be greatly reduced.

STEP 7. Data Collection — Personal collection of completed survey forms is the best management tool you have.

During your scheduled weekly visit to each volunteer, review each form the volunteer has completed. With the volunteer's help, compare the data on the record form with information on the registration list. The preferred method is for you to read the record form while the volunteer reads the information to you from the registration list.

If you cannot read the writing, or the responses are not clearly marked, help the volunteer transfer the data carefully onto new sheets that can be read and understood by all who must work with them.

Each record sheet will contain blocks for nine respondents. Provide 30 sheets per phoner when you give them their registration lists. Always carry a sufficient quantity of blank record forms so that you can replenish the volunteers' supply during your weekly visits.

Note: The Voter Identification Project will succeed or fail based on the abilities of the grass-roots workers who serve as Team Captains and telephone volunteers. All the management structure and all "the best laid plans of mice and men," are no better or worse than the willingness of those who must implement a program to do so accurately. The procedures outlined in this section, and the section which follows, may seem cumbersome. In fact, some may seem downright unreasonable! They are here because they are based on the experiences of people who have logged thousands of hours working in volunteer programs.

Your time and the time of each person involved in the program is a precious commodity. That time is worth giving only if it is well spent. Short cuts to the systems recommended here may result in hundreds of wasted hours of volunteer-time at some other point in the program. If you must short cut anything, please review that decision first with your Team Captain Supervisor. Make sure the decision will not damage the effort in the long run.

TELEPHONE VOLUNTEER INSTRUCTIONS

You are the foundation of the program. You are the only person who will be talking to the voter. Your contact may well be the only one the voter has ever had from a representative of Right to Life. If you prepare yourself well, refuse to be drawn into discussions or arguments on the issue and concentrate on the job at hand, that contact will be a pleasant one for you and for the voter.

The basics of telephone canvassing are quite simple but so is riding a bike once you've taken your first few spills. Like learning to ride, telephone work requires some practice. Call your Team Captain two or three times and try out your style. Do the same thing with a few close friends. When you do it with people who know you well, calling strangers is a snap.

A few quick rules of the road and then on to the survey and record sheet.

1) Always speak in a moderate tone. Loud talk tends to intimidate the respondent. DO NOT ARGUE!

2) Always maintain an even pace. Pauses during sentences encourage early responses that may not be accurate. Remember . . . a moderate pace . . . don't rush . . . DO NOT ARGUE!

3) Be confident in your delivery before you call the voters! Don't be embarrassed about any of the questions, or about doing the survey itself. You'll transmit that feeling to respondents and embarrass them, too. DO NOT ARGUE!

4) Don't be shocked if you receive an occasional violent or abusive response. With the number of calls you will make, you are bound to receive one or two. If you can't get out of a discussion pleasantly, simply say, "Thank you for your time," and hang up. DO NOT ARGUE!

5) Always try to work in an area of the house that is relatively quiet. Concentration is important for successful interviewing. Even moderate background noises will carry over the phone and may distract the respondent.

of. It is important [illegible] a positive attitude. Bad moods or lack of enthusiasm will effect the respondents. Try to spend a few quiet moments before each round of calls. Use the time to "psych yourself" into the project.

The survey questions are printed on the following pages. The record form and instructions for its use follow. Asking the questions properly, being prepared for the various options and replies, and knowing how and where to mark the responses, are all very important. Please review each question and follow the instructions on how to record each answer. You'll soon be doing everything automatically.

Before you begin, please accept our heartfelt appreciation for your commitment and know that our prayers for success are with you.

3 1 0 1 0 3 3 3 7 5

Vote Identification Survey Questionaire

BEFORE YOU BEGIN – REREAD INSTRUCTIONS ON PAGES 18 & 19.

A. **Hello. May I speak with Kathryn Rollins?**
(If wrong number, verify the number you have called and simply say you are sorry for the bother.)

B. **I am a volunteer for the National Right to Life Committee . . .**
(Don't pause but, if asked what N.R.L.C. is, say "a national pro-life group") **we are conducting a national survey of registered voters and would greatly appreciate your help. May I ask you a few short questions?**
(If "no," hang up and mark R/A (Refused to Answer) column – if "yes," continue with questions.)

Q 1 **During recent years, abortion has become a major issue in the country.** (slight pause) **Are you FOR or AGAINST abortion** (slight pause) **except to save the life of the mother?**
(Check record sheet under F (For), A (Against) or U (Undecided.)

Q 2 **Do you think tax money should be used to pay for abortions?**
(Check record sheet under Y (Yes), N (No) or U (Undecided)

If AGAINST abortion, in response to Question 1, continue here.

Q 3 (a) **Would you support passing a law to prevent abortion except to save the life of the mother?**
(Check Y (Yes), N (No) or U (Undecided)

If FOR or UNDECIDED in response to Question 1, continue here.

(b) **Do you support the present law that allows "abortion on demand"?**
(Check Y (Yes), N (No) or U (Undecided)

Q 4 (a) **Would you vote AGAINST a candidate because he or she supports abortion?**
(Check Y (Yes), N (No) or U (Undecided)

(b) **Would you vote AGAINST a candidate because he or she will not support abortion?**
(Check Y (Yes), N (No) or U (Undecided)

Q 5 (a) **How many other *registered* voters in your household agree with you on this issue?**
(Mark actual number in column 5 under A/A (Against Abortion)

(b) **How many other *registered* voters in your household agree with you on this issue?**
(Mark actual number in column 5 under F/A (For Abortion) or U (Undecided), depending on answer to question 1.

CONTINUE WITH QUESTIONS ON PAGE 18

Q 6 (a) **Would you classify your household as voting predominantly Republican, Democrat or Independent?**
(Check under **R** *(Republican),* **D** *(Democrat),* **I** *(Independent), or* **S/O** *(Split, Other) or* **R/A** *(Refused to answer)*

(b) **Would you classify your household as voting predominantly Republican, Democrat or Independent.**
(Check under **R** *(Republican),* **D** *(Democrat),* **I** *(Independent), or* **S/O** *(Split, Other) or* **R/A** *(Refused to answer)*

C. **"Thank you very much for your help, it's been nice talking with you."**
(Hang up)

(CHECK YOUR RECORD OF THE CALL FOR ACCURACY AND CLEAR MARKINGS. THEN PROCEED TO THE NEXT CALL.)

HOW TO HANDLE THE QUESTIONS & ANSWERS.

Question A. Ask to speak with one of the registered voters BY NAME in the order APPEARING ON THE VOTER LIST. If none of the voters are available, do not leave a message. Just say you will call back later.

Question B. Do not get into a discussion of what N.R.L.C. is. You will color the answers which follow.

If they say there is no registered voter living at that address, cross through the entire line on the registration list and do not enter anything on the Record Form.

Column R/A. If respondents Refuse to Answer any questions, check this column and fill in VOTER INFORMATION. Knowing who will not answer is also important in establishing the accuracy and quality of our survey.

Column A. Age. Use only in those states where information is shown on the Voter Registration List. DO NOT ASK for this information from the respondent.

Question 1. If a person says they are against abortion but lists any exceptions other than to save the mother's life, check F/A (For Abortion). If they say they're against abortion check A/A (Against). If a person says "I don't know," etc., check U (Undecided). If they ask you to explain the question you may only repeat it exactly as written.

Question 2. Do not attempt to explain this question. Any explanation may color the respondent's answer. We want to know only if they think that tax money should be used to pay for abortions. If they say "No, except to save the life of the mother", check "No". If they give any other exception check "Yes".

Question 3. (a) Do not offer or give any explanation. Any answer which is not a simple "yes" or "no" must be classified as U (Undecided). If the person responds "Yes, but ..." and then lists any other exceptions, check column N (No).

(b) Ask the question only if the respondent is FOR ABOLISHING or UNDECIDED. If the respondent says "No, except . . ." and lists any reason other than to save the mother's life, check Y (Yes).

Question 4. (a) If an unqualified "yes" check **Y.** If person qualifies the answer, such as "Yes, but not if he's a member of my party" etc., check N (No). "Don't know", etc., is shown as U (Undecided).

(b) Check Y(Yes), N(No) or U(Undecided). If the responder says "No, but . . ." and lists any exception other than to save the mother's life check Y(Yes).

Question 5. If the respondent says "all of them" you can pick up the actual number from the registration list when the call is completed.

If the respondent gives an actual number show it in the appropriate column

We can show nothing for the rest of the household. **Do not guess** *about any total that the respondent doesn't give.*

Question 6. If you state this question without hesitation, most people will respond. If they don't, go on to "thank you, etc.," and check R/A (refused to answer).

Some states show party affiliation on their voter registration lists. (See page 12) If yours has that information, skip question 6 but be sure to mark in the proper response.

Use the following guidelines:

A — All one party, check proper column — R(Republican) D(Democrat), I(Independent).

B — Any other party or households with Split Party affiliations check S/O.

If voters in a household show several types of party affiliation categorize the household on the basis of the majority of voters. If there is no clear majority categorize it as Split (S/O).

See page 23 for special instructions for columns seven and eight.

NATIONAL RIGHT TO
VOTER SURV

STATE OHIO
CITY COLUMBUS
ZIP CODE 43229
STREET NAME HIGHLAWN DRIVE

QUESTION NUMBER		A
VOTER INFORMATION		
ROLLINS KATHRYN E		25
6473 614-882-0750		
ROLLINS KATHRYN E		26
6473 614-882-0750		
TOTALS		

STATE SURVEY COO

20

LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.
EY PROJECT

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 12
STATE SENATE DISTRICT 24
STATE REPRESENTATIVE DIST. 62
WARD & PRECINCT 53/A

1			2			3			4			5						6						7	8	
F	A	U	Y	N	U	Y	N	U	Y	N	U	P/S	C	A	U	R	D	L	S	IR	L	V	M	P/V
✓			✓			✓			✓			2							✓			✓	✓	✓
✓			✓			✓			✓			3							✓			✓	✓	✓

RDINATOR COPY

SURVEY RECORD FORM INSTRUCTIONS

This form should be a 3 part carbon snap-out set. One copy will be kept at the local level. One will be kept at the congressional district level. The *original* will be sent to the state level.

Your Team Captain will handle all distribution of copies. Please return the set to him unbroken.

We have designed two record forms. Form A, (the one used in this book) is for use in areas where registration lists can be obtained in "street address order." Form A requires you to record the street name only once, at the top of the page. This is the most efficient way to keep our data.

If you must work with another style of list, Form B will be provided. It will be exactly the same as form A, except that it will have an extra information line for showing each respondent's street name next to their address. When using Form B, you will have to accomplish phone numbering by use of the telephone book.

As we walk through the steps involved in completing the form, please note the completed sections of the form on pages 20 & 21.

STEP 1. Fill in information required at the top of each page. A new sheet is required if any items change.

Note: If District or Ward and Precinct numbers are not on the registration list, do not guess at them! They can be completed later.

STEP 2. Do not fill in voter information block until you are sure you are talking to the right person. Once you are sure, mark the responses to the questions first. When you have completed the call, fill in the name address and phone section.

Note: Follow these instructions carefully as you work with the voter registration list.

A. Completely cross off of the registration list any household for which you have a wrong number. If you get a recording when you dial, line-out the entire listing. If they've moved, we'll get them when they register. If they've become unlisted, we won't be able to get a number anyway.

B. To be absolutely certain you are putting the correct name on the record sheet, put a slash (/) to the left of the name on the registration list as you begin questioning. As you finish questioning, make it an (X). This will also show which calls you have completed without having to check through your record sheets, and will identify the specific voter you have questioned.

Remember to start a new sheet whenever there is a change in any of the data at the top of the sheet, i.e. Ward, Precinct, etc. . . .

STEP 3. MARKING THE RECORD FORM. Neatness is essential. Keep all markings inside the spaces provided. When answering questions, use only check marks (✓) unless numbers are needed.

A) Use a ball point pen, apply firm pressure. Do not use pencil, felt tip or fountain pen.

B) If you make any error which can not be CLEARLY corrected (remember, you are making carbon copies, too,) line-out the entire respondent block and any questions which have been answered. Move the correct information into the next respondent block. See pages 20 & 21.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR COLUMNS 7 & 8

Column 7. Check only if your Voter Registration List shows that the respondent is a regular voter in primary elections.

Column 8. M/I — If respondent wants More Information, check this column and say that literature will be sent soon.

P/V — If support was extremely enthusiastic, check as Potential Volunteer, for follow-up by your Team Captain.

Note. Do not tally your lists until you meet with your Team Captain. Tallies should be done after the form has been reviewed.

All information obtained on this type of survey must be kept confidential. Do not repeat any comments or information given to you by the respondents. Safeguard the survey forms and discuss them only with your Team Captain.

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Where do we go from here?

The major part of a voter identification program involves the work you have just completed. But unless we use the data you have worked so hard to obtain, we will not reach our goal.

Four additional steps follow the completion of this work:

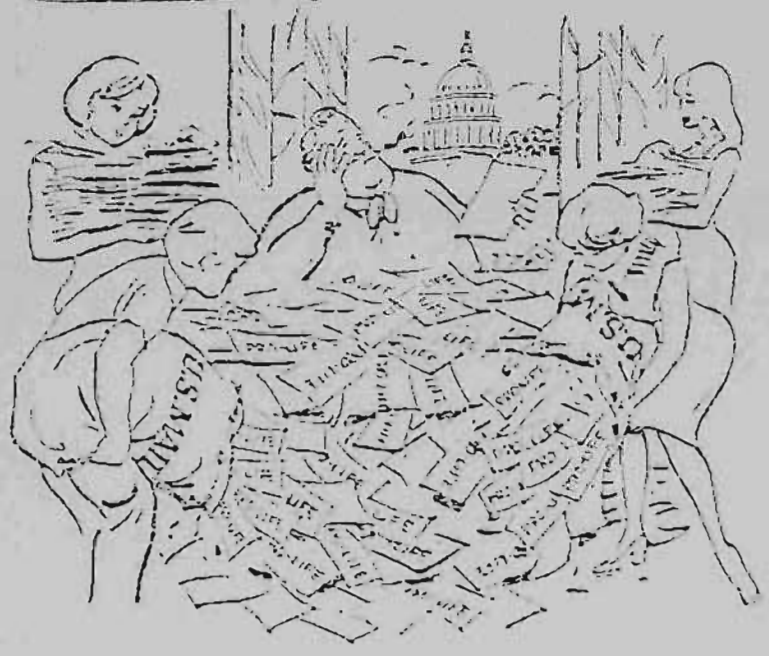
1) A DRIVE TO EDUCATE and move the undecided voter into our ranks.

2) A DRIVE TO INCREASE the zeal and level of activity of those who are pro-life right now.

3) A DRIVE TO IDENTIFY and motivate previously unregistered pro-life voters.

4) A DRIVE ON ELECTION DAY to remind pro-life voters to get out and vote.

You have provided the foundation for all of these steps. By the time they are ready to be implemented, your batteries will be recharged and you will be able to help deliver the pro-life votes which you have worked so hard to identify.



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national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE
National Press Building, Suite 341
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17

ATTACHMENT B

Dear Right to Life Supporter:

This is the most exciting letter I have ever written!

I can't tell you how happy I am to share with you the news about many stunning and significant victories we've seen in this election just as occurred in the recent primaries.

Did you know that pro-abortion Senators Brooke of Massachusetts and Hathaway of Maine have lost their seats? I especially wanted to open with this good news.

Here's more:

In the Senate, at least six pro-life men have been elected to seats that were held by pro-abortion people.

In Minnesota David Durenberger took the Humphrey seat and Rudy Boschwitz won over Wendel Anderson.

In Iowa -- an exquisite upset -- Roger Jepson defeated Sen. Richard Clark.

In New Hampshire Gordon Humphrey defeated pro-abortion Sen. Thomas McIntyre.

Colorado saw Willian Armstrong defeat Floyd Haskell.

In So. Dakota Larry Pressler will replace pro-abortion Sen. James Abourezk.

Also we note that pro-life Senator Jesse Helms was re-elected in North Carolina.

More good news...

Three of the most important victories by pro-life men in governership races were: Al Quie of Minnesota, Edward King of Massachusetts and James Rhodes of Ohio.

Of the House seats, we had equally good news. First of all... ALL strong pro-life incumbents were returned to the House and all reasonably close races where abortion was a major issue were won by pro-life people with the exception of Senator Robert Griffin of Michigan. Next, you'll want to know that two very vocal pro-abortion Congresswomen were defeated: Rep. Martha Keys of Kansas

(over, please)

and Rep. Helen Meyner of New Jersey.

Now let me mention a few of the "Good News Victories" from other states: in Wyoming, pro-lifer Richard Cheney won over Bill Bagley. In Indiana, Joel Deckard defeated pro-abortion Congressman David Cornwell. In Illinois, strong pro-life Representative Henry Hyde was re-elected and pro-life newcomer Daniel Crane upset Rep. Terry Bruce. Also in Illinois, a strong friend of pro-life, Congressman Martin Russo, was returned to office. Rep. Robert Dornan of California and Rep. Robert Bauman of Maryland were re-elected. In Minnesota, pro-lifer Arlen Erdahl won the congressional seat vacated by Al Quie when he decided to run for governor.

By the time this letter reaches you, no doubt you will know of many more national and local pro-life public officials who were elected or returned to office. In almost all of these races it is an unquestionable fact that the magnificent effort given by thousands of right to life workers in NRLC's Voter Identification Project meant the difference of victory to people who will work to save the lives of thousands of tiny babies.

> My friend...I can tell you this...the politicians out there are getting the message. They are beginning to realize what the people of this country think about the heinous abortion laws which allow the merciless killing of tiny babies.

Yes, we lost a few, but in balance we're way ahead.

The pro-abortionists, just a few years ago were fully expecting us to go away. They hoped that we would be just another protest movement that would falter and fade.

But were they ever wrong!

The issue of whether or not to allow the legalized killing of unborn babies to continue has become, in more and more areas, THE issue. In addition to being the issue in the November 7 election, it was the deciding factor in taking pro-abortion Senator Clifford Case (R-NJ), and Congressman Donald Fraser (DFL-MINN) out of public life in the primaries.

We are winning our goal to restore to the Constitution what we had all assumed was already there, and that is equal protection, under law, of all innocent human lives whether born or unborn. This is what the Human Life Amendment will do.

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Can it be done?

Yes, we're convinced that it can if we start to work now!

How will we do it?

Well, it all began less than two years ago. That's when we formed the National Right to Life Committee's Voter Identification Project. If your local or state Right to Life group is not already involved in this extremely effective program, it will be before the 1980 elections roll around.

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Let me explain how "Voter Identification" works -- and why it can't fail to produce the promised results -- if we are successful in expanding from our current projects to a nationwide campaign.

Briefly, "Voter Identification" starts with a skillfully designed telephone survey of all registered voters -- precinct by precinct -- to reveal those who are pro-life, those who are pro-abortion, and those who are still undecided on this crucial issue.

It will require a real dedication and a lot of hard work by all of you, but you can all help -- even those who are "shut-in" by illness or injury. All you need is a little time and a phone.

You'll also need direction, trained leaders, the lists to call, the reports to fill out and the instruction booklets. Finally, you'll need to store the information in retrievable form, on computer tapes. Of course, this will cost money, far more money than NRLC has now. That is why I am asking you in this letter to be as generous as you can with financial help now.

A huge job? Certainly it is! But one that can be accomplished if we all work together. We need your support now.

And especially: we need your prayers!!!

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From the very earliest survey results -- up until the present time --

(over, please)

our experience has shown that pro-lifers outnumber pro-abortionists by a majority as high as five to one in some areas. And in no significant areas have pro-abortionists ever outnumbered pro-lifers!

This proves what we have been saying all along
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Are there other benefits from this program? Yes, very many. The identification of pro-life voters will substantially enlarge and strengthen your pro-life group. Also, you can mail or contact the undecided to try to sway them, as well as go to the pro-lifers to strengthen them, to educate them, to ask for help and most importantly, to get them out to vote. The possibilities are vast.

A large order? Yes, but one that could be accomplished across the entire USA in the next two years. No! Let's not say "can be" but rather "must be." The Voter Identification Project can change the course of history in the next two years!

The pro-life movement may not have the backing of the abortion elitists, but we do have real people power. NRLC has 1,800 affiliated chapters in all 50 states. You are represented through your local chapter and through your state Right to Life group on the board of directors of the NRLC.

Your check for $50, $25, $15 or more will enable us to keep our momentum sizzling and expand it as wide as we can in the next election...as well as... to continue all of our other projects and activities which are now coordinated out of our Washington office.

Please help us with as large a contribution as you can. You will find an envelope enclosed for your convenience. I know I can count on you again. Thank you.

Yours for the Right to Life

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.
President

P.S. In September, we were surprised and saddened when our capable Washington lobbyist, Thea Rossi Barron, submitted her resignation. We are pleased, for her, that she has started working in the new position she wanted. She is a full-time lobbyist for a foreign country. Clouds, however, often have silver linings. I'm pleased to tell you that we have engaged the services of Mr. Sean Morton Downey, Esq. as our new lobbyist. He has had vast political experience and already has been of great help in Congress. Together with Mr. Charles Donnovan and Barbara Barrody, our new political researchers, we expect to sharply increase our visibility, activity and influence on Capitol Hill.

CG:pp/ru

ATTACHMENT C

5/5/78

Cedar Rapids Gazette

Radiologic session at Kirkwood

A training program for radiologic technologists will be conducted Tuesday evening at Iowa Hall on the Kirkwood Community College campus.

The program will be delivered over a statewide telenetwork system. Kirkwood is one of the 16 sites for the network presentation.

Subject for the program will be infections and infection risks. Dorothy Rasley, clinical nurse sp... in epidemiology at Univer... Iowa Hospitals, will be th... senter.

Registration begins at ... There is a $4 fee. The prog... be sponsored by the Iowa Sq... Radiologic Technologists in ... tion with the Iowa Commu... leges.

Two functions

Under study is the improvement of Stoney Point Road west of Cedar Rapids, from just north of its intersection with Highway 30 south to Highway 149. The road will serve two functions. It will serve as a temporary connection from the new Highway 30 bypass to existing Highway 30, and it will eventually be a connection between new Highway 30 and Highway 149.

The total length of the project is 1.5 miles.

Linn survey: 70 percent oppose tax-paid abortion

Seven of ten registered Linn County voters surveyed oppose public funding of abortions, according to preliminary results of the Linn area Life Voter Identification program.

More than 200 volunteers are involved in the project, calling names that appear on official Linn County voter lists. Callers follow a specific format that was developed by a professional polling company for National Right to Life.

The group has stated that its intention is to contact all registered voters, and hence the results are not final.

The opening question of the survey was, "Are you for or against abortion, except to save the life of the mother?" Follow-up questions were dependent on the response to that opening question, but all persons surveyed were asked about the tax money issue.

The Linn County project is part of a nationwide project sponsored by the National Right to Life Committee to identify pro life voters. Results of the survey will be passed along to candidates to inform them of voter feelings on abortion matters, and pro-life voters will be informed of candidate positions on abortion issues.

With 7,000 telephone calls tabulated, the Linn survey shows that 70 percent of the county's voters oppose tax funded abortions, 26 percent are in favor and the remainder are undecided.

The preliminary date also shows that half are opposed to abortion, except to save the mother's life. Thirty-four percent approve of abortion, mostly in cases of rape or incest or where the unborn child is handicapped. Sixteen percent are undecided.

Terry Moran, 1400 36th St. SE, director of the Linn voter identification project, said committees soon will begin interviewing primary candidates to determine their positions on abortion questions.

Similar surveys are being conducted by many of the other 33 Right to Life chapters in Iowa. Attorney Robert Dopf of Des Moines is project coordinator for Iowans for Life.

Two are arrested for drunk driving

Two persons were arrested on charges of drunk driving in Linn County Thursday night and [illegible] reported

See attached survey.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.
President, National Right To Life
Committee, Inc.
National Press Building
529 14th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20045

RE: MUR 958

Dear Dr. Gerster:

The Federal Election Commission has received a complaint which alleged the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. has committed certain violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 958.

The Commission has reason to believe that the matters alleged therein state a violation of 2 U.S.C. §433, §434 and §441b. Specifically, it appears that NRLC's Voter Identification Program get out the vote activities constitute expenditures under the Act. As such, NRLC may be a political committee under 2 U.S.C. §431(d) with the obligation to register under 2 U.S.C. §433 and file reports under 2 U.S.C. §434. Alternatively, NRLC may have violated 2 U.S.C. §441b which prohibits such expenditures by corporations.

Under the Act, you have an opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken against you. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Additionally, please submit answers to the enclosed interrogatories. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath.

The Commission is under a duty to investigate this matter expeditiously. Therefore, your response should be submitted within ten days after your receipt of this notification.

If you have any questions, please contact David Federman, the attorney assigned to this matter, at 202/523-4073.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. Section 437g(a)(3)(B) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the investigation to be made public.

If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please have such counsel so notify us in writing.

Sincerely,

William C. Oldaker
General Counsel

Enclosures

Complaint
Interrogatories

3 1 0 4 0 2 8 3 2 7 1

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Interrogatories MUR 958

1. Is the National Right to Life Committee ("NRLC") incorporated? If so, please submit the articles of incorporation, by-laws, and constitution of the NRLC, Inc.

2. If answer to (1) is yes, is NRLC incorporated for liability purposes only?

3. Is the NRLC a membership organization?

4. If answer to (3) yes, please state the qualifications for membership.

5. Does the NRLC conduct a Voter-Identification Program? ("V.I.P.")

6. If answer to (5) is yes, please state the purposes of the V.I.P.

7. Does the NRLC use the V.I.P. to identify those voters who are "pro-life."

8. Does the NRLC utilize the results of the V.I.P. to encourage "pro-life" voters to vote?

9. Does the NRLC encourage the "pro-life" voters to vote for the "pro-life" candidates?

10. In which Congressional districts was the V.I.P. conducted in 1978?

11. In which Congressional districts will the V.I.P. be conducted in 1979 and 1980?

12. What is the cost of conducting the V.I.P. in each Congressional district? Nationwide?

13. Has the NRLC given the results of the V.I.P. to candidates for federal office?

14. If answer to (13) is yes, please state which candidates received the results?

15. Has the NRLC given the results of the V.I.P. to any political committees?

16. If answer to (15) is yes, please state which political committees were given the results.

17. Has the NRLC given the results of the V.I.P. to any groups whatsoever?

18. If answer to (17) is yes, please state which groups were given the results.

NOTE: The term "results" as used in questions #13-18 refers to the individual voter preference data and not the overall voter population preference data.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

May 1, 1979

Ms. Gail M. Harmon
Sheldon, Harmon, Roisman and Weiss
1725 I Street, N.W.
Suite 506
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Ms. Harmon:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your complaints of April 30, 1979, alleging violations of the Federal Election Campaign Laws. Staff members have been assigned to analyze your allegations and a recommendation to the Federal Election Commission as to how these matters should be handled will be made shortly. You will be notified as soon as the Commission determines what action should be taken. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's preliminary procedures for the handling of complaints.

Sincerely,

Hal Ponder
Assistant General Counsel

Enclosure

MUR 958

SHELDON, HARMON, ROISMAN & WEISS
1725 I Street, N.W.
Suite 506
Washington, D.C. 20006

TELEPHONE
(202) 833-9070

KARIN P. SHELDON
GAIL M. HARMON
ANTHONY Z. ROISMAN
ELLYN R. WEISS
WILLIAM S. JORDAN, III *
* ADMITTED IN MICHIGAN ONLY

April 30, 1979

Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen:

On behalf of National Abortion Rights Action League ("NARAL") I am filing a complaint against National Right to Life Committee ("NRLC") for violation of the Federal election laws.

NRLC is a non-profit membership corporation organized to lobby the United States Congress on "pro-life" or "anti-choice" issues. Its relationship with its associated political committee, Life Amendment Political Action Committee (LAPAC) is the subject of another complaint filed today.

NRLC and LAPAC have attributed their alleged success in the November 1978 elections to the success of NRLC's Voter Identification Project. As its name implies, NRLC's Voter Identification Project involves telephone polls of registered voters to identify those sympathetic to NRLC's cause and then providing them with such services as candidate endorsements, encouragement to go to the polls or transportation to the polls. The project is more fully explained in both the letter from Carolyn Gerster, NRLC President, soliciting funds for NRLC for this project (Exhibit "A") and in the copyrighted booklet, "Voter Identification Program, Phase I Voter Survey Project," (Exhibit "B"). Additional information about the Voter Identification Project is contained in the attached articles from May 5, 1978 "Cedar Rapids Gazette" (Exhibit "C"), and the December 1978 "Communicator," official newspaper of Indiana Right to Life (Exhibit "D").

Corporate contributions to political campaigns or political action committees are, of course, prohibited by law. 2 U.S.C. 441b. This prohibition applies to NRLC's inkind contribution of information gained through its Voter Identification Project. Advisory Opinions

issued by the Federal Election Commission have considered the following elements of voter identification projects to be prohibited corporate contributions if they are performed by a corporation and donated to a political committee: computer analysis of constituent questionnaire (AO-77-26); expenses of efforts to get sympathetic voters registered (AO-77-26); transfer of computer tape of names and addresses of registered voters (AO-77-10).

Some of the costs of the NRLC's Voter I.D. program are (1) the cost of preparing and publishing the booklet attached as Exhibit "B" and any other booklets which would explain subsequent phases of the program, (2) the costs of the voter registration list, (3) the cost of the telephone calls (77,500 calls per Congressional District (p. 7 of Exhibit "B") x $.06/ call x 335 Congressional Districts), (4) the cost of the 3 piece carbon sets for recording the information (pp. 20-22 of Exhibit "B"), (5) the cost of staff time on local, state and national levels devoted to this project.

NRLC may allege that the Voter I.D. project involves public education rather than expenditures for the purposes of influencing elections, but this is clearly not true. If the project was designed to identify new members or educate the public, telephoners would explain and discuss the issue and record the points of view of all people whether registered to vote or not; the instructions on pages 18-19, however, make it clear that the survey is designed only to elicit the opinions of voters. The project is designed "to help deliver the pro-life votes which you have worked so hard to identify." (Exhibit "B", p. 24). "Properly used, a well organized, full constituency voter identification survey can produce a 5% to 10% increase in a candidates' vote... When we complete our survey and organize our get-out-the-vote operation, WE CAN DELIVER THE MARGIN OF VICTORY FOR PRO-LIFE CANDIDATES." (Exhibit "B" p. 6).

NRLC would be hard put to defend on the theory that the Voter I.D. Project is actually conducted by local pacs. Gersters' fundraising letter, the booklet, printed forms for recording information, and instruction to telephoners, "I am a volunteer for the National Right to Life Committee" all mark it as a project of NRLC.

We request that you investigate to what extent the 1978 Voter Identification Project involved prohibited corporate contributions.

Further we request that the Federal Election Commission investigate the Voter Identification Project explained in NRLC's 1979 letter and that it prohibit any transfer of information gleaned through the project to a political committee unless it is at fair market value.

We are today sending a copy of this complaint to NRLC and LAPAC. Since the law in the area is relatively clear, NRLC will henceforward be on notice that it cannot give the results of the Voter Identification Project to LAPAC, candidates or other political committees.

I have prepared this complaint and believe that it is true and correct to the best of my knowledge. This complaint was not filed on behalf of or at the request or suggestion of any candidate.

Sincerely,

Gail M. Harmon

GMH/gc

Subscribed and sworn to before
me this 30 day of April, 1979.

Notary Public

NATIONAL OFFICERS
Carolyn F. Gerster, M.D.
President
Ann O'Donnell, R.N.
Executive Vice President
John C. Willke, M.D.
Vice President, Special Projects
Mrs. Felicia Gaskin
Secretary
William F. Colliton, Jr., M.D.
Treasurer
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AT LARGE DIRECTORS
Mrs. Robert (Jo) Higgins, R.N.
President, Nat'l Nurses for Life
Ann O'Donnell, R.N. *
HONORARY DIRECTOR
Jean Morton Downey, Jr.

* Member, Executive Committee

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

Folder 3/23/77 17

NATIONAL OFFICE
National Press Building, Suite 341
529 14th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20045

Dear Right to Life Supporter:

This is the most exciting letter I have ever written!

I can't tell you how happy I am to share with you the news about many stunning and significant victories we've seen in this election just as occurred in the recent primaries.

Did you know that pro-abortion Senators Brooke of Massachusetts and Hathaway of Maine have lost their seats? I especially wanted to open with this good news.

Here's more:

In the Senate, at least six pro-life men have been elected to seats that were held by pro-abortion people.

In Minnesota David Durenberger took the Humphrey seat and Rudy Boschwitz won over Wendel Anderson.

In Iowa -- an exquisite upset -- Roger Jepson defeated Sen. Richard Clark.

In New Hampshire Gordon Humphrey defeated pro-abortion Sen. Thomas McIntyre.

Colorado saw William Armstrong defeat Floyd Haskell.

In So. Dakota Larry Pressler will replace pro-abortion Sen. James Abourezk.

Also we note that pro-life Senator Jesse Helms was re-elected in North Carolina.

More good news...

Three of the most important victories by pro-life men in governership races were: Al Quie of Minnesota, Edward King of Massachusetts and James Rhodes of Ohio.

Of the House seats, we had equally good news. First of all... ALL strong pro-life incumbents were returned to the House and all reasonably close races where abortion was a major issue were won by pro-life people with the exception of Senator Robert Griffin of Michigan. Next, you'll want to know that two very vocal pro-abortion Congresswomen were defeated: Rep. Martha Keys of Kansas

(over, please)

and Rep. Helen Meyner of New Jersey.

Now let me mention a few of the "Good News Victories" from other states: in Wyoming, pro-lifer Richard Cheney won over Bill Bogley. In Indiana, Joel Deckard defeated pro-abortion Congressman David Cornwell. In Illinois, strong pro-life Representative Henry Hyde was re-elected and pro-life newcomer Daniel Crane upset Rep. Terry Bruce. Also in Illinois, a strong friend of pro-life, Congressman Martin Russo, was returned to office. Rep. Robert Dornan of California and Rep. Robert Bauman of Maryland were re-elected. In Minnesota, pro-lifer Arlen Erdahl won the congressional seat vacated by Al Quie when he decided to run for governor.

By the time this letter reaches you, no doubt you will know of many more national and local pro-life public officials who were elected or returned to office. In almost all of these races it is an unquestionable fact that the magnificent effort given by thousands of right to life workers in NRLC's Voter Identification Project meant the difference of victory to people who will work to save the lives of thousands of tiny babies.

> My friend...I can tell you this...the politicians out there are getting the message. They are beginning to realize what the people of this country think about the heinous abortion laws which allow the merciless killing of tiny babies.

Yes, we lost a few, but in balance we're way ahead.

The pro-abortionists, just a few years ago were fully expecting us to go away. They hoped that we would be just another protest movement that would falter and fade.

<u>But were they ever wrong!</u>

The issue of whether or not to allow the legalized killing of unborn babies to continue has become, in more and more areas, <u>THE</u> issue. In addition to being the issue in the November 7 election, it was the deciding factor in taking pro-abortion Senator Clifford Case (R-NJ), and Congressman Donald Fraser (DFL-MINN) out of public life in the primaries.

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<u>Can it be done?</u>

Yes, we're convinced that it can if we start to work now!

How will we do it?

Well, it all began less than two years ago. That's when we formed the National Right to Life Committee's Voter Identification Project. If your local or state Right to Life group is not already involved in this extremely effective program, it will be before the 1980 elections roll around.

> For that is the date we have set for full nationwide participation. That is when pro-lifers will win the majority of all targeted seats in city, county, and state elections...as well as in U.S. Senate and House of Representative races.

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You'll also need direction, trained leaders, the lists to call, the reports to fill out and the instruction booklets. Finally, you'll need to store the information in retrievable form, on computer tapes. Of course, this will cost money, far more money than NRLC has now. That is why I am asking you in this letter to be as generous as you can with financial help now.

A huge job? Certainly it is! But one that can be accomplished if we all work together. We need your support now.

And especially: we need your prayers!!!

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Please help us with as large a contribution as you can. You will find an envelope enclosed for your convenience. I know I can count on you again. Thank you.

Yours for the Right to Life

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.
President

P.S. In September, we were surprised and saddened when our capable Washington lobbyist, Thea Rossi Barron, submitted her resignation. We are pleased, for her, that she has started working in the new position she wanted. She is a full-time lobbyist for a foreign country. Clouds, however, often have silver linings. I'm pleased to tell you that we have engaged the services of Mr. Sean Morton Downey, Esq. as our new lobbyist. He has had vast political experience and already has been of great help in Congress. Together with Mr. Charles Donnovan and Barbara Barrody, our new political researchers, we expect to sharply increase our visibility, activity and influence on Capitol Hill.

CG:pp/ru

Doug RLL

Louie Bo
Lockhart
FVI

APR - 6 RECD

To HFP
FVI

national
RIGHT TO LIFE
committee, inc.

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROGRAM

Phase I
VOTER SURVEY PROJECT

The National Right to Life Committee wishes to thank the following people for their special help in preparing this booklet:

National Project Directors
Voter Identification Project
Felicia R. Goeken — Illinois
Gloria Klein — Michigan

Others who participated:

Virgil E. Bertke — Ohio
Bill Brueggemeyer — Ohio
Darlene L. Degenhardt — Illinois
Carolyn Huss — Indiana
David Kaiser — Ohio
Robert McKeon — New York
Michele McRae — Indiana
Jane Muldoon — Michigan
Judy Tomsic — California
John C. Willke, M.D. — Ohio

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Suite 341, National Press Bldg.
529 14 Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20045

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national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.
NATIONAL OFFICE — Suite 551 National Press Bldg
529 14th Street N.W. — Washington D.C. 20045

FROM THE PRESIDENT

The proof of political effectiveness is the winning vote. Getting that winning vote depends upon strong organization, strong planning, and careful strategy. The foundation of this kind of political effectiveness is knowing the voters.

The National Right to Life Committee, Inc., has launched a voter survey and identification project which will identify voters on the pro-life issues in every voting precinct in the United States and its territories. The objective is not to develop a conversation piece but to determine accurately which voters will vote the right-to-life as the qualifying issue, those who will not, those who don't care, and those who can be convinced to vote the issue.

After field testing in California, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, and New York, the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., is pleased to present this VOTER SURVEY PROJECT manual to facilitate the work of our loyal and dedicated members who must carry out the hard work of finding the voters.

Be encouraged that by winning the campaigns and the legal protection for life, you are winning the thanks of those who may never know you to thank you. But these United States, our America, and the world will be better for your effort.

Mildred F. Jefferson

Mildred F. Jefferson, M.D., President
National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
June 3, 1977

FOREWORD

Pro-life people active in the Right to Life movement have come to realize that we must be very creative if we are to defeat the forces who stand against us. We must develop and implement innovative programs which will capture the attention of America's citizens and her leadership. Pressure, upon those who govern, must be brought to bear by citizens of every station in life.

Time and again, the "caring voters" of this nation have created that pressure by exercising their right to vote. Through education, we can organize and influence a majority of citizens to vote their commitment to life.

You have volunteered to become part of this mammoth effort. With your help, we will succeed.

INTRODUCTION

Candidates for public office have always felt a compelling need to know their level of support prior to election day. During the late 1800's and early 1900's, political machine leaders directed their precinct captains to visit each registered voter in their precinct as many as three times before election day. The captains kept sharp watch as strength shifted from one candidate to another and reported their observations regularly to party headquarters.

As the election drew near, precinct captains visited undecided voters with new literature and more persuasive arguments. As an undecided voter was moved from one column to another, the new totals were sent to headquarters.

On election day, the captain, working with his list of "favorable voters," spent the day making sure that each had voted. In the strongest machine areas, each captain had a quota to fill and he worked as if his job depended on it . . . because it usually did.

Following WWII, Americans in large numbers began to lose respect for politicians and the political process. Many simply stopped voting. Precinct organization fell apart, politicians lost touch with the public and volunteer workers became hard to find.

In the late 1950's and early 1960's, politicians believed that careful political polling could identify their main support groups. Mass media advertising, particularly television, was directed specifically at those groups to get them to vote. There were substantial drawbacks to that system. First, it was very expensive. Second, the voters did not always vote, and when they did, many voted for the opposition. Third, the candidates still had very little idea where they stood with the voters until the returns were in and counted.

In order to identify voter support, candidates began to form their own volunteer organizations. Two major problems arose. First, since most of the workers were campaign volunteers, their time was limited. Second, even the most popular candidates had trouble recruiting enough volunteers to fulfill campaign needs.

The question then became . . . what could candidates, facing limitations of money and small volunteer staffs, do to maximize the number of their supporters and make sure they voted? The most widely accepted answer resulted in the development of the Voter Identification Surveys used in politics today.

Two points pertaining to voter surveys must be understood before we look at their use by Right to Life groups

A) People tend to confuse "voter identification survey" with a "public opinion poll." The survey, as we use it, *cannot* be projected to apply to the electorate as a whole. *We can speak only for those persons we have questioned.*

B) Properly used, a well organized, full constituency voter identification survey can produce a 5% to 10% increase in a candidate's vote.

Now, a quick look at Right to Life survey efforts before we start on the program.

The Voter I.D. Survey was first used by the Right to Life group in Westchester, New York. Adaptations were used in several states. Where entire congressional districts were completed—a solid majority of the households were found to be pro-life. Local Right to Life groups advised pro-life voters of the positions of both candidates concerning abortion. Happily, in most cases, the pro-life candidates won. Some actually won by majorities which startled even the most astute political observers.

As pro-life candidates continue to win, incumbent elected officials are forced to reevaluate their positions. Many former fence-straddlers realize the value of declaring their support for the Human Life Amendment and other pro-life legislative measures. Stunning victories in one district can bring new support to our movement from politicians in districts hundreds of miles away.

As more candidates take note of our Voter I.D. operations, they are impressed by what they see. Compared to the average political campaign, RTL has many times more volunteers—and they are more deeply committed! Pro-life households appear to constitute a majority of homes in most legislative districts. The importance of this fact is that when we complete our survey and organize our get-out-the-vote operation, WE CAN DELIVER THE MARGIN OF VICTORY FOR PRO-LIFE CANDIDATES!

This is what the voter survey is all about. It is the best tool we have to show political candidates and office holders the true depth of pro-life feeling among registered voters. It also provides two important direct benefits not available through other programs. Both of these relate to our second mission—education of the public. First, the program will identify those registered voters who are undecided on abortion. We can target them for further educational efforts. Second, the block of pro-life voters we identify provides us with an immense pool of potential volunteers. Once their level of awareness regarding abortion is increased, these people can be recruited to serve in any number of ways. For the first time, your local organization will know the feelings of each voting household in your area.

WHEN WE ORGANIZE PROPERLY, TRAIN WELL AND WORK DILIGENTLY, WE WILL BECOME THE FIRST CITIZEN LOBBYING GROUP IN HISTORY TO COMPLETE A TASK OF THIS MAGNITUDE!

WHERE WE ALL FIT IN

To understand how each of the thousands of workers involved in this project relates to the overall program, here is a review of the management structure. Each volunteer, from the national cordinator to the local telephone canvasser, must understand and appreciate the responsibilities and dedication of all other project volunteers. This understanding will bring greater cooperation and produce a spirit of common purpose as we embark upon one of the greatest efforts ever attempted by concerned citizens of this country.

NATIONAL—N.R.L.C. REGIONAL SURVEY COORDINATOR

The country will be divided into regions. Each region will be supervised by an "N.R.L.C. Regional Survey Coordinator."

STATE—STATE SURVEY COORDINATOR

Each state will appoint a "State Survey Coordinator." This coordinator will have full responsibility for the program within the state and will report directly to the state Right to Life group president, and to the N.R.L.C. Regional Survey Coordinator.

STATE—C.D. GROUP SURVEY COORDINATOR

The State Survey Coordinator will sub-divide the state into groups of approximately five congressional districts (C.D.'s) each. Some groupings may be less than five where geography is a problem. Each of these C.D. groupings will be supervised by a "C.D. Group Survey Coordinator."

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT SURVEY SUPERVISOR

Each congressional district will have a "C.D. Survey Supervisor" to manage project operations within the C.D.

Let's look at the numbers involved. A typical congressional district has 465,000 residents. Of these, about 325,000 (70%) are eligible to vote, but only about 195,000 (60%) are registered. These 195,000 registered voters make up approximately 103,000 households (about 1.9 voters per household.) We will be able to locate phone numbers for about 75%, or 77,500 households. The personnel requirement within each C.D. is based on the need to contact each of these 77,500 households. It should be expanded or contracted only if your C.D. has a significantly larger or smaller number of calls to make.

TEAM CAPTAIN SUPERVISORS

A C.D. with 77,500 calls will require 7 "Team Captain Supervisors," each directing 5 Team Captains.

TEAM CAPTAINS

Each Team Captain will be responsible for directing a team which will be assigned 2,200 calls.

Each team will consist of 10 volunteer phoners who will accept responsibility for 220 calls each. Each Captain must also recruit 3 substitutes to help out in emergency situations.

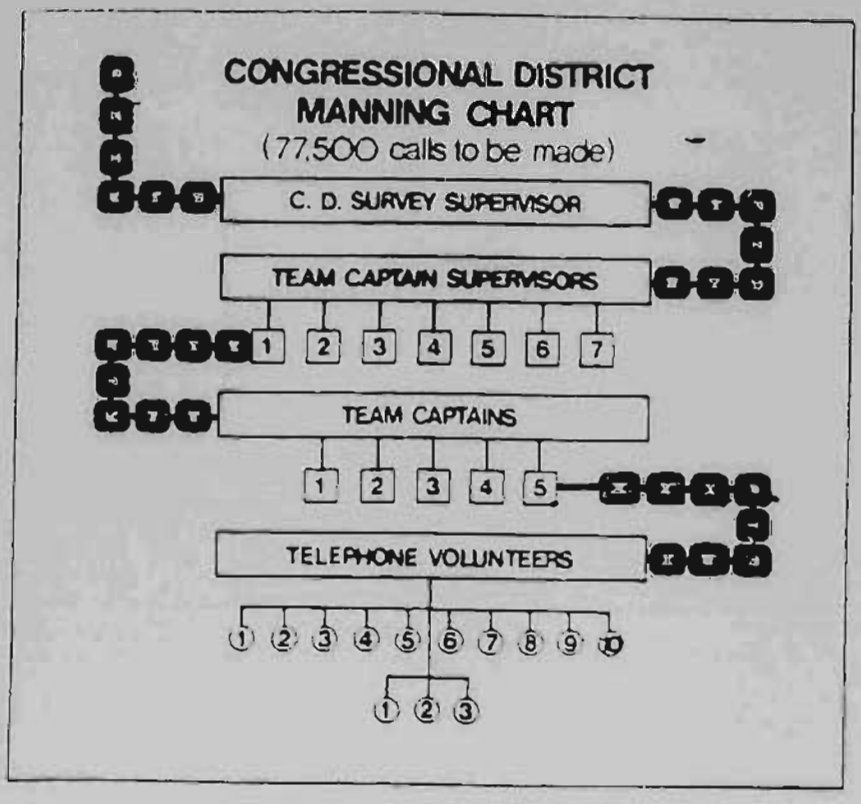


Figure A

So, you see, each person represents an important link in a very long chain. The strength of that chain will be directly related to each volunteer's unselfish cooperation. This means that each of us must follow our job descriptions accurately. Every questionaire and reporting form must be the same and, all records must be kept in the same precise manner. Our field tests have provided a great opportunity to learn by doing. A few very important items stand out.

LESSONS WE HAVE LEARNED

☐☐ DO IT BY THE BOOK! There is a reason for each step, each piece of the organizational plan, and each question on the survey.

☐☐ If one State Coordinator, one C.D. Coordinator, one Team Captain or one telephone volunteer changes the methodology or a single question . . . they will have broken the chain of reporting in this nationwide survey!

☐☐ Record keeping and adherence to the chain of command is vital to achieving the full benefit not only of the survey portion of this effort, but of the total program!

If we organize as recommended, and if we use the questionaire and record keeping system described in this handbook, we will achieve the degree of organization needed to pass and ratify the Human Life Amendment.

THE TEAM CAPTAIN

Your job begins approximately eight weeks before the date on which telephoning is to begin. You will have two responsibilities during this time:

A) Add phone numbers to your voter registration list and divide the list for your volunteers.

B) Recruit and train 10 phone-volunteers and three substitutes.

Note: Some organizations may wish to assign the task of phone numbering to persons who are at the team captain supervisor level because it is a more manageable task.

FOLLOW THESE STEPS

STEP 1. Secure Voter Registration Lists — for 2200 registered voters from your Team Captain Supervisor. The supervisors, working with the C.D. Survey Supervisor, will have obtained this list from local boards of election or friendly candidates. It is imperative that you work only from a list of *registered* voters, to prevent wasting valuable time on people who can't vote because they're not registered.

STEP 2. Recruit people for "phone numbering." — If at all possible, arrange to do the numbering in one location. You may find a junior high or high school class willing to accept the task for several teams or, recruit a few volunteers to come to your home and complete the job in an evening.

There are two sources for matching phone numbers to your voter lists; the city or "criss-cross" directory, and the telephone directory. Each has a specific application to the voter list numbering process. Using either source alone, you will waste untold hours calling unregistered voters!

If your voter registration list is in house number (street) order, you can quickly phone number it by using a "criss-cross" directory. Your local phone company marketing department can tell you which company publishes a "criss-cross" for your area. If your registration list is in alphabetical or any other form, you will have to use the telephone book to secure numbers.

A. Place the telephone number to the right of the voter's name. We will need the left hand margin for other notes. (See Figure B)

B. There may be registered voters with no phone numbers and there will be, in most cases, several voters with the same phone number (members of the same family). Bracket the family members or multiple voters in the same household, and list the phone number only once.

STEP 3. Recruit your telephone crew — you will need ten persons, each willing to call a list of 220 households and ask the survey questions. You will also need at least three substitutes in the event that some of your regulars cannot complete their assignments. Your substitutes can also be used to collect and distribute data sheets and make any "clean-up" calls required.

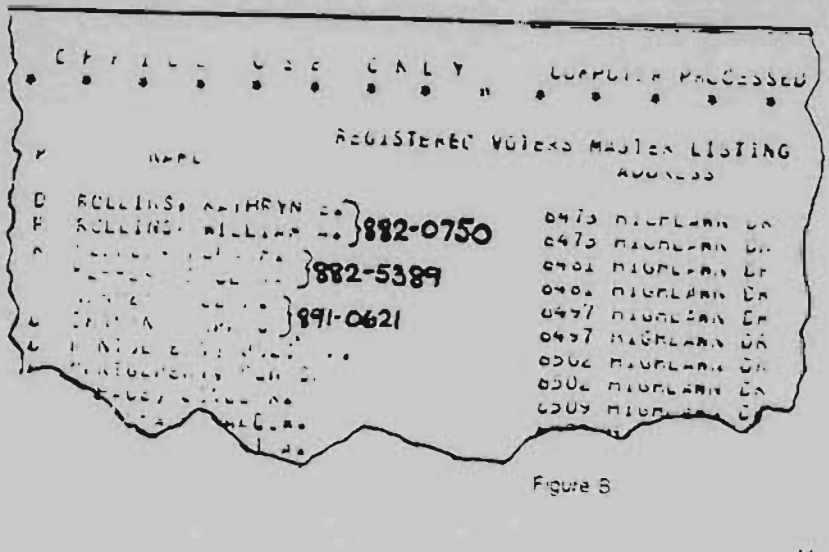
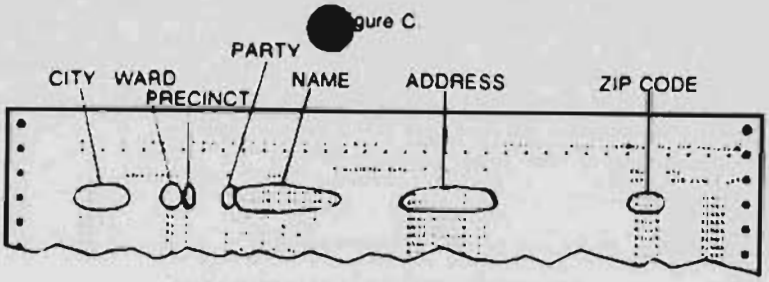
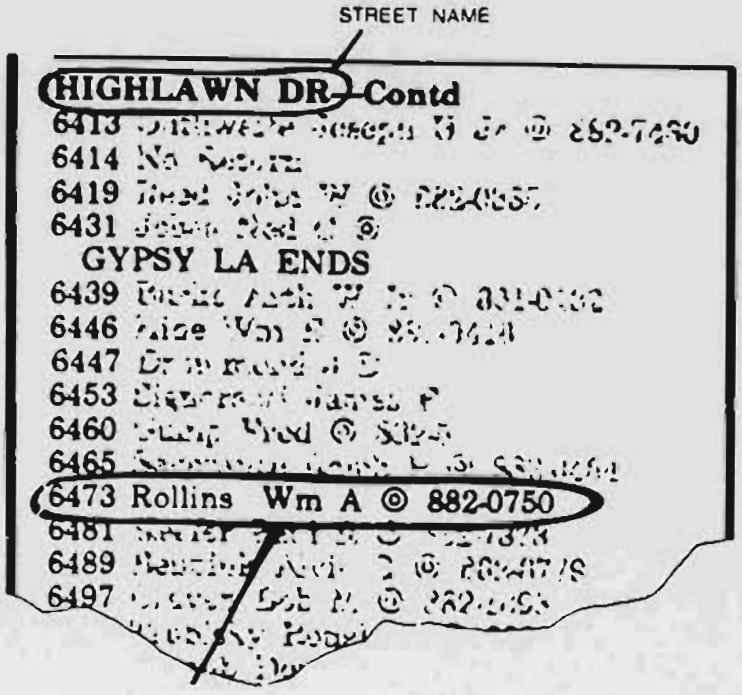


Figure B

Figure C



BASIC INFORMATION IS TAKEN FROM THE VOTER REGISTRATION LIST.



LOCATE PHONE NUMBER IN CITY DIRECTORY OR CRISS-CROSS. MATCH STREET, ADDRESS AND NAME WITH REGISTRATION LIST BEFORE MARKING PHONE NUMBER ONTO REGISTRATION LIST

Figure D

STEP 4. Train your volunteers - Plan a group training session two weeks before phoning is to begin. (If you feel that those who cannot be at your meeting are avoiding it because they don't want to be involved, find replacements immediately.) Walk each person through every section of this manual, but spend most of the time on the "telephoners" section. "Role playing" is sometimes difficult to do, but it is a great training tool. Attempt to get all of your people to go through several sample calls with you at the meeting. They should also call you at least three times over the next two weeks to try the script out over the phone. Critique each call.

Note: Most telephone companies have booklets available with helpful hints regarding telephone surveys, or sales techniques. If possible, secure one for each volunteer and review it carefully with them.

If you find that some of your volunteers are not able to do the phone survey, find other jobs for them. If they are doing a poor job, you can count on their reduced accuracy and undependable results.

STEP 5. Distribute the lists and forms, begin the phoning — Each telephone volunteer should receive a section of the voter registration list which contains 220 phone numbers. At the same time, distribute an initial quantity of 30 record forms per phoner.

Deliver the lists to the telephone volunteer about two days before phoning is to begin. This will give you an opportunity to run through the program one last time before actual work begins. Ask the telephoner to complete a minimum of 55 calls per week. Best calling hours are between 6:30 P.M. and 9:30 P.M., Monday through Thursday.

Fridays are usually unproductive.

If the program falls behind, calls can be between 10:00 A.M. and 4:30 P.M. on Saturdays, as a last resort. Sundays between 4:00 P.M. and 9:00 P.M.

These hours are recommended because they are the times when people are home and willing to talk. If you must do day time calling, because of a shortage of volunteers, call between 9:00 A.M. - 11:30 A.M. and 1:30 P.M. - 3:00 P.M.

STEP 6. Follow-Up with phoners - A Team Captain must be a Doubting Thomas. In a phone program, you can assume that what you see is all you get.

A Team Captain's most important responsibility is to be of assistance to the volunteers. Be alert to potential problems (lost data sheets, mistakes in record keeping, improper phone technique) and deal with them before they become unmanageable.

A weekly visit to each of your volunteers is the most positive way to prevent time-wasting improper procedures.

If a phone volunteer finds that meeting the call quota is too difficult, suggest that you will find someone to assist with the rest of the assigned calls.

Remember, this program must be completed accurately and on time. Otherwise, its value will be greatly reduced.

STEP 7. Data Collection — Personal collection of completed survey forms is the best management tool you have.

During your scheduled weekly visit to each volunteer, review each form the volunteer has completed. With the volunteer's help, compare the data on the record form with information on the registration list. The preferred method is for you to read the record form while the volunteer reads the information to you from the registration list.

If you cannot read the writing, or the responses are not clearly marked, help the volunteer transfer the data carefully onto new sheets that can be read and understood by all who must work with them.

Each record sheet will contain blocks for nine respondents. Provide 30 sheets per phoner when you give them their registration lists. Always carry a sufficient quantity of blank record forms so that you can replenish the volunteers' supply during your weekly visits.

Note: The Voter Identification Project will succeed or fail based on the abilities of the grass-roots workers who serve as Team Captains and telephone volunteers. All the management structure and all "the best laid plans of mice and men," are no better or worse than the willingness of those who must implement a program to do so accurately. The procedures outlined in this section, and the section which follows, may seem cumbersome. In fact, some may seem downright unreasonable! They are here because they are based on the experiences of people who have logged thousands of hours working in volunteer programs.

Your time and the time of each person involved in the program is a precious commodity. That time is worth giving only if it is well spent. Short cuts to the systems recommended here may result in hundreds of wasted hours of volunteer-time at some other point in the program. If you must short cut anything, please review that decision first with your Team Captain Supervisor. Make sure the decision will not damage the effort in the long run.

TELEPHONE VOLUNTEER INSTRUCTIONS

You are the foundation of the program. You are the only person who will be talking to the voter. Your contact may well be the only one the voter has ever had from a representative of Right to Life. If you prepare yourself well, refuse to be drawn into discussions or arguments on the issue and concentrate on the job at hand, that contact will be a pleasant one for you and for the voter.

The basics of telephone canvassing are quite simple but so is riding a bike once you've taken your first few spills. Like learning to ride, telephone work requires some practice. Call your Team Captain two or three times and try out your style. Do the same thing with a few close friends. When you do it with people who know you well, calling strangers is a snap!

A few quick rules of the road and then on to the survey and record sheet.

1) Always speak in a moderate tone. Loud talk tends to intimidate the respondent. DO NOT ARGUE!

2) Always maintain an even pace. Pauses during sentences encourage early responses that may not be accurate. Remember, a moderate pace does not mean DO NOT ARGUE!

3) Be confident in your delivery before you call the voters! Don't be embarrassed about any of the questions, or about doing the survey itself. You'll transmit that feeling to respondents and embarrass them too. DO NOT ARGUE!

4) Don't be shocked if you receive an occasional violent or abusive reaction. With the number of calls you will make, you are bound to receive a few of both. If you can't get out of a discussion pleasantly, simply say, "Thank you for your time," and hang up. DO NOT ARGUE!

5) Always try to work in an area of the house that is relatively quiet. Concentration is important for successful interviewing. Too much background noise will frustrate you and the person you are trying to question.

6) It is important to maintain a positive attitude. Bad moods or lack of enthusiasm will effect the respondents. Try to spend a few quiet moments before each round of calls. Use the time to "psych yourself" into the project.

The survey questions are printed on the following pages. The record form and instructions for its use follow. Asking the questions properly, being prepared for the various options and replies, and knowing how and where to mark the responses, are all very important. Please review each question and follow the instructions on how to record each answer. You'll soon be doing everything automatically.

Before you begin, please accept our heartfelt appreciation for your commitment and know that our prayers for success are with you.

Voter Identification Survey Questionaire

BEFORE YOU BEGIN – REREAD INSTRUCTIONS ON PAGES 18 & 19.

A. **Hello. May I speak with Kathryn Rollins?**
(If wrong number, verify the number you have called and simply say you are sorry for the bother.)

B. **I am a volunteer for the National Right to Life Committee . . .**
(Don't pause but, if asked what N.R.L.C. is, say "a national pro-life group") **we are conducting a national survey of registered voters and would greatly appreciate your help. May I ask you a few short questions?**
(If "no," hang up and mark R/A (Refused to Answer) column – if "yes," continue with questions.)

Q 1 **During recent years, abortion has become a major issue in the country.** (slight pause) **Are you FOR or AGAINST abortion** (slight pause) **except to save the life of the mother?**
(Check record sheet under **F** *(For),* **A** *(Against) or* **U** *(Undecided.)*

Q 2 **Do you think tax money should be used to pay for abortions?**
(Check record sheet under **Y** *(Yes),* **N** *(No) or* **U** *(Undecided)*

If AGAINST abortion in response to Question 1, continue here.

Q 3 (a) **Would you support passing a law to prevent abortion except to save the life of the mother?**
(Check **Y** *(Yes),* **N** *(No) or* **U** *(Undecided)*

Q 4 (a) **Would you vote AGAINST a candidate because he or she supports abortion?**
(Check **Y** *(Yes),* **N** *(No) or* **U** *(Undecided)*

Q 5 (a) **How many other *registered voters* in your household agree with you on this issue?**
(Mark **actual number** *in column 5 under* **A/A** *(Against Abortion)*

If FOR or UNDECIDED in response to Question 1, continue here.

(b) **Do you support the present law that allows "abortion on demand"?**
(Check **Y** *(Yes),* **N** *(No) or* **U** *(Undecided)*

(b) **Would you vote AGAINST a candidate because he or she will not support abortion?**
(Check **Y** *(Yes),* **N** *(No) or* **U** *(Undecided)*

(b) **How many other *registered voters* in your household agree with you on this issue?**
(Mark **actual number** *in column 5 under* **F/A** *(For Abortion) or* **U** *(Undecided), depending on answer to question 1.*

CONTINUE WITH QUESTIONS ON PAGE 18

Q 6 (a) **Would you classify yo household as voting predominantly Republican, Democrat or Independent?**
(Check under **R** *(Republican),* **D** *(Democrat),* **I** *(Independent), or* **S/O** *(Split, Other) or* **R/A** *(Refused to answer)*

(b) **Would you classify your household as voting predominantly Republican, Democrat or Independent.**
(Check under **R** *(Republican),* **D** *(Democrat),* **I** *(Independent), or* **S/O** *(Split, Other) or* **R/A** *(Refused to answer)*

C. **"Thank you very much for your help, it's been nice talking with you."**
(Hang up)

(CHECK YOUR RECORD OF THE CALL FOR ACCURACY AND CLEAR MARKINGS. THEN PROCEED TO THE NEXT CALL.)

HOW TO HANDLE THE QUESTIONS & ANSWERS.

Question A. Ask to speak with one of the registered voters BY NAME in the order APPEARING ON THE VOTER LIST. If none of the voters are available, do not leave a message. Just say you will call back later.

Question B. Do not get into a discussion of what N.R.L.C. is. You will color the answers which follow.

If they say there is no registered voter living at that address, cross through the entire line on the registration list *and do not enter anything on the Record Form*

Column R A. If respondents Refuse to Answer any questions, check this column and fill in VOTER INFORMATION. Knowing who will not answer is also important in establishing the accuracy and quality of our survey.

Column A. Age. Use only in those states where information is shown on the Voter Registration List. DO NOT ASK for this information from the respondent!

Question 1. If a person says they are against abortion but lists any exceptions other than to save the mother's life, check **F/A** (For Abortion). If they say they're against abortion check **A A** (Against). If a person says "I don't know," etc., check **U** (Undecided). If they ask you to explain the question you may only repeat it exactly as written.

Question 2. Do not attempt to explain this question. Any explanation may color the respondent's answer. We want to know only if they think that tax money should be used to pay for abortions. If they say "No, except to save the life of the mother", check "No". If they give any other exception check "Yes".

Question 3. (a) Do not offer or give any explanation. Any answer which is not a simple "yes" or "no" must be classified as **U** (Undecided). If the person responds "Yes, but ..." and then lists any other exceptions, check column **N** (No).

(b) Ask this question only if the respondent is FOR ABORTION or UNDECIDED. If the respondent says "No, except . . ." and lists any reason other than to save the mother's life, check **Y** (Yes).

Question 4. (a) If an unqualified "yes" check **Y.** If person qualifies the answer, such as "Yes, but not if he's a member of my party" etc., check **N** (No). "Don't know", etc., is shown as **U** (Undecided).

(b) Check **Y**(Yes), **N**(No) or **U**(Undecided). If the responder says "No, but . . ." and lists any exception other than to save the mother's life check **Y**(Yes).

Question 5. If the respondent says "all of them" you can pick up the actual number from the registration list when the call is completed.

If the respondent gives an actual number show it in the appropriate column

We can show nothing for the rest of the household. **Do not guess** *about any total that the respondent doesn't give.*

Question 6. If you state this question without hesitation, most people will respond. If they don't, go on to "thank you, etc.," and check **R/A** (refused to answer).

Some states show party affiliation on their voter registration lists. (See page 12) If yours has that information, skip question 6 but be sure to mark in the proper response.

Use the following guidelines:

A — All one party, check proper column — **R**(Republican) **D**(Democrat), **I**(Independent),

B — Any other party or households with Split Party affiliations check S/O.

If voters in a household show several types of party affiliation categorize the household on the basis of the majority of voters. If there is no clear majority categorize it as Split ***(S/O)***.

See page 23 for special instructions for columns seven and eight.

NATIONAL RIGHT TO VOTER SURV

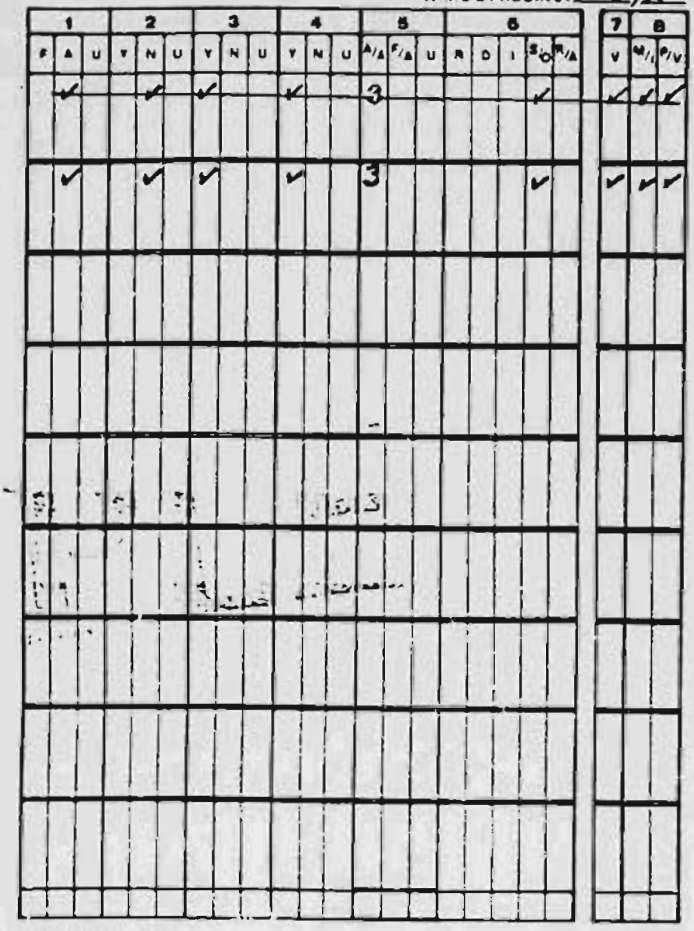
STATE OHIO
CITY COLUMBUS
ZIP CODE 43229
STREET NAME HIGHLAWN DRIVE

VOTER INFORMATION	QUESTION NUMBER	A
ROLLINS KATHRYN E 6743 614 882 0750		26
ROLLINS KATHRYN E 6473 614 882 0750		26
TOTALS		

STATE SURVEY COO

LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.
EY PROJECT

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 12
STATE SENATE DISTRICT 24
STATE REPRESENTATIVE DIST. 62
WARD & PRECINCT 53/A



RDINATOR COPY

SURVEY RECORD FORM INSTRUCTIONS

This form should be a 3 part carbon snap-out set. One copy will be kept at the local level. One will be kept at the congressional district level. The *original* will be sent to the state level.

Your Team Captain will handle all distribution of copies. Please return the set to him unbroken.

We have designed two record forms. Form A, (the one used in this book) is for use in areas where registration lists can be obtained in "street address order." Form A requires you to record the street name only once, at the top of the page. This is the most efficient way to keep our data.

If you must work with another style of list, Form B will be provided. It will be exactly the same as form A, except that it will have an extra information line for showing each respondent's street name next to their address. When using Form B, you will have to accomplish phone numbering by use of the telephone book.

As we walk through the steps involved in completing the form, please note the completed sections of the form on pages 20 & 21.

STEP 1. Fill in information required at the top of each page. A new sheet is required if any items change.

Note: If District or Ward and Precinct numbers are not on the registration list, do not guess at them! They can be completed later.

STEP 2. Do not fill in voter information block until you are sure you are talking to the right person. Once you are sure, mark the responses to the questions first. When you have completed the call, fill in the name address and phone section.

Note: Follow these instructions carefully as you work with the voter registration list.

A. Completely cross off of the registration list any household for which you have a wrong number. If you get a recording when you dial, line-out the entire listing. If they've moved, we'll get them when they register. If they've become unlisted, we won't be able to get a number anyway.

B. To be absolutely certain you are putting the correct name on the record sheet, put a slash (/) to the left of the name on the registration list as you begin questioning. As you finish questioning, make it an (X). This will also show which calls you have completed without having to check through your record sheets, and will identify the specific voter you have questioned.

Remember to start a new sheet whenever there is a change in any of the data at the top of the sheet, i.e. Ward, Precinct, etc. . . .

STEP 3. MARKING THE RECORD FORM. Neatness is essential. Keep all markings inside the spaces provided. When answering questions, use only check marks (✓) unless numbers are needed.

A) Use a ball point pen, apply firm pressure. Do not use pencil, felt tip or fountain pen.

B) If you make any error which can not be CLEARLY corrected (remember, you are making carbon copies, too,) line-out the entire respondent block and any questions which have been answered. Move the correct information into the next respondent block. See pages 20 & 21.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR COLUMNS 7 & 8

Column 7. Check only if your Voter Registration List shows that the respondent is a regular voter in primary elections.

Column 8. M/I — If respondent wants More Information, check this column and say that literature will be sent soon.

P/V — If support was extremely enthusiastic, check as Potential Volunteer, for follow-up by your Team Captain.

Note: Do not tally your lists until you meet with your Team Captain. Tallies should be done after the form has been reviewed.

All information obtained on this type of survey must be kept confidential. Do not repeat any comments or information given to you by the respondents. Safeguard the survey forms and discuss them only with your Team Captain.

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT
Where do we go from here?

The major part of a voter identification program involves the work you have just completed. But unless we use the data you have worked so hard to obtain, we will not reach our goal.

Four additional steps follow the completion of this work:

1) A DRIVE TO EDUCATE and move the undecided voter into our ranks.

2) A DRIVE TO INCREASE the zeal and level of activity of those who are pro-life right now.

3) A DRIVE TO IDENTIFY and motivate previously unregistered pro-life voters.

4) A DRIVE ON ELECTION DAY to remind pro-life voters to get out and vote.

You have provided the foundation for all of these steps. By the time they are ready to be implemented, your batteries will be recharged and you will be able to help deliver the pro-life votes which you have worked so hard to identify.

5:38

Cedar Rapids Gazette

Two-lane highway

[illegible] is the start of a new two-lane highway just west of Cedar [illegible] just north of the intersection with Highway 30 south to Highway 149. The road will serve [illegible] It will serve as a temporary connection from the new Highway 30 bypass to existing Highway 30, and it will eventually be a connection between new Highway 30 and Highway 149.

The total length of the project is 1.8 miles.

Radiologic session at Kirkwood

A multiple program for radiologic technologists will be conducted Tuesday evening at Iowa Hall on the Kirkwood Community College campus.

The program will be delivered over a statewide telenetwork system. Kirkwood is one of the 16 sites for the network presentation.

Subject for the program will be infections and infection risks. Dorothy Rasley, clinical nurse sp[illegible] in epidemiology at Univers[illegible] Iowa Hospitals, will be th[illegible] senter.

Registration begins at [illegible] There is a $4 fee. The progr[illegible] be sponsored by the Iowa Sta[illegible] Radiologic Technologists in [illegible] tion with the Iowa Commun[illegible] leges.

Linn survey: 70 percent oppose tax-paid abortion

Seven of ten registered Linn County voters surveyed oppose public funding of abortions, according to preliminary results of the Linn area LIFE Voter Identification program.

More than 200 volunteers are involved in the project, calling names that appear on official Linn County voter lists. Callers follow a specific format that was developed by a professional polling company for National Right to Life.

The group has stated that its intention is to contact all registered voters, and hence the results are not final.

The opening question of the survey was, "Are you for or against abortion, except to save the life of the mother?" Follow-up questions were dependent on the response to that opening question, but all persons surveyed were asked about the tax money issue.

The Linn County project is part of a nationwide project sponsored by the National Right to Life Committee to identify pro life voters. Results of the survey will be passed along to candidates to inform them of voter feeling on abortion matters, and pro life voters will be informed of candidate positions on abortion issues.

With 7,500 telephone calls tabulated, the Linn survey shows that 70 percent of the county's voters oppose tax funded abortions, 20 percent are in favor and the remainder are undecided.

The preliminary date also shows that half are opposed to abortion, except to save the mother's life. Thirty four percent approve of abortion, mostly in cases of rape or incest or where the unborn child is handicapped. Sixteen percent are undecided.

Terry Moran, 1400 36th St. SE, director of the Linn voter identification project, said committees soon will begin interviewing primary candidates to determine their positions on abortion questions.

Similar surveys are being conducted by many of the other 33 Right to Life chapters in Iowa. Attorney Robert Dopf of Des Moines is project coordinator for Iowans for Life.

Two are arrested for drunk driving

Two persons were arrested on charges of drunk driving in Linn County Thursday night and [illegible]

See attached survey.

BYLAWS

THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

ARTICLE I

PURPOSE

In order to guarantee the right to life of all people of the United States of America, the purposes of the NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC., are to engage in educational, charitable, scientific and political activities, projects or purposes including specifically, but not in limitation of the foregoing:

1. To promote respect for the worth and dignity of all human life, including the life of the unborn child from the moment of conception.

2. To promote, encourage and sponsor such amendatory and statutory measures which will provide protection for human life before and after birth, particularly for the defenseless, the incompetent, and the impaired and the incapacitated.

3. To engage in such activities as shall be set forth in the bylaws of the Committee which will assist in the accomplishment of those purposes immediately aforementioned.

ARTICLE II

OFFICES

The principal office of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., shall be at Washington, D. C. The corporation may have such other office or offices, within or without the District of Columbia, as the Board of Directors may determine or as the affairs of the corporation may require, from time to time.

Revised June 1974

ARTICLE III

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. GENERAL POWERS. The affairs of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., shall be managed by its Board of Directors. Directors need not be residents of the District of Columbia.

2. NUMBER AND TENURE. The number of Directors shall not be less than three (3) nor more than sixty-one (61). Each State Director shall hold office until his or her successor shall have been elected. Each At Large Director shall hold office until the next annual meeting.

3. ELECTION OF STATE DIRECTORS. Each state and the District of Columbia may elect one State Director to serve on the Board of Directors. The time, place and manner of electing the State Director shall be decided by each state and the District of Columbia but shall, generally speaking, be done annually in conformity with these bylaws.

4. NOTIFICATION OF ELECTION OF STATE DIRECTORS. Each state shall elect its State Director and notify the Board of Directors by filing the results of said election in the principal office of National Right to Life Committee, Inc., within 10 days of said election and no later than thirty (30) days prior to the commencement of the annual meeting. In the event a challenge is filed, the state shall be prepared to state the date of said election, the manner in which said election was held, the place where it was held, the manner of voting, the total votes eligible to be cast, the qualifications for eligible voters, the total vote cast, the names and addresses of each candidate and the number of votes cast for each, and finally, the name and address of the newly elected State Director and the number of votes he or she received. This information shall be filed in a sealed envelope labeled with the new State Director's name and address and the caption "election results", to be opened by the Credentials Committee only in the event of a challenge from within said state. The Board of Directors shall be notified of intended challenges to the election of any State Director by notice in writing filed in the principal office of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., no later than ten (10) days prior to the commencement of any Board meeting. Said notice shall clearly specify the reasons for the challenge and shall be served upon the challenged State Director no later than ten (10) days prior to the commencement of the meeting. Such notice may be served by Registered or Certified Mail to the address of the State Director as listed in the records of the National Right to Life, Inc.

5. CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE. Any challenge to the authority of a State Director to be seated on the Board of Directors shall be decided by a Credentials Committee composed of five (5) non-challenged Directors, which shall be appointed by the Board of Directors, or by the Executive Committee if the Board of Directors has not done so twenty (20) days prior to the annual meeting. The Credentials Committee shall hold hearings on said challenge and determine by majority vote the authority of any challenged State Director to be seated on the Board of Directors. The decision of the Credentials Committee may be appealed to the Board of Directors. A majority decision by the Board of Directors is final and non-appealable.

6. ELECTION OF AT LARGE DIRECTORS. At Large Directors may be elected by the Board of Directors. The number of At Large Directors shall not exceed a number equal to twenty percent (20%) of the elected State Directors. The elections for At Large Directors shall immediately follow the seating of the State Directors. Nominations shall be by petition signed by not less than five (5) State Directors. No State Director shall sign more than one such petition. At Large Directors shall be elected by majority vote of the State Directors. Election as an At Large Director may occur at any duly convened meeting of the Board of Directors, provided nominations for such are mailed to all Directors ten days prior to the opening of such meeting.

7. RESIGNATION OF DIRECTORS. A Director may resign at any time from the Board of Directors by giving written notice to the President. Such resignation shall be effective on the date designated in such notice, or if no date is designated, then upon receipt by the President. Unless otherwise stipulated, acceptance of such resignation shall not be necessary for it to be effective.

8. REMOVAL OF DIRECTORS. By a vote of two-thirds (2/3) of the Directors, any Director who is judged as unwilling or unable to fulfill his or her duties may be removed at any meeting of the Board of Directors upon the written initiative of at least six (6) Directors presented to the President, and after appropriate hearing. The proposed removal shall be stated in the notice to be given for such meeting, such meeting notice to be mailed 20 days before said meeting.

9. VACANCIES. Any vacancy occurring on the Board of Directors shall be filled by the jurisdiction which such State Director represented.

10. COMPENSATION. Directors as such shall not receive any compensation for their services; but nothing contained herein shall be construed to preclude any Director from serving the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., in any other capacity and receiving compensation therefore. Directors with financial interests in the Pro-Life movement should exercise care to avoid conflicts of interest.

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11. MEETINGS.

(A) The annual meeting of the Board of Directors shall be held during the second or third quarter of each calendar year at such time and place as is decided upon by the Board of Directors. The Board of Directors may provide by resolution for the time and place, either within or without the District of Columbia, for the holding of additional regular meetings.

(B) Special meetings of the Board of Directors shall be called by the Chairman of the Board upon majority vote of the Executive Committee or by petition of a number of Directors equal to at least twenty-five percent (25%) of the full Board of Directors.

(C) Notice of any regular or special meeting of the Board of Directors shall be given at least twenty (20) days prior to the meeting by written notice delivered personally or sent by mail or telegram to each Director at the address shown for such Director in the records of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. If mailed, such notice shall be deemed to be delivered when deposited in the United States mail in a sealed envelope, so addressed, with postage prepaid thereon. If notice be given by telegram, such notice shall be deemed to be delivered when the telegram is delivered to the telegraph company. The attendance of a Director at any meeting shall constitute a waiver of notice of such meeting. Neither the business to be transacted, nor the purpose of any regular or special meeting of the Board of Directors need be specified in the notice of such meeting unless specifically required by law or by these bylaws.

12. QUORUM. A majority of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting of the Board of Directors. For purposes of establishing a quorum, a State Director shall not be considered present if his or her proxy is held by another Director.

13. INFORMAL ACTION BY DIRECTORS. Any action required by law to be taken at a meeting of the Board of Directors may be taken without a meeting if a consent in writing, setting forth the action so taken, shall be signed by all of the Directors.

14. PROXY VOTES. A State Director may assign his or her vote to another Director, or to a person from the same state, by proxy executed in writing. No person may exercise more than one (1) proxy. The presence of a Director at a meeting revokes his or her proxy.

15. VOTE BY MAIL AND TELEPHONE. A vote to be taken by the Board of Directors on any matter may be conducted by mail, telephone, or other electronic device.

Revised June 1974

16. VOTING BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. Each Director shall be entitled to cast one (1) vote on all matters that come before the Board of Directors. Cumulative voting shall not be allowed.

17. COMMITTEES AND ADVISORS. The Board of Directors may from time to time appoint committees, advisory boards or councils to perform functions designated by the Board. Minutes shall be kept of the meetings of all such committees, advisory boards or councils.

ARTICLE IV

HONORARY DIRECTORS

There shall be another class of directors called Honorary Directors who may attend all meetings of the Board of Directors but will not have voting privileges. Honorary Directors will be selected because of their unique contribution to the pro-life movement. Nominations for Honorary Directors may be made upon the written initiative of any six (6) Directors. Honorary Directors shall be elected by the Board of Directors and shall serve for indefinite terms subject to reconfirmation by the board at each annual meeting.

ARTICLE V

OFFICERS

1. OFFICERS. The Officers of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., shall be a President, an Executive Vice President, Other Vice Presidents (the number thereof, if any, to be determined by the Board of Directors), a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Chairman of the Board, a Vice Chairman of the Board, and such other officers as may be elected in accordance with the provisions of this Article. The Board of Directors may elect or appoint such other officers as it shall deem desirable, such officers to have the authority and perform the duties prescribed from time to time by the Board of Directors. The Officers of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., must be elected from the members of the Board of Directors. Any two or more offices may be held by the same person, except for the offices of President and Secretary.

2. ELECTION AND TERM OF OFFICE. The President, Executive Vice President, Other Vice Presidents (if any), Secretary, Treasurer, Chairman of the Board and Vice Chairman of the Board of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at the

regular annual meeting of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. The Board of Directors shall elect a Nominating Committee of five Directors which shall receive nominations in writing to these offices. The Nominating Committee shall place in nomination each name so received, and such additional names as it deems appropriate. The candidate receiving the most votes for each office will be the winner providing he or she has received the affirmative votes of a majority of those voting. If no candidate for an office receives the majority of the votes, then the two (2) highest candidates for that office shall run in a run-off election, the winner being the person obtaining the highest number of votes. If the election of officers shall not be held at such meeting, such election shall be held as soon thereafter as convenient. Other offices may be created and filled at any meeting of the Board of Directors. Each officer shall hold office until a successor shall have been duly elected and shall have been qualified.

3. REMOVAL AND RESIGNATION. Any officer elected or appointed by the Board of Directors may be removed after appropriate hearing by the Board of Directors, notice of such hearing having been mailed 20 days prior, whenever in its judgment the best interests of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. would be served thereby. Any officer may resign at any time by giving written notice to the Chairman of the Board or the Secretary of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

4. VACANCIES. A vacancy in any office because of death, resignation, removal, disqualification or otherwise, may be filled by the Board of Directors for the unexpired portion of the term.

5. DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

(A) THE PRESIDENT. The President shall act as the chief executive officer of the corporation, preside at all meetings of the Executive Committee and perform all duties incident to chairing these meetings, sign and execute all legal instruments, serve as an ex-officio member of all committees except the nominating committee, make certain that all orders and resolutions of the Board of Directors and Executive Committee are carried into effect and appoint all committees, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.

(B) THE EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT. The Executive Vice President shall assist the President in the performance of his or her duties, and shall perform those duties in the absence or inability of the President.

(C) OTHER VICE PRESIDENTS. Other Vice Presidents may have such duties as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

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(D) THE SECRETARY. The Secretary shall keep the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors in one or more books provided for that purpose; shall see that all notices are duly given in accordance with the provisions of these bylaws or as required by law; shall be custodian of the records of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.; shall keep a register of the postal addresses of each Director of the Committee, and in general, shall perform all the duties incident to the office of Secretary and such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors. The Secretary, with the approval of the Executive Committee, may assign such duties to another.

(E) THE TREASURER. The Treasurer shall have charge and custody of, and be responsible for, all funds and assets of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. He or she shall receive and give receipt for money payable to the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., from any sources, and SHALL DEPOSIT ALL SUCH MONEY IN THE NAME OF AND TO THE CREDIT OF the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., in such banks and other depositories as shall be selected by the Executive Committee. He or she shall, in general, perform all the duties incident to the office of Treasurer, including the maintenance of complete and accurate books and records of account, and such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors. Such duties may, with the approval of the Executive Committee, be assigned to another.

(F) CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall preside at the first annual meeting of the Board of Directors until the Board of Directors shall elect its own chairman. The Chairman of the Board of Directors shall perform all duties incident to the office and such other duties as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

(G) VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. The Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors shall assist the Chairman of the Board of Directors in the performance of his or her duties, and shall perform those duties in the absence or inability of the Chairman of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VI

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee shall consist of nine (9) members. The President and the Executive Vice President of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall serve as Chairman and Vice Chairman, respectively, and voting members of the Executive Committee. The Secretary and Treasurer shall also be voting members of the Executive Committee. The remaining members of the Executive Committee shall be members of the Board of

Directors and shall be elected by the Board of Directors at the annual meeting. The nomination, election, removal, resignation, and filling of any vacancies for said remaining positions shall be in the manner specified for officers in Article V above; provided, however, that the remaining members of the Executive Committee shall be elected on a single ballot. Cumulative voting shall be prohibited. This Committee shall, between meetings of the Board, exercise all the powers of the Board, with such specific limitations as the Board may, in its discretion, determine.

ARTICLE VII

STAFF

1. EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. The Executive Committee may appoint an Executive Director who shall serve at the pleasure of the Executive Committee. A vacancy in the position may be filled at any meeting of the Executive Committee. The Executive Director may be paid a salary, in the discretion of the Executive Committee. Between meetings of the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee, the Executive Director shall be responsible to the President for day-to-day operation of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. He or she shall be empowered with such financial responsibilities and authority as specified by the Executive Committee.

2. OTHER STAFF. The Executive Director shall have the power to hire other staff and perform other personnel functions. He may delegate duties to them. The provisions of this paragraph shall be subject to policies and procedures defined by the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VIII

MEMBERS

The Members of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be divided into four (4) classes:

1. STATE DIRECTORS. A State Director is a duly elected member of the Board of Directors who is then serving in office as a State Director. A State Director shall have the right to vote on the management and affairs of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., as provided for in the bylaws.

2. AT LARGE DIRECTORS. An At Large Director is a duly elected member of the Board of Directors who has been elected pursuant to the provisions of Article III above. At Large Directors shall have the right to vote on the management and affairs of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., as provided for in the bylaws.

3. HONORARY DIRECTORS. An Honorary Director is an ex-officio and non-voting member of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., elected by the Board of Directors in acknowledgement of his or her unique contributions to the pro-life movement.

4. ASSOCIATE MEMBERS. An Associate Member is any individual, partnership, trust, firm or corporation, who or which shall pay annual dues to be set by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE IX

CHECKS AND DEPOSITS OF FUNDS

All checks, drafts or orders for the payment of money, notes or other evidences of indebtedness issued in the name of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be signed by such officer or officers, agent or agents and in such manner as shall be determined from time to time by the Executive Committee. All funds of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be deposited TO THE CREDIT OF THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC. in such banks or other depositories as shall be determined from time to time by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE X

CORPORATE SEAL

The Corporate Seal shall be a metallic seal and shall be kept in the possession of the Secretary of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., or in the principal office of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

ARTICLE XI

BOOKS AND RECORDS

National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall keep correct and complete books and records of accounts and shall also keep minutes of the proceedings of its Board of Directors and committees having any of the authority of the Board of Directors, and shall keep at its registered or principal office a record giving the names and addresses of the Directors entitled to vote. All books and records of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. may be inspected by any Director, or his or her agent or attorney, for any proper purpose at any reasonable time.

ARTICLE XII

INDEMNIFICATION

National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall indemnify each member of the Board of Directors, each committee member and each officer of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., now or hereafter a member of the Board of Directors, committee member or officer, his or her heirs, executors, and administrators, against all costs, expenses and liabilities, including settlements approved by the Board of Directors, reasonably incurred or imposed upon him or her in connection with or resulting from any action, criminal or otherwise, suit or proceeding or the compromise thereof, prior to final adjudication to which he or she is or may be a party by reason of his or her being or having been a member of the Board of Directors, committee member or officer of National Right to Life Committee, Inc. except in relation to matters as to which he or she, if finally adjudged in such action, suit or proceeding, to have been negligent or derelict in the performance of his or her duty as a member of the Board of Directors or as an officer of National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

Provided, however, that in criminal actions the Director, committee member or officer of National Right to Life Committee, Inc. had no reasonable grounds to believe that his or her conduct was unlawful. The Board of Directors may purchase such insurance as is necessary to effectuate this policy of indemnification.

In the event that a question arises as to whether or not such Director, committee member or officer of National Right to Life Committee, Inc. has met the standards of conduct hereinabove set forth in this Article, such

question shall be conclusively determined by the Board of Directors acting by a quorum consisting of Directors who are not involved in such claim, action, suit or proceeding, or by the written opinion of reputable, disinterested legal counsel selected by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE XIII

WAIVER OF NOTICE

Whenever any notice is required to be given under the provisions of the District of Columbia Non-Profit Corporation Act or under the provisions of the Articles of Incorporation or the Bylaws of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., waivers thereof in writing, signed by each person entitled to such notice, whether before or after the times stated therein, shall be deemed equivalent to the giving of such notice.

ARTICLE XIV

VOTE BY MAIL

Notwithstanding any other provisions of these bylaws, where these bylaws allow voting by mail or other electronic device, those Directors voting by mail or other electronic device shall be included as present for the purposes of determining a quorum on only such subject matter of the vote taken by mail or other electronic device.

ARTICLE XV

AMENDMENTS TO THE BYLAWS

These bylaws may be altered, amended or repealed, or new bylaws may be adopted at any meeting, by a two-thirds (2/3) vote of the Board of Directors; provided, however, that at least ten (10) days notice be given of the intention to alter, amend or repeal, or adopt new bylaws, prior to such meeting; and that such notice shall include the proposed change or a discussion of the substance and issues involved.

Revised June 1974

ARTICLE XVI

PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY

The rules contained in the current edition of Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised shall govern the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., in all cases to which they are applicable and in which they are not inconsistent with these bylaws or any special rules of order the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. may adopt, and any statutes applicable to this organization.

BYLAWS

THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, Inc.

ARTICLE I

OFFICES

The principal office of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be at Washington, D.C. The Corporation may have such other office or offices, within or without the District of Columbia, as the Board of Directors may determine or as the affairs of the Corporation may require, from time to time.

ARTICLE II

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. GENERAL POWERS. The affairs of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be managed by its Board of Directors. Directors need not be residents of the District of Columbia, but must reside in the state they represent. Each director shall cast one vote.

2. NUMBER AND TENURE. The number of directors shall not be less than three (3), nor more than sixty-one (61). Each director shall hold office until the next annual meeting or until his successor shall have been elected.

3. ELECTION OF DIRECTORS. One director shall be elected by each state of the United States and the District of Columbia. The time, place and manner of electing the director shall be prescribed by each state and the District of Columbia. The Executive Committee will have the authority to nominate additional at-large members to the Board of Directors, these members to be elected by a majority vote of the elected representatives who shall constitute the Board of Directors. The number of these additional at-large directors shall not exceed a number equal to twenty percentum (20%) of those elected representatives.

4. CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE. Any dispute as to state representation shall be resolved by a Credentials Committee, which Committee shall be appointed by the Executive Committee in 1973 and by the Board of Directors thereafter. All state representatives shall be elected and the Executive Committee notified as to their election no later than ten (10) days prior to the opening day of each annual convention of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. so as to allow sufficient time for the presentation of challenges to such representatives, and the resolution of such challenges by the Credentials Committee. The Credentials Committee shall hold a hearing on any dispute as to representation and determine, by majority vote, the rightful holder, if any, of the directorship. The decision of the Credentials Committee may be appealed to the Board of Directors.

5. RESIGNATION OF DIRECTORS. A director may resign at any time from the Board of Directors by giving written notice to the Chairman of the Board of Directors. Such resignation shall be effective on the date designated in such notice, or if no date is designated, then upon receipt by the Chairman. Unless otherwise stipulated, acceptance of such resignation shall not be necessary for it to be effective.

6. REMOVAL OF DIRECTORS. By a vote of two-thirds (2/3) of the directors any director who is judged as unwilling or unable to fulfill his or her duties may be removed at any meeting of the Board of Directors upon the written initiative of at least six (6) directors presented to the Chairman. The proposed removal shall be stated in the notice to be given for such meeting.

7. VACANCIES. Any vacancy occurring in the Board of Directors shall be filled by the jurisdiction which such director represented. Vacancies occurring among at-large directors shall be filled by the Executive Committee with the advice and consent of the Board of Directors. A Director elected to fill a vacancy shall be elected for the unexpired term of his or her predecessor in office.

8. COMPENSATION. Directors as such shall not receive any compensation for their services; but nothing contained herein shall be construed to preclude any director from serving the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. in any other capacity and receiving compensation therefor.

9. MEETINGS. (a) The annual meeting of the Board of Directors shall be held without other notice than this bylaw during the second or third quarter of each calendar year at such time and place as is decided upon by the Board of Directors; and the meeting at which these bylaws are adopted shall be considered the first annual meeting of the Board of Directors. The Board of Directors may provide by resolution for the time and place, either within or without the District of Columbia, for the holding of additional regular meetings for which no other notice need be given. (b) Special meetings of the Board of Directors shall be called by the Chairman of the Board of Directors at the request of a number of the directors equal to at least twenty-five percentum (25%) of the full Board of Directors. Notice of any special meeting of the Board of Directors shall be given at least twenty (20) days prior to the meeting by written notice delivered personally or sent by mail or telegram to each Director at the address shown for such director in the records of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. If mailed, such notice shall be deemed to be delivered when deposited in the United States mail in a sealed envelope so addressed, with postage prepaid thereon. If notice be given by telegram, such notice shall be deemed to be delivered when the telegram is delivered to the telegraph company. The attendance of a director at any meeting shall constitute a waiver of notice of such meeting. Neither the business to be transacted, nor the purpose of, any regular or special meeting of the Board of Directors need be specified in the notice of such meeting unless specifically required by law or by these bylaws.

10. QUORUM. A majority of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting of the Board of Directors.

11. INFORMAL ACTION BY DIRECTORS. Any action required by law to be taken at a meeting of the Board of Directors may be taken without a meeting if a consent in writing, setting forth the action so taken, shall be signed by a majority of the directors.

12. PROXY VOTES. A director may vote by proxy executed in writing. No person may exercise more than three (3) proxies. The presence of a director at a meeting revokes his or her proxy.

13. VOTE BY MAIL AND TELEPHONE. A vote to be taken by the Board of Directors on any matter may be conducted by mail, telephone, or other electronic device.

14. COMMITTEES. The Board of Directors may, from time to time, appoint committees to perform functions designated by the Board. Minutes shall be kept of the meetings of all such committees.

15. CUMULATIVE VOTING BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. In all elections for the Executive Committee and/or the Presidency of the National Right to Life Committee, each director shall be entitled to cast one vote for each position open and cumulative voting shall not be allowed.

ARTICLE III

OFFICERS

1. The officers of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be a president, one or more vice-presidents (the number thereof to be determined by the Board of Directors), a secretary, a treasurer, and such other officers as may be elected in accordance with the provisions of this Article.

2. THE PRESIDENT. The President shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at the regular annual meeting of the National Right to Life Committee. The Board of Directors shall appoint a nominating committee which committee shall nominate candidates for this office. Candidates may also be proposed by any director provided at least five (5) other directors concur in such nomination. The candidate receiving the most votes for this office shall be the winner unless he or she has not received the affirmative votes of a majority of those directors voting. If no candidate receives a majority of the votes cast by those voting, then the two highest candidates shall run in a run-off election. The President may be removed from office by the Board of Directors by a two-thirds (2/3) vote whenever, in its judgment, the best interests of the National Right to Life Committee would be served thereby.

A vacancy in the office of the Presidency shall be filled by the Board of Directors for the unexpired portion of the term.

3. OTHER OFFICERS. All other officers shall be elected by the Executive Committee, subject to ratification by the Board of Directors.

4. NECESSITY FOR MEMBERSHIP OF OFFICERS ON BOARD OF DIRECTORS. No officer of the National Right to Life Committee need be a member of the Board of Directors.

5. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

(a) THE PRESIDENT. The President shall be the chief operating officer and shall be responsible for the day-to-day operation of the National Right to Life Committee and shall also perform such other duties assigned by the Board of Directors.

(b) THE VICE PRESIDENT. The Vice President shall assist the President in the performance of his or her duties, and shall perform those duties in the absence or inability of the President.

(c) THE SECRETARY. The Secretary shall keep the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors in one or more books provided for that purpose; shall see that all notices are duly given in accordance with the provisions of these bylaws or as required by law; shall be custodian of the records of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.; shall keep a register of the postal addresses of each director of the Committee and, in general, shall perform all of the duties incident to the office of Secretary and such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors. The Secretary, with the approval of the Executive Committee, may assign such duties to another.

(d) THE TREASURER. The Treasurer shall have charge and custody of, and be responsible for, all funds and assets of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. He or she shall receive and give receipt for money payable to the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., from any sources, and SHALL DEPOSIT ALL SUCH MONEY IN THE NAME OR AND TO THE CREDIT OF THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INCORPORATED, in such banks and other depositories as shall be selected by the Executive Committee. He or she shall, in general, perform all of the duties incident to the office of Treasurer, including the maintenance of complete and accurate books and records of account, and such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors. Such duties may, with the approval of the Executive Committee, be assigned to another.

(e) EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. There shall be an Executive Director who shall serve at the pleasure of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE IV

MEMBERS

The members of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be divided into two (2) classes:

1. DIRECTORS. A Director is a duly elected member of the Board of Directors who is then serving in office as a director; and a director shall have the right to vote on the management and affairs of the National Right to Life Committee as provided for in these bylaws.

2. ASSOCIATE MEMBERS. An associate member is any individual, partnership, trust, firm or corporation, who or which shall pay an annual dues to be set by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE V

CHECKS AND DEPOSITS OF FUNDS

All checks, drafts or orders for the payment of money, notes or other evidences of indebtedness issued in the name of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be signed by such officer or officers, agent or agents and in such manner as shall be determined from time to time by the Executive Committee. All funds of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be deposited TO THE CREDIT OF THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC. in such banks or other depositories as shall be determined from time to time by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI

CORPORATE SEAL

The corporate seal shall be a metallic seal and shall be kept in the possession of the Secretary.

ARTICLE VII

AMENDMENTS TO THE BYLAWS

These bylaws may be altered, amended or repealed, or new bylaws may be adopted, by a vote of two-thirds (2/3) of the Directors present at any regular meeting or at any special meeting at which a quorum is present; provided, however, that at least ten (10) days notice must be given of the intention to alter, amend or repeal or adopt new bylaws at such meeting, prior to such meeting.

ARTICLE VIII

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. The Executive Committee of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall consist of nine (9) members. The President of the National Right to Life Committee shall serve as an ex officio, and voting, member of the Executive Committee. The remaining eight (8) members of the Executive Committee shall be members of the Board of Directors at the time of their election and shall be elected by the Board of Directors from nominees submitted by the Nominating Committee which shall be appointed by the Board of Directors. Candidates may also be proposed by any Director provided at least five (5) other directors concur in such nomination.

2. In elections to the Executive Committee each member of the Board of Directors shall have eight (8) votes and may use all or part of these votes; but cumulative voting shall not be permitted and no single board member may cast more than one (1) vote for any nominee; provided, however, that a board member shall exercise any proxies in the same manner.

3. At the 1973 National Right to Life Convention, those four (4) members of the Executive Committee who shall receive the highest number of votes shall serve for a term of two (2) years. The remaining members shall serve for a term of one (1) year. Thereafter, all elections to the Executive Committee shall be for a term of two (2) years.

4. Vacancies on the Executive Committee, with the exception of a vacancy occurring in the office of the presidency, shall be filled by the Executive Committee for a term to run until the next annual convention.

5. The Executive Committee shall be responsible for the specific management of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. and such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors.

6. CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall preside at the first annual meeting of the Board of Directors until the Board of Directors shall elect its own Chairman. The Chairman of the Board of Directors shall perform all duties incident to the office and such other duties as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

7. VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. In the absence of the Chairman, or in the event of his or her inability or refusal to act, the Vice Chairman, who shall be elected by the Board of Directors, shall perform the duties of the Chairman and, when so acting, shall have all the powers of, and be subject to all of the restrictions on, the Chairman. The Vice Chairman shall also perform such other duties as may be assigned from time to time by the Board of Directors.

BYLAWS

THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, Inc.

ARTICLE I

OFFICES

The principal office of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be at Washington, D.C. The Corporation may have such other office or offices, within or without the District of Columbia, as the Board of Directors may determine or as the affairs of the Corporation may require, from time to time.

ARTICLE II

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. GENERAL POWERS. The affairs of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be managed by its Board of Directors. Directors need not be residents of the District of Columbia, but must reside in the state they represent. Each director shall cast one vote.

2. NUMBER AND TENURE. The number of directors shall not be less than three (3), nor more than sixty-one (61). Each director shall hold office until the next annual meeting or until his successor shall have been elected.

3. ELECTION OF DIRECTORS. One Director shall be elected by each state of the United States and the District of Columbia. The time, place and manner of electing the Director shall be prescribed by each state and the District of Columbia. The Executive Committee will have the authority to appoint additional at-large members to the Board of Directors, with the advice and consent of the majority of the elected representatives who shall constitute the Board of Directors. The number of these additional at-large Directors shall not exceed a number equal to twenty percentum (20%) of those elected representatives.

4. CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE. Any dispute as to state representation shall be resolved by a Credentials Committee, which Committee shall be appointed by the Executive Committee in 1973 and by the Board of Directors thereafter. All state representatives shall be elected and the Executive Committee notified as to their election no later than ten (10) days prior to the opening day of each annual convention of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. so as to allow sufficient time for the presentation of challenges to such representatives, and the resolution of such challenges by the Credentials Committee. The Credentials Committee shall hold a hearing on any dispute as to representation and determine, by majority vote, the rightful holder, if any, of the directorship. The decision of the Credentials Committee shall be final and shall not be subject to further review.

5. RESIGNATION OF DIRECTORS. A Director may resign at any time from the Board of Directors by giving written notice to the Chairman of the Board of Directors. Such resignation shall be effective on the date designated in such notice, or if no date is designated, then upon receipt by the Chairman. Unless otherwise stipulated, acceptance of such resignation shall not be necessary for it to be effective.

6. REMOVAL OF DIRECTORS. By a vote of two-thirds (2/3) of the Directors any Director who is judged as unwilling or unable to fulfill his or her duties may be removed at any meeting of the Board of Directors upon the written initiative of at least six (6) Directors presented to the Chairman. The proposed removal shall be stated in the notice to be given for such meeting.

7. VACANCIES. Any vacancy occurring in the Board of Directors shall be filled by the jurisdiction which such director represented. Vacancies occurring among at-large directors shall be filled by the Executive Committee with the advice and consent of the Board of Directors. A Director elected to fill a vacancy shall be elected for the unexpired term of his or her predecessor in office.

8. COMPENSATION. Directors as such shall not receive any compensation for their services; but nothing contained herein shall be construed to preclude any Director from serving the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. in any other capacity and receiving compensation therefor.

9. MEETINGS. (a.) The annual meeting of the Board of Directors shall be held without other notice than this bylaw during the second or third quarter of each calendar year at such time and place as is decided upon by the Board of Directors; and the meeting at which these bylaws are adopted shall be considered the first annual meeting of the Board of Directors. The Board of Directors may provide by resolution for the time and place, either within or without the District of Columbia, for the holding of additional regular meetings for which no other notice need be given. (b.) Special meetings of the Board of Directors shall be called by the Chairman of the Board of Directors at the request of a number of the Directors equal to at least twenty-five percentum (25%) of the full Board of Directors. Notice of any special meeting of the Board of Directors shall be given at least twenty (20) days prior to the meeting by written notice delivered personally or sent by mail or telegram to each Director at the address shown for such Director in the records of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. If mailed, such notice shall be deemed to be delivered when deposited in the United States mail in a sealed envelope so addressed, with postage prepaid thereon. If notice be given by telegram, such notice shall be deemed to be delivered when the telegram is delivered to the telegraph company. The attendance of a Director at any meeting shall constitute a waiver of notice of such meeting. Neither the business to be transacted, nor the purpose of, any regular or special meeting of the Board of Directors need be specified in the notice of such meeting, unless specifically required by law or by these bylaws.

10. QUORUM. A majority of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting of the Board of Directors.

11. INFORMAL ACTION BY DIRECTORS. Any action required by law to be taken at a meeting of the Board of Directors may be taken without a meeting if a consent in writing, setting forth the action so taken, shall be signed by a majority of the Directors.

12. PROXY VOTES. A Director may vote by proxy executed in writing and notarized. The presence of a Director at a meeting revokes his or her proxy.

13. VOTE BY MAIL AND TELEPHONE. A vote to be taken by the Board of Directors on any matter may be conducted by mail, telephone or other electronic device.

14. COMMITTEES. The Board of Directors may, from time to time, appoint committees to perform functions designated by the Board. Minutes shall be kept of the meetings of all such committees.

15. CUMULATIVE VOTING BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. In all elections for the Executive Committee and/or the Presidency of the National Right to Life Committee, each Director shall be entitled to cast one vote for each position open and cumulative voting shall not be allowed.

ARTICLE III

OFFICERS

1. The officers of the National Right to Life Committee shall be a president, one or more vice-presidents (the number thereof to be determined by the Board of Directors), a secretary, a treasurer, and such other officers as may be elected in accordance with the provisions of this Article.

2. THE PRESIDENT. The President shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at the regular annual meeting of the National Right to Life Committee. The Board of Directors shall appoint a nominating committee which committee shall nominate candidates for this office. Candidates may also be proposed by any Director provided at least five (5) other Directors concur in such nomination. The candidate receiving the most votes for this office shall be the winner unless he or she has not received the affirmative votes of a majority of those Directors voting. If no candidate receives a majority of the votes cast by those voting, then the two highest candidates shall run in a run-off election. The President may be removed from office by the Board of Directors by majority vote whenever, in its judgment, the best interests of the National Right to Life Committee would be served thereby.

A vacancy in the office of the Presidency shall be filled by the Board of Directors for the unexpired portion of the term.

3. OTHER OFFICERS. All other officers shall be elected by the Executive Committee, subject to ratification by the Board of Directors.

4. NECESSITY FOR MEMBERSHIP OF OFFICERS ON BOARD OF DIRECTORS. No officer of the National Right to Life Committee need be a member of the Board of Directors.

5. CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall preside at the first annual meeting of the Board of Directors until the Board of Directors shall elect its own chairman. The Chairman of the Board of Directors shall perform all duties incident to the office and such other duties as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

6. VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. In the absence of the Chairman, or in the event of his or her inability or refusal to act, the Vice Chairman, who shall be elected by the Board of Directors, shall perform the duties of the Chairman and, when so acting, shall have all the powers of, and be subject to all of the restrictions on, the Chairman. The Vice Chairman shall also perform such other duties as may be assigned from time to time by the Board of Directors.

7. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

(a) THE PRESIDENT. The President shall be the chief operating officer and shall be responsible for the day-to-day operation of the National Right to Life Committee and shall also perform such other duties assigned by the Board of Directors.

(b) THE VICE PRESIDENT. The Vice President shall assist the President in the performance of his or her duties, and shall perform those duties in the absence or inability of the President.

(c) THE SECRETARY. The Secretary shall keep the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors in one or more books provided for that purpose; shall see that all notices are duly given in accordance with the provisions of these bylaws or as required by law; shall be custodian of the records of the National Right to Life Committee; shall keep a register of the postal addresses of each Director of the Committee and, in general, shall perform all of the duties incident to the office of secretary and such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors. The Secretary, with the approval of the Executive Committee, may assign such duties to another.

(d) THE TREASURER. The Treasurer shall have charge and custody of, and be responsible for, all funds and assets of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. He or she shall receive and give receipt for money payable to the National Right to Life Committee, from any sources, and SHALL DEPOSIT ALL SUCH MONEY IN THE NAME OF AND TO THE CREDIT OF THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INCORPORATED, in such banks and other depositories as shall be selected by the Executive Committee. He or she shall, in general, perform all of the duties incident to the office of Treasurer, including the maintenance of complete and accurate books and records of account, and such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors. Such duties may, with the approval of the Executive Committee, be assigned to another.

(e) EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. There shall be an Executive Director who shall serve at the pleasure of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE IV

MEMBERS

The members of the National Right to Life Committee shall be divided into two (2) classes:

1: DIRECTORS. A Director is a duly elected member of the Board of Directors who is then serving in office as a Director; and a Director shall have the right to vote on the management and affairs of the National Right to Life Committee as provided for in these bylaws.

2. ASSOCIATE MEMBERS. An associate member is any individual, partnership, trust, firm or corporation, who or which shall pay an annual dues to be set by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE V

CHECKS AND DEPOSITS OF FUNDS

All checks, drafts or orders for the payment of money, notes or other evidences of indebtedness issued in the name of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be signed by such officer or officers, agent or agents and in such manner as shall be determined from time to time by the Executive Committee. All funds of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be deposited TO THE CREDIT OF THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC. in such banks or other depositories as shall be determined from time to time by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI

CORPORATE SEAL

The corporate seal shall be a metallic seal and shall be kept in the possession of the Secretary.

ARTICLE VII

AMENDMENTS TO THE BYLAWS

These bylaws may be altered, amended or repealed, or new bylaws may be adopted, by a vote of two-thirds (2/3) of the Directors present at any regular meeting or at any special meeting at which a quorum is present; provided, however, that at least ten (10) days notice must be given of the intention to alter, amend or repeal or adopt new bylaws at such meeting, prior to such meeting.

ARTICLE VIII

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. The Executive Committee of the National Right to Life Committee shall consist of nine (9) members. The President of the National Right to Life Committee shall serve as an ex officio, and voting, member of the Executive Committee. The remaining eight (8) members of the Executive Committee shall be elected by the Board of Directors from nominees submitted by the Nominating Committee which shall be appointed by the Board of Directors. Candidates may also be proposed by any Director provided at least five (5) other Directors concur in such nomination.

1. In elections to the Executive Committee each member of the Board of Directors shall have eight (8) votes and may use all or part of these votes; but cumulative voting shall not be permitted and no single board member may cast more than one (1) vote for any nominee; provided, however, that a board member shall exercise any proxies in the same manner.

3. At the 1973 National Right to Life Convention, those four (4) members of the Executive Committee who shall receive the highest number of votes shall serve for a term of two (2) years. The remaining members shall serve for a term of one (1) year. Thereafter, all elections to the Executive Committee shall be for a term of two (2) years.

4. Vacancies on the Executive Committee, with the exception of a vacancy occurring in the office of the presidency, shall be filled by the Executive Committee for a term to run until the next annual convention.

5. The Executive Committee shall be responsible for the specific management of the National Right to Life Committee and such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors.

3 1 0 1 0 2 3 5 7 5 0

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE

P O Box 9365 Washington D C 20005

OFFICERS

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors; Nominating Committee; Credentials Committee

FROM: Edward J. Golden, Chairman, Executive Committee

DATE: May 28, 1973

The enclosed information is pertinent to the Directors' meeting of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., on June 8, 1973, in Detroit, Michigan. The meeting will begin at 1:00 PM.

1. Incorporation papers
2. Constitution
3. Bylaws of Corporation

Item #1 -- The incorporation papers are legal documents already executed and filed.

The officers of the Corporation as it currently exists are:

Edward J. Golden --- President

Judith Fink--------- Secretary

Jay Bowman --------- Treasurer

Amendments to the Corporation can be made only after the bylaws have been adopted and officers of the Corporation duly elected in a manner prescribed by law.

Item #2 -- The Constitution as stated was adopted and ratified by the former Board of Directors of NRLC in Chicago on March 11, 1973.

Amendments to the Constitution can be made by the Board of Directors only after the bylaws have been ratified and officers elected in a manner set forth in the adopted bylaws.

Item #3 -- The bylaws have been written by the present nine-member Executive Committee.

This document is being sent to you to enable you to peruse its contents as it reflects on your state's activities and guides your

state's participation in the national movement to restore protection for all human life.

It is hoped that the document is strict enough to engender a discipline among the leadership, liberal enough for implementing a broad-based program, and visionary in the sense that the movement will gain it's strength and momentum.

Time will be allowed for comment and Amendments if, in the prudent judgment of the majority of the Directors, they are necessary.

You will receive the agenda for the meeting prior to its convening, as soon as it is completed.

The list of Directors as selected by the various states (insofar as is known to me at this date) is included for reference and introduction.

Also included is a listing of the members of the Nominating Committee and of the Credentials Committee, for the purpose of

a. Forwarding the names of candidates for the elective offices, although the nominations may be handed to the Nominating Committee just prior to the Directors' meeting in Detroit.

b. Providing the machinery for selecting a state delegate when the responding state cannot agree on one selection.

As a duly created representative body, you may wish to meet more than once during the weekend. The facilities for an additional meeting will be provided by the Convention Committee.

It is hoped that your next scheduled meeting will be established prior to the Convention closing.

In conclusion, I would personally like to congratulate you on your selection as state's representative to the Board of Directors, and in behalf of the presently constituted Executive Committee offer you our prayers and very best wishes for a successful convention.

EJG/jf

One copy of bylaws is being sent to each director. It is the responsibility of the state director to make additional copies available to interested persons in his or her state. Copies of the bylaws will be available at the convention for persons who otherwise have not received them.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

The following listings of the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of the Directors are complete as received through May 29, 1973.

Connecticut — Andrew J. O'Keefe Proxy:
W. J. Wholean
134 Farmington Ave.
Hartford, Conn. 06105

203-278-0815

Maine — Jacqueline Pellerin
9 Iyer Rd.
Lewiston, Maine. 04240

207-[illegible]-3305

New Hampshire — Joseph J. Acorace
410 Bremer St.
Manchester, New Hampshire 03102

603-627-7510

New York — Edward J. Golden
4 Willowbrook Lane
Troy, New York 02180

518-272-5716

Rhode Island — T. Robert Bergeron
732 Main St.
Pawtucket, RI 02860

West Virginia — James Knock
Wheeling, W. Va.

304-242-3353

Delaware — William J. Fleming
111 Wentworth Drive
Claymont, Del. 19703

302-798-2739

Florida — Richard Applebaum, MD
7914 SW 104th St.
Miami, Florida 33156

305-271-4211

Georgia — Jay Bowman
3187 Francine Drive
Decatur, Ga. 30033

404-939-6239

Kentucky — Robert L. Greene
3 W. Washington St.
Burlington, Ky. 41005

606-586-6188

Virginia — Anne R. Morrey
1216 Whitby Rd.
Richmond, Va. 23227

703-355-2350

Michigan — Gloria Klein
33728 Tawas Trail
Westland, Michigan 48185

313-427-5875

Minnesota — Marjory Mecklenburg
1219 W. 51st St.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55419

612-827-4073

North Dakota — Albert H. Fortman, MD
1923 Catherine Drive
Bismarck, ND

701-223-0645

Arizona — Carolyn Gerster, MD
7350 E. Stetson
Scottsdale, Arizona 85251

602-945-2609

California — Robert L. Sassone
900 N. Broadway
Suite 725
Santa Ana, Calif. 92701

714-547-5611

Nebraska — Dorothy Shald
170 N. Cornell
Gordon, Nebraska 69343

Utah — Dennis Cook
331 E. South Temple
Salt Lake City, Utah 84111

801-328-8941

Washington — Kenneth Van Derhoef
1010 Dexter Horton Bldg.
Seattle, Washington 98102

206-624-1442

THE FOLLOWING DIRECTORS' NAMES HAVE BEEN RECEIVED AS OF MAY 30, 197[illegible]

complete information concerning addresses and telephone numbers is not available at this time.

Maryland: William Colliton, MD

Massachusetts: Mildred Jefferson, MD

Vermont: Cyrus Brewster

New Jersey: Mark Diebert
Joseph Feeney (2 candidates)

Texas: Prof. Joseph Witherspoon

Wisconsin: Mary Carpenter Bruce

District of Columbia: Nellie Grey

Illinois: Carol Sexton
Patricia Kelly (2 candidates)

Iowa: Carolyn Thompson

Missouri: Frances Freck

Montana — Frances Kuns
P.O. Box 451
Great Falls, Mont. 59601

Louisiana — Redfield E. Bryan, M.D.
7411 Rienzi Blvd.
Baton Rouge, La. 70809

PROPOSED BYLAWS

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, Inc.

ARTICLE I

OFFICES

The principal office of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be at Washington, D.C. The Corporation may have such other office or offices, within or without the District of Columbia, as the Board of Directors may determine or as the affairs of the Corporation may require, from time to time.

ARTICLE II

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. GENERAL POWERS. The affairs of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be managed by its Board of Directors. Directors need not be residents of the District of Columbia, but must reside in the state they represent. Each director shall cast one vote.

2. NUMBER AND TENURE. The number of directors shall not be less than three (3), nor more than sixty-one (61). Each director shall hold office until the next annual meeting or until his successor shall have been elected.

3. ELECTION OF DIRECTORS. One Director shall be elected by each state of the United States and the District of Columbia. The time, place and manner of electing the Director shall be prescribed by each state and the District of Columbia. The Executive Committee will have the authority to appoint additional at-large members to the Board of Directors, with the advice and consent of the majority of the elected representatives who shall constitute the Board of Directors. The number of these additional at-large Directors shall not exceed a number equal to twenty percentum (20%) of those elected representatives.

4. CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE. Any dispute as to state representation shall be resolved by a Credentials Committee, which Committee shall be appointed by the Executive Committee in 1971 and by the Board of Directors thereafter. All state representatives shall be elected and the Executive Committee notified as to their election no later than ten (10) days prior to the opening day of each annual convention of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. so as to allow sufficient time for the presentation of challenges to such representatives, and the resolution of such challenges by the Credentials Committee. The Credentials Committee shall hold a hearing on any dispute as to representation and determine, by majority vote, the rightful holder, if any, of the directorship. The decision of the Credentials Committee shall be final and shall not be subject to further review.

5. RESIGNATION OF DIRECTORS. A Director may resign at any time from the Board of Directors by giving written notice to the Chairman of the Board of Directors. Such resignation shall be effective on the date designated in such notice, or if no date is designated, then upon receipt by the Chairman. Unless otherwise stipulated, acceptance of such resignation shall not be necessary for it to be effective.

6. REMOVAL OF DIRECTORS. By a vote of two-thirds (2/3) of the Directors any Director who is judged as unwilling or unable to fulfill his or her duties may be removed at any meeting of the Board of Directors upon the written initiative of at least six (6) Directors presented to the Chairman. The proposed removal shall be stated in the notice to be given for such meeting.

7. VACANCIES. Any vacancy occurring in the Board of Directors shall be filled by the jurisdiction which such director represented. Vacancies occurring among at-large directors shall be filled by the Executive Committee with the advice and consent of the Board of Directors. A Director elected to fill a vacancy shall be elected for the unexpired term of his or her predecessor in office.

8. COMPENSATION. Directors as such shall not receive any compensation for their services; but nothing contained herein shall be construed to preclude any Director from serving the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. in any other capacity and receiving compensation therefor.

9. MEETINGS. (a.) The annual meeting of the Board of Directors shall be held without other notice than this bylaw during the second or third quarter of each calendar year at such time and place as be decided upon by the Board of Directors; and the meeting at which these bylaws are adopted shall be considered the first annual meeting of the Board of Directors. The Board of Directors may provide by resolution for the time and place, either within or without the District of Columbia, for the holding of additional regular meetings for which no other notice need be given. (b.) Special meetings of the Board of Directors shall be called by the Chairman of the Board of Directors at the request of a number of the Directors equal to at least twenty-five percentum (25%) of the full Board of Directors. Notice of any special meeting of the Board of Directors shall be given at least twenty (20) days prior to the meeting by written notice delivered personally or sent by mail or telegram to each Director at the address shown for such Director in the records of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. If mailed, such notice shall be deemed to be delivered when deposited in the United States mail in a sealed envelope so addressed, with postage prepaid thereon. If notice be given by telegram, such notice shall be deemed to be delivered when the telegram is delivered to the telegraph company. The attendance of a Director at any meeting shall constitute a waiver of notice of such meeting. Neither the business to be transacted, nor the purpose of, any regular or special meeting of the Board of Directors need be specified in the notice of such meeting, unless specifically required by law or by these bylaws.

10. QUORUM. A majority of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting of the Board of Directors.

11. INFORMAL ACTION BY DIRECTORS. Any action required by law to be taken at a meeting of the Board of Directors may be taken without a meeting if a consent in writing, setting forth the action so taken, shall be signed by a majority of the Directors.

John B. Beliveau, Esq.	12 Surry Lane Lewiston, Maine 04240
Martin McKernan, Jr., Esq.	601 Chews Landing Road Haddonfield, New Jersey 08033
Marjory Mecklenburg	1219 West 51st Street Minneapolis, Minnesota 55419
Kenneth Van Derhoef, Esq.	3808 43rd Ave. N.E. Seattle, Washington 98104
Edward J. Golden	4 Willowbrook Lane Troy, New York 12180
Gloria Klein	33728 Tawas Trail Westland, Michigan 48185
Jay Bowman	3187 Francine Drive Decatur, Georgia 30033
Judith Fink	835 Vermont Avenue Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15234

ARTICLE VIII

The private property of the members of the Committee of any and all classes, the directors, officers and incorporators shall not be subject to the payment of corporate debts to any extent whatever.

ARTICLE IX

The officers of the Committee shall be a president, one or more vice-presidents, a secretary and a treasurer and an executive director and such other officers and/or assistants as the Board of Directors shall provide.

ARTICLE X

The bylaws may provide for the designation of honorary members of the Board of Directors who shall not have voting privileges.

ARTICLE XI

The name and address of each incorporator is:

Joseph V. Gartlan, Jr.
3507 Woodside Road
Alexandria, Virginia 22310

Joseph V. Gartlan, Jr.

Eleanor M. Cook
13506 Westwind Drive
Silver Spring, Maryland 20904

Eleanor M. Cook

Joseph A. Lampe
3924 Dakota Avenue
St. Louis Park, Minnesota 55416

Joseph A. Lampe

Date: May 14, 1973.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, ss:

I, _____, a notary public, hereby certify that on the 14th day of May, 1973, personally appeared before me Joseph V. Gartlan, Jr., Eleanor M. Cook and Joseph A. Lampe, who signed the foregoing document as incorporators and that the statements therein contained are true.

_____
Notary Public

My commission expires _____

C. To engage in such activities as shall be set forth in the bylaws of the Committee which will assist in the accomplishment of those purposes immediately aforementioned.

ARTICLE IV

The Committee is not organized for pecuniary profit and shall not have authority to issue capital stock or shares of any kind.

The Committee shall be a membership corporation and its revenue shall be derived from membership fees and/or such other sources as may be prescribed from time to time by the Board of Directors.

Membership in the Committee shall be open to any individual, partnership, trust, firm or corporation in the sole and absolute discretion of the Board of Directors.

Membership in the Committee may be divided into such classifications for annual membership dues or for the election of directors or for such other purposes as the bylaws of the Committee may prescribe or as the Board of Directors may from time to time designate.

Subject to the provisions of the articles of incorporation of the Committee, the conditions, terms, privileges, rights, and duties of membership shall be stated or provided for in the bylaws of the Committee.

ARTICLE V

The management, affairs, business and concerns of the Committee shall be vested in the members. However, all details of management, affairs, business and concerns of the Committee are delegated to a Board of Directors, including the power of amending the certificate of incorporation and except as otherwise provided by statute, the certificate of incorporation or the bylaws of the Committee. The number of directors which shall constitute the whole Board shall be fixed by, or in the manner provided in, the bylaws of the Committee. Subject to the provisions of the certificate of incorporation the bylaws may provide, with respect to the directors, for their qualifications (including, but not limited to and without limitation, provisions for the representation by each director of a designated state, district, region or other geographical area); for the place, time, method and manner for their nomination and election or appointment (including provisions for the election of a director or directors by members located in a designated state, district, region or other geographical area); for the appointment or designation of alternates; for filling of vacancies; for their removal from office and/or recall; for their meetings; and, generally, for their rights, powers, duties, privileges and restrictions and responsibilities.

ARTICLE VI

The address of the Corporation's initial registered office is

1801 K St. NW
Washington, D.C.

The name of its initial registered agent at such address is

Joseph V. Gartlan, Jr.
1801 K St. NW
Washington, D.C.

The principal place of business and headquarters of the Committee shall be in a city designated in the bylaws. The Board of Directors may establish other offices in such place or places as it may deem expedient for the transaction of the business and the affairs of the Committee.

ARTICLE VII

The number of Directors constituting the initial Board of Directors is 9 (nine), and the names and addresses of the persons who are to serve as the initial Board of Directors until the first annual meeting, or until their successors be elected and qualified are:

Caroline Gerster, M.D. 4641 E. Crystal Lane
Paradise Valley, Arizona 85253

NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Kenneth Van Derhoef ---- Chairman
Gloria Klein
Marjorie Mecklenburg
Roy Scarpato
Marie Gentle

Michael Taylor -- ex officio

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Professor Robert Byrn ----- Chairman
Robert Greene
Rodman Herman
Rev. Warren Schaller
Robert Brake

Communications to either of these Committees should be addressed to the respective Chairmen and mailed to the following address:

4 Willowbrook Lane
Troy, New York 02180

c/o Edward J. Golden

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

OF

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

To: Recorder of Deeds
Washington, D.C.

We, the undersigned, natural persons of the age of 21 or more, acting as incorporators of a corporation, adopt the following Articles of Incorporation for such corporation, pursuant to the District of Columbia Non-Profit Corporation Act:

ARTICLE I

The name of the corporation (hereinafter referred to as the Committee) shall be the NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

ARTICLE II

The Committee is to have perpetual existence.

ARTICLE III

In order to guarantee the right to life of all people of the United States of America, the purposes of the NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC., are to engage in educational, charitable, scientific and political activities, projects or purposes including specifically, but not in limitation of the foregoing:

A. To promote respect for the worth and dignity of all human life, including the life of the unborn child from the moment of conception.

B. To promote, encourage and sponsor such amendatory and statutory measures which will provide protection for human life before and after birth, particularly for the defenseless, the incompetent, and the impaired and the incapacitated.

12. PROXY VOTES. A Director may vote by proxy executed in writing and notarized. The presence of a Director at a meeting revokes his or her proxy.

13. VOTE BY MAIL AND TELEPHONE. A vote to be taken by the Board of Directors on any matter may be conducted by mail, telephone or other electronic device.

14. COMMITTEES. The Board of Directors may, from time to time, appoint committees to perform functions designated by the Board. Minutes shall be kept of the meetings of all such committees.

15. CUMULATIVE VOTING BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. In all elections for the Executive Committee and/or the Presidency of the National Right to Life Committee, each Director shall be entitled to cast one vote for each position open and cumulative voting shall not be allowed.

ARTICLE III

OFFICERS

1. The officers of the National Right to Life Committee shall be a president, one or more vice presidents (the number thereof to be determined by the Board of Directors), a secretary, a treasurer, and such other officers as may be elected in accordance with the provisions of this Article.

2. THE PRESIDENT. The President shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at the regular annual meeting of the National Right to Life Committee. The Board of Directors shall act on a nominating committee which committee shall nominate candidates for this office. Candidates may also be proposed by any Director provided at least two (2) other Directors concur in such nomination. The candidate receiving the most votes for this office shall be the winner unless he or she has not received the affirmative votes of a majority of those Directors voting. If no candidate receives a majority of the votes cast by those voting, then the two highest candidates shall run in a run-off election. The President may be removed from office by the Board of Directors by majority vote whenever, in its judgment, the best interests of the National Right to Life Committee would be served thereby.

A vacancy in the office of the Presidency shall be filled by the Board of Directors for the unexpired portion of the term.

3. OTHER OFFICERS. All other officers shall be elected by the Executive Committee, subject to ratification by the Board of Directors.

4. INELIGIBILITY FOR MEMBERSHIP OF OFFICERS ON BOARD OF DIRECTORS. No officer of the National Right to Life Committee need be a member of the Board of Directors.

5. CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall preside at the first annual meeting of the Board of Directors until the Board of Directors shall elect its own chairman. The Chairman of the Board of Directors shall perform all duties incident to the office and such other duties as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

6. VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. In the absence of the Chairman, or in the event of his or her inability or refusal to act, the Vice Chairman, who shall be elected by the Board of Directors, shall perform the duties of the Chairman and, when so acting, shall have all the powers of, and be subject to all of the restrictions on, the Chairman. The Vice Chairman shall also perform such other duties as may be assigned from time to time by the Board of Directors.

7. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

(a) THE PRESIDENT. The President shall be the chief operating officer and shall be responsible for the day-to-day operation of the National Right to Life Committee and shall also perform such other duties assigned by the Board of Directors.

(b) THE VICE PRESIDENT. The Vice President shall assist the President in the performance of his or her duties, and shall perform those duties in the absence or inability of the President.

(c) THE SECRETARY. The Secretary shall keep the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors in one or more books provided for that purpose; shall see that all notices are duly given in accordance with the provisions of these bylaws or as required by law; shall be custodian of the records of the National Right to Life Committee; shall keep a register of the postal addresses of each Director of the Committee and, in general, shall perform all of the duties incident to the office of secretary and such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors. The Secretary, with the approval of the Executive Committee, may assign such duties to another.

(d) THE TREASURER. The Treasurer shall have charge and custody of, and be responsible for, all funds and assets of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. He or she shall receive and give receipt for sums payable to the National Right to Life Committee, from any sources, and SHALL DEPOSIT ALL SUCH MONIES IN THE NAME OF AND TO THE CREDIT OF THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INCORPORATED, in such banks and other depositories as shall be selected by the Executive Committee. He or she shall, in general, perform all of the duties incident to the office of Treasurer, including the maintenance of complete and accurate books and records of account, and such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors. Such duties may, with the approval of the Executive Committee, be assigned to another.

(e) EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. There shall be an Executive Director who shall serve at the pleasure of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE IV

MEMBERS

The members of the National Right to Life Committee shall be divided into two (2) classes:

1. DIRECTORS. A Director is a duly elected member of the Board of Directors who is then serving in office as a Director; and a Director shall have the right to vote on the management and affairs of the National Right to Life Committee as provided for in these bylaws.

2. ASSOCIATE MEMBERS. An associate member is any individual, partnership, trust, firm or corporation, who or which shall pay an annual dues to be set by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE V

CHECKS AND DEPOSITS OF FUNDS

All checks, drafts or orders for the payment of money, notes or other evidences of indebtedness issued in the name of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be signed by such officer or officers, agent or agents and in such manner as shall be determined from time to time by the Executive Committee. All funds of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be deposited TO THE CREDIT OF THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC. in such banks or other depositories as shall be determined from time to time by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI

CORPORATE SEAL

The corporate seal shall be a metallic seal and shall be kept in the possession of the Secretary.

ARTICLE VII

AMENDMENTS TO THE BYLAWS

These bylaws may be altered, amended or repealed, or new bylaws may be adopted, by a vote of two-thirds (2/3) of the Directors present at any regular meeting or at any special meeting at which a quorum is present; provided, however, that at least ten (10) days notice must be given of the intention to alter, amend or repeal or adopt new bylaws at such meeting, prior to such meeting.

ARTICLE VIII

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. The Executive Committee of the National Right to Life Committee shall consist of nine (9) members. The President of the National Right to Life Committee shall serve as an ex officio, and voting, member of the Executive Committee. The remaining eight (8) members of the Executive Committee shall be elected by the Board of Directors from nominees submitted by the Nominating Committee which shall be appointed by the Board of Directors. Candidates may also be proposed by any Director provided at least five (5) other Directors concur in such nomination.

1. In elections to the Executive Committee each member of the Board of Directors shall have eight (8) votes and may use all or part of these votes; but cumulative voting shall not be permitted and no single board member may cast more than one (1) vote for any nominee; provided, however, that a board member shall exercise any proxies in the same manner.

3. At the 1973 National Right to Life Convention, those four (4) members of the Executive Committee who shall receive the highest number of votes shall serve for a term of two (2) years. The remaining members shall serve for a term of one (1) year. Thereafter, all elections to the Executive Committee shall be for a term of two (2) years.

4. Vacancies on the Executive Committee, with the exception of a vacancy occurring in the office of the presidency, shall be filled by the Executive Committee for a term to run until the next annual convention.

5. The Executive Committee shall be responsible for the specific management of the National Right to Life Committee and such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors.

MICHIGAN CITIZENS FOR LIFE
44 Ionia Ave., S.W.
Grand Rapids (49503)
Phone 616/451-0601
DETROIT OFFICE:
P.O. Box 900
Bloomfield Hills (48013)
Phone 313/576-1927

December 20, 1978

#9

Dear Fellow Board Members,

May the Lord of Life bless you and all your loved ones during this very special season of Love. It is my prayer that God will send to all of us His Shalom and bring us ever closer to Him and His Word.

Enclosed, please find a copy of a letter being mailed to Paul Brown, which is self-explanatory.

I would like to request that we include as an agenda item at the January meeting of the Board of Directors of National Right to Life a discussion of the relationship between NRLC, Inc. and LAPAC.

I am looking forward to seeing you in January and know it will be a fruitful session. God bless,

Fondly,

Jane

Jane Muldoon

JM:cle
encl.

OFFICERS Jane Muldoon, *President* / Joseph Kincaid, M.D., *Vice President* / John E. Chouinard, *Treasurer*
Joan Walsh, *Recording Secretary* / Connie Edwards, *Secretary* / Jane Muldoon, *National Representative*

MICHIGAN CITIZENS FOR LIFE
44 Ionia Ave., S.W.
Grand Rapids (49503)
Phone: 616/451-0601
DETROIT OFFICE:
P.O. Box 900
Bloomfield Hills (48013)
Phone: 313/576-1927

December 20, 1978

Mr. Paul A. Brown
Life Amendment Political Action Committee, Inc.
Benjamin Franklin Station
P. O. Box 14263
Washington, D.C. 20044

Dear Mr. Brown:

I feel compelled to express my concern about LAPAC's public statement pledging support in the presidential election to candidates without any appreciable input from the grass roots organizations throughout the country. I am also disconcerted that this information would be imparted to the major daily newspaper in Michigan without consultation with the Right-to-Life organizations in Michigan.

The problem was brought to my attention during a recent interview with an editorial writer of the Detroit News. He was doing research on the effect M.C.L. and the RTL issue had on the elections in Michigan. After much discussion on the Michigan elections, he posed the question, "Don't you see your national movement as moving very far right and joining the ultra-conservative caucus?" I responded carefully, outlining the Michigan endorsements which included conservative, liberal and shades in between. He then responded with, "This information does not agree with the National Right to Life P.A.C. I called Mr. Brown and he told me that the NRLC is supporting Reagan and Crane." Needless to say, his quote from you took me by complete surprise. I had just come from an Executive Meeting of the NRLC and had not heard presidential candidates discussed and had not received any communications to indicate that the movement had made such a decision.

There are legal restrictions against any formalized relationships between the Federal PACs at the state and national level, but, on the other hand, substantial public relations problems can and do arise when the media views a LAPAC discussion as being the policy of NRLC and all its affiliates. I am recommending to the Board of NRLC that this entire problem be placed

OFFICERS Jane Muldoon, *President* / Joseph Kincaid, M.D., *Vice President* / John E. Choumard, *Treasurer*
Joan Walsh, *Recording Secretary* / Connie Edwards, *Secretary* / Jane Madigan, *National Representative*

on the agenda at the next Executive Meeting and Board of Directors' meeting in order to make certain we are all on the same train and going to the same destination.

LAPAC, as an organization, has very little grass-roots worker-mechanism. It depends on the rank and file right-to-lifers for its financial support - and this same constituency happen to be members of the NRLC and the individual state organizations. In order to arrive at the best worker effort and most successful long-term political effectiveness in the field, the grass-roots people and their respective organizations must have input in the decision-making process.

In summary, what I am saying is that M.C.L. was embarrassed in the recent interview by its own local reporter, and I know of at least one other state organization that was also embarrassed by statements made by LAPAC in another regional paper in their area.

If LAPAC has made these prematurely final decisions on their 1980 endorsements, it would seem most appropriate to inform all of the NRLC Board Members prior to publication of such information to our state newspapers. An outline of criteria and evaluation process used, as well as work needed from the state organizations in the 1980 elective process would be helpful to the state federal PAC members, as well as the state right-to-life board members in determining if LAPACs decisions match their own!

A few questions come to mind:

1. Did LAPAC examine a total list of candidates standing for election in both parties, including all announced and potential presidential candidates?

2. What criteria did you use?

3. Do we want to be labeled as only Liberal? Conservative? Catholic? Protestant? etc.?

4. Does a national statement by any section of the right-to-life movement, without grass-roots support, provide the press with the ammunition to misrepresent the movement to the general public, as well as discredit us?

5. Should just anyone who heads up a pro-life organization be able to speak for the NRLC? Nellie Gray? Paul Brown? Marjorie Mecklenberg? Mildred Jefferson? Or do our duly-elected officials have that responsibility and privilege?

Together, we all have an awesome task and a grave responsibility. It will be hard work and communication is a fundamental necessity to accomplishing our goals.

I am sure we share the same goals but your recent statements are real stumbling blocks to working toward them with any semblance of unity, much less enthusiasm. I pray the New Year will see that change.

Sincerely,

Jane

Jane Muldoon (Mrs. James P.)
President
Michigan Citizens for Life

Talked to Sean
12-28-78
11: Mrs
Says misquotes

JM:cle
cc: Board of NRLC, Inc.

#15

BOPP & FIFE
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1800 CIRCLE TOWER
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA 46204

JAMES BOPP, JR.
EUGENE M. FIFE, III

TELEPHONE
(317) 636-7708

October 16, 1978

Mrs. Ann O'Donnell
10050 Conway Road
St. Louis, Missouri 63124

Re: A Contribution by the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. to LAPAC

Dear Ann:

You have recently inquired whether or not the National Right to Life Committee may make a contribution to the Life Amendment Political Action Committee without jeopardizing NRLC's tax-exempt status under 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code. Your inquiry is raised because of a recent letter from Mr. Marion Harrison, a Washington, D.C. attorney, to Paul Brown, Director of LAPAC, which represents that a 501(c)(4) organization is in no danger of losing its tax-exempt status if it makes a contribution to LAPAC. This opinion is based on the premise that such contributions (to political action committees) are permitted so long as they do not constitute the primary or substantial activity of the 501(c)(4) group. My opinion is in respectful disagreement to that conclusion.

A recent (1975) addition to the Internal Revenue Code, 26 U.S.C. 527(f), forbids expenditures by an exempt organization described in section 501(c) for the purpose of influencing the selection, nomination, election or appointment of any individual to any Federal, State or local public office. This includes direct expenditures or those made "through another organization." Any such expenditures or contributions are taxable under section 527.

The proposed regulations (not yet in effect) for section 527 go on to suggest that a 501(c) organization could be treated as having made a political contribution even in cases where it may not have intended to do so. For instance, A, a 501 (c)(4) organization makes a $1,000 contribution to B organization which then funnels the $1,000 to a political action committee or to a candidate for office. In such cases, the IRS suggests that the exempt organization require a written promise from the donee that the exempt organization's contribution will not be used for political purposes. These proposed regulations indicate the

IRS' thinking on exempt organization contributions for political purposes and once effective they will have the force of law. Nowhere in section 527 nor the proposed regulations is a substantial or primary activity concept mentioned.

Further light is shed on this question by the enacted regulations for section 501(c). These regulations allow more latitude to a 501(c)(4) organization than to a 501(c)(3) organization. Regulations 1.501(c)(3) - 1(3) define an "action organization" as basically one that attempts to influence the passage (or defeat) of legislation and/or involves itself directly or indirectly in any political campaign for virtually any elective office. However, a 501(c)(4) group may influence legislation in the proposed manner. A 501(c)(3) group may not be an "action organization" in any manner. Thus, a 501(c)(4) organization may have as its primary or substantial activity partisan attempts to influence legislation and inform the public on its activities as NRLC and its affiliates do. But, the regulations in allowing this latitude to a 501(c)(4) organization to be an "action organization" specifically omit the paragraph on political activities. Furthermore, regulation 1.501(c)(4) - 1(a)(2)(ii) in defining the promotion of social welfare (the "exclusive" activity of a 501(c)(4) organization) states: "(the promotion of social welfare) does not include direct or indirect participation or intervention in political campaigns on behalf of or in opposition to any candidate for public office."

All of this language points to one logical conclusion: a 501(c)(4) organization may not contribute funds to any candidate or to any other group which contributes to candidates or involves itself in campaigns without risking loss of its tax-exempt status. The exclusive activity of a 501(c)(4) organization is "promotion of social welfare." The promotion of social welfare does not include political activities. Section 527 taxes contributions to be used for political purposes. The proposed regulations for section 527 warn against even an indirect contribution by a 501(c)(4) organization to a political campaign.

It is my opinion, therefore, that NRLC, as a 501(c)(4) organization, would jeopardize its tax-exempt status if it would make a contribution of any kind, in cash or in land, no matter how small, to LAPAC.

If you have any questions regarding this matter, please let me know.

Sincerely,

BOPP & FIFE

James Bopp, Jr.

JBJ:dlh

cc: Carolyn Gerster, M.D.

8117093754

FEC Form 1
July 1976
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Statement of Organization For a Political Committee

Supporting any candidate(s) for federal office and anticipating contributions or expenditures in excess of $1,000 in any calendar year in support of such candidate(s).
(See Reverse Side For Instructions.)

4/2 for organization

Note: *Committees authorized by a candidate to receive contributions and make expenditures in connection with more than one election must maintain separ records with respect to each election.*

1(a) Name of Committee (in full) ☐ Check if name or address is changed	2 Identification Number
National Right to Life Political Action Committee	
(b) Address (number and street) Suite 341, 529 14th Street, N.W.	3 Date July 11, 1979
(c) City, State and ZIP code Washington, D.C. 20045	4 Is this an amended statement ☐ Yes ☐ No If "YES" FILL IN ONLY THOSE LINES ON WHICH THERE HAS BEEN A CHANGE

5 Check one

☐ (a) This committee has been designated as the principal campaign committee for _____ (Name of Candidate)

a candidate for _____ (Federal office sought) in the _____ (Year of election) Election

to be held in the State of _____ (State in which election is held)

(THE PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE WILL FORWARD TO THE COMMISSION A COPY OF THE STATEMENT OF ORGANIZATION F EACH AFFILIATED COMMITTEE REQUIRED TO FILE WITH IT.)

☐ (b) This committee is supporting only one candidate, and is authorized by _____ (Name of Candidate)

to receive contributions and make expenditures with respect to the _____ (General, Primary, Runoff, etc) Election

held in _____ (Year of election in State), and will file all reports and statements with the candidate's principal campa committee, _____ (Full name of principal campaign committee)

(ATTACH A COPY OF CANDIDATE'S WRITTEN AUTHORIZATION.) (FEC FORM 2)

☐ (c) This committee supports only one candidate _____ (Name of Candidate) but is not an authorized committee.

☒ (d) This committee supports more than one Federal candidate and is not a party committee.

☐ (e) This committee is a _____ (National, State, county, city) committee of the _____ (Democratic, Republican, etc.) Party

6 Names of affiliated and or connected organizations	Mailing address and ZIP code	Relationship
National Right to Life Committee, Inc.	Suite 341, 529 14th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20045	Connected organization

If the registering political committee is identified as a "connected" organization, please check candidate type of organization

☐ Corporation ☐ Labor organization ☒ Membership organization ☐ Trade association ☐ Cooperative

☐ Corporation without capital stock ☐ Other (please explain)

Signature of official authorized to sign statement and head of organization. Indicate title or position

Type or print name and title or position

FEC Form 1
(Rev. 1976
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Statement of Organization for a Committee

(Page 2)

Name of Committee
National Right to Life Political Action Committee

7 Area, Scope and Jurisdiction of Committee

(a) Will this committee operate in more than one State? ☒ Yes ☐ No
(b) Will it operate on a statewide basis in one State? ☐ Yes ☒ No
(c) Will it primarily support candidates seeking State or local office? ☐ Yes ☒ No
(d) Will it support or does it anticipate supporting directly or indirectly, candidates for Federal office in excess of $1,000 in a calendar year? ☒ Yes ☐ No

8 (a) List by name, address, office sought, and party affiliation, any candidate for Federal office that this committee is supporting

Full name(s) of candidate(s)	Mailing address and ZIP code	Office sought	Party
The Committee has not determined which candidates it will support.			

(b) List by name, address, office sought, and party affiliation, any candidate(s) for any other public office(s) that this committee is supporting (unless the committee is supporting the entire ticket of a party as indicated in line 9)

Full name(s) of candidate(s)	Mailing address and ZIP code	Office sought	Party
No candidate is currently supported by the Committee.			

9 If this committee is supporting the entire ticket of a party, enter name of party ▷

10 List(s) by name, address and position, the persons who are to maintain books of account for this committee.

Full name	Mailing address and ZIP code	Title or position
Ann O'Donnell, R.N.	Suite 341, 519 14th St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20045	Treasurer

Submit additional information on separate continuation sheets, as appropriate, labeled and attached to this Statement of Organization. Indicate in the appropriate section given above that information is contained on separate sheet(s).

2117023365

FEC Form 1
July 1976
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Statement of Organization for a Committee

(Page 3)

Name of Committee
National Right to Life Political Action Committee

11 List by name, address and position, other principal officers of the committee (include chairman, treasurer, secretary, assistant treasurer, assistant secretary, members of finance committee):

Full name	Mailing address and ZIP code	Title or position
Dr. Carolyn Gerster	Suite 341, 529 14th St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20045	Chairman
Ann O'Donnell	" " "	Treasurer

12 Does this committee plan to stay in existence beyond the current calendar year? ☒ Yes ☐ No
If "Yes" for how long? Indefinitely

13 In the event of dissolution, what disposition will be made of residual funds? passage of a Human Life Amendment
To other political action committees supporting federal candidates who support a Human Life Amendment

14 List all banks or other repositories in which the committee deposits funds, holds accounts, rents safety deposit boxes or maintains funds:

Name of bank, repository, etc.	Mailing address and ZIP code
Security National Bank	National Press Building 14th & F Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20045

15 List all election reports required to be filed by this committee with States and local jurisdictions, together with the names, addresses, and positions of the recipients of the reports (other than reports filed with Secretaries of State pursuant to USC 433(a)):

Report title	Dates required	Name and position of recipient	Mailing address and ZIP code
none			

Submit additional information on seperate continuation sheets appropriately labeled and attached to the Statement of Organization. Indicate in the appropriate section above when information is continued on separate page(s).

I certify that I have examined this Statement and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.

Stuart Scott — July 5, 1977
(Signature of Treasurer) (Date)

Note: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Statement to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. § 437g or § 441j (see instructions).

For further information contact: Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

9 1 7 1 2 3 2 5 3 7

MINUTES

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

Rodeway Inn, Chicago, Illinois - July 21, 1979

CONVENED: 4:30 P.M.

PRESIDING: Dr. Carolyn Gerster, Chairman

PRESENT: Dr. Carolyn Gerster, Chairman
Sandra Faucher, Vice Chairman
Ann O'Donnell, Treasurer
James Bopp, Jr., Esq., Assistant Treasurer

Discussion of PAC organization. As many pro-life people are presently confused in considering other PAC groups to be connected to NRLC, it is imperative that NRL PAC be organized, publicized, and enter into fundraising as soon as possible.

The two basic purposes of NRL PAC shall be:

1. Assist in the development of PACs in the states by providing organizational information and advice.

2. Endorsements of and contributions to Federal candidates - subject to the approval of the respective state NRLC Director.

MOTION - Ann O'Donnell
That NRL PAC encourages all pro-life people to involve themselves in the campaigns of viable and qualified pro-life candidates and to carefully consider the effect of lending support to those candidates who do not have a broad base of support. Seconded.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

PAC structure to consist of:

Chairman
Treasurer
5 Regional Directors - from which will be appointed a Vice Chairman, Assistant Treasurer, and Secretary.

Dr. Gerster recommended that at least 4 of the 7 PAC committee members be present or former NRLC Board members.

A separate segregated fund (PAC) can solicit funds only from its own members or the members of the connected organization (NRLC). A determination must be made as to the definition of associate membership to NRLC for purposes of fundraising for NRL PAC. Criteria for what constitutes membership according to FEC regulations are:

1. Can the membership vote, or do they have a way to move the leadership (such as a survey)?

2. Do they pay dues, and are the dues renewable?

Suggestions for meeting criteria as follows:

1. Sending membership card to those persons on mailing list who have contributed a certain amount within a fixed time.

2. Surveying associate membership on policy question.

3. Associate members being given right to elect certain number of At Large Directors to NRLC from a list presented by Nominating Committee.

4. Associate members have right to vote on resolutions at Annual Meeting (Convention).

Jim Popp will investigate the associate membership questions and make recommendations to the NRLC Board at the September Board meeting.

Discussion on direct mail appeal for funding of NRL PAC. Direct mail appeal cannot be made, however, until associate membership question is settled.

The need for immediate publicity for NRL PAC was discussed in order to differentiate NRL PAC from several other PAC groups. Dr. Gerster will prepare a press release and possibly hold a press conference on the organization and functions of NRL PAC as soon as possible.

MOTION - Ann O'Donnell
That Sandra Faucher and Jim Popp prepare for presentation to the NRLC Board at the September Board meeting the following:

1. PAC organizational plan
2. PAC purposes
3. Criteria for endorsing candidates
4. Plan of action
5. Budget
6. Recommendation to the President of persons to serve as Regional Directors
7. Resolution for Board

Seconded.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice Vote.

ADJOURNED: 5:25 P.M.

Approved _____ (date)

Secretary Pro Tem, Sandra Faucher

Chairman, Dr. Carolyn Gerster

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
Executive Committee Minutes
June 19, 1979 - 2 P.m., Holiday Inn, Kentucky

Opening Prayer - John Waddey

Presiding - Dr. Carolyn Gerster, President

Roll Call - President- Dr. Carolyn Gerster
Vice-President- Ann O'Donnell
Treasurer- Dr. William Colliton, Jr.
Secretary- Felicia Coeken
John Waddey
Dr. J.C. Willke
Kenneth VanDerhoef, Esq.
Jane Muldoon
Ann Bowen

Minutes; Corrections of minutes of May 16-19, 1979.
Page 3; add "Bishop" previous to the name Harrington
Page 3, paragraph 2 delete "decision of the publisher", insert "recommendation of the Budget Committee;

MOTION; Dr. Colliton, seconded;

"Minutes be adopted as corrected"

MOTION CARRIED - voice vote

MOTION; John Waddey, seconded

"That Executive Committee minutes not be distributed to the Board of Directors until they are approved."

MOTION CARRIED - voice vote

Credentials Committee - election - one member needed

MOTION; Ann Bowen, Seconded

"Jane Muldoon nominated and elected by unanimous consent"

MOTION CARRIED; Voice vote

Nominating committee report - discussion pertaining to expenses of the Executive Committee members. At present time option by individual members, in deference to budget considerations. Individual members are paying own expenses, submitting vouchers for possible future payments and/or state organizations are absorbing expenses for individuals. Only vouchers from individuals should be submitted, as opposed to vouchers from State Organizations. Efforts of state organizations toward subsidizing a member of the Executive Committee deeply appreciated, where possible.

Executive Director - Search Committee Report

Search Committee: Ralph Schulz, Dr. William Colliton and Ann Bowen
Twenty-three applications received. Two day interviews with 4 selected candidates.
President personally interviewed candidate present at meeting - David McCarthy.
Discussion by Executive Committee with Mr. McCarthy covering subject matter of:
Relation ship to President, public visibility of Director, relationship to previous employer.
Secretary and Jane Muldoon left for Credential's Committee meeting- Ann O. Donnell acting sec'y
MOTION: Dr. William Colliton, Jr., seconded

"National Right to Life Committee Hire David McCarthy as Executive Director"

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

CONVENTION REPORT: Dr. J. C. Willke

Discussion of best structure for future Convention Committees, availability of those experienced by their actual participation in in previous conventions. Recommendation that committee should continue to be autonomous. NRLC remain as advisory on programming.

MOTION: Dr. J.C. Willke, seconded

"That the chairman of the NRLC Convention Committee should be the chairman of the previously completed convention. This person, along with the chairman of the convention once removed, and the chairman of the upcoming convention shall constitute the Convention Committee.
The Convention Committee shall be empowered to search out and recommend to the Board, the location for the next convention."

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

Discussion: Chairmen by name-Ann Bergmann, Ohio-Ann O'Donnell, Missouri & California

Discusssion: Agenda for board of Directors meeting.

1. Decision on internal or external PAC
2. NRL News recommendations
3. Voter ID
4. Three-year plan
5. Party Conventions
6. Election of NRLC officers

Dinner: Reconvened 8:05 P.M.

Treasurer and Budget Report - Dr. William Colliton, Jr.

Written report by McKinley, Roche and Mallory, unaudited, distributed to Exec. Comm.
Accountants recommendations for completing necessary procedures for audit.
Discussion that Directors of NRLC share with their state organization all progress of NRLC's audited report.
Budget $490,000, down from actual budget of $635,000.
Budget review committee (Ann O'Donnell, Ralph Schulz, John Stanton, Dr. William Colliton, Dr. Gerster) to meet prior to Board meeting.

Fund-raising report: Mrs. Mary Hunt
Actual cost of mailing at 18¢, need for 5,000 more donor names. Proliferation of mailing within the movement contributes to drop from $16 to $13.40 average per donor.

including (3) MH mail collection
& data Exec. Comm. 6/19-20/1979

Direct mail budget until prospecting begins still 33%, considered good. Excellent

Dr. Colliton commended direct-fund mail participants, Dr. J.C. Willke and Mary Hunt.

Legal Counsel Report: James Bopp

Request by accountant to General Counsel sent while General Counsel was on vacation. Report on Bothell litigation. Need for posting $5,000 within 30-40 days.

Secretary returned - Jane Muldoon returned

Discussion regarding counter-claim and expense involved, limitations on General Counsel regarding settlement. Suggestion to prioritize $5,000 after $10,000 paid for mailing.
NRL logo-informed committee Dr. Jefferson & Right to Life Crusade weresent a letter on May 14th indicating NRLC's claim to ownership. Crusade letter dated May 4th carried logo, General Counsel sent another letter reiterating NRLC's position.

Notification that letters of resignation of 4 NRLC board members from LAPAC Board were submitted by hand to Mr. Paul Brown, on May 28th.
Registration with FEC of "Right to Life Political Action Committee" Carolyn Gerster Chairman and Ann O'Donnell Treasurer.
Legal Action Project - no new cases approved by the Legal Advisory Committee since December.

President's report: Dr. Carolyn Gerster

Recent trips to Washington. Most time spent on the hill, sorely in need of increased lobbying efforts. Chuck Donovan discussions with 25 Congressmen, and 50 legislative aides.
Resignation as Honorary Director to NRLC by Sean Morton Downey, Jr. received, to be effective June 15, 1979.

Voter ID Report: Felicia Decker

Written report submitted to committee members. Financial report and progress report from the States. Financial report indicates payment for materials from the States are current, in the great majority.

Adjourned 11:45 P.M. June 19th, 1979

Approved _____ (date)

Secretary, Felicia Decker

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.
President, Dr. Carolyn Gerster

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

MINUTES

Executive Committee - National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
May 18 - May 19, 1979 - Rodeway Inn - Chicago, Illinois

CONVENED: 7 P.M. - May 18th, 1979

PRESIDING: Dr. Carolyn Gerster, President

ROLL CALL: PRESENT:
Dr. Carolyn Gerster, President
Ann O'Donnell, Vice - President
Dr. J. C. Willke - Vice-President
Dr. William Collition, Jr. - Treasurer
Ann Bowen
Jane Muldoon
John Waddey - Present by Proxy
ABSENT:
Kenneth VanDerhoef - Chairman of the Board
Felicia Goeken - Secretary
GUESTS:
James Bopp, General Counsel
Mary Hunt
John Stanton
Ralph Schulz

Minutes recorded by Ann O'Donnell in absence of secretary

REPORT: Mary Hunt - Direct Mail
Strong recommendation to do prospecting and major gift campaigns.
Report Attached

MOTION: William Colliton, seconded . "To recess

MOTION CARRIED

MINUTES: Correction to minutes of April 6, 1979 = Page 2 under "DISCUSSION" of financial data. "correlated with the NEW---correction, omit NEW" "as per recommendation of Treasurer, Dr. Colliton" ADD: from McGinley, Roche and Mallory, accountants for NRLC.

MOTION: Dr. William Colliton, seconded
"To accept the minutes of April 6, 1979, as corrected"
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

RECESS UNTIL May 19th - 9 a.m.

RECONVENED: 10 a.m.

PRESIDING: Ann O'Donnell

ROLL CALL: PRESENT
Ann O'Donnell
Ann Bowen
Felicia Goeken
Dr. J.C. Willke
Jane Muldoon
Dr. William Colliton
John Waddey - present by proxy
ABSENT
Kenneth VanDerhoef
Dr. Carolyn Gerster
GUESTS
Ralph Schulz
John Stanton
Mary Hunt
James Bopp

REPORT: Search Committee Report, i.e. Executive Director=Ralph Schulz, Chairman
Committee members: Ann Bowen, Ralph Schulz, Dr. Wm. Colliton
Used perimeters as recommended and approved by the Executive Committee.
Received 20 job resumes. To date two candidates have been selected and will be personally interviewed June 9th, 1979.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE:
MOTION: Ann Bowen, seconded
Nomination and election of additional members of credentials committee.
Current chairman: Jean Doyle
Nominated & elected: Margie Montgomery, Sandy Faucher, Dr. Peterson
MOTION CARRIED: Voice vote

MOTION: Ann Bowen, seconded

"Discussion of April 6, 1979 regarding PAC's be deleted from the minutes."

MOTION CARRIED: Voice vote

MOTION: Jane Muldoon, seconded

"The Executive Committee instruct Jim Bopp, General Counsel to secure the name, Right to Life PAC, as an internal PAC for NRLC,Inc."

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

DISCUSSION: That a thorough study of all the options regarding a political action committee be conducted.
RECOMMENDATION: by the Executive Committee
That William Polito, Esq., be appointed chairman of a committee to present a report on alternatives available in establishing a federal political action committee for NRLC, Inc.

DISCUSSION: General Counsel, Jim Bopp, reported that a new NRLC Director requested copy of all legal opinions, oral and written, related to any law-suit pending against NRLC, Inc.
MOTION: Dr. William Colliton, seconded
"Release of any material relative to Bothell matter be left to the discretion of the General Counsel, in cooperation with the President."

General Counsel reported patent application with trade mark office for NRLC logo made, declaring exclusive use.
Letter sent to Dr. Mildred Jefferson, i.e. Right to Life Crusade informing them we claim exclusive use. Continued use would result in legal action.

MOTION: Felicia Goeken, seconded

"Affiliated States using the logo of NRLC,Inc. will state, "Affiliated with NRLC,Inc." in conjunction with that use."
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

DISCUSSION: Suggested conformity in telephone listings as "Right to Life - organizational name" could result in special listing in yellow pages as a categorical listing.

DISCUSSION: Current complaint of NARAL to Federal Election Commission. Proceedure is to refer requests for information to the General Counsel of NRLC. FEC may or may not investigate charges.

DISCUSSION: Additional amendment to appropriations bill to insure states' right to reject abortion funding. While defeated in sub-committee still had opportunity of passage in full committee.

MOTION: Colliton, seconded

"To instruct the NRLC lobbyist to be supportive of amendment to strengthen the states' position to stop funding of abortions".

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

DISCUSSION: Federal Register Report on vitro-fertilization allows 2 to 3 weeks for opportunity to enter testimony against. Dr. Joseph Stanton to be asked to submit report.

REPORT: Letter received on letter-head of the National Conference of Catholic Charities regarding White House Council on Families, and coalition formed for input. Coalition members listed included Planned Parenthood, ZPG, and other groups who favor legalized induced abortion.

MOTION: Dr. William Colliton, seconded

"A letter of reply to be direct to Brother Joseph Berg and Harrington of the Catholic Charities declining coalition participation on the basis of recently approved resolution, and stating this resolution was based on the intellectual recognition that the right to life issue transcends all other civil rights and issues affecting the family".

NOTE: January 1979 resolution was passed declaring NRLC,Inc. would form no coaltion with groups who seek to maintain legalized abortion, unless it would further our goal, seeking a Human Life Amendment.

DISCUSSION: Fran Noonan, a Democrat and Gloria Klein, a Republican would be serving as Project Directors for "Convention Impact" and are seeking state by state list of candidates positions, both voting record and position on HLA.

DISCUSSION: Letter regarding a proposed action by Bill Smith of San Diego to walk to Washington,D.C., arriving January 22, 1980. He seeks support, i.e.room & board and media alerts from States he will be passing through. No action taken.

MOTION: Dr. Colliton, seconded

"Policy decision regards participation in 1980 March for Life events be postponed, until the Board of Directors establishes a policy."
MOTION CARRIED: Voice vote

MOTION: Dr. William Colliton, seconded

"Pursuant to an organizational effort to centralize the functional activities of NRLC,Inc., the Executive Committee hereby supports the decision of the ~~Publisher to move the NRL News office to Washington,D.C.~~" budget review committee.
MOTION CARRIED: Voice vote

MOTION: Jane Muldoon, seconded

"Pursuant to the relocation of the office of the NRL News, and recognizing the need for increased cooperation and communication between the Publisher and Editor; we recommend the resignation of the present editor and the establishment of a search committee for a new Editor"
MOTION CARRIED: Voice vote

REPORT: Stephanie Varga of Cincinnati submitted program for establishing a "national" telephone tree. Copies provided for study, recommendations to be made at next Executive Committee meeting.

DISCUSSION: Major Gift Fund Program

MOTION: Dr. William Colliton, seconded

"While heartily supporting the concept of Major Gift programs for the NRLC,Inc., we recommend against any hiring of professional fundraisers until:
1. The Board has been notified at an open meeting of the program
2. Presented details of how it will work
3. determined how the fundraiser will be selected.

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

ANNOUNCEMENT: June Executive Committee: June 19th at 1 P.M. to meet thru dinner
June 20th 9 a.m. to 12 noon 21st-Board meeting

MOTION TO ADJOURN: 5:15 P.M.
MOTION CARRIED

Approved June 19th date 779

Felicia Gocken
Felicia Gocken, Secretary

Carolyn Gerster
Dr. Carolyn Gerster, President

MINUTES

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC. - QUARTERLY BOARD MEETING
APRIL 7-8, 1979 - RODEWAY INN, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

CALL TO ORDER: 9:35 A.M.
PRESIDING: Jean Doyle - in the absence of the Chairman of the Board
INVOCATION: John Waddey
ROLL CALL: Quorum established. (See attached roll call.)

AGENDA

MOTION - Bill Colliton
To adopt agenda as presented.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

SECRETARY'S REPORT - Felecia Gosken
Jack Willke requested the following correction in the minutes:
Page 4 - Delete "Groups must be 501(C)(4) status for contractual agreement as a primary group."
Add "PACs will not qualify for use of the Defenders fundraising method."

MOTION - Bill Colliton
To accept the secretary's report as corrected.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

TREASURER'S REPORT - Bill Colliton
A written report was distributed to the Board. This report is being attached to the minutes sent to Board members who were not present. Under Dr. Dorster's direction the expenses have been reduced considerably. In a three month period the average monthly expenses have been reduced from $57,000 to $54,000. Also, the change in fund deficit came in the face of greatly reduced monthly income. A meeting of the Budget Review Committee is scheduled for May 13. Mr. Colliton was commended by the Board for the excellent work he has done.

FUNDRAISING REPORT - Jack Willke
Results of the recent fundraising direct mail appeals: Oct. legal action letter and follow-up $33,000, Nov. voter identification letter $34,500 (mailed late), Christmas letter $25,000 (mailed late). The recent PEACH letter replaced the cancelled letter and is a possible bonanza with $30,000 coming in the first 9 days. A follow-up will be sent soon. This is a C-3 mailing, and an analysis has been made showing that 57% of the functioning of the Washington Office can be paid with C-3 funds.

The mailing list is growing substantially. It is double what we had from Bothell with a total mailing of 85,000. Dr. Willke thanked those who have been sending in names from the state organizations. Maryland sent 50,000 names from petition papers and prospected 10,000 of these with volunteers handstuffing the mailing. Florida has sent in 4,500. A total of 6,500 has come from Alaska, Arkansas, and Dayton. Nebraska is preparing a contract for the use of their names. Massachusetts has offered 50,000 for a one-time mailing. These will be sent the PEACH letter. Dr. Willke urged all the Directors to request their states to submit names. He emphasized that if we could send the PEACH letter to enough new donors, it is possible that we could eliminate all our debts.

NRLC has just acquired a nonprofit mail permit for the C-4, to mail at the nonprofit 3.7¢ rate rather than 9.1¢ each. Dr. Willke urged all states who have not applied for this nonprofit rate or have been denied it to contact Sandy Faucher, Director from Maine, for information on how to get a nonprofit permit. Maine won the initial appeal from Washington and has a packet of information available on the application and appeal procedure.

NRL News mailings: total of 12,711 in bare; consisting of 3,711 paid subscriptions, 200 sample to send to NRLC donors, and 8,[illegible] sent to old donors. This is, [illegible] range has been held for the past 4 months.

The Defenders fundraising project is in operation. San Diego and Cincinnati are now receiving monthly income checks. The Board of Directors has dropped to 14 due to one resignation. A Defenders Board meeting will be held in June in conjunction with the NRLC Convention. The sign-up card is being redesigned. Defenders has start-up costs to liquidate, and states are urged to send in donor cards as soon as they are signed. Directors were reminded that this is not an organization to join - it is a method to raise funds.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT - Dr. Carolyn Gerster

The Executive Committee is working well as a team. The January Board meeting resolution to reduce the expense budget has resulted in the following: Tulsa office closed, WATS line taken out, NRL News dropped free mailings - reduced from 55,000 to 19,000, Washington Office staff cut and salaries reduced, small copy machine eliminated, Washington Office rent reduced by $700 by eliminating rooms, requests sent out that mailing packets be paid for by recipients, volunteers have replaced some staff, resignation of Jack Pelky and Judie Brown. The resignation of Judie Brown and the circumstances surrounding it were explained in depth to the Board. After volunteering to go on part time at half salary, Judie requested reinstatement of her full salary of $30,000 and expenses of $500 per month. Due to the financial condition of NRLC this was not possible.

Dr. Gerster advised that the NRLC logo (double circle and flame) is now being used by the Crusade for Life and was on the recent fundraising letter from Dr. Jefferson for Crusade for Life. Jim Bopp will check to see whether the NRLC logo was ever copyrighted, and Dr. Gerster will be sending a letter explaining the use of this logo to our donors. A resolution was read from Massachusetts Citizens for Life denying any affiliation with Crusade for Life, and it was suggested that other states can use the same wording to explain the situation.

The Judge has ruled on the Pothell contracts that the C-4 contract is still in effect but the C-3 is not under contract and can be used freely. The committee to settle the suit will have to make a decision as soon as possible. Another meeting between NOW and pro-life groups is scheduled for April 19; NRLC will not participate. The Three Year Plan for a Human Life Amendment prepared by Chuck Donovan was presented to the Board and will be mailed to all Board members. A Selection Committee consisting of Ralph Smaltz, Ann Bowen, and Bill Colliton was appointed to search for an Executive Director for NRLC, search to take about 6 weeks. September and January Executive Committee and Board meetings scheduled as follows: Sept. 14 - Executive Committee, Sept. 15 & 16 - Board; Jan. 19 - Executive Committee, Jan. 20 & 21 - Board

MOTION - Jane Muldoon

That the preliminary plan that has been presented to the Board by Carolyn be circulated to the entire Board and that each state's input be solicited and a committee of 2 or 3 people be assigned the task of receiving input and preparing for the June Board meeting a final three year plan.

FRIENDLY AMENDMENT - Dr. Carolyn Gerster

Add after Carolyn "and approved by the Executive Committee meeting March 2 and 3."

FRIENDLY AMENDMENT ACCEPTED.

MOTION AS AMENDED. Voice vote.

Committee to review three year policy to consist of Carla St. Martin, Sharon Cornthwaite, and Ann O'Donnell.

LEGISLATIVE REPORT - Ann O'Donnell

Chuck Donovan prepared testimony and gave it before the Senate Subcommittee on HEW Appropriati He would like to know if the office should bring in persons to give testimony.

MOTION - Jeanne Head

That whenever the opportunity arises for public testimony before Congressional Subcommittees relative to the life issues, NRLC provide, whenever feasible, one or more persons to give oral testimony.

MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

RECONVENED 2:30 P.M.

LOBBYIST REPORT - Sean Downey
Sean reported that the Special Committee for Population Control was defeated. The circumstances surrounding his recent letter to the Board of Directors dealing with his resignation as lobbyist for NRLC was explained by Sean. Ann Bowen reiterated the Executive Committee's reason for asking Sean to resign from LAPAC was because it was felt that there existed a conflict between his holding positions as both NRLC lobbyist and Chairman of LAPAC. Sean stated that he would not resign from LAPAC and was therefore resigning as NRLC lobbyist.

MOTION - Bill Colliton
To recess.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

RECESS 3:00 P.M.

RECONVENED 4:45 P.M.

Dr. Gerster requested a polling of the Board as follows:

Do you endorse the recommendation of the Executive Committee to accept Sean Morton Downey's resignation as NRLC lobbyist effective April 30, 1979?

Vote by secret ballot: Yes 21 - No 9 - Abstain 1

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROJECT - Felecia Doeken
Forms are now out to survey 2,000,000 voters with 22 states having voter ID materials. Instructions for voter registration drives interwoven with the Voter ID project were distributed. Instructions for Phase II, use of the voter ID, will come later.

NOMINATING COMMITTEE - Felecia Doeken
Nomination sheets were distributed to the Board. Any Board member wishing to run for office or having names to place in nomination who does not have a nomination sheet should contact Felecia. Completed sheets should be mailed to Felecia as soon as possible.

MOTION - Ann Bowen
That we elect one member to fill the vacancy on the Nominating Committee.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

NOMINATION - Sue Morris

MOTION - Jack Willke
That we accept the nominee, Suzanne Morris, by acclamation.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

Helene Williams advised the Board that a pro-life program will be aired on national television on Sunday, May 6, entitled "Old Time Gospel Hour" with Dr. Jerry Falwell.

PAC's - Felecia Doeken
Bill Polito has recommended that states have external rather than internal PAC's. A discussion ensued wherein questions were answered by those state Directors who have had experience or attended seminars concerning the organization and FEC regulations governing PAC's. All Directors were strongly urged to fully investigate the FEC and state laws before making any attempts at PAC organization and, if possible, attend seminars and workshops concerning this.

RIGHT TO LIFE
After a telephone consultation with Jim Bopp concerning the use by Right to Life Outside of the NRLC logo, the following motion was made:

MOTION - Sharon Cornthwaite
To authorize Dr. Derster as the President of NRLC to take whatever steps are necessary to secure the integrity of the NRLC name and logo.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

Jim Bopp is also to investigate whether or not the logo had been previously copyrighted.

A newly developed slide presentation was shown by Indiana Right to Life concerning their organizational structure, activities, and objectives.

NRL NEWS - Bill Moloney
A need for increased circulation and advertising was emphasized. State inserts have been done for Alaska and Nebraska. A suit had been brought by the Chicago Sun-Times concerning the reproducing of "The Abortion Profiteers." Permission to reproduce had been received from the Sun-Times by Bill Moloney through a telephone conversation. 18,000 reprints had been sent to subscribers, and requests were received for more. Additional copies were printed, and these were being distributed around the country. At this point the Sun-Times notified NRL News that they were bringing suit against them for copying. The suit was settled by Bill Moloney agreeing not to print any more and to return the remaining copies he held.

RECESS 6:30 P.M.

RECONVENED 10:00 A.M.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE REPORT - Delene Williams
Directors were reminded to have proposed resolutions in to her by May 20. They should be typed, printed, or legibly written.

MOTION - John Stanton
That we continue in the usual way of handling resolutions at the Convention.
MOTION WITHDRAWN.

MOTION - Ken Hiegel
To cease discussion of resolutions.
MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

BY-LAWS COMMITTEE - Chuck Onofrio
No report.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE - Jean Doyle
The President will be appointing four more members to fill the vacancies on the Credentials Committee.

CITIZENS' LOBBY - Jean Doyle
The success of this project is dependent upon the state and the lobbyist on the Hill. Most states have indicated that they would be willing to handle the costs of sending people in to participate. NRLC would have to cover the costs of training and ensure the cooperation of the NRLC lobbyist. A suggestion was made for a Citizens' Lobby workshop at the Convention by invitation only. Any person who applies to lobby has to be approved by their own state board.

BRACELET PROJECT - Jack Willke
A letter will be sent to all chapters concerning the reduction in their cost of purchasing bracelets from $2.25 to $1.50, allowing chapters a $1.75 profit on each bracelet. The bracelet inventory as of 1/31 was $3,000. The present inventory may be depleted if the sales to the chapters are substantial. At that time we will have to decide whether to go back into production. We should come close to the projected profits of $10,000 on this project.

NRLC CONVENTION - Jack Willke
Forty-four major organizations will be involved. In addition to the regular workshop rooms there will also be a caucus room for 40-50 people available to any group who applies for its use at no charge, along with being used for small workshops. There will be an instant tape duplication booth where people can get tapes of workshops immediately at a cost of $5. Religious services will be available. Foods will be brought in, and fast food facilities are also available nearby. Jesse Jackson is tentatively scheduled to speak at the banquet. Karl Gunning, Dutch physician, will follow Dr. Brennan on Thursday night. Dr. Gunning will also be doing two workshops, news conferences, and will be introduced at the banquet. Additional information will be forthcoming in the Washington mailings.

COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS - Carolyn Gerster
The committee to prepare the final three-year plan was expanded to include the three members of the Search Committee, with Ann O'Donnell as ex officio member.

The Fundraising Committee will consist of Jack Willke and Mary Hunt with Mary heading the direct mail fundraising.

MEDICAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE - Carolyn Gerster
The NRLC position statement on euthanasia which was prepared at the January Board meeting was read to the Board.

> MOTION - Jack Willke
> To formally accept the euthanasia position paper.
> FRIENDLY AMENDMENT - Mary Hunt
> To accept the position statement on euthanasia as read by Carolyn Gerster on Sunday, April 8, with the understanding that before publication the wording will be approved by the Legal Counsel of NRLC.
> FRIENDLY AMENDMENT ADOPTED.
> MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

The position statement will be mailed to the Board.

FLAG PROJECT - John Stanton
Flags will be available at the Convention. After the inventory is depleted we will have to decide whether we want to continue the project.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS:
STATE PACS
Additional discussion and questions were answered concerning the organization, activities, and regulations governing PAC's.

MARY HUNT ASSUMED RESPONSIBILITY OF CHAIRING REMAINDER OF MEETING.

NEW BUSINESS:

MARCH FOR LIFE - Jack Willke
Discussion and suggestions were made on how to improve the March, i.e., change the date, discussion with Nellie Gray.

> MOTION - Lyle Eyelo
> That Mary Ellen Mulholland pick two more people to sit down with Nellie Gray to discuss the March.
> MOTION CARRIED. Voice vote.

STATE LEGAL ACTIONS
Case in New Jersey concerning ; prohibiting clause passed in 1976. Girl asked not to work on abortions and was told she could not work on the maternity floor. The case is being taken

to Court and New Jersey Right to Life is paying legal expenses. Pennsylvania passed a "life of the mother" abortion funding bill over the Governor's veto. An injunction followed immediately, and the case is in Appeals Court now. A pro-life person is going to be appointed by the State to represent the commonwealth. AUL and Jim Bopp will also be involved. New York has funding law which just states that it agrees with the federal language and can change as the Hyde Amendment changes. Kentucky has just passed an insurance rider bill that health insurance companies would not cover abortions unless a separate premium rider is added. Blue Cross-Blue Shield has now changed their policy accordingly. Colorado is funding abortions out of state funds as the Court ruled that taxpayers do not have the right to challenge state agencies. This is now in Appeals Court. Michigan is suing the Governor and the Department of Human Services because they funded abortions without following guidelines. Also, ruling made by Michigan judge that a fetus is not a person under Michigan law in the criminal code is being appealed. North Dakota tried through Health Systems Agencies to not include funds for abortions in grant money and eliminated funds this year. Virginia has passed informed consent bill and also has attorney general's opinion concerning a policeman who went into an abortion clinic to get records of a 15-year-old girl who had an abortion without the consent or knowledge of her parents. Iowa suggested that all states include feticide legislation in their criminal codes stating that it is a crime for any person other than a physician to take that life. Also suggested legislation to keep abortion funding out of employee disability coverage. South Dakota passed an informed consent bill, but their Governor vetoed.

NARAL Handbook, "Legal Abortion," is available through Ken Hiegel of Arkansas Right to Life.

MEETING ADJOURNED 2:15 P.M.

Approved _____
Date

_____
Secretary
Pro Tem

_____
Dr. Carolyn Gerster, President

ROLL CALL

	Saturday AM	Arriving After Roll Call	Arriving Sunday
ALABAMA	A		
ALASKA	A		
ARIZONA	P		
ARKANSAS		P	
CALIFORNIA		P	
COLORADO	P		
CONNECTICUT	A		
DELAWARE	A		
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	A		
FLORIDA	P		
GEORGIA	A		
HAWAII	A		
IDAHO	A		
ILLINOIS	P		
INDIANA	P		
IOWA		P	
KANSAS	A		
KENTUCKY			P
LOUISIANA	A		
MAINE	P		
MARYLAND	P		
MASSACHUSETTS	A		
MICHIGAN	P		
MINNESOTA	P		
MISSISSIPPI	P		
MISSOURI	P		
MONTANA	P		
NEBRASKA	P		
NEVADA	A		
NEW HAMPSHIRE	A		
NEW JERSEY	P		
NEW MEXICO	A		
NEW YORK	P		
NORTH CAROLINA	P		
NORTH DAKOTA	P		
OHIO	P		
OKLAHOMA	P		
OREGON	A		
PENNSYLVANIA	P		
RHODE ISLAND	A		
SOUTH CAROLINA	PP		
SOUTH DAKOTA	P		
TENNESSEE	P		
TEXAS	A		
UTAH	A		
VERMONT	A		
VIRGINIA	P		
WASHINGTON	A		
WEST VIRGINIA	P		
WISCONSIN		P	
WYOMING	P		
GUAM	A		
AT-LARGE DIRECTOR - Jo Watkins	PP		
HONORARY DIRECTOR - Dean Downey	P		

STAFF: David O'Brien, Fran Ware, Tony Brown, Barbara Burr, Bill Maloney

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

MINUTES

Executive Committee - National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

April 6, 1979 - Rodeway Inn, Chicago, Illinois

Convened: 9:30 a.m.

Presiding: Dr. Carolyn Gerster, President

Roll Call: Dr. Carolyn Gerster, Dr. William Colliton, Jr., Ann O'Donnell, John Waddey, Dr. J. C. Willke, Felicia Goeken, Kenneth VanDerhoef (present by proxy), Jane Muldoon

Opening Prayer: John Waddey

MOTION: Dr. William Colliton, seconded John Waddey

" That minutes of previous meeting be adopted, as submitted"

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

BUDGET REPORT: Dr. William Colliton

As of March 10, 1979: $589,572.00 (Project budget for year $713,000.00)
NRL News, $14,000 above budget. Accrual system crediting accounts receivable to the News and subscription transferral including 25¢ per subscriber for donations over $10 now established.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT:

Letter of resignation from Judie Brown indicated a request for return to full time and full wages by a specific date, or resignation was to become effective. This letter was issued at a later date than original letter that volunteered acceptance of 1/2 time.
Report of reduction of office staff, introduction of volunteer assistance and almost 50% reduction in rent
Office staff is recording time sheets for percentage division of time involved for NRLC, Inc. and NRLC Educational Foundation, Inc.
Work flow sheet presently indicated 57% devoted to the Educational Foundation.
Reduction in telephone expense since omission of Wats line.

DISCUSSION: Political Action Committees
Options available:

1. That NRLC board members officially resign from LAPAC Board, since LAPAC by-laws requiring a 3/5 majority omits any possibility of NRLC board members being in a position to have a majority rule.
2. That NRLC secure a NRLPAC for future use of involvment.
3. That each State form its' own PAC or work when and if desired with outside NATIONAL PAC'S.

MOTION: Dr. William Colliton, Jr.

NRLC,Inc. in an appropriate fashion, indicates that it is a separate and distinct organization from LAPAC,Inc.
NRLC, Inc. recognizes the importance of a national political action committee and is exploring formation of an internal or affiliate PAC.

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

MOTION: Dr. William Collition, seconded

The Executive Committee accepts Sean Morton Downey,Jr.'s resignation as NRLC lobbyist, effective April 30, 1979.

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

MOTION: Felicia Goeken, seconded

"That Dr. Gerster appoint Mrs. Mary Hunt to prepare a visual-audio presentation on the National Right to Life Committee. Expenditure not to exceed $1,000.

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

REPORT - NRL News - Mr. William Maloney, Editor

Chicago Sun-Times lawsuit: no further reprints will be reproduced, no further litigation will be forthcoming.
Postage increase - i.e. March, 1978 for 11,644 copies $378
March, 1979 for 17,371 copies$1173.21
Cost reduction available if News has use of an IBM selectric typewriter, which would eliminate type-setting at printer.
March 15, 1979 NRL News - 18,731 copies mailed as follows:
9,721 paid subscriptions
202 samples
869 donors of $100 or more
7,939 donors of $10 or more

Renewal letter to be compiled in consultation of Mr. William Maloney, Mary Hunt and Dr. J.C. Willke

DISCUSSION: Financial data from the newspaper office must be correlated with the (new) Comit method of reporting as per recommendation of Treasurer, Dr. Colliton from McGinley, Roche & Mallory accountants for NRLC

MEETINGS: Dates to be set for upcoming Board and Executive Committee meetings:
Board: September 14th and 15th, 1979
January 20 - 21, 1980
Executive Committee:
January 19th, 1980

FUND-RAISING - direct mail - Dr. J.C. Willke
Current mail receipts, first 9 days $36,000 – NRLC Educational Foundation
Comparative with: Christmas mailing ($26,000), Voter ID Mailing ($34,500)
NRLC, Inc.

DISCUSSION: Agenda for Board meeting

DISCUSSION: Hiring - Executive Director and/or Executive Secretary. Need for definition of position.

Approved _____ (date)

RECESS: 6:30 P.M.

Felicia Goeken

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

MINUTES

Board of Directors - January 20-21, 1979
Hotel Washington

Convened 10 a.m.
INVOCATION: John Waddey
PRESIDING: Jean Doyle, Vice-chairman of the Board

ROLL CALL: Attached

QUORUM ESTABLISHED

READING AND ADOPTION OF STANDING RULES

READING AND ADOPTION OF PROPOSED AGENDA

REPORT: Credential's Committee
Proper authority established for two proxies
Kenneth Van Derhoef proxy to Dr. William Colliton
Joseph Witherspoon proxy to Mr. John Stanton
New Directors presenting credentials:
Jean Head - New York
Ralph Schulz - Mississippi
Lyle Evelo - South Dakota
Anthony Lauinger - Oklahoma
Alternate delegate credentials
Peg Grady for Jo Higgins (At-large)

INTRODUCTION OF GUESTS
TIMEKEEPER: Mrs. Lyle Evelo
MINUTES: Dr. William Colliton moved to accept minutes of the previous meeting with the following corrections:
Page 5, 1st paragraph
add "Impact of project will be a minimum of $32,500 income".
Page 7, 1st resolution, Article 4:
add "by April 30, 1979 records will be ready for audit, with recommendation it be considered an annual audit".

MINUTES APPROVED AS CORRECTED

TREASURER'S REPORT: Dr. William Colliton, Jr.
Written reports distributed of present and projected budget
Absent Director's who wish to receive a copy of Budget Review materials and/or Financial Statement should request from the Secretary.
Treasurer seeking direction on depth and regularity of reports desired by the Board of Directors. Reemphasized audit for 1978-79 year. Expense to McGinley-Roche will not be excessive since internal accounting control proceedures will reduce number of hours previously required by their firm to prepare reports.

Recommendation: Chair recommended use of overhead projector for future financial reports, when feasible.

Review of budget prepared by Wade Jackson and discussion.
Importance of budget review committee to transcend administration change and maintain a consistent, responsible fiscal policy, recommended by the Executive Committee, subject to the President's approval.

Executive Committee Report: Dr. J.C. Willke

Reduction of costs and expenses:

a) Rent to be reduced by reduction of office size
b) One leased Xerox returned
c) Changes in staff in Washington office
d) Overhead of direct mail greatly reduced
e) Recommendations for reductions for NRL News
   1. No more than 12 pages until further notice
   2. Donors of $10 or more within past 12 months and $6.00 subscriptions will receive newspaper. (Previously $3.00 donors).
   3. Eliminate equivalent of one full-time employee.
   4. Institute new bookkeeping system

Ann O'Donnell - Further report Exec. Comm.

Assistance to NRL News from Wade Jackson to be provided.
Urged Directors to contact NRL News direct regarding subscriptions that may have been paid and not honored, especially May thru August of 1978. Problem not with NRL News, but original tape.
States encouraged to institute subscription drive for NRL News.
Recommended that States report successful programs for increasing subscriptions to NRLC Washington office.

MOTION TO RECESS: carried, voice vote
12:15 p.m.
RECONVENED : 1:45 p.m.

MOTION: John Stanton, seconded
"To accept new agenda"

MOTION CARRIED, voice vote

Executive Committee (continuation) Report - Ann O'Donnell

Washington office staff and salaries and Report on office functions. Asked for recommendations from the Board on priority functions - as they see the office functions. Ann stressed Washington office costs nearly mandates that primary function should be the lobbying and efforts directed to Congress, i.e. not at cost of elimination of any other function, but prioritizing when needed.
Ann O'Donnell stated that with present staff cuts her availability to be in the Washington office 4-5 days per week, with NRLC paying expenses would assure administrative availability in the Washington office.

MOTION: Ann Bowen, seconded
"At this time, during discussion of employee's duties and salaries that employees be excused from the discussion".
MOTION CARRIED: Voice Vote

Discussion:
Distribution of functions and duties of Washington office staff
Continuity remaining intact. Noted that Judie Brown has volunteered to be in the half-time position. Ann O'Donnell reported her cost will be approximately $220 per week, to be in the Washington office 4-5 days per week.

MOTION: Mary Ellen Mulholland, seconded

"That the Board of Directors register a vote of confidence, in appreication of Judie Brown and Sean Morton Downey, Jr.'s activities on behalf of the National Right to Life Committee."

MOTION CARRIED: Voice Vote

FUND-RAISING REPORT: Dr. J.C. Willke
Explanation of previous method of direct-mail, i.e. contracting with a consultant, who sub-contracted with computer house, envelope companies and mailing houses, with contractual rebates to the consultant.
New method, with Frank Litz allows for NRLC to contract separately for additional services, necessary to direct-mail procedure.
Donor tape: 45,500 names on (as opposed to 52,000 names figure previously given) Of those, 13,500 were non-donors, 32,257 names were donors. Of those 23,600 had given $3.00 or more. 13,400 had given $10 or more, those who had given $10 or more within the past 12 months, 6,000. Both NRL News subscribers and donors were on the tape. 2,000 lapsed subscribers - given notice, but not responding - were dropped from the tape. New names, 12,797 from another pro-life source have been added. Additional 2,300 names, plus "friends names submitted" now bring out total again to about 50,000.

New names from chapters and affiliates will be prepared by volunteer assistance in Ohio and Michigan.
Volunteerism for this project from other States will be welcomed.

Tj. Bosgra suggested that assistance for creative efforts in preparing materials for direct-mail project might be available through volunteer efforts of talent within the pro-life movement.
Dave Porter queried the practicality of numerous mailings. Board responses indicated "petition" names not practical for fund-raising.

MOTION: Tj. Bosgra, seconded Lyle Evelo

"I move that the Nebraska suggestions regarding the(further)use of state mailing lists be handled as follows:
A committee be appointed to review the Nebraska proposed contract. That this be forwarded to State Directors for input and a recommendation be brought to the Executive Committee, and permit them to act according to their best judgment."
Friendly Amendment: Chuck Heatherly , to add "further", before " use of state mailing lists" - accepted

DISCUSSION: Nebraska contract allowed reimbursement to the State on one out of four uses of their mailing list, annually, on a percentage basis.

COMMENT: Treasurer reminded the needed clarification if the state organization involved is of c-3 status.
Mary Hunt and Ann Bowen volunteered to serve on committee.
Appointment of committee within authority of the President.

REPORT: The Defenders of Human Life, Inc. : Dr. J. C. Willke

Explanation of "The Defenders" a separate entity from NRLC, Inc. Not a "competing" right to life organization, but an organization to serve as a vehicle for the right to life "movement" in a cooperative fund-raising effort
The Defenders computerization efforts in Terre Haute, bank facilitating the forms in Indianapolis
Testing of "mail-out" effort, bulk mail with form attached has not proven successful.
Possible change of simplification of present form being used.
New donor brochure being printed, availability around the end of February.
Information and instruction available from Defenders of Human Life, Inc
P.O. Box 2009, La Mesa, California, 92041 telephone (714) 440-8275
Groups must be 501 c-4 status for contractual agreements as a primary group, i.e. as opposed to being a recipient as a state or national organization. Donor has privilige of selection as per instructions of organization implementing program by contract.
MOTION: John Stanton, seconded Sandra Faucher

"That the National Right to Life Committee Board go on record as being in favor of Defenders for Human Life concept

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

DISCUSSION ON IMPLEMENTATION: Indiana (Mary Hunt) will share with other States who are interested Indiana's plan for implementation. State organization be primary, to receive 50% + 10%, and return 50%, i.e. 30% of total donated, to local groups participating. C-3 groups can be recipients.

Standard letter of explanation being prepared for presentation to a bank that is unfamiliar with proceedure or alternative of paper transfer vs. electronic transfer.

REPORT: Dr. William Colliton

Application for liability insurance has been signed by the President and forwarded to insurance company.

On behalf of Patti Ruth Linbeck, announcement of Texas Right to Life, 5th Annual Conference, February 24, 1979 at Marriott in Austin. Dr. Gerster and Mr. Van Derhoef to be speakers, invitation extended to the Board

REPORT: Voter Identification Project, Felicia Goeken

All materials for project being shipped by UPS from Alton. Duplicate files of project in Alton and Washington office. Financial account facilitated through Washington.
As National Coordinator, workshops presented thus far, in Iowa, Indiana, Nebraska, California, Maryland, Illinois, Florida, New York, upcoming in Wisconsin. Thirty-three States now have coordinator, Canada is seeking help to implement in British Columbia.
National Coordinator asked for better reporting and communication from State Coordinators and/or Director. Requested brief report on status within each State by February 15th, i.e. successes and/or specific problems.
Project should be completed as near as possible by late 1979, early 1980.
Information should be placed in computer in reasonable numbers as project progresses to avoid over-load of influx of thousands of names from all over the country at one time.
Stressed the project is NOT a media event, but for the purpose of identifying the pro-life voter.

Discussion:
Minnesota supported concept of low-key approach to the project with media. Cautioned about reporting numbers of completed survey calls, as it announces the strength of the project and eliminates the element of surprise.

Report (cont.) Reemphasized that States are purchasing necessary tools (book and forms) from NRLC, completes project, contracts as individual State with the computer-house, names are controlled by the State. If C-4 group does the survey, any use of the names by a political action committee (C-5) must be a commercial exchange, with purchase of names at fair market value.
Stress legal implications come from the USE of the names, i.e. educational or political. Stressed that use of names for fund-raising is not productive.

REPORT: Citizens Lobby Project Jean Doyle

No action since last Board meeting. Discussion and planning with new lobbyist for NRLC. States expressing interest are Maryland, Tennessee, Illinois New Jersey , Wisconsin and Oregon.

Bracelet Project: Dr. J. C. Willke

Total inventory at present 2,450 with 1,000 unpacked ones to be finished. $300 balance with all bills paid. Project not moving through State organization, but individual sales indicate there is still interest.

MOTION: Mary Ellen Mulholland, seconded

"To allow local groups to order the right to life bracelets directly from NRLC, Inc. at the purchase price of $1.50, until present inventory is depleted".

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

STATE'S ORGANIZATION - Report - Ann Bowen

Information to be forthcoming from Mr. Bill Polito on IRS requirements for states organization regarding c-3,c-4,c-5 (political action committee). Seminars available on political action committee. $185 course fee, or booklet can be bought separate for $20. Information for purchasing book should go out from Washington office. Practising Law Institute 810 Seventh Ave , New York, New York 10019 for "The Corporation in Politics - 1979" with check for $20 will purchase the book.

MOTION: Anthony Lauinger, seconded

"That a period of time be set aside at the April Board meeting, for the purpose of informational discussion on establishment of political action committees".

MOTION PASSED: voice vote

REPORT: Flag Project - Dr. William Colliton
New Project Director to be Mr. John Stanton, Pennsylvania Director.
Flag project needs a promotional program, primary purpose to familiarize right to lifers with NRLC logo.
Rose Project - Robert Lepak requests that NRLC,Inc. handle the project from the Washington office. Seeking a responsible Board member to accept Project Director position, with physical handling being done in Washington.

Announcement: John Waddey, Tennessee

Availability of "Dear Minister" letter, adaptable to quick copy, signed by John Waddey along with small pamplet of sample sermon, i.e. "mother's day" "father's day".

RECESS to reconvene at 6:30 P.M.

Dinner 6:30 p.m. - reconvened 8:15 P.M.

MOTION: Charles Onofrio, seconded - to consider the question

"That Honorary Directors of NRLC,Inc. be allowed the privilege of making motions."

MOTION TO CONSIDER: passed voice vote

MOTION: Charles Onofrio, seconded

"That Honorary Directors of NRLC,Inc. be allowed the privilege of making motions."

Discussion: By-laws are explicit in forbidding Honorary Directors the right to vote, but makes no mention of allowance for presenting motions.

MOTION: Mary Hunt, seconded Darla St. Martin
"That a secret ballot be held"
MOTION FAILED: voice vote

MAIN MOTION - Division of House - Motion failed, 12 to 20

Presentation of proposed resolution on Euthanasia by General Counsel, James Bopp, Esq.

MOTION: to adopt Euthanasia Resolution, Philip Moron, seconded by Geline Williams
Friendly Amendment: Jane Muldoon
That discussion and adoption be accomplished paragraph by paragraph

MOTION-as amended- CARRIED: voice vote

* Due to the length of discussion and number of motions and amendments only the resolution, its' passage, failure or amendment will be recorded.

MOTION: 1st WHEREAS clause; WHEREAS, euthanasia is the purposeful killing of a dependent individual;
"That dependent individual" be changed by deleting "dependent" and changing individual to "human being". Final wording to be:
WHEREAS, euthanasia is the purposeful killing of a human being"
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

DISCUSSION: Advisability of changing: "by another because death is deemed preferable to life to: "for his or societys' alleged benefit "
MOTION: Anthony Lauinger, seconded
"To table the 1st WHEREAS clause"
MOTION TO TABLE CARRIED: voice vote

MOTION: To adopt the 2nd WHEREAS, seconded
Original "WHEREAS, the language of the euthanasia movement is imprecise, inaccurate and, at times, incorrect since, dignity lies in the individual, not in

his death, illness may be terminal but life enjoyable and what was extraordinary yesterday is common place today;"

AMENDED to : "WHEREAS, the language of the proponets of euthanasia is imprecise, inaccurate and, at times in correct, and since dignity lies in the life of the human being, not in his death, illness may be terminal but life is precious and what was "extraordinary treatment" yesterday may be common place today;"

MOTION: TO ACCEPT the 2nd WHEREAS clause as amended (seconded)
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

MOTION: To pass the 3rd WHEREAS clause, seconded
Original; "WHEREAS, handicapped newborn children are commonly, purposely left to die;"
AMENDED: "WHEREAS handicapped newborn children as well as the handicapped of all other ages are, with increasing frequency, purposely left to die;"
MOTION: To ACCEPT the 3rd WHEREAS clause as amended (seconded)
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

Further discussion and suggested amendments were not formally accepted nor any motions passed. Proposal to continue discussion on January 21st.

MOTION TO RECESS ; seconded and carried

RECESS . 11:30 p.m.

RECONVENED January 21, 1979 9:45 a.m.

OPENING PRAYER: Tj Bosgra

REPORT: Convention 1978 - Ann O'Donnell
Report attached for absent Directors Profit contributions towards printing of forms and organizational book, by Missouri.

Convention 1979 - Dr J. C. Willke
Northern Kentucky and Cincinnatti co-hosting Registration to be same as 1978, includes 4 meals. General session, Thursday evening, workshops all day Friday, general session Friday night(political), workshops Saturday morning, and in afternoon. Hotel complex, 10minutes from airport. Campus arrangement. Limited exhibit space Interdenominational prayer breakfast Sunday morning, plus ethical medical panel.
Banquet speaker to be announced at later date. Closing, 45 minute General session and grand "March" in Cincinnatti.

Convention 1980 - Charles Heatherly
Anaheim, California. Excellent facilities for camping, good variety of hotels Reasonable prices, Family Life night on Friday at Disneyland

REPORT - President, Dr Carolyn Gerster

Reduction of office expenses, i e Closing of Watts line, reduction of rent, 900 chapters remitted payment for mailings Shift of employees and prioritizing of staff.
Restructuring of donors receiving NRL News from $5 00 donors to $10 00 donors
Tim Kraft to be liaison for legislative and lobbyist to President Carter.

DISCUSSION: Discussion of media reporting that LAPAC is "arm" of NRLC Clarification that media is at fault in reporting NRLC and LAPAC are different organizations

REPORT: Washington Office - Judie Brown

Question & Answer period: Does Washington keep a file on all State laws?
YES

Policy on Mailings: Aug.29 commenced revamping mailing list (1912 names)
Over 900 have responded with remittance for mailings
No mailings halted, note "pay when you can".
Only names dropped those who failed to express any interest after receiving the questionaire three times.
Mail to Directors ONLY, stamped Confidential
Directors will receive a rough draft to Directors of those within their State receiving the mailing.
Bulk mailings are now number, i.e. #1, #2, #3.

Recess: 10:45 a.m.
to reconvene at 12 noon.

RECONVENED 12:15

REPORT: Dr Richard Watson - National Doctors for Life Committee

To develop Doctors participation Urged that physicians must be informed and encouraged. Do not presume that physicians are aware of the issue Medical mailings from National to be used . Advised of a "summary" method to reduce volume of mail, with pertinent basic information on single sheet, coded in margin for easy reference. Information and physician contact: Dr Richard Watson - 345A Arguelo, San Francisco, CA, 94129. Also working to coordinate physicians, and medical professional pro-life groups Announced that on March 12 there would be a 3 hour debate at the California Medical Society (portions to be televized).

REPORT: National Pro-Life Nurses Assoc -Peg Grady - alternate for Jo Higgins
The National Association for Pro-Life Nurses Association will soon be reinstituting their own newspaper Advised that the "pro-choice" are looking for leadership in professional organizations, pro-life nurses and their organizations should be made aware

REPORT: Veterans' Organization - Felicia Goeken
Column in Stars and Stripes, military newspaper, calling for Veterans to join the National Right to Life Committee Liaison with Dr Gilbert Bogen, names to be coded into computer VETRL as membership is received by NRLC.

REPORT: General Counsel - James Bopp, Esq.
Lists being sent to States of NRLC may NOT be used for fund-raising, ONLY for internal purposes, until further notification by NRLC. Lists being sent to State offices, i.e seated NRLC Director for that State
Corporation employees should be instructed not to participate in "criminal acts" i.e sit-ins.
Report on litigation with James Bothell, Inc. temporary restraining order modified to allow fund-raising for NRLC, Inc , stipulated may distribute to State organizations, with proper instructions.

REPORT: Dr. Gerster reported that 44 page issue of NRL News would be reprinted with correction and deletions of advertising for use throughout the country to expose the operations of abortion clinics - i.e. reprint of the Chicago Sun-Times series.

MOTION: Ann Bowen, seconded

"Proposed amendment to by-laws as mailed to the Board of Directors in compliance with the bylaws of NRLC,Inc., regarding Absence at Board of Directors meetings"

Friendly amendment: "To change Director proxy to reqd 'his alternate' to delete 'as provided in Article III Section 14. To delete or his Proxy and add after who shall, 'in person or by alternate'; and to add, 'This by-law effective at the 1979 annual meeting'."
AMENDED MOTION TO READ:

ABSENCE FROM MEETINGS - If a Director or his alternate fails to attend at least one Board of Directors meeting during a 12 month period, beginning with the annual meeting, such office of Director shall be declared vacant. Thereafter the Director and State organization shall be notified no later than 20 days after the annual meeting. The state shall have 30 days from after such notice to elect a new Director, who shall, in person or by alternate attend the next Board meeting of NRLC. Failure by the State to elect a Director and notify the NRLC 20 days after such election of Director; the Board of Directors may fill this vacancy by appointment until the next annual meeting.
This by-law effective at the 1979 annual meeting."

MOTION CARRIED 17 ayes, 8 nays 2/3 majority as required

MOTION: Ann Bowen, seconded Charles Onofrio
"WHEREAS, the National Right to Life Committee, comprised of a Board of Directors, one from each State, has served and been served by the largest constituency of pro-life volunteers throughout the Nation, and
WHEREAS, the growth of the movement has created a need for even a greater input of expertise by all those who are dedicated and experienced in the many and varied aspects of issues relating to the right to life issues, and
WHEREAS, we, the Board of Directors of NRLC,Inc. realize the contribution of many individuals in specific areas of expertise on the life ethics issue,
WE RESOLVE, that NRLC,Inc. shall establish a National Advisory Board. The members will serve, with the sincere gratitude of NRLC,Inc. to further assist the right to life grass-roots movement in their efforts."
FRIENDLY AMENDMENT: Nominations for inclusion on this Board to be made to NRLC Board by the President. ACCEPTED

MOTION CARRIED: as amended, voice vote

REPORT: Legislative - Sean Morton Downey, Jr
House side - 12 vote margin for the HLA higher margin on funding
Senate side - 43 in favor to 57 opposed
Primary thrust this session will be the Human Life Amendment, NRLC will concentrate on that Amendment, peripheral areas only secondary.
No co-op efforts with pro-abortion groups on secondary issues
Human Life Amendments introduced in new 96th Congress:
Jake Garn and Jesse Helms in the Senate
James Oberstar and Henry Hyde in the House of Representatives

REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION AND RESPONSE FROM BOARD OF DIRECTORS:
Requests for information, to share and coordinate efforts towards influencing Congress, should be give priority by the Board of Directors, as individuals within their own State. If there is doubt as to how to obtain given information requested, please call the Washington office. Without proper exchange of information between the State Directors and Washington lobbyist, error margin is greater.

MOTION : Jane Muldoon, seconded
"Therefore, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Board of Directors of NRLC,Inc. directs the President and Executive Committee to take reasonable action to reduce the expense budget, if possible, for the balance of this fiscal year unless the monthly income increases to $53,000 per month needed to reach the projected $713,000 budget"

FRIENDLY AMENDMENT: Dr. William Colliton - to change "increases" to "exceeds" ACCEPTED
FRIENDLY AMENDMENT: John Stanton - "Wade Jackson be formally thanked for his assistance with the budget review committee". ACCEPTED

MOTION: passed, voice vote, as amended.
MOTION READS:
"Therefore, be it resolved that the Board of Directors of NRLC,Inc. directs the President and Executive Committee to take reasonable action to reduce the expense budget, if possible, for the balance of this fiscal year unless the monthly income exceeds $53,000 per month needed to reach the projected $713,000 budget.
Wade Jackson be formally thanked for his assistance with the budget review committee".

The recent death of Mrs. Alton (Celia) Hall, former Director of Mississippi was announced. Secretary was instructed to send letter of condolences on behalf of NRLC Board of Directors.

MOTION: Roger Kergaravat(alternate delegate, Conn.), seconded Onofrio
"That the National Right to Life Committee vacate the wording of the NRLC's Human Life Amendment in favor of the wording of SJ Resolution 12 of the 96th Congress of the U.S. of A."
Discussion:
That the Board of Directors of Connecticut Right to Life Committee, by unanimous vote, resolves that the Director from Connecticut to National Right to Life at its' January 1979 annual meeting, present the position of Connecticut Right to Life Committee on the NRLC Human Life Amendment.
MOTION: To postpone until annual June meeting, seconded MOTION FOR POSTPONEMENT CARRIED
DISCUSSION AND REPORT: LAPAC - Sean Morton Downey, Jr.
(Question and Answer): Affirmation that LAPAC,Inc. and NRLC,Inc. are two separate organizations
Report of LAPAC is available from the Federal Election Commission
Suggestion that President of NRLC correct, where possible, media reports that the two corporations are one and the same, i.e. while we cannot control the media, we do have the opportunity and the privilege of correction.

RECESS:
RECONVENED 10:30 P.M.

DISCUSSION: Continuing discussion on Euthanasia Resolution
Due to small number of Directors present, further action on remaining WHEREAS clauses of resolution postponed.

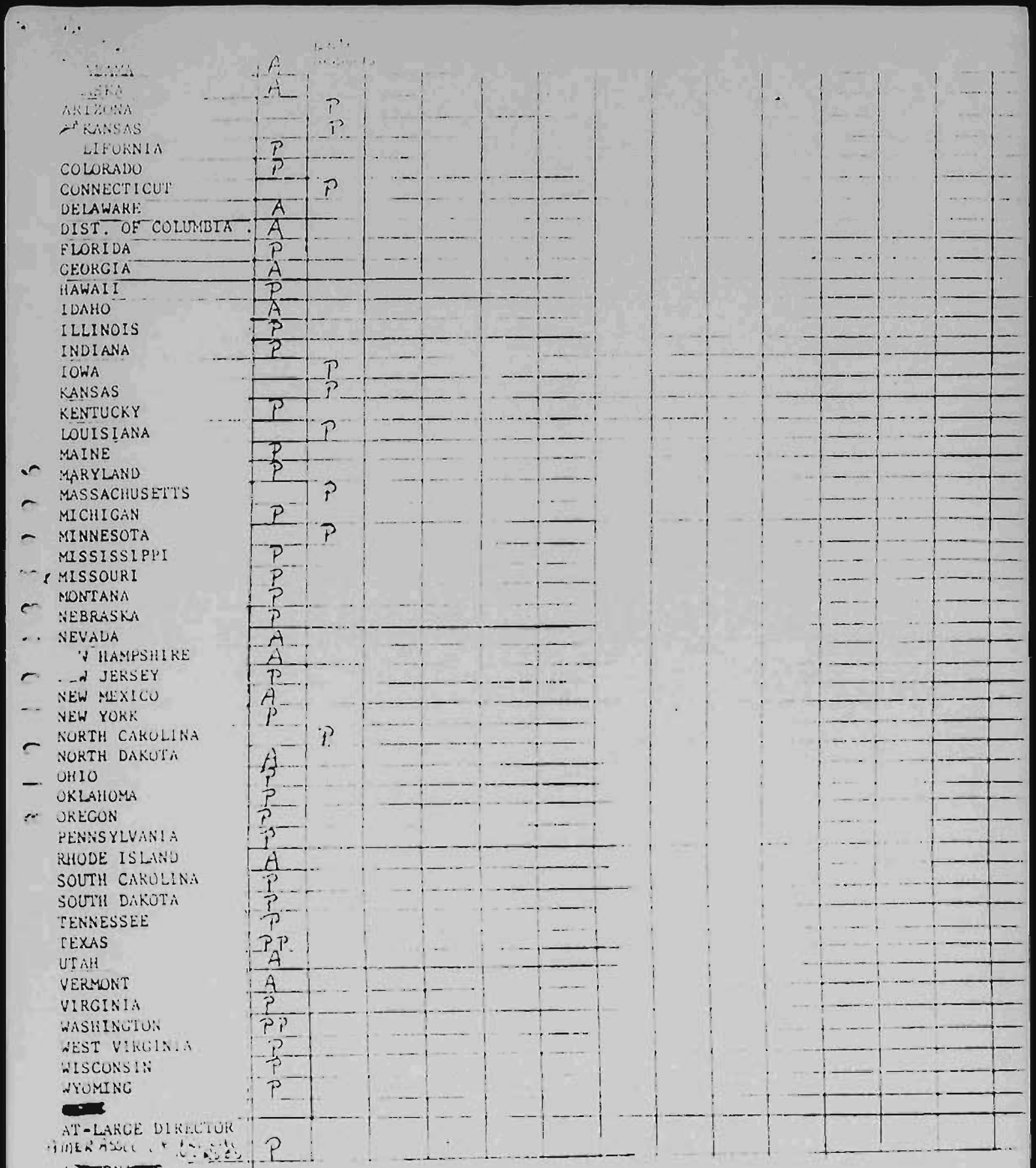
ADJOURNMENT: 12:30 a.m.

Felicia Goeken

Felicia Goeken, Secretary

Approved (date)

Jean Doyle, Acting Chairman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ILLINOIS
INDIANA
IOWA
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VIRGINIA
WASHINGTON
WEST VIRGINIA
WISCONSIN
WYOMING
AT-LARGE DIRECTOR
Secretary Emeritus
★ Vice Pres. (1 Benton, at large)
37 PRESENT
2 PRESENT by proxy

1977

MINUTES
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

January 21 - 22nd, L'enfant Hotel, Washington, D.C.

CALL TO ORDER: 1:30 P.M.

In the absence of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Board, the Secretary called for nominations and election of Presiding officer.

MOTION: Mr. John Waddey,
"To nominate Jean Doyle as Chairman"

MOTION: Dr. William Colliton, seconded
"To close nominations"
MOTION CARRIED - voice vote

Vote called: to elect Jean Doyle as Chairman - carried, voice vote

ROLL CALL: Attached - 28 present, 2 present by proxy. Seven states not eligible for establishing a quorum. Quorum established

(Closed session)
Treasurer's Report:
Mr. Steve Rader of McGinley, Roche & Mallory presented written report of unaudited financial statement, through October 31, 1977.
(Copies attached for absent Directors)
(Meeting opened to guests)
REPORT: Ann O'Donnell, Convention 1978
Distribution of printed materials on Convention to be held in St. Louis, Missouri June 29th thru July 2nd. Ann O'Donnell requested communications with suggestions from Directors

NBC requested time for TV coverage of Dr. J.C. Willke making announcement to the Board of Directores re: March of Dimes report of Phasing out genetic services. Request granted.

MOTION: Margaret Turk, seconded
"To suspend reading of previous minutes"
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

MOTION: Margaret Turk, seconded
" To accept minutes as corrected by Secretary, for approval"
Correction to add Dr. William Colliton as participant in White House meeting.
MOTION CARRIED: Voice vote

AGENDA: additions to written agenda
Report from National Nurses for Life (at large Director)
Discussion of state legislation

MOTION: John Waddey, seconded
"To adopt the agenda as amended"

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE REPORT: Felicia Gocken yielded time to Dr. J.C. Willke for the purpose of giving Executive Committee report.

MOTION: Dr. J.C. Willke, seconded

"In accord with the power delegated to it by the bylaws, the Executive Committee hereby appoints Mrs. Mary Hunt as Executive Director of the NRLC.
She will concurrently serve out her term as treasurer of NRLC.
Until and unless her powers and duties are otherwise specified she will proceed in accord with directions from the Board and its Executive Committee, to exercise full authority over the financial affairs of the Corporation and over any and all activities incident to the management of the Corporation, that relate to the expenditure of funds.
Those powers reserved, includ the present regulation requiring two of three signatures to transfer money out of the general account. The Executive Committee also retains to itself the authority to enter into and approve contracts.
The Executive Director will work closely with the present officers in the day to day operation of the Corporation. If any questions or conflicts arise as to the exercise of authority the question will be brought to the Board or its Executive Committee for decision."

DISCUSSION:Options on handling the motion until present Executive Officer, the President, arrived.

MOTION: David O'Steen, seconded
"To postpone the motion until tomorrow"

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

MOTION: Mary Ellen McCaffery, seconded
"To recess until 9:30 P.M."
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

RECONVENED: 10:15 P.M.

DISCUSSION:State legislation - local applications
Wyoming-approached individual hospital boards, two out of five changed position
Michigan-Kalamazoo cut off County funding
Nebraska-attempting legislation for foster-child informed consent & statistical report
Virginia-drafting legislation for "parental involvement" (on menstrual extraction.
New Jersey-suggested States check laws for "definition for the private practise of medicine.
Missouri-application of law when late abortion by saline is started at clinic, and patient procedure is concluded in hospital.

RECESS: 11:15 P.M.

RECONVENED: January 22nd, 8:50 a.m.

MOTION: Cornwaithe, seconded
"Motion to suspend the rules, for a report from the President, Dr. Mildred F. Jefferson, time limit to be one hour"

FRIENDLY AMENDMENT: Mary Ellen Mulholland, "Time limit½ hour"-not accepted

ORIGINAL MOTION: Carried, voice vote

The President, Dr. Jefferson, responded to the Executive Committee report, as tape-recorded in her absence.

MOTION: Mary Hunt, seconded
"To limit debate and discussion to one hour"

Friendly Amendment: Dr. J.C. Willke "to extend to 11;50 a.m." accepted.
MOTION AS AMENDED: carried, voice vote

DISCUSSION - QUESTION & ANSWER PERIOD: Directors posed questions raised to members of the Executive Committee present.

Chair called the motion, previously postponed, with majority consent, for a vote. (Motion for Executive Director)
MOTION CARRIED: Standing vote 24 ayes, nine nays

RECESS: 12:05 reconvened 1 p.m.

Judie Brown, Public Relations, Washington office, presented a tape by Jerry Ghiglieri, Director of Press for NRLC.
Report advised that 60 second TV spots are now obsolete, and 30 second spots are popular.
Film not used as much as tapes.
Cuts cost production to buy tapes
Washington office is accumulating tapes, slides, spots, etc information as well as available films
TV spots were shown to the Directors

RECESS: Dinner - Reconvened 8 P.M.

ANNOUNCEMENT: The next Board of Directors meeting will be held April 1 - 2, at Chicago, Illinois

REPORT: Mary Hunt

Directors in attendance had been asked to give estimate of pledge to NRLC, Inc. from their respective States, for immediate alleviation of financial situations
Report that Directors present had pledged $17,000.00.

Motion of Executive Committee to allow Treasurer-Executive Director to go to Tulsa for a meeting with Mr. O'Brien of the Tulsa bank for a discussion regards bank notes

Chairman of the Board, Dr. Carolyn Gerster announced that motion previously sent to the Board regards National Right to Life News would not be discussed.
Director from West Virginia asked that Mr. Bill Maloney give a report on the situation at present. Following Mr. Maloney's report, discussion of the following motion, as mailed to the Board of Directors
"Motion to rescind the September 20-21, 1975 motion that "NRL News be under the administration of a designated publisher to be the President of NRLC, Inc. Acting under the provision of the bylaws as chief operating officer of the corporation. The motion to rescind, if passed by a majority vote, will return the responsibility of publisher to the Board of Directors of NRLC, Inc. and to the Executive Committee when the Board of Directors is not in session."
Chairman of the Board announced the motion had been signed by 6 members of the Executive Committee, but as maker, motion was being withdrawn, until a later date.

BYLAWS COMMITTEE REPORT: Previous bylaw change submitted by Charles Onofrio, regards state affiliations is under consideration, with Mr. George Webster, should be complete within two weeks

FINANCE COMMITTEE REPORT: Dr. Robert Krebsbach, MOTION, seconded
"A contract with the Bothell Co. be continued with renegotation by the NRLC Executive Director with the assistance of legal counsel, aware of the concerns of the Board as to ownership of the list. That the Executive Committee approve a contract as soon as

possible, and that the President sign the contract to immediately re-institute the direct-mail program. That the Projects Officer continue in charge of this program at the Tulsa office. That any new projects be approved by the Executive Committee or theBoard."
MOTION: Failed - standing vote 24 nays, 7 ayes.

REPORT: Mrs. Mary Hunt reported on motion passed by the Executive Committee January 21, 1978.
"~~That as soon as all Bothell Inc. invoices legitimately due him and currently outstanding and known to us at this time are paid,~~ we hereby give official notice that NRLC Inc. is invoking Section XIV in the contract with Bothell Inc. notifying him of our intent to terminate said contract 30 days from this date Bothell Inc is hereby informed that Mr. Thomas Blee will be proceeding to negotiate a possible new contract in good faith during these 30 days with the intent of reaching a final decision with Bothell (or another company) by the end of this period.
As an absolute prerequisite for the continuance of such negotiations Bothell,Inc. must:
a) Present to the President and Treasurer of NRLC the latest copy of a tape of the donor file, and program, and key.
b) Do a fund raising mailing to the complete donor file during this time, it being understood that NRLC will advance ~~60,000~~ postage cost for this mailing.
Failing said prerequisite actions there will be no further contract negotiations with Bothell, Inc." *(see Executive Committee amendment by telephone vote at the end of these minutes)

LEGISLATIVE REPORT: In absence of Thea Rossi Barron, Chair reported on latest legislative alert: the Oberstar Amendment to the Social Security Act.
"To amend the XIX Title of the Social Security Act to eliminate Federal payments for abortions under Medicaid" (synopsis).
Charles Onofrio expressed concern that at present time there is no authority to pay for abortions in this act, and this might build authority into the statutes.

MISSION POSSIBLE REPORT: Darla St. Martin
Announced that assistance had been given to 8 south-eastern States, and Baptists for Life. South Carolina has grown from 3 to 12 chapters.

BRACELET REPORT: Dr. J.C. Willke distributed attached written report
Announced availability of book - excerpt from Sign for Cain by Wertham, entitled The German Euthanasia Program now available from Hayes Publishing.

LEGAL ACTION PROJECT: Mr Jim Bopp
Distributed attached report on progress of Legal Action program.
Requested that we urge attorneys to attend special session at National Right to Life Convention
Request from Iowa Director from Robert Bopt that the Executive Committee define duties of attorneys on the Legal Action Committee.

MEDICAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE: Dr. Carolyn Gerster
Requests for names of physicians in all branches of medicine from individual States to participate in Doctors for Life Names to be submitted to Dr. Leoni Watson, c/o of NRLC Washington office

NURSES FOR LIFE: Mrs Jo Higgins, at large Director
Successful intervention to retain conscience clause in Kentucky litigation.
NAPN incorporation status is being moved from Ohio to Missouri.
As President of Nurses for Life, and at large Director to: NRLC a good inter-liaison should be established between NRLC and National Nurses for Life.

RESOLUTION COMMITTEE: Geline Williams

Resolution offered by Nebraska Director, Ann Bowen,

WHEREAS, the protection of human life from conception to natural death is the objective of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., and
WHEREAS, the lives of some pre-born babies, about to be aborted, are being saved as a direct result of sit-ins at abortion mills, during which;
(A) abortions are prevented from taking place by the sitters presence in the abortion chambers,
(B) women who are there for abortions are counseled regarding the destruction of their pre-born babies, and the harmful effects of abortion to themselves, and
(C) the women are offered life saving alternatives to abortion so they will be encouraged to choose life for their pre-born children, and
WHEREAS, there are increasing numbers of pro-life people across the nation who desire to participate with living concern in this peaceful direct action, so that more lives can be saved,
THEREFORE, the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.,recognizes, endorses and encourages the efforts of these pro-life people who choose to save lives through the courageous and non-violent direct action of sit-ins.

Motion: Jean Doyle, seconded, to pass the "sit-in resolution"

MOTION: Dr William Colliton, seconded
"To table the resolution, until clarified by legal counsel, to the April 1-2 Board of Directors meeting".
MOTION TO TABLE CARRIED - voice vote

The Chair appointed Mr. Jim Bopp and Paul Peters of Minnesota as attorneys to clarify wording of resolution.

As Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, Geline Williams requested that May 26, 1978 be considered the deadline for the receipt of proposed resolutions to be considered at the June Board meeting, prior to the 1978 Convention. Proposed resolutions should be sent to the Washington office.

NEW BUSINESS:
Mr. Thad Willoughby, Director from South Dakota announced that South Dakota was inviting the Board of Directors to give consideration to hold the October 1978 Board meeting in their State, in conjunction with the State Convention.

RESOLUTION: Motion-Darla St. Martin, seconded
"That Thea Rossi Barron be commended for her efforts in connection with the Hyde language and the HEW appropriations bill."
MOTION CARRIED- voice vote

The Chair introduced Mr Sean Morton Downey, Jr. and Mr. Paul (Tony) Brown, Chairman and Treasurer of LAPAC (Life Amendment Political Action Committee). Mr. Downey indicated that he could attend 2 or 3 benefits per months as a project for raising funds for LAPAC, Inc. For the pleasure of the Board, Mr. Downey sang the song he wrote, presented at the National Convention, and provided record rights to NRLC,INC.
MEETING ADJOURNED: 11 P.M.

Felicia Gocken, Secretary

Date 1/1/197

approved
by Carolyn Gerster, Chairman of theBoard

* ATTACHMENT

Executive Committee telephone vote to amend the original motion by John Waddey, seconded by Jean Doyle at the January 20, 1978 Executive Committee meeting.

"To delete 'That as soon as all Bothell, Inc. invoices legitimately due him and currently outstanding and known to us at this time are paid'

"To delete 'NRLC will advance $6,500.00 postage"
and add, 'postage costs to be advanced by NRLC'.. .. ..

ADDITION TO MINUTES:

Financial report and recommended budgets distributed to the Directors at the meeting are not attached to the minutes
If this additional information is desired, please contact the Treasurer.

Voter Identification Report, inadvertantly ommitted.
Written report attached(both sides)
National Coordinator reported she will be in Florida and Indiana in February.

Voter Identification Project - Phase I January 19, 1976

	1	2	3	4	
ALABAMA			X		
ALASKA	X				
ARIZONA	X	$360			
ARKANSAS				X	
CALIFORNIA	X	$183			
COLORADO				X	
CONNECTICUT				X	
DELAWARE				X	
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA				X	
FLORIDA	X	$100			Trans.NC-Feb. 10-11
GEORGIA				X	
HAWAII			X		
IDAHO				X	
ILLINOIS	X	$283			
INDIANA	X	$100			Trans.NC-Feb. 25
IOWA	X				Pd.transportation NC
KANSAS				X	
KENTUCKY			X		
LOUISIANA				X	
MAINE	X	$100			
MARYLAND			X		
MASSACHUSETTS			X		
MICHIGAN		$200			
MINNESOTA		doing independently			
MISSISSIPPI				X	
MISSOURI	X	Approx. $500 enroute			Met with NC & SC
MONTANA				X	
NEBRASKA	X				
NEVADA				X	
NEW HAMPSHIRE				X	
NEW JERSEY	X				
NEW MEXICO				X	
NEW YORK		$1,000			
NORTH CAROLINA	X	$100			
NORTH DAKOTA				X	
OHIO	X	$905.50			
OKLAHOMA			X		
OREGON	X				
PENNSYLVANIA	X	$100			
RHODE ISLAND				X	
SOUTH CAROLINA	X				
SOUTH DAKOTA	X	$100			voted 2nd $100
TENNESSEE	X	$50			
TEXAS	X				
UTAH				X	
VERMONT			X		
VIRGINIA			X		
WASHINGTON				X	
WEST VIRGINIA				X	
WISCONSIN	X				
WYOMING				X	
NYPLC		Paid transportation, NC, to convention			

Column #1 Appointed State Coordinator
#2 prepaid materials order
#3 Communicating
#4 No communication from Director

NC - National Coordinator
SC - State Coordinator

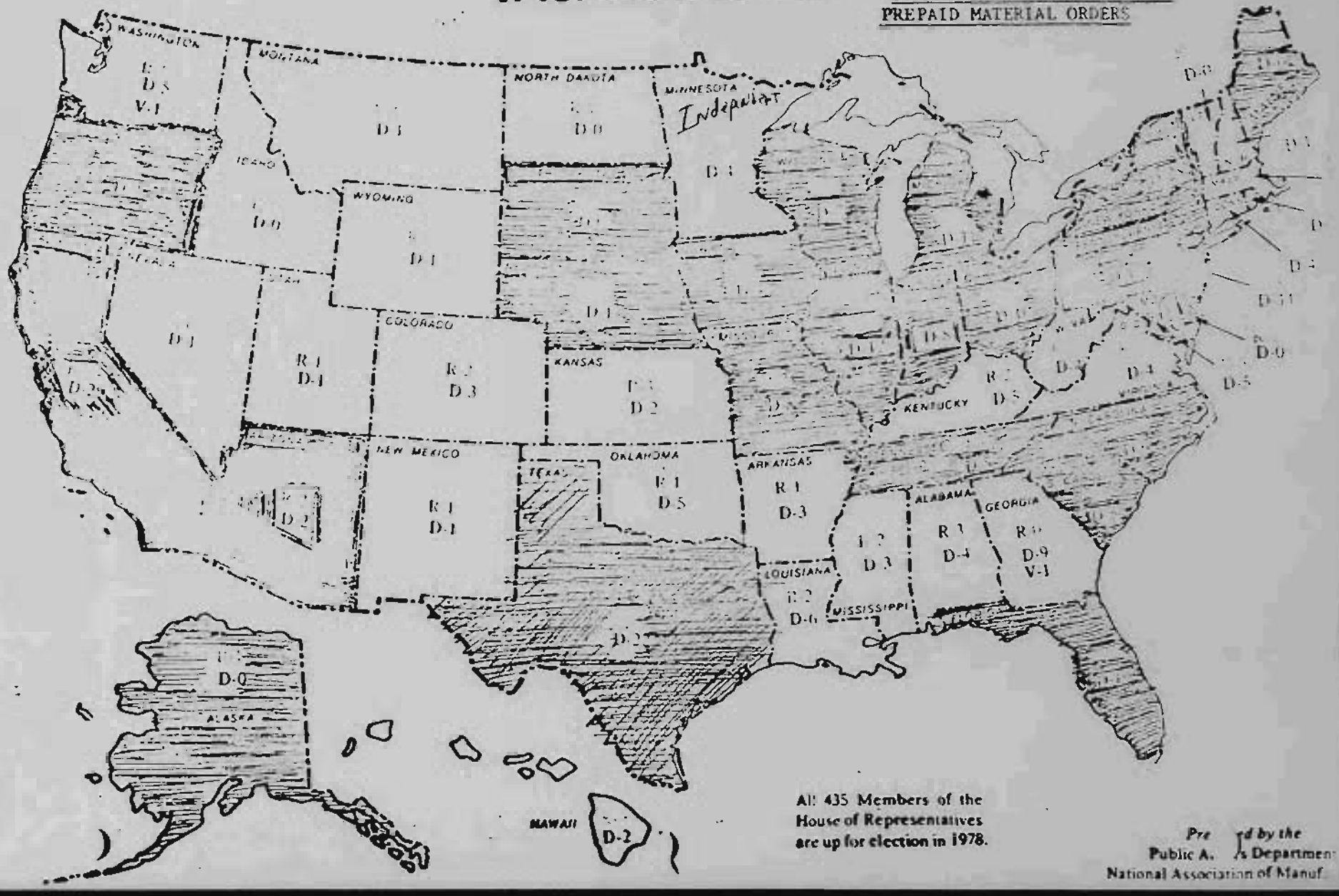
Total received from States $3,459.00
Approx., enroute 600.00

The House of Representatives of the 95th Congress

DEMOCRATS – 289 REPUBLICANS – 144

VACANCIES – 2

SOLID COLORED STATES HAVE STATE COORDINATORS AND/OR PREPAID MATERIAL ORDERS



All 435 Members of the House of Representatives are up for election in 1978.

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national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

MINUTES

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC. - EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

August 25 - 26, 1978 O'Hare Hilton, Chicago, Illinois

CALL TO ORDER: 8:40 P.M August 25, Presiding: Dr. Carolyn Gerster, President

ROLL CALL: Dr. Carolyn Gerster, Ann Bowen, Ann O'Donnell, John Waddey, Dr. Bill Colliton, Felicia Gocken
Guests: Sean Morton Downey, Jr , James Bopp, Esq., General Counsel
Arriving late: August 26th, Dr. J.C. Willke, Jane Muldoon

OPENING PRAYER: John Waddey

MINUTES: Secretary, Felicia Gocken, read minutes from previous meeting;
Minutes approved as read.

AGENDA: Treasurer's Report:Dr. Colliton
NRL News: William Maloney
LAPAC: Sean Morton Downey, Jr.
Fund-raising: James Bothell
Defenders of Life: Dr. J.C. Willke
Legislative and Lobbying

Treasurer's Report: Dr. Colliton

Operational costs being determined as record-keeping, previously in various offices, all being drawn together. Modus-operandi; two signatures to transfer from general account to the operating account. The treasurer asked the administrative element to prepare a budget, projecting proposed annual income and expenditures
Treasurer will be preparing a cash flow form each week and accounts payable on a current basis for a current report to the Board each meeting
Also recommened reinstitution of a percentage (5%) to be set aside in a savings account
The President suggested, if no objection, that copies of flow sheet be sent to the Executive Committee

DISCUSSION: Current situation regarding solution of dollar figures with Liz Jefferies and Media V accounts.

MOTION: Dr. William Colliton, seconded

"With regard to trying to settle those business problems of the previous administration, in areas of dispute or disagreement, the General Counsel for the Corporation will obtain all documentation available from NRLC,Inc resources and those making a claim against the Corporation.
With this data in hand, the General Counsel will recommend to the President and the Executive Committee, a variety of actions that may be considered."

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

REPORTS: Voter ID Project-Felicia Gocken

Reported approximately 30 States in some stage of Voter ID Written report and inventory presented to the Treasurer All accounting to be handled from the Washington office, all materials from project to be expedited from Alton

Legal Action Project: James Bopp, Esq

Report on Akron-type ordinance in Louisiana, Florida case,etc. Noted that original appropriation from the Board for the project was $75,000 the first year, $125,000 the second year Due to local funding and assistance from local attorneys, the cost has been less than $20,000
Reported the good of defending legislative victories Greater service if positive and affirmative actions can be taken. Most exciting area, attacking euthanasia legislation before enactment which might possibly avoid the need for legislative battles at later date.

MOTION: Ann O'Donnell, seconded

"That the NRLC Convention Standing Committee Chairman investigate possible convention sites and make recommendations to the Board.
Upon the appointment of a State Convention Chairman, that authority for that Convention will be vested in that State Chairman of that Committee. The NRLC Convention Chairman will be available for consultation at the invitation of the State Committee.
The total expense to NRLC,Inc. for investigation and consultation will not exceed $500 annually

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

RECESS: 11:30 P.M.

RECONVENED: August 26, 1978 9:30 a.m.

Present, in addition to original roll call, Kenneth VanDerhoef, Esq.

Schedule for Executive Committee and Board meetings for the year 1978-1979

Executive Committee to meet approximately every six weeks. When in conjunction with the Board meeting, Exec. Comm will meet all day prior, others will be all day Saturday, and Friday evening before

DATES:

Executive Committee	October 27, 1978 - Rodeway Inn, Chicago (all day)
BOARD	October 28 - 29 - Rodeway Inn, Chicago
Executive Committee	December 1 - 2 - St. Louis
Executive Committee	January 19th - Washington, D.C
BOARD	January 20 - 21 - Washington,D C
Executive Committee	March 2 - 3
Executive Committee	March 30
BOARD	March 31-April 1
Executive Committee	May 18 - 19
Executive Committee	June 20 - 9 a.m
BOARD	June 20 - noon - June 21 - noon

NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO MEET 9 a.m. June 22 for transition duties
NRLC ANNUAL CONVENTION June 21 - 24

REPORT - NRL News: Bill Moloney

Editor reported on concept of State newspaper insertion in NRL News
4 pages, $150 first thousand, additional $6.00 per thousand

MOTION:

"That the Editor of NRL News prepare a cost factor report for insertion of State newspapers in NRL News for a 5,000 mailing and a 20,000 mailing. Each State to bear its own cost. Report to be presented to Ann O'Donnell".

MOTION CARRIED : voice vote

Discussion of label service to NRL News. Computer house needs 17 days notice Editor to send changes every week - changes can be returned within 5 days. Dr. J. C. Willke, as special projects officer will make the contact to assure efficient label service to newspaper.
Report on increasing circulation; to have envelope inserts, gift subscriptions, names of three friends for one-time complimentary issue. Current circulation 37,000, 14,500 subscribers, others are donors. Editor reported aborption of 35,000 donor names with no cost provided.
Master list shows 12,400 subscribers ($6.00 per year) and 23,662 donors within past 6 months of $3.00 or more. This totals 36,062 does not equalize with master list total of 45,834.
Accountant recommends subscription receipts go to area responsible and no names be added except by subscription. (Under 2nd class postage limited to 10% free).
Discussion on primary purpose of NRL News, i.e. composed to serve the unititated, short news stories, case follow-ups.
Editor: runs newspaper, hiring and firing, by-lines etc.
Policy: Board of Directors
Publisher: Monthly column
Recommendation - spot light the President, other featured column decided on content with Vice-President.

LAPAC Report: Sean Morton Downey, Jr
Written brochure to Executive Committee - personal qualifications:
Lawyer by education, lobbyist by background, past 12 years.
ITT-General Manager & Vice Pres - 1972-1976 Democrat National Committee.
Will make contact through State NRLC Directors for State LAPAC's.
Members of LAPAC Board: Sean Morton Downey,Jr.,Dr Carolyn Gerster, Dr. Robert Sassone, Paul Brown, Felicia Goeken, Dr. J. C Willke, Jean Doyle Death Valley Walk will share with States who send a person to participate, i.e. pledges from that State
Report on previous weeks contacts on the Hill. Asked for consideration as NRLC's lobbyist, present calendar for scheduling of lobbying, and budget proposal.
Recessed: lunch 12:15 P.m.
Reconvened: 12:35 p.m.

Discussion of purposes and needs for lobbyist. President has received resignation of Thea Barron. Concentration on HLA, need for policy to direct the lobbyist from the Board of Directors.

REPORT: Fund-raising, James Bothell
Discussion of past problems and possibility of working together in the future
Mailings since June board meeting for purpose of "doin as much for each other as possible with as little damage as possible to NRLC or Bothell"
Bothell has been paid August consultation fee of $2,000 and all NRLC,Inc. debts incurred in mailing to be paid immediately.

Mr. Bothell stated he feels he has been sorely abused, financially & personally. Stated that the computer program has developed 14,000 names at Bothell expense. Claimed short-sightedness on part of the Board was responsible for failure to raise project 3,000,000 dollars this year.
Figure of 30¢ per dollar raised submitted. Discussion of list ownership and use of. Dr. Willke cited problems in converting a tape, Mr. Bothell indicated he should contact Mr. Hitchcock (programmer) and he would assist.
Mr Bothell stated that a long term contract would assure the surrender of ownership of the list mentioned in the contract, i.e. ownership would rest with NRLC.
Reported 57,000 total on tape; 38,000 active, 4,000 information mailing, 2,000 should not receive any mail.

MOTION: Ann O'Donnell, seconded

"Not to renew the James Bothell, Inc. contract"

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

MOTION: Ann Bowen, seconded

"That NRLC, Inc. enter into an agreement with Francis Litz, for no more than two fund-raising mailing, prior to October 27, 1978 Board meeting.

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote
RECOMMENDATION: That proposals from directmail firms(including Bothell) be considered.
REPORT: Special Project - Dr. J.C. Willke

Defenders of Life fundraising program.Revenue sharing plan, local and/or State organizations, and National Right to Life. 15 member Board to remain independent of NRLC. Percentages still being worked out - but basic break-down allows 10% to State organizations, 10% to NRLC,Inc., and 40 - 45% to primary organization designated by donor, 20% discretionary for grants and loans and 20% operational. Board members include Dr. Willke, Dr. Gerster, John Waddey, Ann O'Donnell, Bill Polito, Jean Doyle, Margaret Turk. Complete report to be presented to Board of Directors in October

Report on Washington office to be mailed.

MEETING ADJOURNED: 5:05 P.M.

Felicia Goeken
Felicia Goeken, Secretary

Approved 10/27/78 (date)
Carolyn Gerster, MD
Dr. Carolyn Gerster, President

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

[illegible] National Right to Life Building, [illegible] Washington, D.C. [illegible]
Special Projects Office - P.O. Box [illegible] Tulsa, Okla. [illegible]
[illegible] Office - [illegible] Los Angeles, [illegible]

Minutes

National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

The Turf Hotel - Albany, New York - October 1, 1977 Convened 9:30 a.m.

The quarterly Board of Directors meeting of the National Right to Life Committee was called to order by the Chairman of the Board, presiding officer, Dr. Carolyn Gerster.

ROLL CALL: Attached - 31 Present, 3 Present by Proxy (total throughout Board meeting)

Parliamentarian - Mr. James Bopp

Guests: Anthony Lauinger, James Bothell, Fran Watson, Mr. Ross, Ed Golden

QUORUM: Quorum established with 25 Directors present.

MOTION: Onofrio, seconded
"To adopt standing rules, as read by the Chair".
MOTION PASSED: voice vote

DISCUSSION: Agenda

MOTION: Geline Williams, seconded
"To adopt agenda as read by the Chair"
MOTION PASSED: voice vote

MINUTES OF PREVIOUS MEETING:
MOTION: Tj Bosgra, seconded
"To adopt minutes of previous meeting, with correction offered by the Secretary"
MOTION PASSED: voice vote
CORRECTION TO June 1977 Board meeting:
LEGAL ACTION PROJECT: Special members appointed by Dr. Mildred F. Jefferson, to assist the legal action project: Bob Winn, Chairman, Andrew O'Keefe, litigation, Thea Rossi Barron, Robert Bopt of Iowa, and Mary Hunt.

TREASURER'S REPORT: Mrs. Mary Hunt, assisted by Mrs. Judie Brown
Mrs. Hunt announced opening of a reserve savings account for deposit of percentage of revenue from direct mail receipts.
Financial statement was distributed to Board members present.
Treasurer gave verbal presentation of unaudited quarterly report with assistance of Mrs. Brown from the Washington office.
MOTION: Mary Hunt, seconded
"That the Board enter into a closed session for remainder of Treasurer's financial report"
MOTION PASSED: voice vote - no dissent
Treasurer reminded members of standing rule which requires each Director who received a written financial report to acknowledge receipt by Director's own signature.
The treasurer gave a complete report, updated to September 29th on accounts payable and accounts receivable of all three offices, Washington, Tulsa and National Right to Life News.
REPORT ACCEPTED BY CHAIR

PRESIDENT'S REPORT: Dr. Mildred F. Jefferson

Dr. Jefferson reported on the Hyde language, restated NRLC's position for the Hyde language of last year, urged continual bombardment of our own Congressmen. Reported on near collapse of most recent conference committee, and that it appeared the Conference almost collapsed trying to compromise - with no visible reason.

Report on NRLC Convention '77 documentary

NRL News: Dr. Jefferson reported that applications for editors and proposals for printers were coming in, various considerations underway.

DISCUSSION: Documentary - State participation, i.e. assuming responsibility for payment of TV shows done in each State.

President reported on two resolutions to be considered for implementation concerned with financial status.

MOTION: Felicia Goeken, seconded,

"That all transfer of funds from the General Account in D.C. shall require the approval of two out of the following three people:
President, Vice-President and Treasurer"

MOTION PASSED: voice vote

MOTION: Ann O'Donnell, seconded,

"That expenditures of the corporation be immediately reduced to the projected income of $25,000 per month to include monthly operating expenditures in Washington and Tulsa, and including $5,000 monthly, thereof, to be applied to accrued debt."

MOTION PASSED: with the States of Texas and Washington abstaining.

DISCUSSION: John Waddey, Tennessee director, commenting on assistance received by States from National projects, urged all States to assist National in raising money to defray current indebtedness.

RECESS: 12 noon, lunch

RECONVENED: 1:30 P.M.

REPORT: Special Project Vice-President - Dr. Robert Krebsbach
Present concept of local showings of documentary with telephone banks tied in
Availability of video tapes in 2" and 3/4" reels. 2" for TV stations, and 3/4" for viewing and use on video tape machines. Directors interested in purchasing video tapes should contact Tulsa office.

Additional guests: Prof. Robert Byrne, Kathy Quinn, John Grimes, Ernie Ohlhoff

REPORT: Resolution committee - Celine Williams
Mrs. Williams reported out the following 3 resolutions:

"Whereas Sean Morton Downey, a dedicated worker in the cause of the right to life, has generously given to the National Right to Life Committee all rights to his beautiful recording of "Gotta Right to Live,"

We, the Board of Directors of the National Right to Life Committee, express our admiration and gratitude for his generosity and commitment in singing for the unborn child."

"Whereas, an important contribution contribution to the pro-life cause in America

has been made by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops through the Initiation and Implementation of the Pro-Life Pastoral Plan, and
Whereas, we hereby reaffirm our continued mutual commitment toward the restoration of the value and reverence for each human life in society,
BE IT RESOLVED, that a formal letter of commendation and congratulation be sent from the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., to the National Conference of Catholic Bishops to commemorate the second anniversary of the Pro-Life Plan in November of 1977."

"Whereas, the full implementation of political action is necessary to affect the goals of the right to life effort, a Human Life Amendment to the Constitution, and
Whereas the implementation reqires the continued support and election of Congressmen who are dedicated to the principles of our founding fathers, the guarantee of the inalienable right to life,
The National Right to Life Committee recognizes and commends the founding of the Life Amendment Political Action Committee, known as LAPAC,Inc.
We encourage the cooperation and support the efforts of LAPAC,Inc."

MOTIONS:
#1-Sean Morton Downey---Motion:Felicia Goeken, seconded
MOTION PASSED-voice vote
#2-National Conference of Catholic Bishops---Motion, Jean Doyle, seconded
MOTION PASSED-voice vote
#3-LAPAC,Inc.-Motion to table for further discussion, Mary Hunt, seconded
MOTION PASSED- voice vote

REPORT-By-laws Committee - Charles Onofrio
MOTION: Charles Onofrio, seconded
"To adopt Amendment as sent to Board members under Article VIII, paragraph 1A"
AMENDMENT: Dr. Mildred F. Jefferson:"To amend by dealing separately with Associate membership."
AMENDMENT PASSED: voice vote
DISCUSSION: Legal implications assuring state organizations corporate status is the same as Nationals', dropping the wording of individual in membership,
MOTION: Felicia Goeken, seconded
"That the Article VIII amendment be referred to the legal advisory committee"
AMENDMENT: Dr. J.C. Willke, seconded,
"That Article VIII be referred to the Executive Committee, for a legal opinion".
AMENDED MOTION: Carried, voice vote

REPORT: Finance Committee-Dr. Robert Krebsbach
Discussion of Revenue sharing and offer of professional assistance to States' Fund Raising efforts.

REPORT: States Organization-Bill Polito
MOTION: Bill Politio, seconded, that Board go into a closed session
MOTION PASSED, voice vote

Mr. Polito presented each Director present with written legal evaluation on tax status and political action organization. Evaluation included latest update on IRS and FEC regulations of organizational structures.

REPORT: Thea Rossi Barron
Information on disposition of Hyde Law Suit, conference committee and White House meeting with Midge Constand(Dr. Jefferson, Dr. Willke and Ms. Barron).

Discussion: John Waddey reports Tennessee has passed a resolution to support NRLC, Inc.
Urged Directors to be "member" 52 weeks a year in support of NRLC.
RECESSED: 5:35 P.M.

RECONVENED: October 2nd, 9 A.M.

REPORT: Credentials Committee-Jean Doyle
"Sara Thomas of Guam, qualified for At-Large Director"
MOTION: Jean Doyle, seconded,
"That Sara Thomas be elected as at-large Director"
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

REPORT: State Programs(Mary Believeau & Sharon Cornwaithe), Believeau, reporting
DISCUSSION: "What should states programs be?", i.e. coordination with other committees to develop specific programs, request reports from States as to type of assistance needed for individual states programs.

REPORT: Citizen's Lobby-Jean Doyle
Plans to coordinate state "right to Lifers" trained for lobbying in Washington. Suggested that January would be ideal time. Chairman of Citizen's lobbyists would coordinate the trained lobbyists, lay out schedule's for coming into Washington, D.C., right to life groups and States' Organizations willingness to send their lobbyist to Washington for the organized, cooperative effort.
MOTION: Sally Rausher, seconded
"That each State will be responsible for assigning two people for the official NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE Lobby Committee".
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

REPORT: Legal Action Project - Mary Hunt and Jim Bopp
Contacts and cases referred to Special Counsel: 36 from 21 States
Cases referred but declined: 11
Cases recommended to Legal Liaison Comm.: 6
Cases approved: 5
Cases Declined: 1
Cases pending with Special Counsel's office: 6
DISCUSSION: Ken Vanderhoef and William Polito recommended that medical malpractise suits with damages should not be bais for suit for NRLC.

NRLC Convention Report: Ann O'Donnell
Report on plans for Convention '78 at Stauffer Towers in St. Louis, Missouri
Tanative program presented to Directors.
Convention Report '77, Marcy Sneed:
Presented complete financial report (attached)
MOTION: Dr. Willke, seconded
"To commend Convention '77 Committee on a most successful Convention".

REPORT: Voter Identification Survey Project, Phase 1 - Felicia Cooken
(Attached) Report on States who have appointed Coordinator's for survey. Prices on two-part and three-part snap out computer ready forms. Completed books available within two weeks @ 15¢ each, computer forms, if ordered in cooperative effort for quantity prices will be 4¢ each. Reiteration of need to cooperate with plans as set forth in Voter ID booklet, for a successful nation-wide effort.
Dr. Jefferson announced that Felicia Cooken will be National Coordinator, to be placed on salary and expense for implementation of the project.
MOTION: Felicia Cooken, seconded
"To adopt the 3-part snap out forms for the survey"
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

DISCUSSION: Ken Vanderhoef appealed for funds for AUL case pending. Dr. Jefferson requested that copies of donations to AUL be sent to NRLC to record as additional funds to AUL thru NRLC.

MOTION: Mary Hunt, seconded:
"That the Board of Directors appoint a Newspaper Review Committee composed of; Dr. Carolyn Gerster, Marge Montgomery, Mary Ellen Mulholland, Celine Williams and Bill Collition. Purpose of this committee will be to review the present operating proceedures and policies of NRL News and to recommend either their continuance or to propose changes thereto at the January meeting of the Board".
DISCUSSION: Dr. Carolyn Gerster read a letter from Alice Hartle, former NRL News Editor, to the Board of Directors.
MOTION TO ALLOW READING BY Ann O'Donnell, seconded: carried voice vote.

MOTION FAILED: voice vote

DISCUSSION: Publisher Dr. Jefferson assured Directors that future issues would be forthcoming. Time being near adjournment time no further action was recommended.

Meeting adjourned: 12 noon.

Minutes Approved Jan 21, 1978 (date)

Felicia R. Gocken

Felicia R. Gocken, Secretary

Carolyn Gerster

Carolyn Gerster M.D.
Chairman of the Board

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Date: October 1, 1977

Place: Turf Inn, Albany, New York

Roll Call Tally Sheet

STATE		STATE	
ALABAMA	A	MONTANA	A
ALASKA	A	NEBRASKA	A
ARIZONA	P	NEVADA	A
ARKANSAS	A	NEW HAMPSHIRE	A
CALIFORNIA	P	NEW JERSEY	P
COLORADO	P	NEW MEXICO	A
CONNECTICUT arrived late	P	NEW YORK	P
DELAWARE	P	NORTH CAROLINA	P
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	A	NORTH DAKOTA	A
FLORIDA	P	OHIO	P
GEORGIA	A	OKLAHOMA	P
HAWAII arrived late	P	OREGON	A
IDAHO	A	PENNSYLVANIA	P
ILLINOIS	P	RHODE ISLAND	A
INDIANA	P	SOUTH CAROLINA	A
IOWA arrived late	P	SOUTH DAKOTA	P
KANSAS	A	TENNESSEE	P
KENTUCKY	P	TEXAS	PA
LOUISIANA	P	UTAH	A
MAINE	P	VERMONT	A
MARYLAND	P	VIRGINIA	P
MASSACHUSETTS	P	WASHINGTON	P
MICHIGAN	P	WEST VIRGINIA	P
MINNESOTA	P	WISCONSIN	P
MISSISSIPPI	A	WYOMING	P
MISSOURI	P		
DIRECTORS AT LARGE		DIRECTORS AT LARGE	
Jo Higgins, RN	PP		
Mildred Jefferson, MD	P		

P = present
PP = present by proxy
A = Aye
Ab = absent
N = No

3 1 0 2 2 0 1 1

UPDATE-Voter Identification Survey Project - Phase I

ALABAMA
ALASKA
ARIZONA: Nancy Roach(Coordinated, first order for forms received)
ARKANSAS
CALIFORNIA: Mrs. Driesbach
COLORADO
CONNECTICUT
DELAWARE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
FLORIDA: Katherine Walsh
GEORGIA
HAWAII
IDAHO
ILLINOIS: Mrs. Darlene Degenhardt(First presentation to state-wide, October 15th)
INDIANA
IOWA: Robert Dopf (F. Goeken attending state-wide meeting October 22nd-Iowa paying expenses
KANSAS
KENTUCKY
LOUISIANA
MAINE: Nancy Cote
MARYLAND
MASSACHUSETTS
MICHIGAN: Meeting planned for structure
MINNESOTA: Ruby Kerbeste (proceeding with own structure)
MISSISSIPPI
MISSOURI
MONTANA
NEBRASKA: Ann Bowen
NEVADA
NEW HAMPSHIRE
NEW MEXICO
NEW YORK Payment for 6600 booklets
NORTH CAROLINA: Mr. John W. Dowd
NORTH DAKOTA
OHIO: Mr. Bill Brueggmeyer
OKLAHOMA
OREGON: Mrs. Linda Peccie
PENNSYLVANIA: Denise Neary
RHODE ISLAND
SOUTH CAROLINA
SOUTH DAKOTA: George Bondora
TENNESSEE: Mr. Kent Pruett
TEXAS: Mr. Tom Murphy
UTAH
VERMONT (response, working on Coordinator)
VIRGINIA(response, working on Coordinator)
WEST VIRGINIA
WISCONSIN
WYOMING

NYPLC: F. Goeken attending Convention for program on Voter ID(NYPLC COVERING EXPENSES)

DIRECTORS AND/OR COORDINATORS REQUESTED TO REPORT TYPE OF REGISTRATION USED IN STATE, ie listed by streets or voters names alphabetically.
Orders for booklets and/or forms must be accompanied by payments.
Registration lists by streets will carry 9 names on each form
Registration lists alphabetically will carry 6 names on form.
Booklets 15¢ each, computer ready forms(3-part snap out) 4¢ each

ATTACHMENT TO OCTOBER MINUTES ✓
Distributed to Board members for further study and information prior to action to remove motion from table

LAPAC, INC.
BEN FRANKLIN STATION
P.O. BOX 14263
Washington, DC 20044

PRESS RELEASE . . . . . PRESS RELEASE . . . . . PRESS RELEASE . . . . . .

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
SEPTEMBER 23, 1977

CONTACT: P. A. BROWN
703-491-1251

PRO-LIFE PAC FORMED TO ELECT THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN THE PRINCIPLE OF LIFE

DATELINE: . . . . . Washington, DC Minutes after incorporation, Mr. Paul A. Brown, Treasurer of the newly formed Life Amendment Political Action Committee, stated: "We now have a vehicle to offer to each and every state in this nation, a vehicle which will enable the pro-life people of America to be about the business of electing men and women who will NOT COMPROMISE and will support a Human Life Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. We will assist each and every state in need of our services and are proud to have as the Chairman of our Advisory Committee, Dr. Mildred F. Jefferson, President of the National Right to Life Committee. She is joined on this Committee by Dr. J. C. Willke, NRLC Executive Vice-President; Mrs. Mary Hunt, NRLC Treasurer; Mrs. Gloria Klein of Michigan, Mrs. Jean Doyle of Florida, Congressman Henry Hyde of Illinois and others."

Officers of this corporation are:

Sean Morton Downey Jr. of California - Chairman

Dr. Carolyn F. Gerster of Arizona - Vice-Chairman

Mrs. Felecia Goeken of Illinois - Secretary

Mr. Paul A. Brown of Washington, DC - Treasurer

Susan M. Sassone, MS of California - Asst. Treasurer

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national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE Suite 341 National Press Bldg. 529 14th Street N.W.
Washington D.C. 20045 (202) 638-4886

MINUTES

June 20-21, 1979 - Holiday Inn, Fort Mitchell, Kentucky

Presiding - Kenneth VanDerhoef, Esq. - Chairman of the Board

Opening Prayer - John Waddey, Tennessee

Roll Call - Attached; June 20th 41 present, 2 Present by Proxy, 9 Absent
June 21st 44 present, 8 Absent

Absent: June 20th Alaska, Georgia, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Hampshire Rhode Island, So. Carolina, Vermont, At-Large
June 21st Georgia, Mississippi, New Hampshire, No. Dakota, Rhode Island, So. Carolina, Vermont, At-Large

INTRODUCTION OF GUESTS:

New York, Montana, Texas, Idaho, Maine and Illinois introduced guests.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE: Chairman - Jean Doyle

Cliff Kratzer - Delaware Robert Sassone - California; written credentials not in hand:

MOTION: John Waddey, seconded
" To accept delegates from Delaware and California as seated"

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote
Alternates: Connecticut-Keragavar, Louisiana-Alexander
New Directors: Wyoming- Mary Schroeder; Nebraska-Mary Ann Tien; Alabama-Linda Walters

Nomination: At-Large Director - Jo Higgins, National Pro-Life Nurses

MOTION: John Waddey, seconded
"To accept nomination and elect Jo Higgins as At-Large Director"

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

CHALLENGE: Illinois Director's seat challenged by Mr. Ralph Rivera.
Chairman stated challenge was to Illinois Federation for Right to Life as state organization eligible to elect a Director. Credentials Committee has previously met with Mr. Ralph Rivera elected by Illinois Pro-Life Coalition and Mrs. Felicia Gocken elected by the Illinois Federation for Right to Life. Written copy of Credentials Committee finding; to seat Mrs. Gocken and recognizing that the Illinois Federation more closely resembles the model of state organization.
Mr. Rivera appealed the Credentials Committee decision to the full Board.
Mr. Rivera stated that he represented pro-life organizations in Illinois which made up the majority of pro-life membership in the State.
Stated that the groups that make up the majority of groups in Illinois elected him.
Felicia Gocken explained congressional district structure of the Federation.

Stated Mr. Rivera had been invited to sit on Board of Federation and declined. Explained services of the Federation, i.e. state-wide newspaper, telephone tree, individual memberships.Map indicated written support from 24 groups throughout Illinois, in addition to individual members.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE REPORT - attached

MOTION: Dr. Colliton, seconded
"To accept the Credentials Committee report accepting the Illinois Federation and Felicia Goeken as delegate."

Friendly amendment: Jane Muldoon, seconded
"To amend the report of the Credentials Committee to state, ' Felicia Goeken be seated as delegate from Illinois'."

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

ADOPTION OF AGENDA - MOTION: Jane Muldoon, seconded
MOTION CARRIED- voice vote

Tellers appointed - John Waddey, Margaret Turk
Sergeant at Arms - Professor Joseph Witherspoon

TREASURER'S REPORT: Dr. William Colliton: written copies distributed, report that reduction of accounts payable & fiscal performance April 78-79 greatly improved.
MOTION: Lyle Evelo, seconded
"To suspend the reading of the minutes of previous meeting and approve as recorded"
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

Lunch 12:30 p.m. Reconvened 1:15 p.m.

Introduction of guest from Arkansas

Budget Review Committee: Chairman - John Stanton
Recommendation of Committee for scheduled income and Expense Budget
Provision for retirement of old debts and a contingency fund
1. Schedule of Income - Section C in financial report
2. Expense Budget -
3. NRL News - recommendation it be moved to Washington
4. Major Gift Fundraising

MOTION: Robert Sassone, seconded
" To adopt the two line items of the budget (scheduled income and expense) as proposed"
Discussion: That the budget review committee will meet within this session and report the Board.

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote
CALL FOR DIVISION OF THE HOUSE: 35 ayes, 4 nays

Fundraising report: Mary Hunt
Cooperating States: Massachusetts, Vermont, Ohio, Alaska, Maryland, Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, California, New Hampshire, New York, Virginia, Florida, Montana
Stressed need for all States to cooperate in prospecting effort.

State may now use list received from NRLC in anyway they so choose for c-4 or c-3 purposes.
NRLC has no record of previous prospecting from former fundraiser, is in need of 8,000 new donors on file. We are not buying or renting other lists at this time. Explanation of "one time use" of state lists: original list mailed once, donors are then an integrate part of NRLC's mailing list, non-donors are not.

MOTION: John Stanton, seconded
"NRLC promote and endorse major gift plan as proposed by Colonel Wade Jackson"
Discussion: understood plan is on volunteer basis by Colonel Jackson

FRIENDLY AMENDMENT: Dave Porter
insert "the intent" between endorse and major gift plan
Discussion: entire thrust be for C-4 organization
(intent) authorize Wade Jackson to circulate to the States a proposal for the project

MOTION AS AMENDED:
"NRLC promote and endorse the intent of a major gifts donor plan, as proposed by Colonel Wade Jackson. And authorizes Wade Jackson to circulate to the States a proposal for the project."
MAIN MOTION CARRIED voice vote

Ann O'Donnell - EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE REPORT

Correction of previous minutes Page 3, prior to "Harrington" insert "Bishop Timothy J." Page 4, delete "decision of the publisher", insert "recommendation of the Budget Committee, regarding".

In the future, Executive Committee minutes will not be sent out until approved May 18-19th Board minutes to be re-circulated following correction.

NRLC Convention Policy:
The chairman of the NRLC Convention Committee should be the chair of previously completed convention. This person along with the chairman of the convention once removed and the chairman of the upcoming convention shall constitute the Convention committee. The convention committee shall be empowered to search out and recommend to the Board the location of the next convention.

PAC: recommendation that the Board decide whether or not NRLC,Inc. wanted to form a PAC, and allow Executive Committee to determine course of action.

Policy: Executive Committee travel expense
While Board has allowed NRLC to bear the cost, payment has and is now being deferred. Options by EC members exercised for their State to pay, or personal vouchers sent for deferred payment.

MOTION: Dr. Carolyn Gerster, seconded
" That minutes of the Executive Committee not be circulated to the Board"

Discussion:President and Executive Director recommended that an "Executive Committee Report"be distributed at the Board meeting, absentees to be mailed. Purpose is to avoid circulation of unapproved minutes, which may need correction. Any Director would receive information from minutes on any subject, upon request.

Friendly Amendment: "The Executive Committee Report will be mailed to the Board"
Accepted

Discussion: "Report" will be a summary of what happened at the Executive Committee meeting, to be written by the Executive Director.

Call for the question, end debate questioned.
MOTION: Tony Lauinger, seconded "To appeal the ruling of the Chair"
Sustaining the Chair 17 Overule the Chair 20 1 abstention
Chair overuled - debate continued

MOTION: John Stanton, seconded
"Move to table"
MOTION TO TABLE CARRIED: voice vote

MOTION: Mary Hunt, seconded
"That the meeting be closed for the legal report"
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

GENERAL COUNSEL REPORT: James Bopp, Esq.
Bothell litigation - Recommendation
1. Move for injunction against Bothell on use of C-4, breach of contract of October 11th.
2. We pay $5,900, on assumption of satisfying invoices (we consider these invoices invalid)
3. June 12th, 1979 NRLC filed answer with counter-claims, summary judgment
No bond yet posted by Bothell to enforce injunction of February, 1979.

Report on partial payment to Liz Jefferies
Requests that donor tapes be returned (approx. 1 ½ years ago) to Dr. Jefferson, Dr. Krebsbach and Mrs. Hunt. Only Mrs. Hunt complied.
Appropriate papers filed for trademark of logo, Right to Life Crusade, i.e. Dr. Jefferson and Dr. Krebsbach so notified that further use of NRLC logo will bring legal action.

Announced registration of name "Right to Life Political Action Committee"
Report on NARAL complaint to FEC, claim that Voter ID is a contribution to political act ivity without basis in fact.

DISCUSSION: Method of handling litigation regarding the Bothell case.

MOTION: Sandy Faucher, seconded

"That the Board of Directors give James Bopp, Esq. our vote of confidence for his past, present and continued work as our legal counsel."
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote
ABSTENTIONS: Maryland, California, Texas, New York, Oklahoma, Nebraska, Washington, District of Columbia (Nebraska and District of Columbia noted their abstention based on first attendance at a Board meeting, not enough background to vote)

Introduction of guests from Newfoundland and Holland and Colorado and Texas

Report on National Democrats for Life - Fran Noonan, guest

Report on Media - Gerry Ghigileri, reported Media Handbook available at Convention workshop on the media. Recommended Public Service Announcement spot for NRLC,Inc.

President's Report - Dr. Carolyn Gerster
Reported on progress of fiscal responsibility
Search committee for Executive Director
Emphasis on three areas: NRL News, Lobbying and the Washington office.
Recent personal efforts in Washington, D.C. with Congressmen.
Status of Hyde Amendment on the HEW appropriations bill.
Defense appropriations amendment being met with full force by pro-abortionists
Introduced Executive Director.
Chuck Donovan expected a victory on Hyde language.

NOMINATING COMMITTEE REPORT & ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Nominating Committee Report: Felicia Goeken, Chairman, members John Stanton, Ann Bowen, Suzanne Morris, Mary Ellen Mulholland

President: Dr. Carolyn Gerster
Vice-President: Ann O'Donnell
Treasurer: John Stanton
Secretary: Felicia Goeken
Chairman of the Board: Jean Doyle
Vice-Chairman of the Board: John Waddey
Executive Committee: Nominations, five to be elected
Dr. J.C. Willke
Mary Hunt
Jean Doyle
Margie Montgomery
Sandy Faucher
John Waddey
Jane Muldoon
Ralph Schulz
Geline Williams
Ken Hiegel - withdrew

ELECTIONS:

No nominations were received from the floor.
Roll Call established
Nominations closed.

Officers elected by acclamation:
President - Dr. Carolyn Gerster
Vice-President - Ann O'Donnell
Treasurer - John Stanton
Secretary - Felicia Goeken

Elected by Acclamation
Chairman of the Board - Jean Doyle
Vice-Chairman of the Board - John Waddey

Executive Committee, first ballot (requires a majority of those voting)

J.C. Willke,M.D.	27
Mary Hunt	24
Jean Doyle	28
Margie Montgomery	24
Faucher, Sandy	22
Waddey, John	22

Willke, Hunt, Doyle, Montgomery elected first ballot.
Second ballot for tie vote; Faucher 24, Waddey 18
Faucher elected

Recess: 12:05 a.m. Reconvene 9 a.m. - June 21

RECONVENED: 10 a.m. - June 21, 1979

Report: Darla St. Martin - Three Year Plan for Human Life Amendment
Discussion: Plan had been sent to Board of Directors in January and in April of 1979. Due to lack of study and input by committee and directors total adoption deferred until

further study, to be placed on the agenda of next Executive Committee meeting and the next Board of Directors meeting.

MOTION: Tj Bosgra, seconded

"That the three-year Plan be accepted in principle, assigned to Committee and consultant firm (within or without NRLC,Inc. - a business or sales and promotion expert). Final draft to be presented at the next Executive Committee meeting for presentation to the Board at their next meeting."

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

REPORT - Budget Committee: Chairman, Dr. William Colliton
Members, Ann O'Donnell, John Stanton, Ralph Schulz

Line item budget originally presented:
NRL News reduced by $4,000
Public Info reduced by $2,000
Program & Project reduced by $40,000
Fund Raising to remain the same
General & Administrative to remain the same

MOTION:Sandy Faucher,seconded
"That the Executive Committee review and approve the line item budget as presented."

MOTION LOST: voice vote

DISCUSSION: Reduction of program & project item primarily Legal Action Project, Citizens' Lobby reduced $5,000.

MOTION: John Waddey, seconded
"To accept this proposed budget"

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

Convention Report: Dr. J.C. Willke

Announce documentary on convention by Public Broadcasting WCET - aired by satellite
Tapes of all workshops available at the Convention for $5.00 each
Pro-abortionists planned demonstration for Saturday

Announcement that Board would reconvene at 6:30 p.m. Friday , June 22nd.

RECONVENED: Friday, June 22nd, 6:45 P.M.

PRESIDING: Jean Doyle

Guests introduced from Indiana and Michigan, alternate delegate,Georgia; Cheryl Bowman

Report - Resolutions committee - Geline Williams, chairman

Resolution #1 - Tabled, on motion of Dr. Colliton
MOTION TO TABLE - Carried, voice vote

Resolution #2 - MOTION TO AMEND - Carried voice vote

Resolution #2, as amended:

WHEREAS, The March of Dimes, The National Foundation, supports the individuals and medical centers whose activities frequently include the extermination of the genetically damaged unborn and lethal experimentation on both intrauterine and aborted premature infants.

THEREFORE, be it RESOLVED, that the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. urges its members and other citizens who respect human life, to support that genetic research which is ordered solely to the protection and improved health of the genetically damaged unborn such as the Michael Fund.

MOTION CARRIED: voice vote, Resolution #2, as amended

MOTION: Mary Hunt, seconded
"To suspend rules to revise agenda"
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

Report: States Organizational Committee - Bill Polito, Chairman

Mr. Polito distributed to the Board, copies of State Organizational Plan, complete with necessary forms. Reported that organizational blanket exemption not yet approved, but thus far no negative response.
State Directors must be responsible for reproducing the plan for distribution to their affiliates within the State.

MOTION: Dr. Carolyn Gerster, seconded
"The Board take up the subject of an internal PAC"
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

MOTION: Margaret Turk, seconded
"That the NRLC,Inc. create its' own internal political action committee"
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

return to resolutions committee report

Resolution #3 - not recommended by committee; restatement of goals and purposes

Resolution #4 - Genetic Research; Amniocentesis; in vitro fertiliztion
Committee recommendation: moved by Geline Williams
"That the President appoint a committee to prepare policy statements on in vitro fertilization and genetic engineering for approval by the Board of Directors of NRLC."
seconded,
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

Resolution #6: Funding - in vitro fertilization; test-tube babies
Committee recommendation: moved by Geline Williams, seconded
" That the President submit to previously appointed committee"
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

Resolution #7: Withdrawn by maker

Resolution #8: Opposing tax funding of killing genetically imperfect
MOTION: Dr. Carolyn Gerster, seconded
"To table" MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

Resolutions 10 - 11 - 12 and 13 not recommended by resolutions committee
MOTION: "To accept recommendations of the Resolution Committee", seconded
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote
These resolutions pertained to "resignation of Supreme Court Justices", "Eagles' Amendment", "Con-Con" and "NRLC lobbying".

Rhode Island alternate delegate - Catherine M. Fallon
Alaska alternate delegate - Kristine Fardig
Texas alternate delegate - Robert Powell

MOTION: Phil Moran, seconded
"That the President select several attorneys to investigate the statements made by Mr. VanDerhoef and Mr. Sassone regarding the handling of the Bothell suits and that Mr. Sassone and Mr. VanDerhoef submit a letter within two (2) weeks setting forth in detail the errors and omissions alleged in the handling of the said suit, and that a report and evaluation of the accusations be made by said committee and submitted to General Counsel for determination."
MOTION CARRIED: voice vote

Discussion: that committee of attorneys would be volunteers

MOTION: Charles Onofrio, seconded
"That the matter of NRLC's Human Life Amendment language be reviewed by Professor Joseph Witherspoon, or his designee, and a position paper concerning the Human Life Amendment be submitted;
and that Andrew O'Keefe, or his designee, submit a paper addressing a Human Life Amendment without an exception clause."

Friendly Amendment: "To expand the scope and discussion of the language to other recommendations by a panel discussion." accepted
MOTION CARRIED: as amended, voice vote

CALL FOR A DIVISION OF THE HOUSE: 21 Ayes 11 Nays

Distribution of Voter Identification Project Report to the Board.

ADJOURNED: 8:30 P.M.

Approved _____(date)

_____
President, Dr. Carolyn Gerster

_____
Secretary, Felicia Goeken

Roll Call

	6/20	6/21
ALABAMA Walters	P	P
ALASKA Fadely	A	P
ARIZONA Mahoney	P	P
ARKANSAS Bergel	P	P
CALIFORNIA Burton	P	P
COLORADO Onorato	P	P
CONNECTICUT Kearney	P	P
DELAWARE Kaufman	P	P
DIST. OF COLUMBIA Fauntroy	P	P
FLORIDA Chiles	P	P
GEORGIA	A	A
HAWAII T. Rosgie	P	P
IDAHO Peterson	P	P
ILLINOIS Dashow	P	P
INDIANA Hunt	P	P
IOWA Turner	P	P
KANSAS Carlson	P	P
KENTUCKY Montgomery	P	P
LOUISIANA Alexander	P	P
MAINE Tanner	P	P
MARYLAND Cranton	P	P
MASSACHUSETTS Moran	P	P
MICHIGAN Muldon	P	P
MINNESOTA St. Martin	A	P
MISSISSIPPI	A	P
MISSOURI O'Donnell	P	P
MONTANA Monroe	P	P
NEBRASKA [illegible]	P	P
NEVADA McBroom	P	P
NEW HAMPSHIRE	A	A
NEW JERSEY Muldowney	P	P
NEW MEXICO Chavez	P	P
NEW YORK Foley	P	P
NORTH CAROLINA O'Neil	P	P
NORTH DAKOTA	P	A
OHIO Walsh	P P	P
OKLAHOMA Kamm	P	P
OREGON Potter	P	P
PENNSYLVANIA Stanton	P	P
RHODE ISLAND	A	A
SOUTH CAROLINA	A	A
SOUTH DAKOTA Eudy	P	P
TENNESSEE Wilkey	P	P
TEXAS Dragoon	P	P
UTAH Connell	P	P
VERMONT	A	A
VIRGINIA Williams	P	P
WASHINGTON Pritchard	P	P
WEST VIRGINIA Boettner	P	P
WISCONSIN [illegible]	P	P
WYOMING Schroeder	P	P
[illegible]		
AT-LARGE DIRECTOR [illegible]	A	A

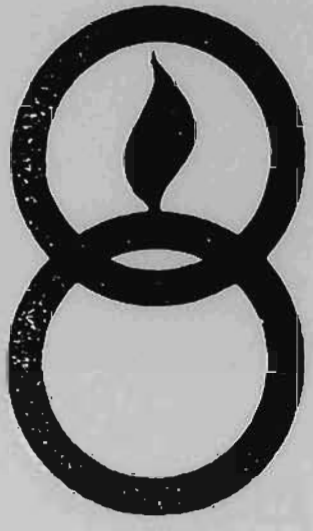
ALTERNATES:
0 - 41 P
2 PP
4 Abs

1 - 447 P
8 Abs

Absent - 6/20/74
Alaska — So. Carolina
Georgia — Vermont
Minnesota — At-Large
Mississippi
New Hampshire
[illegible]

Absent 6/21/74
Georgia — Rhode Island
Mississippi — So. Carolina
New Hampshire — Vermont
No. Dakota — At-Large

THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.,
MANUAL
FOR
NOT FOR PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS



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Washington, D. C. 20045

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This booklet produced through a grant by New York State Right To Life Committee, Inc.

Prepared and submitted by States Organization Committee
William P. Polito, Esq., Chairman
David Moynihan
David O'Steen
Darla St. Martin

STATES ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

OF

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

National Right To Life Committee

The National Right To Life Committee is a nonsectarian, non-profit corporation with tax exempt status. It parallels the National Right To Life Education Corporation, which is tax exempt and tax deductible. There are also separate National Political Action Committees which will endorse and support pro-life political candidates.

The National Right To Life Committee has a 51-member Board of Directors comprised of one delegate from the statewide organization in each of the 50 states and the District of Columbia. Four additional at-large delegates may be elected by the Board. The officers can elect at their option to become at-large delegates in lieu of their state delegate status.

The affairs of the Corporation between Board meetings are run by a 9-member executive committee elected annually by the Board and consisting of the president, executive vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and 5 elected Board members. The principal places of business of the corporation is the headquarters in Washington, D.C., and the newspaper office in Chicago, Illinois.

States Organization Committee

The states Organization Committee is a committee of the National Right To Life Committee whose function is to advise and assist the formation of the 51 statewide organizations and their

affiliated local organizations. Specific assistance will be rendered regarding incorporation, tax status, formation of a single, statewide structure around Congressional Districts, and the organization of the local affiliates which are necessary to achieve the unity for a national coordinated effort towards enacting a Human Life Amendment to the United States Constitution.

I. INCORPORATION

The statewide organization should incorporate in order to protect the Board of Directors and officers from personal liability. To incorporate, you must file a Certificate of Incorporation, usually in the state capitol. The cost of incorporation, including filing fee and legal fee for preparation of the Certificate of Incorporation, By-laws, and Minutes of the first meeting will range from $250.00 - $750.00. In addition, a tax attorney should be retained to guide you through the necessary tax status approval.

Although incorporation will protect the officers and Board of Directors from personal liability for acts performed within their corporate duties, the Board of Directors is nevertheless responsible for running the affairs of the Corporation. They should be fully knowledgeable of the conduct of the Corporation and be especially aware of the financial aspects and require periodic accounting of income and outgo. Failure to do so may impose personal liability on <u>all</u> directors despite incorporation.

II. TAX STATUS

After incorporation, the organization should seek tax status in three separate areas: EDUCATION - SOCIAL ACTION - POLITICAL. Each category provides certain tax advantages with accompanying restrictions on activity.

A. EDUCATION (501)(C)(3)

The Internal Education Committee, or the separate Education Corporation is extended the highest benefits by law. Correspondingly, it is also the most highly restricted in certain areas of activity. The major benefits are:

(i) Tax Exempt Income - income received by the Corporation is not subject to income taxes.

(ii) Tax Deductible - contributions to the Corporation may be deducted by the donor from his personal income tax. Deductible charitable bequests can also be made by the estate of individuals through their Wills.

(iii) Mailing Rates - postal rates are reduced to 3.1 per mailing, instead of 8.4 bulk rate or .15 first class mail.

(iv) Possible Real Property Tax Exemption on Ownership of Real Estate or Sales Tax Exemptions - depends on state law.

The activities of this Corporation must be restricted to primarily educational activity. However, it can engage in some legislative activity, such as supporting a Human Life Amendment or supporting pro-life state legislation, provided such activity is not "substantial". To determine "substantial" - a comparison of legislative activity with overall activity is necessary. Five percent of activities devoted to Legislative matters will not cause loss of exemption. SEASONGOOD vs. COMMISSIONER, 227 F 2nd 907 (6th Circuit 1955), IRS Handbook IRM (11) 671 Ch 764 (1).

Under recent legislation, an education corporation can now elect to have 20 percent of its activities be allowed for

legislative purposes, and still obtain the aforesaid tax benefits. There are certain disadvantages to this option which persuade against such election by Right To Life Education groups.

However, the Education Corporation cannot, under any circumstances, become involved in any political election, referendum, or endorsement of political candidates. Recent revenue rulings effective January 1st, 1979 have added restrictions regarding the dissemination of candidates' position on "single issues". The most recent rulings should be studied before action is undertaken in this regards by a C-3 or C-4 Corporation.

If the Corporation engages in any political activity, as aforesaid, or exceeds the allowable degree of legislative activity, the tax exempt status will be revoked. Income tax can be assessed upon the Corporation from the beginning years, the donor's past income tax deductions will be reassessed and collected for the past years, and penalties and interest will be assessed to the donor and the Corporation.

B. SOCIAL ACTION - (501)(C)(4) - The benefits of this status are:

(i) Tax Exempt Income.

(ii) Mailing Rates - eligibility for bulk mail rates.

The activities of this Corporation are unrestricted in the area of legislative activity, including lobbying. However, like the Education Corporation, this Corporation cannot engage in the political action prohibited to the Education Corporation as aforesaid.

C. POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE - This Committee is given certain tax benefits which are that its income is tax exempt, and that there are certain deductible benefits as either a deduction or a tax credit to the donor on his income tax return. Its principal importance is the ability to engage in important political action - the endorsement of pro-life political candidates There are highly restrictive PAC regulations regarding filing requirements by the Federal Government, and also in many cases, by the State Government.

D. RECOMMENDATION - The formation of a single, statewide 501 C (4) Corporation, with an internal Education Committee and an internal Political Action Committee. All functions can then be governed by a single Board of Directors.

III. GROUP DEVELOPMENT

A. SUGGESTED STATE GROUP DEVELOPMENT

Due to the need to obtain the approval of two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, which would require the approval of 290 Representatives (out of 435) and 65 Senators (out of 100), the most effective and efficient state organizations will be developed around the Congressional Districts of that state. The National Right To Life Committee recommends that each existing state organization reform its Board of Directors so that it is broken down into Congressional Districts, with at least one Director from each Congressional District to the Board of Directors of the state organization.

Many states have subdivided even further into counties and/or local political state units, such as state assembly districts.

The States Organization Committee will assist, upon request, any state wishing to reorganize into Congressional Districts, and will provide assistance with a model set of by-laws geared to the characteristics of that particular state.

B. LOCAL GROUP DEVELOPMENT

The local groups should develop into Congressional units with at least one Director from that Congressional unit to the state organization. The state group should appoint a person from the local group to be the official state liaison with the Congressman from that District. Local groups should further subdivide into counties, state political divisions, such as state assembly districts, and parish groups.

(i) Affiliates or Chapters

The relationship of the local groups to the state organization can be either affiliate or chapter. An affiliate is a separate, autonomous group which has its own Board of Directors and will follow the direction and lead of the state organization. An affiliate group may incorporate itself, and will file its own annual fiscal report to the state government and the Federal government.

A chapter is an integral part of the state organization. It comes under the umbrella of the state incorporation, and the state office becomes primarily responsible for seeing that the chapter properly and timely files its financial reports, and that its activities remain within the state corporate status.

Indiana and New York are examples of affiliate status. Minnesota is an example of a chapter status.

(ii) Recommendation

Affiliation of local groups is preferable where it is difficult to monitor and/or control the activities of the local groups, inasmuch as the failure to monitor the activities of the local group will jeopardize the financial structure of the entire state organization. If the affiliate structure is selected, the state organization should nevertheless provide to the affiliate the method of incorporation, the rules and regulations of financial filing at the state level, and give specific direction of action toward enacting the Human Life Amendment. The chapter method avoids the necessity of duplicative incorporation filings and creates a tighter, more effective organization. The determination of affiliate or chapter status should be made by that state organization under the conditions existing as aforesaid. The affiliated groups should adapt the same format as suggested for a statewide group, i.e., a C-4 Corporation with an internal C-3 Education Committee and an internal Political Action Committee.

AVAILABILITY OF FORMS

A. FORMS

State and local forms, including Certificate of Incorporation, Constitution and By-laws, Internal Educational Trust Agreement and Political Action Committee, are available from your state director. These can be adapted for formation of a statewide affiliation type organization around congressional districts and local affiliated groups. The Internal Educational Trust provides for a single trustee while the PAC provides for a five member committee. The National Office will send you the name and address of your state director. Forms for local groups are likewise available.

WARNINGS

The forms and this book are to be used in conjunction with your attorney after review and conformity with your particular state laws.

- Adequate accounting procedures need to be developed to provide for the separate maintenance of the Social Action, Education and Political Action Trusts.

- The Federal and State PAC rules for filing requirements should be carefully studied and followed. They are extremely important, and could subject the chairman and treasurer to personal and, possibly, criminal liability if not strictly adhered to.

An application is being made in association with the National Right To Life Committee for blanket tax exempt approval for any state organization and its local affiliate which follows the above format but such approval is not presently in effect and may still require substantial structural changes from the above format.

I. To Obtain Tax Exempt Status

A ruling or determination letter of its tax exempt status will be issued by IRS upon application by a group.

- For 501 (C)(3)(Educ.) use form 1023 (within 15 months from date of organization).

- For 501 (C)(4)(Social Action) use form 1024.

See IRS pamphlet available from local IRS Dep't. entitled "How to Apply For Exemption For Your Organization" U. S. Treasury Department IRS DOC 5551 (current issue).

Group Rulings - An application has been made to IRS by National Right To Life for C-4, C-3, and PAC group rulings for any of those affiliated organizations which substantially comply with the organization format suggested herein. Upon receipt of approval from IRS we will forward letter of instructions to all affiliated groups explaining election to come under the group exemption.

State - Apply for Exempt Status from state and local authorities as soon as possible.

II. Publicly Supported Foundation vs. Private Foundation

Even though C-3 status is obtained the trust should be sure to avoid status as a private foundation. There are three substantial adverse consequences to activities of a private foundation:

(i) 4% tax on net invested income.

(ii) No form of lobbying, and no grants to individuals.

(iii) It cannot receive "qualifying" funds from other private foundations.

(iv) It cannot elect tax status under the group rulings. Classification as an "operating foundation" even though private may avoid some of the consequences IRC 4942 (j)(3).

To avoid classification as a private foundation, you must:

1. Give notice to IRS that you are not a private foundation, within one year after the last day of the month in which the organization was established (on Form 1023 elect 509 (a) (1) status). Apply for 5 year advance ruling and include Form 872-C.

2. Give supporting information showing that the organization can reasonably meet the necessary requirements. Generally, that the charitable organization "normally" receives at least 1/3 of its annual support directly or indirectly from the general public or in the form of government grants.

III - Registration and Tax Reporting Requirements

1. Tax Information Returns:

Federal

Annual information returns on Form 990 and Schedule A, showing income and outgo due on the 15th day of the 5th month or 4th month (Trusts) following the close of the fiscal year. Other than private foundations, groups receiving less than $10,000.00 annually need not file the Form 990. Annual return (IR-1789, Treas. Reg. 1.6033-2). After a year of $10,000.00 you must file each year thereafter. Send to:

Internal Revenue Service Center
11601 Roosevelt Boulevard
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Penalty for late filing or failure to file is $10.00 per day up to $5,000.00.

Private foundations file on 990-PF and if over $5,000.00 receipts also 990-AR annual?

New York State

Registration for all Not For Profit Organizations on Form NYS/NYCP-1, send to:

Charitable Foundation Bureau
New York State Law Digest
2 World Trade Center
New York, New York 10047

G750-410 - Registration for all organizations receiving or intending to receive over $10,000.00 during fiscal year.

Filing Requirements as Employers

Federal

- Use Circular E, Employer's Tax Guide
- Form SS-4 Application for Employer's Identification Number (required even if no employees) with 1023 application for recognition of exemption from Federal Income Taxation.
- Form SS-15 for 501 (C)(3) waiving the necessity of withholding FICA from earnings of employers.
- Form SS-15a for Employer's who wish to withhold FICA from employer's wages - requires employer's signature.
- Form W-4 from Employee.
- Form W-4E Employer's certificate of no tax liability and consent not to withhold Federal taxes.
- Form 1099 Misc - for payments of $600.00 or more to non-employees such as independent contractor, etc., rents, prizes, or compensation.

New York State

Form 1A - 100 N To determine not for profit liability under N.Y.S. Unemployment Insurance Law

To: New York State Department of Labor
Unemployment Insurance Division
State Office Building
State Campus
Albany, New York 12240

Notify N.Y.S. Department of Taxation and Finance of Status as Employer and Liability for N.Y.S. withholding taxes

Form IT-2104 - Use if Form W-4 (Federal) has not been filed.

ONGOING FILINGS

Federal

Form 501	Monthly Tax Deposits and FICA
Form W-3	Transmittal of Income and Tax Status on or before February 28.
Form W-4 and W-4E	
Form 941	Employer's quarterly Federal return showing income tax withholding and FICA - April 30, July 31, October 30, January 31.
Form 941E	Quarterly returns for all tax exempt organizations not reporting Social Security Taxes (in place of 941).

New York State

IT 2101-BNS or IT 2101-PNS	N.Y.S. semi-monthly or monthly withholding returns. Pre-addressed forms sent to Employer by State.
Semi-monthly	Employer's withholding $3,000.00 or more in semi-annual period.
Monthly	Employer's withholding $300.00 but less than $3,000.00 in semi-annual period.
Semi-Annual	Form IT 2101-S (Transmittal form for Copy 4 of Form IT 2101)
IT 2102	N.Y.S. Wage and Tax Statement Copies 1 & 2 to Employee by Feb. 15 Copy 3 retained by Employer Copy 4 to be filed with Form IT 2101A and Form IT 2103 before Feb. 28.
Form IT 2102.1 IT 2102.4	Info return of $600.00 or more to taxpayer. Transmittal form with IT 2102.1
Form IT 2103	N.Y.S. reconciliation of tax withholding on or before September 2, 1978.
Form IA-5	N.Y.S. Unemployment Insurance report before Jan. 31, April 30, July 31, Oct. 31.

ONGOING FILINGS (Continued)

New York State (Annual Report)

NYS/NYCF-2A (Annual report) and G750-497B	Fee $10.00 Receipts under $5,000.00 and a professional fund raiser is not used NYS Dep't of State Office of Charities Registration 162 Washington Ave. Albany, New York 12231
NYS/NYCF-2A and G750-497	Fee $10.00 Receipts under $5,000.00 and a professional fund raiser is used.
NYCF-2A and a copy of IRS 990 Part I	Receipts of $5,000.00 to $24,999.00 and a professional fundraiser is not used.
NYCF-2A and G750-497	Fee $10.00 Receipts of $5,000.00 to $24,999.00 and a professional fundraiser is used.
NYS/NYCF-2A and Copies of IRS 990 and G750-497A or G750-497B	Fee $10.00 Receipts of $25,000.00 to $49,999.00 and professional fundraiser is not used, and contributions under $10,000.00.
NYS/NYCF-2A and Copies of IRS 990 and G750-978A	Fee $10.00 Receipts of $25,000.00 to $49,999.00 and no professional fundraiser is used, and contributions over $10,000.00.
NYS/NYCF-2A and Copies of IRS 990 and G750	Fee $10.00 Receipts of $24,000.00 to $49,999.00 and a professional fundraiser is used.
NYS/NYCF-2A and Copies of IRS 990 and G750-497	Fee $10.00 Receipts over $50,000.00

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A Practical Guide to Meeting Reporting Requirements of Tax Exempt Organizations - Marilyn E. Phelan - 1st Edition 1976, Lawyers and Judges Publishing Company, a Division of Communication Skill Builders, Inc., 817 E. Broadway, P.O. Box 6081, Tucson, Arizona 85733.

Sixth Biennial Conference Tax Planning For Foundations, Tax Exempt Status and Charitable Contributions, Tax Law and Practice Course Handbook Series 94 Copyright 1976. Practicing Law Institute, New York City, New York.

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NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

PROPOSED STANDING RULES FOR THE CONDUCT OF BUSINESS

AT MEETINGS OF THE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. A majority of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting. (See Bylaws, Art. II, Sec. 10)

2. No director shall hold more than three (3) proxies. (See Bylaws, Art. II, Sec. 12)

3. Proxies may not be used in voting on the conduct of business by the assembly; that is, such motions as to close debate, recess, adjourn, etc.

4. Only members of the Board of Directors or their representatives holding a proxy may introduce motions, participate in debate and vote. Exceptions to the rule of speaking as it applies to non-directors may be made at the discrimination of the presiding officer.

5. Directors should be in their seats at least two minutes before the scheduled time and come to order promptly at the call of the presiding officer.

6. A director wishing to obtain the floor shall approach the nearest microphone, address the chair, wait to be recognized and give his name and affiliation.

7. No director shall speak more than once on any one issue until all who wish to speak have been heard, nor more than twice without the majority vote of the directors present and voting, or at the discretion of the presiding officer.

8. Debate shall be limited to three (3) minutes per speaker. Debate on any one question shall be limited to twenty (20) minutes provided each side has been adequately represented in the estimation of the presiding officer. A timekeeper shall be appointed by the Chairman.

9. The maker of a motion shall be entitled to speak first in support of his motion and to close debate; that is, speak last if he so desires.

10. All motions, except those incidental to the conduct of business shall be presented to the chair in writing.

11. Tellers and/or Sergeants at Arms shall be appointed by the Chair and shall be responsible for counting all secret ballots, votes resulting from a division of the assembly, and shall assist in the tally of a roll call vote when called for.

12. Roll call votes shall only be taken on the approval of a majority of the directors present and voting.

13. Robert's Rules of Order, Newly Revised shall govern the deliberations of the Board where they are applicable and are not in conflict with the bylaws of the NRLC or these standing rules as adopted by the Board of Directors.

14. With the exception of those rules deriving from the bylaws, any of these rules may be amended, rescinded, or suspended by a two-thirds (2/3) vote of the directors present and voting, a quorum being present.

STANDING RULES FOR THE CONDUCT OF BUSINESS

1. Proxies may not be used in voting on the conduct of business by the assembly: that is such motions to close debate, recess, adjourn, etc. A State Director may assign his or her vote to another Director, or to a person from the same state, by proxy executed in writing. No person may exercise more than one proxy. The presence of a Director at a meeting revokes his or her proxy. A proxy cannot be exercised from a director, unless said Director, or an alternate from that State has been physically present at a regular Board meeting within the two preceding meetings. In the event of such absence of a State's right to give proxy said State will also not be counted in determining a quorum or for passage of amendments to the bylaws(Bylaws, Article III, Sec. 14)

2. Only members of the Board of Directors may introduce motions, participate in debate and vote.

3. (Two) guests will be allowed per Director. Guests will be introduced by their sponsors and sit in a designated area of the room.

4. Directors should be in their seats at least two min. before the scheduled time and come to order promptly at the call of the presiding officer.

5. In order to insure a quorum at all times a Sargent of Arms will be appointed by the chairman. All persons leaving or entering the room will sign in and out - leaving their proxy with the Sargent of Arms.

6. A director wishing to obtain the floor shall stand and remain standing until recognized. When recognized he shall address the chair and give his name and state he represents.

7. No director shall speak more than once on any one issue until all who wish to speak have been heard, nor more than twice without the majority vote of the directors present or at the discretion of the presiding officer.

8. Debate shall be limited wtrictly to three (3) mn. per speaker. Debate on any one question shall be limited to thirty (30) mn. provided each side has been adequately represented in the estimation of the presiding officer, or by a majority vote of the Board of Directors present and voting. A timekeeper shall be appointed by the chariman. A hand signal is given when one min. remains.

9. The maker of a motion shall be entitled to speak first in support of his motion and to close debate, that is speak last, if he so desires.

10. Tellers shall be appointed by the chair and shall be responsible for counting all secret ballots; votes resulting from a division of the assembly, and shall assist in the tally of a roll call vote when called for.

11. Roll call votes shall only be taken on the approval of a majority of directors present and voting.

12. Robert's Rules of Order, Newly Revised, shall govern the deliberations of the Board where they are applicable and are not in conflict with the bylaws of the NRLC or these standing rules as adopted by the Board of Directors.

13. With the exception of those rules deriving from the bylaws, any of these rules may be amended or rescinded by a two-thirds (2/3) vote of the directors present or suspended by a majority of the directors present - a quorum being present.

Adopted: January 24, 1976, Washington,D.C., amended, June 1976.

National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
1200 15TH ST., N.W.
SUITE 500
WASHINGTON, DC 20005

OFFICE OF RECORDER OF DEEDS, D. C.
Corporation Division
Sixth and D Streets, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20001

Date)
8/3/74

CERTIFICATE

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that all provisions of the District of Columbia Non-profit Corporation Act have been complied with and ACCORDINGLY this Certificate of Incorporation

is hereby issued to the NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

as of the date hereinafter mentioned.

Date May 14, 1973

PETER S. RIDLEY,
Recorder of Deeds, D. C.

Alfred Goldstein
Superintendent of Corporations

Government of the District of Columbia
Form DDC 55
Oct 1972

9642

National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
1200 15TH ST., N.W.
SUITE 500
WASHINGTON, DC 20005

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

OF

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

(Date)

To: Recorder of Deeds
Washington, D.C.

We, the undersigned, natural persons of the age of 21 or more, acting as incorporators of a corporation, adopt the following Articles of Incorporation for such corporation, pursuant to the District of Columbia Non-Profit Corporation Act:

ARTICLE I

The name of the corporation (hereinafter referred to as the Committee) shall be the NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

ARTICLE II

The Committee is to have perpetual existence.

ARTICLE III

In order to guarantee the right to life of all people of the United States of America, the purposes of the NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC., are to engage in educational, charitable, scientific and political activities, projects or purposes including specifically, but not in limitation of the foregoing:

A. To promote respect for the worth and dignity of all human life, including the life of the unborn child from the moment of conception.

B. To promote, encourage and sponsor such mandatory and statutory measures which will provide protection for human life before and after birth, particularly for the defenseless, the incompetent, and the impaired and the incapacitated.

FILED
MAY 14 1973

C. To engage in such activities as shall be set forth in the bylaws of the Committee which will assist in the accomplishment of those purposes immediately aforementioned.

ARTICLE IV

The Committee is not organized for pecuniary profit and shall not have authority to issue capital stock or shares of any kind.

The Committee shall be a membership corporation and its revenue shall be derived from membership fees and/or such other sources as may be prescribed from time to time by the Board of Directors.

Membership in the Committee shall be open to any individual, partnership, trust, firm or corporation in the sole and absolute discretion of the Board of Directors.

Membership in the Committee may be divided into such classifications for annual membership dues or for the election of directors or for such other purposes as the bylaws of the Committee may prescribe or as the Board of Directors may from time to time designate.

Subject to the provisions of the articles of incorporation of the Committee, the conditions, terms, privileges, rights, and duties of membership shall be stated or provided for in the bylaws of the Committee.

ARTICLE V

The management, affairs, business and concerns of the Committee shall be vested in the members. However, all details of management, affairs, business and concerns of the Committee are delegated to a Board of Directors, including the power of amending the certificate of incorporation and except as otherwise provided by statute, the certificate of incorporation or the bylaws of the Committee. The number of directors which shall constitute the whole Board

shall be fixed by, or in the manner provided in, the bylaws of the Committee. Subject to the provisions of the certificate of incorporation the bylaws may provide, with respect to the directors, for their qualifications (including, but not limited to and without limitation, provisions for the representation by each director of a designated state, district, region or other geographical area); for the place, time, method and manner for their nomination and election or appointment (including provisions for the election of a director or directors by members located in a designated state, district, region or other geographical area); for the appointment or designation of alternates; for filling of vacancies; for their removal from office and/or recall; for their meetings; and, generally, for their rights, powers, duties, privileges and restrictions and responsibilities.

ARTICLE VI

The address of the Corporation's initial registered office is

1801 K St. NW
Washington, D.C.

The name of its initial registered agent at such address is

Joseph V. Gartlan, Jr.
1801 K St. NW
Washington, D.C.

The principal place of business and headquarters of the Committee shall be in a city designated in the bylaws. The Board of Directors may establish other offices in such place or places as it may deem expedient for the transaction of the business and the affairs of the Committee.

ARTICLE VII

The number of Directors constituting the initial Board of Directors is 9 (nine), and the names and addresses of the persons who are to serve as the initial Board of Directors until the first annual meeting, or until their successors be elected and qualified are:

Caroline Corster, M.D. 6641 E. Crystal Lane
Paradise Valley, Arizona 85253

John B. Beliveau, Esq.	12 Surry Lane Lewiston, Maine 04240
Martin McKernan, Jr., Esq.	601 Chews Landing Road Haddonfield, New Jersey 08033
Marjory Mecklenburg	1219 West 51st Street Minneapolis, Minnesota 55419
Kenneth Van Derhoef, Esq.	3808 43rd Ave. N.E. Seattle, Washington 98104
Edward J. Golden	4 Willowbrook Lane Troy, New York 12180
Gloria Klein	33728 Tawas Trail Westland, Michigan 48185
Jay Bowman	3187 Francine Drive Decatur, Georgia 30033
Judith Fink	835 Vermont Avenue Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15234

ARTICLE VIII

The private property of the members of the Committee of any and all classes, the directors, officers and incorporators shall not be subject to the payment of corporate debts to any extent whatever.

ARTICLE IX

The officers of the Committee shall be a president, one or more vice-presidents, a secretary and a treasurer and an executive director and such other officers and/or assistants as the Board of Directors shall provide.

ARTICLE X

The bylaws may provide for the designation of honorary members of the Board of Directors who shall not have voting privileges.

ARTICLE XI

The name and address of each incorporator is:

Joseph V. Gartlan, Jr.
3507 Woodside Road
Alexandria, Virginia 22310

Joseph V. Gartlan, Jr.

Eleanor M. Cook
13506 Westwind Drive
Silver Spring, Maryland 20904

Eleanor M. Cook

Joseph A. Lampe
3924 Dakota Avenue
St. Louis Park, Minnesota 55416

Joseph A. Lampe

Date: May 14, 1973.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, ss:

I, _____, a notary public, hereby certify that on the 14th day of May, 1973, personally appeared before me Joseph V. Gartlan, Jr., Eleanor M. Cook and Joseph A. Lampe, who signed the foregoing document as incorporators and that the statements therein contained are true.

Notary Public

My commission expires _____

National committee, inc.

MEMBERS OF NRLC BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1977

Alabama:	Marie Gentle
Alaska:	William M. Moffatt
Arizona:	Carolyn F. Gerster, M.D.
Arkansas:	Ken Hiegel
California:	Mary Ellen McCaffrey
Colorado:	Charles Onofrio, Esq.
Connecticut:	Andrew J. O'Keefe, Esq.
Delaware:	Dee Becker
District of Columbia:	Nellie J. Gray, Esq.
Florida:	Jean Doyle
Georgia:	Jay Bowman
Hawaii:	Tj Bosgra
Idaho:	Dr. R. L. Peterson
Illinois:	Felicia Gocken
Indiana:	Mary Reilly Hunt
Iowa:	Margaret Turk
Kansas:	Patricia Goodison
Kentucky:	Margie Montgomery
Louisiana:	Robert E. Winn, Esq.
Maine:	Mary Beliveau
Maryland:	William F. Colliton, Jr., M.D.
Massachusetts:	Philip Moran, Esq.
Michigan:	Jane Muldoon
Minnesota:	Parla St. Martin
Mississippi:	Sylvia Brown
Missouri:	Ray S. James
Montana:	Suzanne Morris
Nebraska:	Ann Bowen
Nevada:	Ruth McGroarty
New Hampshire:	Earl Appleby
New Jersey:	Mary Ellen Mulholland
New Mexico:	Ronald Van Dorn, M.D.
New York:	William Polito, Esq.
North Carolina:	David O'Steen
North Dakota:	Maureen Munro

(over)

NRLC Board of Directors, 1977

Ohio:	John C. Willke, M.D.
Oklahoma:	Robert Krebsbach, M.D.
Oregon:	David Porter
Pennsylvania:	John P. Stanton
Rhode Island:	Robert Bergeron
South Carolina:	Eleanor Blizzard
South Dakota:	Thad Willoughby
Tennessee:	John Waddey
Texas:	Prof. Joseph Witherspoon
Utah:	Janet Carroll
Vermont:	Martin Smit
Virginia:	Geline B. Williams
Washington:	Kenneth Van Derhoef, Esq.
West Virginia:	Clarence Boso
Wisconsin:	Gene Kieffer
Wyoming:	Sharon Cornthwaite
Guam:	Sarah Thomas
At-Large	Jo Higgins, R.N.

national committee, inc.

MEMBERS OF NRLC BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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Nebraska:	Ann Bowen
Nevada:	Ruth McGroarty
New Hampshire:	Earl Appleby, Jr.
New Jersey:	Mary Ellen Mulholland
New Mexico:	Ronald V. Dorn, Jr., M.D.
New York:	William Polito, Esq.
North Carolina:	David G. O'Steen
North Dakota:	Maureen Munro
Ohio:	John C. Willke, M.D.

(over)

NRLC Board of Directors, 1978

Oklahoma:	Robert L. Krebsbach, M.D.
Oregon:	David Porter
Pennsylvania:	John P. Stanton
Rhode Island:	Anne Sullivan
South Carolina:	Eleanor Blizard
South Dakota:	Thad Willoughby
Tennessee:	John Waddey
Texas:	Prof. Joseph Witherspoon
Utah:	Janet B. Carroll
Vermont:	Martin Sait
Virginia:	Geline B. Williams
Washington:	Kenneth Van Derhoef, Esq.
West Virginia:	Dr. Clarence Boso
Wisconsin:	Gene Kieffer
Wyoming:	Sharon Cornthwaite
Guam:	Sarah Thomas
At-Large:	Jo Higgins, R.N.

LAW OFFICES
HARRISON, LUCEY & SAGLE
SUITE 500
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
TELEPHONE 202 298 6030
CABLE "HEMLAW"

MARION EDWYN HARRISON
CHARLES CHURCH LUCEY
ROBERT F. SAGLE
GREGORY W. ALTSCHUL

'78 FEB 13 AM 12:05

February 7, 1978

Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20643

Re: National Right to Life Political Action Committee, Inc.

Gentlemen:

We file herewith on behalf of our client, National Right to Life Political Action Committee, Inc., its original statement of organization for a political committee.

Sincerely,

MARION EDWYN HARRISON

Enclosure

MEH:mh

sent to Mrs. Hunt by messenger 3/16/78

7 7 0 1 0 3 4 0 1 7

7 7 0 1 0 3 4 0 1 7

FEC Form 1
July 1976
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Statement of Organization For a Political Committee

Supporting any candidate(s) for federal office and anticipating contributions or expenditures in excess of $1,000 in any calendar year in support of such candidate(s).

(See Reverse Side For Instructions)

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
78 FEB 13 PM 12:05

Note: Committees authorized by a candidate to receive contributions and make expenditures in connection with a campaign for Federal election must maintain separate records with respect to each election.

1(a) Name of Committee (in full) ☐ Check if name or address is changed
NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE, INC.

(b) Address (number and street)
Suite 339, National Press Building

(c) City, State and ZIP code
Washington, D.C. 20045

2 Identification Number

3 Date
February 7, 1978

4 Is this an amended statement? ☐ Yes ☒ No
IF YES, FILE (P) ONLY THOSE LINES ON WHICH THERE HAS BEEN A CHANGE

5 Check one

☐ (a) This committee has been designated as the principal campaign committee for _____ (Name of Candidate)

a candidate for _____ (Federal office sought) in the _____ (Year of election) Election

to be held in the State of _____ (State in which election is held)

(THE PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE SHALL FILE A COPY OF THIS STATEMENT OF ORGANIZATION WITH EACH AFFILIATED OR CONNECTED ORGANIZATION AS WELL.)

☐ (b) This committee is authorized by _____ (Name of Candidate) to receive contributions and make expenditures with respect to the _____ (Specify Primary, Runoff, etc.) election to be held in _____ (Name of election jurisdiction, e.g., State) and has attached a statement of agreement with the candidate's principal campaign committee.

(ATTACH A COPY OF CANDIDATE'S AUTHORIZATION PURSUANT TO 2 U.S.C. 432(e))

☐ (c) This committee supports only one candidate _____ (Name of Candidate) and is not authorized by such candidate.

☐ (d) This committee supports more than one Federal candidate and is not authorized by any candidate.

☒ (e) This committee is a _____ (National, State, county, etc.) committee of the _____ (Democratic, Republican, etc.) Party.

6 Names of affiliated and/or connected organizations	Mailing address and ZIP code	Relationship
None		

(If the reporting Political Committee has established a "separate segregated fund" under 11 CFR 114.5, indicate the type of organization)

☐ Corporation ☐ Labor organization ☐ Membership organization ☐ Trade association ☐ Cooperative
☐ Corporation without capital stock ☐ Other (specify)

Submit additional information on committee activities, fundraising events, etc. requested and attach to this Statement of Organization. Indicate to the attached sheet(s) on which information is furnished. (Specify type)

FEC Form 1
July 1978
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Statement of Organization for a Committee

(Page 2)

Name of Committee
NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE, INC.

7 Area, Scope and Jurisdiction of Committee

(a) Will this committee operate in more than one State? ..... ☒ Yes ☐ No
(b) Will it operate on a statewide basis in one State? ..... ☒ Yes ☐ No
(c) Will it primarily support candidates seeking State or local office? ..... ☐ Yes ☒ No
(d) Will it support or does it anticipate supporting directly or indirectly, candidates for Federal office in excess of $1,000 in a calendar year? ..... ☒ Yes ☐ No

8 (a) List by name, address, office sought, and party affiliation, any candidate for Federal office that this committee is supporting

Full name(s) of candidate(s)	Mailing address and ZIP code	Office sought	Party
None to date			

(b) List by name, address, office sought, and party affiliation any candidate for any other public office that this committee is supporting (unless the committee is supporting the entire ticket of a party listed in line 9)

Full name(s) of candidate(s)	Mailing address and ZIP code	Office sought	Party
None			

9 If this committee is supporting the entire ticket of a party, give name of party ▶

10 Identify by name, address and title or position, the person in possession of committee books and records

Full name	Mailing address and ZIP code	Title or position
Mr. Paul A. Brown	Suite 339 National Press Building Washington, D.C. 20045	Director and Treasurer

Submit additional information on separate continuation sheets appropriately labeled and attached to this Statement of Organization. Indicate in the appropriate section above when information is contained on separate sheet(s).

FEC Form 1
July 1976
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Statement of Organization for a Committee

Name of Committee
NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE, INC.

11 List by name, address and position, other principal officers of the committee (include chairman, treasurer, secretary, assistant treasurer, assistant secretary, members of finance committee)

Full name	Mailing address and ZIP code	Title or position
Mrs. Judith A. Brown	1926 Midshipman Drive Stafford, Virginia 22554	Director
Mrs. Mary Hunt	1102 North Lafayette Street South Bend, Indiana 46617	Director

12 Does this committee plan to stay in existence beyond the current calendar year? ..... ☒ Yes ☐ No
If "Yes" for how long? .....

13 Purpose of committee (for example, "to support the election of candidates of the Democratic Party"; "to promote the adoption of a constitutional amendment"; "distributed exclusively for charitable, religious, scientific, testing for public safety, literary or educational purposes to organizations which are then exempt from federal tax under §501(c)

14 List all banks or other depositories in which the committee deposits funds, holds accounts, rents safety deposit boxes or maintains funds

Name of bank, depository, etc.	Mailing address and ZIP code
Security National Bank	National Press Building 14th and F Streets, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20004

15 List all election reports required to be filed by this committee with States and local jurisdictions, together with the names, addresses, and positions of the recipients of the reports (other than reports filed with Secretaries of State pursuant to USC 439(a))

Report title	Dates required	Name and position of recipient	Mailing address and ZIP code
None			

Submit additional information on this and other pertinent documents as notes and attached to this Statement of Organization. Indicate in the appropriate blocks and where information is continued on separate pages.

I certify that I have examined this Statement and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.

PAUL A. BROWN
(Signature of Treasurer)

February 7, 1978
(Date)

Note: Submission of false, erroneous or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Statement to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. §437g or §441j (see instructions)

For further information contact:
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

LAW OFFICES
HARRISON, LUCEY & SAGLE
SUITE 800
1201 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

P 178 105 213

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

March 8, 1978

Paul A. Brown, Treasurer
National Right To Life
Political Action Committee, Inc.
Suite 339, National Press Building
Washington, D.C. 20045

Dear Mr. Brown:

This letter is prompted by our interest in assisting candidates and committees who wish to comply with the Federal Election Campaign Act, as amended.

During review of your Statement of Organization, we noticed that you omitted certain information. Attached is an itemization of the information requested.

While we recognize the difficulties you may have experienced in filling out the registration forms, we must ask that you supply the Commission with the missing information within (10) days of receipt of this letter. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact Marybeth Tarrant (202-523-4048) our reports analyst assigned to you.

Sincerely,

Orlando B. Potter

Orlando B. Potter
Staff Director

Attachment

11

7 8 0 3 0 0 6 8 0 0 3 3

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

TO: National Right To Life Political Action Committee, Inc. DATE: March 8, 1979

I.D. No.: C00086892

REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FOR YOUR STATEMENT OF ORGANIZATION OF A POLITICAL COMMITTEE, PURSUANT TO THE FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN ACT OF 1971, AS AMENDED.

A review of the statement indicates that additional information is needed in order to be considered complete. Please return a copy of this form with your amended submission(s).

Please provide the required data, as indicated (X):

___ Signature ___ omitted ___ incorrect

XX Question Five. Complete information for: (a) ___, (b) ___, (c) ___, (d) ___, or (e) ___

___ Name of affiliated or connected organization(s). (IF NONE, SO STATE.)

___ Area, scope, and jurisdiction of the committee.

___ Name, address, state and party affiliation of individual candidates supported by the committee.

___ Name, address, and position of the committee's custodian of books and accounts.

___ Name, address, and position of other principal officers of the committee including officers and members of the finance committee.

___ Statement of existence beyond the current calendar year.

___ Name(s), location(s) of bank(s), depository(ies).

XX Other: You should be advised that Section 102.7 of the Commission's Regulations require that every political committee shall have a chairman and a treasurer who shall not be the same individual.

Your initial submission(s), together with this request for additional information, has been made available for public inspection. The Commission urges you to file the additional submission(s) promptly to the above address. If you have any questions regarding this request, please call the Disclosure Division toll free at (800) 424-9530. The local Washington, D.C. telephone number is (202) 523-4048.

Senate filers should file their submission(s) with the Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Records, 119 D Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20510. House filers should file their submission(s) with the Clerk of the House, Office of Records and Registration, 1036 Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

78 MAR 14 P2:26

March 8, 1978

Paul A. Brown, Treasurer
National Right To Life
Political Action Committee, Inc.
Suite 339, National Press Building
Washington, D.C. 20045

Dear Mr. Brown:

This letter is prompted by our interest in assisting candidates and committees who wish to comply with the Federal Election Campaign Act, as amended.

During review of your Statement of Organization, we noticed that you omitted certain information. Attached is an itemization of the information requested.

While we recognize the difficulties you may have experienced in filling out the registration forms, we must ask that you supply the Commission with the missing information within (10) days of receipt of this letter. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact Marybeth Jarrant (202-523-4068) our reports analyst assigned to you.

Sincerely,

Orlando B. Potter

Orlando B. Potter
Staff Director

Attachment

11

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

TO: National Right To Life Political Action Committee, Inc.

'78 MAR 14 AM 11:39

DATE: March 2, 1978

I.D. No.: C00095232

REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FOR YOUR STATEMENT OF ORGANIZATION OF A POLITICAL COMMITTEE, PURSUANT TO THE FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN ACT OF 1971, AS AMENDED.

A review of the statement indicates that additional information is needed in order to be considered complete. Please return a copy of this form with your amended submission(s).

Please provide the required data, as indicated (X):

___ Signature ___ omitted ___ incorrect

XX Question Five. Complete information for: (a) ___, (b) ___, (c) ___, (d) ___, or (e) ___.

___ Name of affiliated or connected organization(s). (IF NONE, SO STATE.)

___ Area, scope, and jurisdiction of the committee.

___ Name, address, state and party affiliation of individual candidates supported by the committee.

___ Name, address, and position of the committee's custodian of books and accounts.

___ Name, address, and position of other principal officers of the committee including officers and members of the finance committee.

___ Statement of existence beyond the current calendar year.

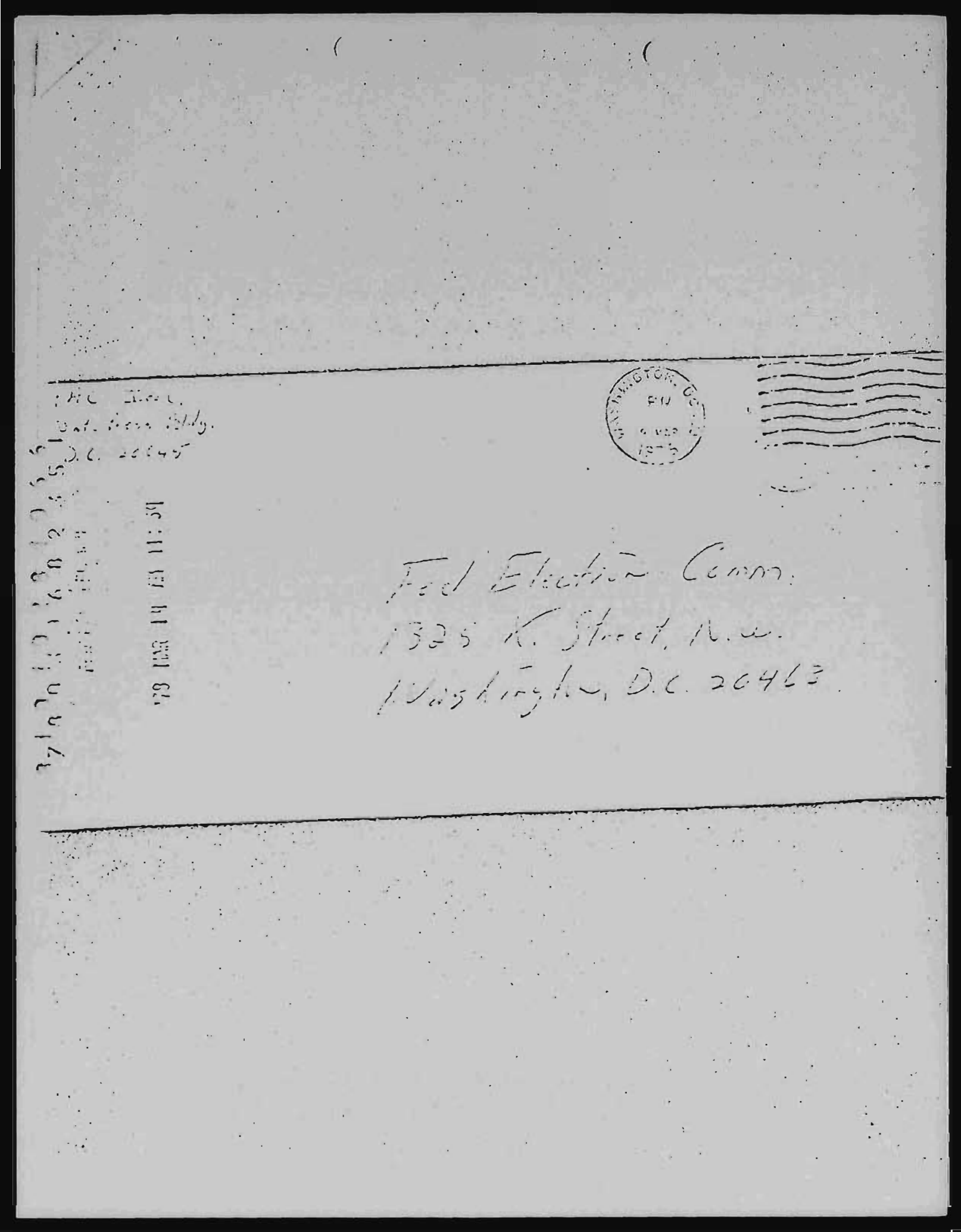
___ Name(s), location(s) of bank(s), depository(ies).

XX Other: You should be advised that Section 102.7 of the Commission's Regulations require that every political committee shall have a chairman and a treasurer who shall not be the same individual.

Your initial submission(s), together with this request for additional information, has been made available for public inspection. The Commission urges you to file the additional submission(s) promptly to the above address. If you have any questions regarding this request, please call the Disclosure Division toll free at (800) 424-9530. The local Washington, D.C. telephone number is (202) 523-4068.

Senate filers should file their submission(s) with the Secretary of the Senate, Office of Public Records, 119 D Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20510. House filers should file their submission(s) with the Clerk of the House, Office of Records and Registration, 1036 Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

FEC FORM 11
(August 1977)



NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

JANUARY 18-20, 1974

STATLER HILTON HOTEL

WASHINGTON, D. C.

R E V I S E D A G E N D A

Friday, January 18, 1974

2:00 O'clock P.M. LEGAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE -- The Legal Advisory Committee will conduct a hearing on the matter of a Constitutional Amendment. Dennis Horan, Esq. will act as Chairman of a Hearing Panel composed of Prof. Charles Rice, Prof. Joseph Witherspoon, Prof. David Louisell, Prof. Robert Byrne, and Prof. Victor Rosenblum. This hearing will be open to members of the Board of Directors and their guests.

2:00 O'clock P.M. CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE -- A Credentials Committee consisting of Roy Scarpato, Chairman, Ruth Karim, Mary Carpenter Bruce and Robert Brake, Esq. will be available to resolve any dispute that may arise concerning the seating of any persons on the Board of Directors. Meetings of the Credentials Committee are normally closed except to participants.

7:30 O'clock P.M. AN INFORMAL RECEPTION -- An opportunity for the Directors to meet informally and renew acquaintances prior to the meeting. Please arrange to eat dinner beforehand. A cocktail bar will be available during the reception.

9:00 O'clock P.M. A CALL TO ORDER

1. Invocation

2. Keynote Address -- A welcome to the meeting by Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors, Mildred F. Jefferson, M.D.

3. Determination of a quorum -- the Credentials Committee will give any report it may have concerning the seating of any persons on the Board of Directors

4. Roll call and seating of new Directors

5. The adoption of an agenda for the meeting

6. The adoption of standing rules for meetings of the Board of Directors

7. Approval of minutes of last Board of Directors meeting held in Detroit June 8-10, 1973

8. Reports of officers

   a. Remarks by the Chairman of the Board, Marjory Mecklenburg

   b. Remarks by the President, Edward J. Golden

   c. Remarks by the Executive Director, Robert F. Greene, concerning the Mid-Year Report

9. Announcements

11:00 P.M. ADJOURNMENT

Saturday, January 19, 1974

9:00 A.M. A CALL TO ORDER

1. Invocation

2. Roll call and seating of new Directors -- The Credentials Committee will again be called upon to make any report it may have.

3. The report of the National March for Life Committee -- A brief report by Nellie Gray, Chairman of the National March for Life Committee, concerning the Committee's plans for observing the first anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision of January 22, 1973

4. Consideration of several resolutions

   a. Resolutions remaining from the convention in Detroit will be reported by the Resolutions Committee

   b. Resolutions proposed by members of the Board of Directors at an informal meeting in Chicago on December 8, 1973

   c. Other proposed resolutions except proposals to amend the bylaws

5. Announcements

1:00 O'clock P.M. ADJOURNMENT

BUFFET LUNCHEON -- The Board of Directors will be joined at luncheon by members of the Executive Board of the National Youth Pro-Life Coalition. Following the luncheon there will be a brief presentation by a spokesman for the Executive Board of the National Youth Pro-Life Coalition and a brief response by a spokesman for the Board of Directors of the National Right to Life Committee.

2:30 O'clock P.M. A CALL TO ORDER

1. Invocation

2. Determination of a quorum

3. Consideration of several resolutions continued, if necessary, from the morning's business meeting

4. Consideration of proposed amendments to and for revision of bylaws.

5. Announcements

5:00 O'clock P.M. ADJOURNMENT

5:30 O'clock P.M. INTER-FAITH SERVICE AND CATHOLIC MASS. Rev. Warren A. Schaller will conduct an Inter-Faith Service which will be immediately followed by Catholic Mass. Msgr. James T. McHugh will be the Celebrant.

7:30 O'clock P.M. BANQUET -- Thomas A. Bendorf, Esq., a noted Washington lawyer with many years' experience, will comment on the Congress of the United States. Following Mr. Bendorf's presentation, he will entertain questions from the audience.

Sunday, January 20, 1974

9:00 O'clock A.M. A CALL TO ORDER

1. Invocation

2. Determination of a quorum

3. Report of the Legal Advisory Committee on the Constitutional Amendment

4. Any unfinished business

5. New business

   a. The appointment of a Credentials Committee in preparation of the next regular meeting of the Board of Directors

   b. The appointment of a Nominating Committee in preparation for the next regular meeting of the Board of Directors.

6. Announcements

1:00 O'clock P.M. ADJOURNMENT SINE DIE

National Right to Life
committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE — Suite 341, National Press Bldg. — 529 14th Street, N.W. — Washington, D.C. 20045 — (202) 638-4110

April 2, 1979

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ann O'Donnell

FROM: William F. Colliton, M.D.

Ann, last week I had a phone conversation with Tony Brown with regard to an accounts receivable in the amount of $2,017 and change recorded in our newspaper A/R under advertising. Tony said he had no awareness of this indebtedness on LAPAC's part. Obviously there is a need to firm up, ideally and with written invoices, any amounts due and owing each of these organizations by the other. If you could arrange to do this with Tony the next time you're in the office it would be quite helpful.

WCF,Jr/mes
cc: Carolyn F. Gerster, M.D.
Tony Brown - Director of LAPAC
File

National committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE — Suite 341, National Press Bldg — 529 14th Street, N.W. — Washington, D.C. 20045 — (202) 638-4096

LAPAC sale of 9,000 LAPAC names to NRLC @ .40/ name		$3,600.00
(5,500 Friends of Life names owned jointly by LAPAC and NRLC)		
LAPAC check for rent 11-1-77 to 10-31-78	-	$1,746.00
(Dec. & Nov. paid separately Jan. paid directly to Press Bldg.)		
Due LAPAC		$1,854.00
LAPAC rents NRLC names for $20/ 1000	-	$916.68
Due LAPAC		$937.32
Downey plane ticket Jan, Board meeting	+	$432.00
Postage credit due LAPAC	+	$120.00
Due LAPAC		$1,489.32
NRLC News invices to LAPAC for ads		$2,017.00
Due LAOAC	-	$1,489.32
Due NRLC from LAPAC		528.32

Prepared for April EC meeting by Dave Bannerman

LIFE AMENDMENT POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE, INC.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN STATION • P O BOX 14283 • WASHINGTON, D C. 20044 • (202) 638-3061

10-30-78

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.
529 14th STREET N.W. # 341
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20045

GENTLEMEN:

I HAVE TODAY SUBMITED TO YOUR GROUP A BILL FOR $3,600.00 FOR THE PURCHASE OF OUR MAILING LIST. LAST FRIDAY I SUBMITED A CHECK TO YOUR GROUP FOR $1,746.00 TOWARD OFFICE RENT AND NEWSPAPER ADS. IF YOU HAVE NOT DEPOSITED THIS CHECK, PLEASE RETURN IT TO LAPAC AND THIS WILL LOWER YOU AMOUNT DUE.
I AM ALSO IN RECEIPT OF A BILL FROM YOU IN HTE AMOUNT OF $916.68 FOR THE RENTAL OF YOUR LIST.
TO SIMPLIFY BOOKKEEPING I WOULD LIKE YOU TO DO THE FOLLOWING:

ANT. DUE LAPAC FROM SALE OF LIST	$3,600.00
MINUS CHECK [redacted] Paid	1,746.00
BALANCE DUE LAPAC INC.	1,854.00
AMOUNT DUE NRLC RENTAL OF LIST	916.68
BALANCE DUE LAPAC INC. FROM NRLC INC.	$ 937.32

INVOICE

NO. 8451

DATE 9-25-78

YOUR ORDER NO. _____

FROM:
National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
529 14th Street NW #341
Washington, DC 20045

SOLD TO Life Amendment Political Action Committee, Inc.
P. O. Box 14263
Ben Franklin Station
Washington, DC 20044

SHIPPED TO _____

OUR ORDER NO.	SALESMAN	TERMS	F.O.B.	DATE SHIPPED	SHIPPED VIA

QUANTITY ORDERED	QUANTITY SHIPPED	STOCK NUMBER/DESCRIPTION	PRICE	UNIT	AMOUNT
		List Rental - 45,834 names			
		@ $20.00 per thousand	916.68		916.68

DUPLICATE

© GRAVLINE FORMS
87258 DUPLICATE—87258 TRIPLICATE
U.S.A.

LIFE AMENDMENT POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE, INC.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN STATION • P O BOX 14263 • WASHINGTON, D C 20044 • (202) 638-3061

National Right to Life Committee Inc.
341 National Press Building
Washington, D.C. 20045

9,000 names (LAPAC FILE) @ .40 per name $3,600.00

TOTAL DUE LAPAC.....$3,600.00

Please remit.

Paul A. Brown
Treasurer

April 20, 1979

Mr. & Mrs. B. A. Boice
Marvin, South Dakota
57251

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Boice:

Thank you for responding so quickly to my query regarding your recent donation to the National Right to Life Committee.

As you have indicated that you would like your donation to go towards political action work I am writing to inform you of the following. Because of its tax status, the National Right to Life Committee cannot involve itself in political action (as regards endorsing candidates etc.) The National Right to Life Committee however is involved in lobbying efforts. That is to say the NRLC lobbys members of Congress to vote a particular way in pro-life matters. The National Right to Life Educational Foundation is, as its name indicates, concerned with educating the people as to what is going on in the pro-life movement or what is going on in the anti-life movement.

The Life Amendment Political Action Committee is involved in endorsing and supporting pro-life candidates. If it is your desire that we sign over your donation to LAPAC we would naturally be happy to do so. Of course we would not do this without your written recommendation so I will await your reply in this matter.

Once again, I would like to tell you that we appreciate your concern and your taking the time to answer our query. Looking forward to hearing from you I remain,

Sincerely yours in life,

Margaret E. Short
Department of Public Relations

Please sign over my contribution to LAPAC Thank you B.A. Boice

$10.00 cash paid to LAPAC per their request on May 9, 1979 AOD

National RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

March 30, 1979

Mr. & Mrs. B. A. Boice
Marvin, South Dakota
57251

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Boice:

Thank you for your March 22, 1979 letter in which you enclosed a generous donation of $10.00 indicating that you would like the sum to go toward cost of membership.

The National Right to Life Committee does not have formal "members" but simply people who contribute to our cause by either hard work, prayers, or financial support. The National Right to Life Committee is loosely organized so that it can best serve the needs of all pro-life people in this country.

As I understand that your donation was intended as membership fee and am uncertain as to whether you would like it applied to mailings (see attached), donation, or returned to you, I would ask that you review the attached and advise accordingly.

Looking forward to hearing from you I am,

LAPA

Sincerely yours in life,

Margaret E. Short
Department of Public Relations

atts.

Dear Madame: We are particularly interested in helping with such expenses as Political Action. Could our donation be used in this way?

Sincerely, B. A. Boice

RECORDER OF DEEDS

WASHINGTON

This is to certify *that the pages attached hereto constitute a full, true, and complete copy of* CERTIFICATE AND ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION OF NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE, INC., AS RECEIVED FOR RECORD FEBRUARY 9, 1979.

as the same appears of record in this office.

In Testimony Whereof,

I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of this office to be affixed, this

the 12th *day of*

MARCH *A. D.* 1979

PETER S. RIDLEY,
Recorder of Deeds, D. C.

By _____
Superintendent of Documents

780375

OFFICE OF RECORDER OF DEEDS, D. C.
Corporation Division
Sixth and D Streets, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20001

CERTIFICATE

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that all provisions of the District of Columbia Non-profit Corporation Act have been complied with and ACCORDINGLY this Certificate of Incorporation

is hereby issued to the NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE, INC.

as of the date hereinafter mentioned.

Date February 5, 1979

PETER S. RILEY,
Recorder of Deeds, D. C.

David [illegible]
Superintendent of Corporations

Government of the District of Columbia
Form RD-C 55
Oct. 1951

780375

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

OF

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE, INC.

To: The Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia, Washington, D.C.

We, the undersigned, being natural persons of the age of 21 years or more, acting as incorporators of a corporation, do hereby adopt the following Articles of Incorporation for such corporation pursuant to the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act.

FIRST: The name of the corporation is:

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE, INC.

SECOND: The period of duration is perpetual.

THIRD: The specific and primary purposes for which this Corporation is formed and for which it shall be exclusively administered and operated are to receive, administer and expend funds for charitable and educational purposes in connection with the following:

1. To engage in nonpartisan research, study and analysis, for the benefit of the general public, regarding the political structure of the United States;

2. To engage in nonpartisan research, study and analysis for the benefit of the general public on those questions affecting the public interest with respect to both the public and private sectors, and to publish the results of such study;

3. To prepare educational materials and conduct educational activities in support of the general purposes of the Corporation;

4. To conduct and sponsor forums, lectures, debates and similar programs;

FILED FEB 8 1978

BY [illegible]

0 1 0 1 3 1 3 3 0

5. To assist other charitable and educational organizations exempt under §501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (or corresponding provisions of subsequent federal tax laws), in the conduct of similar activities;

6. To engage in any and all lawful activities incidental to the foregoing purposes except as restricted herein;

To accomplish the foregoing charitable and educational purposes, and for no other purposes or purposes, the Corporation shall also have the power to:

a. sue and be sued;

b. contract;

c. receive property be devise or bequest, subject to the laws regulating the transfer of property by will, and otherwise acquire and hold all property, real or personal, including shares of stock, bonds and securities of other corporations;

d. act as trustee under any trust the objects of which are related to the principal objects of the Corporation, and to receive, hold, administer and expend funds and property subject to such trust;

e. convey, exchange, hypothecate, lease, mortgage, encumber, transfer upon trust or otherwise dispose of all property, real or personal;

f. borrow money, contract debts and issue bonds, notes and debentures, and secure the payment of and performance of its obligations; and

g. do all other acts necessary or expedient for the administration of the affairs and attainment of the purposes of the Corporation;

provided, however, that the Corporation shall not, except to an insubstantial degree, engage in any activities or exercise any powers that are not in furtherance of the primary purposes of the Corporation.

FOURTH: The Corporation is not to have members.

FIFTH: No part of the net income of the Corporation shall inure to the benefit of or be distributable to its directors, officers, or other private persons, except that the Corporation shall be authorized and empowered to pay reasonable compensation for services actually rendered and to make payments and distributions in furtherance of the purposes and objects set forth in Article THIRD hereof.

SIXTH: The business of the Corporation shall be carried on through its Board of Directors; the manner of their election or appointment, other than the initial Board of Directors provided for herein, shall be as provided in the Bylaws.

SEVENTH: The private property of the incorporators, directors and officers shall not be subject to the payment of corporate debts to any extent whatever. In furtherance and not in limitation of the powers conferred by statute, the Corporation expressly is authorized to carry on its business and to hold annual or special meetings of its Board of Directors in any of the states, territories or possessions of the United States or the District of Columbia.

EIGHTH: Notwithstanding any other provision of these Articles, the Corporation shall not conduct or carry on any activities not permitted to be conducted or carried on by an organization exempt under §501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, or corresponding provisions of any subsequent federal tax laws.

NINTH: Upon the dissolution of the Corporation or the winding up of its affairs, the assets of the Corporation shall be distributed exclusively for charitable, religious, scientific, testing for public safety, literary or educational purposes to organizations which are then exempt from federal tax under §501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, or corresponding provisions of any subsequent federal tax laws and to which contributions are

then deductible under §170(c)(2) of such Code or corresponding provisions of any subsequent federal tax laws.

TENTH: The address, including the street and number of its initial registered office is: Suite 500, 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006, and the name of its initial registered agent at such address is GREGORY W. ALTSCHUH, ESQUIRE.

ELEVENTH: The Corporation reserves the right to amend, change or repeal any provision contained in these Articles of Incorporation or to merge or consolidate the Corporation with any other nonprofit corporation in the manner now or hereafter prescribed by statute, provided, however, that any such action shall be calculated exclusively to carry out the objects and purposes for which the Corporation is formed, and all rights herein conferred or granted shall be subject to this reservation.

TWELFTH: The number of directors constituting the initial Board of Directors is three, but the number of directors may be increased or decreased in the manner set forth in the Bylaws, provided that the number shall not be less than three. The names, addresses including street and number, of the persons who are to serve as the initial directors are:

NAME	ADDRESS
Mr. PAUL A. BROWN	Suite 330 National Press Building Washington, D.C. 20045
Mrs. MARY HUNT	1102 North Lafayette Street South Bend, Indiana 46617
Mrs. JUDITH A. BROWN	1935 Midshipman Drive Stafford, Virginia 22554

THIRTEENTH: The name and address, including street and number, of each incorporator is:

NAME	ADDRESS
MARION EDWYN HARRISON, Esquire	1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006
GREGORY W. ALTSCHUH, Esquire	1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006
Miss MILLICENT HICKS	1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006

Dated: February 3, 1978

MARION EDWYN HARRISON

GREGORY W. ALTSCHUH

MILLICENT HICKS

Incorporators

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA }
} ss:
CITY OF WASHINGTON }

I, KATIE BELLE HARRISON, a Notary Public, hereby certify that on the 3rd day of February, 1978, personally appeared before me MARION EDWYN HARRISON, GREGORY W. ALTSCHUH, and MILLICENT HICKS, who signed the foregoing document as incorporators, and that the statements contained therein are true.

KATIE BELLE HARRISON

My commission expires June 30, 1981

3112023123

Immediate Reply Requested

TELECOMMUNICATION
from
National Right to Life Committee
P.O. Box 2991, Tulsa, OK 74101

Immediate Reply Requested

MESSAGE NO TU 21127-330-GB-329010

31 JULY, 1978

HOPP & FIFE ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1200 CIRCLE TOWER
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA 46204

WHEN DR. JEFFERSON WROTE YOU LAST MONTH SHE TOLD YOU WE NEEDED TO RAISE $320,000 IN ORDER TO FINISH PAYING OFF OUR DEBTS AND TO GET THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE ON SOUND FINANCIAL FOOTING. AS OF TODAY WE HAVE RAISED ALL BUT $41,782.35 OF THAT AMOUNT.

THE GENEROSITY AND DEDICATION OF YOU AND THE MANY OTHER PRO-LIFERS WHO HAVE GIVEN SO MUCH IS OVERWHELMING. SINCE LAST MARCH WE HAVE RAISED OVER $275,000 THANKSTO DR. JEFFERSON'S HARD WORK AND YOUR GENEROSITY AND COMMITMENT.

I HAVE JUST BEEN ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE N.R.L.C. I AM AWED BY THE RESPONSIBILITY BUT I AM EXCITED BY THE CHALLENGE. TOGETHER WE CAN AND WILL WIN THE FIGHT FOR THE UNBORN. BUT, WE MUST DO IT TOGETHER BECAUSE I CANNOT DO IT ALONE.

I AM EXCITED. I AM GRATEFUL. BUT I AM ALSO CONCERNED. WE ARE STILL $41,782.35 SHORT OF THE AMOUNT WE NEED AND WE ARE NOW FACING THE MONTHS OF JULY AND AUGUST WHEN OUR CONTRIBUTIONS DROP OFF DRASTICALLY. WE ARE VERY CLOSE TO THE AMOUNT OF MONEY NEEDED TO GET US OVER THE TOP BUT WE ARE STILL SHORT.

WILL YOU PLEASE SEND WHAT YOU CAN TO HELP PAY OFF THE REMAINING $41,782.35 AND TO GET US THROUGH THE SUMMER MONTHS?

WE ARE MAKING HEADWAY. PLANNED PARENTHOOD, THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION AND THE NATIONAL ORGANITION FOR WOMEN HAVE EACH RECENTLY SINGLED OUT SO-CALLED "ABORTION RIGHTS" AS THEIR ISSUE. THEY HAVE BEEN FORCED TO DO THIS BECAUSE WE ARE WINNING. THESE ANTI-LIFE FORCES ARE REDOUBLING THEIR EFFORTS AND WE MUST MEET THEIR CHALLENGE. WE MUST HAVE THE NECESSARY MONEY TO COUNTER THE MASSIVE ANTI-LIFE PUBLICITY CAMPAIGN WE WILL SOON FACE.

PLEASE DO WHAT YOU CAN TODAY. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE AND THE NEED IS CRITICAL. PLEASE LET US HEAR FROM YOU TOLAY.

CAROLYN GERSTER, M.D.
PRESIDENT

CLS 69668 XXX

XXX

national
RIGHT TO LIFE
committee, inc.
SPECIAL PROJECTS OFFICE - P.O. Box 2091 Falls Church, Virginia 22041

May 3, 1978

Mr. James Bopp
Bopp & Fife
1200 Circle Tower.
Indianapolis, IN. 46204

Dear Mr. Bopp,

So many thoughts have been going through my mind that I just decided I must share them with you. I am writing because in the past you have allowed me to share with you my concern for the cause of life, and because I feel that you understand my feelings.

Over the past five years I have delivered thousands of speeches, given hundreds of interviews and written countless letters about how America has lost its respect for life. I have enjoyed almost every minute of this work. I wouldn't trade my many friendships with pro-life people for anything, but I have been moving so fast and doing so much that I have recently had to force myself to re-evaluate my efforts and put things in their proper perspective.

After delivering a speech in Los Angeles a few days ago, I returned to my hotel room and turned on a local television news program just in time to see an interview I had done earlier that day. As I listened to the interview, I heard myself repeating the often used statistic of more than 5,000,000 lives lost to abortion since 1973.

As I listened to those words, I asked myself if I was truly sensitive to their real meaning. Is it so easy to repeat the terrible statistics over and over again to the point that it can become routine.

As leaders in the pro-life movement, we cannot allow this great cause to become routine. To me, it must be a total commitment - I hope you feel the same way.

Allow me to share with you what happened to me in that hotel room. I had to come to grips with one crucial question. What does abortion really mean?

For one thing, it means brilliant minds will never develop because the person in whom God invested that mind was not allowed to live and grow.

It means love that will never be given because the person capable of so much love was not cared for enough to be allowed to live.

It means books that will nvever be written and music that will never be heard. It means lost leadership and scientific discoveries that will be delayed or never made at all.

It even means future generations of children that will never live because our generation allowed the legal killing of the unborn.

Each time an abortion is performed, a unique individual who would have someday filled a special place in our world is destroyed. That individual would have lived, loved, grown to maturity and eventually left something of himself in our world. The loss is not only in human lives, but also in human resources and potential.

During those minutes several thoughts went through my mind. I rededicated myself to this cause we are fighting for. We are not only fighting for the unloved and unwanted unborn, we are fighting for the unique and irreplacable lives of millions of very special people. And, their lives remain in our hands.

I have said many times before that our cause should be shared by every American because when a child is killed, every American loses - whether they realize it or not.

I have said too that our cause is a divine one because man has no right to destroy what God has created.

I wish I could relate to every American the sadness and terror I feel when I think that at this very moment - as you read this letter -

3117137

hundreds of lives are being ended by abortion.

Today before midnight, over 3,000 babies will have died needlessly at the hands of their own parents. And it will happen again tomorrow, the next day and on and on until we put a stop to abortion.

Our job continues to be important! We cannot rest for even a brief moment, or allow this issue to become routine and ignored. Remember, millions of human beings will die if we lose faith.

We must continue in faith. We really don't have a choice. We have a responsibility to the millions whose lives are at stake. I believe we have a God-given responsibility to carry on our work because it is really His work.

The battle in Congress last fall was a tremendous financial and physical drain. Today we face a rebuilding task. With your help, we will rebuild and strengthen the National Right to Life Committee. But we must have your help if it is to be done.

The challenges before us are great. We have made progress in the last year and we will make even more in the coming months. Never doubt it for a minute - we will eventually win total victory. I believe that with all my heart. I know you believe it, too!

But, if we are to meet the challenges before us, we must have the financial support necessary to meet the cost.

Today, there is not enough money in the bank to carry on. We must raise three hundred twenty thousand dollars before June 30 or we will be unable to continue with our work. Will you please help?

If you and the others to whom I write will make the most generous contribution you feel you can afford, we will have the money to keep the Human Life Amendment alive in Congress.

I know $320,000 is alot of money, but the cost of abortion is so much more. If you will send as much as you can, I know others will do the same and we will raise the necessary amount.

I need your help. It is your gifts that have brought us this far. The unborn are totally dependent on your help. Please stand with us as we continue to fight for the unborn.

Yours for life,

Mildred F. Jefferson, M.D.
President

P.S. Between now and June, I must decide whether to seek another term as President of the National Right to Life Committee. I do feel a great responsibility to do so however, I would like to know how you feel. When you send your contribution, please drop a note in the enclosed envelope to let me know.

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.
SPECIAL PROJECTS OFFICE - P.O. Box 2991, Tulsa, OK 74101

June 5, 1978

Mr. James Bopp
Bopp & Fife
1200 Circle Tower
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

Dear Mr. Bopp,

Our financial situation has become critical since I wrote you the enclosed letter a few weeks ago. Our bank account is dangerously low and because this is an election year, we must keep the issue of abortion before the public. I am terribly concerned.

The decline in financial support frightens me. What will happen if National Right to Life is allowed to die for lack of financial support? But even more important, what will happen in America if we don't continue to fight for life?

Some time ago I read an article in a Boston newspaper about the financial problems encountered by George Washington during the American revolution. The article quoted a letter describing his concern and depression. He said, "Is anybody there? Does anybody care?"

The only thing that keeps me from asking myself the same question is that I know you care! I know you care because you have been supporting the cause of the unborn for a long time. I know I can depend on you to help now, Mr. Bopp.

What I'm really trying to say is that it's up to you again. Our future is in your hands. I have no other sources to turn to. I have no personal fortune nor any large wealthy organization that I can ask for help. I must have your help!

I mean it. Our financial situation is that serious. For whatever the reasons, our income has been way down this year. And, because of increased lobbying efforts, the demands of an election year, and inflation, our expenses have continued to go up.

In the enclosed letter I told you that we had to raise $320,000 by June 20th. As of today, we have only raised $70,742.50. We must raise an additional $249,257.50 immediately. As I said, I am terribly concerned. I

know we can raise the needed amount but we can only do so if everybody will contribute what they can.

I am praying that you will help us now. You know the need and you know how important your contribution is. You will never be sorry you helped. If you don't help, I have nowhere to go.

I hope you know that I would not be writing a letter like this if there were not a real emergency.

Send what you can, and please, please do it today.

Sincerely,

Mildred F. Jefferson

Mildred F. Jefferson, M.D.

MFJ:iq

3 1 2 4 2 8 1 2 7 1

Please read this letter again.
It means a great deal to me.
I hope it means as much to you!

Dear Friend:

So many thoughts have been going through my mind that I just decided I must share them with you. I am writing because in the past you have allowed me to share with you my concern for the cause of life, and because I feel that you now understand my feelings.

Over the past five years I have delivered thousands of speeches, given hundreds of interviews and written countless letters about how America has lost its respect for life. I have enjoyed almost every minute of this work. I wouldn't trade my many friendships with pro-life people for anything, but I have been moving so fast and doing so much that I have recently had to force myself to re-evaluate my efforts and put things in their proper perspective.

After delivering a speech in Los Angeles a few days ago, I returned to my hotel room and turned on a local television news program just in time to see an interview I had done earlier that day. As I listened to the interview, I heard myself repeating the often used statistic of more than 5,000,000 lives lost to abortion since 1973.

As I listened to those words, I asked myself if I was truly sensitive to the real meaning of those words. It is so easy to repeat the terrible statistics over and over again to the point that it can become routine.

As leaders in the pro-life movement, we cannot allow this great crusade to become routine. To me, it must be a total commitment - I hope you feel the same way.

Allow me to share with you what happened to me in that hotel room. I had to come to grips with one crucial question: What does abortion really mean?

For one thing, it means brilliant minds will never develop because the person in whom God invested that mind was not allowed to grow and develop.

It means love that will never be given because the person capable of so much love was not cared for enough to be allowed to live.

It means books that will never be written and music that will never be heard. It means lost leadership and scientific discoveries that will be delayed or never made at all.

It even means future generations of children that will never live because our generation allowed the legal killing of children.

Each time an abortion is performed, a unique individual who would have someday filled a special place in our world is destroyed. That individual would have lived, loved, grown to maturity and eventually left something of himself in our world. The loss is not only in human lives, but also in human resources and potential.

During those minutes several thoughts went through my mind. I rededicated myself to this cause we are fighting for. We are not only fighting for the unloved and unwanted unborn, we are fighting for the unique and irreplaceable lives of millions of very special people. And, their lives remain in our hands.

I have said many times that our cause should be shared by every American because when a child is killed, every American loses - whether they realize it or not.

I have said too that our cause is a divine one because man has no right to destroy what God has created.

I wish I could relate to every American the sadness and despair I feel when I think that at this very moment - as you read this letter - hundreds of lives are being ended by abortion.

Today before midnight, over 3,000 babies will have died needlessly at the hands of their own parents. And it will happen again tomorrow, the next day and on and on until we put a stop to abortion.

Legal killing can never be allowed as a reasonable solution to a social problem - not in America.

Our job continues to be important! We cannot rest for even a brief moment, or allow this issue to become routine and ignored. Remember, millions of human beings will die if we lose faith.

We must continue in faith. We really don't have a choice. We have a responsibility to the millions whose lives are at stake. I believe we have a God-given responsibility to carry on our work because it is really His work.

The battle in Congress last fall was a tremendous financial and physical drain. Today we face a rebuilding task. With your help, we will rebuild and strengthen the National Right to Life Committee. But we must have your help if it is to be done.

The challenges before us are great. We have made progress in the last year and we will make even more in the coming months. Never doubt it for a minute - we will eventually win total victory. I believe that with all my heart. I know you believe it, too!

But, if we are to meet the challenges before us, we must have the financial support necessary to meet the cost.

Today, there is not enough money in the bank to carry on. We must raise three hundred twenty thousand dollars before June 29 or we will be unable to continue with our work. Will you please help?

If you and the others to whom I write will make the most generous contribution you feel you can afford, we will have the money to keep the Human Life Amendment alive in Congress.

I know $320,000 is a lot of money, but the cost of abortion is so much more. If you will send as much as you can, I know others will do the same and we will raise the necessary amount.

I need your help. It is your gifts that have brought us this far. The unborn are totally dependent on your help. Please stand with us as we continue to fight for the unborn.

Your for Life,

Mildred F. Jefferson, M.D.
President

P.S. Between now and June, I must decide whether to seek another term as President of the National Right to Life Committee. I do feel a great responsibility to do so; however, I would like to know how you feel. When you send your contribution, please drop a note in the enclosed envelope to let me know.

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE
National Press Building Suite 341
529 14th Street N.W. Washington, D.C. 20045

Dear National Right to Life Supporter:

We WIN! WIN! WIN!

(But sometimes we lose! lose! lose!)

What puts us in this frustrating win-lose situation?

The courts. That's where our most serious setbacks are occurring. And that's where the risk of future setbacks is greatest for the pro-life movement.

Obviously, therefore, we must be prepared to fight with every courtroom weapon at our disposal...just to hold on to the victories that your hard work and generous donations have gained.

One year ago NRLC anticipated this urgent need for more pro-life legal action and established a Legal Action Project. We appointed the prestigious Indianapolis law firm of Bopp & Fife to carry the fight into the courts for us.

(Although only a small amount of money was available to allot to this activity, NRLC has been successful in most of the cases in which we have intervened to date.)

Right now -- as you read my words -- the NRLC is battling for the pro-life cause in the courts of every one of these eight states:

- California
- Florida
- Indiana
- Louisiana
- Missouri
- Ohio
- Rhode Island
- Tennessee

Two of the most significant fights are the defense of the landmark Akron Ordinance which began September 7th -- and the defense of the newly-passed restrictive abortion law of the State of Louisiana which will be in court soon.

The cost of defending the Akron Ordinance, alone, is estimated at between $25,000.00 and $50,000.00. The Akron Right to Life group can raise

(over, please)

only a small fraction of that amount. We don't have the funds, either. But -- somehow -- the money must be raised, because we have already committed ourselves as chief counsel for the defense.

> Let's not underestimate our opponents in these important legal actions. We're facing the high-powered legal shenanigans of some of the best-paid, craftiest lawyers in the country ...hired by the ACLU, Planned Parenthood, and other pro-abortion groups.

That's why we desperately need your help -- now -- to carry on the work of the National Right to Life Committee's legal action project.

We need funds for legal research.

We need funds to pay court costs.

We need funds to cover legal fees.

Moreover, we must -- at the same time -- continue our activities in Congress where seven separate pro-life bills and amendments are now being debated. And, of course, we must continue to provide the information-gathering resources, education, and other activities of our Washington office.

As you can see, the task ahead of us is formidable. But we know that you'll help us as much as you can, just as you have in the past.

With your backing, we can meet the challenge. We have the legal talent ready and willing to pursue whatever legal actions are necessary. We have the enthusiasm and the know-how. And we have the opportunities.

There's no doubt about it. With the help of concerned, committed people like you, we will WIN! WIN! WIN! We will see an end to the slaughter of millions of innocent, helpless human beings. We'll reawaken America's moral outrage at abortion.

Fill out your contribution slip now and enclose it in the envelope provided for your convenience. We are confident that the majority of the people whom we contact will contribute to this vital project.

As I said before, we desperately need your help. Send a check -- for $5, $10, $25, $50, $100 -- or as much as you can afford. Your gifts have

brought us a long way since that tragic day of January 22, 1973 when the Supreme Court handed down its abominable decision. But our future success is totally dependent upon your continued support.

Please mail your contribution today. In the name of the unborn, I thank you.

Sincerely for the Right to Life,

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.
President

P.S. You will be happy to know that we have finally completed moving all of the previous functions of our Tulsa office to our Washington, D.C. location. We will soon be finished with some internal remodeling that will make it possible here to perform the functions of both offices, without renting additional space. This will save us considerable money on overhead. From now on address all of your correspondence to this Washington address. As the president of the National Right to Life Committee, I am convinced that this consolidation will result in a much more effective, efficient national pro-life effort by all of us.

-- C.G.

CG:ph/ru

(over, please)

WILL YOU DO THE FIGHT FOR LIFE A FAVOR?

Surely you must have relatives, acquaintances and friends who support the Right to Life. Would you kindly send us their names and addresses for our files? We need all the support we can muster as a united voice. Even one name will be a big help. Thank you.

(Please Print)

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

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State_____ Zip_____

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Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE
Suite 341 National Press Bldg
524 14th St. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20045

Yes Dr. Gerster! I support your Citizens' Lobby Project. I want to insure the Right to Life for every unborn child in our nation. Here is my personal contribution to help.

Amount Enclosed $ _____
(Thank you. Every contribution is sincerely appreciated.)

PLEASE: Do we have your correct address and zip code?

47807BUPPJ101SYCA X 005

MR. JAMES BOPP
FRANCIS AND BRAMES
101 SYCAMORE BLDG
TERRE HAUTE IN 47807

F/FBRS

PLEASE FOLD AND USE YOUR ENVELOPE

F/FBRS

Some of the expenses of a Citizens' Lobby to save babies lives would be:

- Travel and living expenses for one speaker at a Lobbying Seminar for our Citizen Lobbyists $500.00
- Mailing and printing expense for Legislative Alerts to our affiliates $250.00
- Compiling and printing handout instructional materials for a Lobbying Seminar $100.00

Any amount you can give to help defray these and other expenses will be most sincerely appreciated.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR GIFT TO THE UNBORN

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.

Are you in favor of the Human Life Amendment?

Dear Friend:

If this question -- or any question concerning legislation about abortion -- were posed to your senator or congressman, certainly you'd want them to have an opportunity to meet and talk with articulate pro-lifers before they voted.

That's why I assume you favor efforts to present the compelling arguments against abortion to every member of the Senate and House.

The proposed Citizen's Lobby, which I wrote about in my last letter, will do exactly that. Our goal is to have at least two well-qualified lobbyists from your state present views on abortion to the members of your Congressional delegation.

If your contribution toward this new project is on the way to us, I want you to know how much I appreciate your support. Your donation will, of course, be acknowledged promptly.

But if you found it inconvenient to respond to my earlier appeal, I hope you'll now be able to mail a check for $25, $15, $10...or whatever you can afford.

Gratefully.

Yours for the Right to Life,

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.
President

P.S. I am sure you join with me in prayers of thanks for the 241-180 vote in favor of the Hyde Amendment on June 27th. It was a tremendous victory and a tribute to dedicated pro-life leadership in the House of Representatives and to the lobbying efforts of the Right to Life movement. Regretfully, the pro-life resolve evidenced by this vote did not extend to the Senate. Please, please help us to expand our all-important lobbying program so that we may soon join in prayers of thanks for the passage of the Human Life Amendment.

National RIGHT TO LIFE committee, Inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE
Suite 341 National Press Bldg.
524 14th St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20045

Yes Dr. Gerster! I want to help with the Legal Action Project and the Fight For Life. I have noted my contribution at right and I enclose my check in the amount of:

$_____

(Thank you. Every contribution is sincerely appreciated.)

46204BOPPJ12CCIRC X 013

MR. JAMES BOPP
BOPP & FIFE
1200 CIRCLE TOWER
INDIANAPOLIS IN 46204

PH/RU-F

PLEASE FOLD AND STAPLE THIS FOR EASY MAILING

Please Note:

- ☐ **$500** will pay for materials to do a pro-life survey of 30,000 voters
- ☐ **$250** will pay travel expenses for an attorney to assist in a court case which will save babies' lives
- ☐ **$100** will pay for the legal research that will help save babies' lives.
- ☐ **$50** will help buy office supplies.
- ☐ **$25** will pay the printing costs for our "Medical Mailing" to selected physicians every month
- ☐ $_____ **OTHER**—WE ARE GRATEFUL FOR EVERY CONTRIBUTION

Do you have friends and relatives who would be patrons of our fight for life? Fill in their names and addresses below. (Use the Back of this form if you need more space.)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ ZIP _____

PH/RU-F

PLEASE RETURN THIS PORTION WITH YOUR GIFT TO NRLC

3 1 1 2 2 8 1 1 2

Winning
is a full-
time job....

Dear National Right to Life Supporter:

Few of us in the pro-life movement ever believed that the dreadful Supreme Court decision to legalize abortion could be quickly overturned.

We knew that it was going to be a long, hard, painful, and costly legal process.

But, as I promised you in my last letter, we will win the final, deciding battle...provided, of course, that we can continue to count on loyal supporters such as you.

If you recently sent a donation -- to help us pay court costs, legal research expenses, and attorney fees -- it probably crossed this letter in the mail. I'll write again and acknowledge it just as soon as it arrives.

However, if you haven't had a chance to help us in our present predicament, won't you please mail a check now for $50, $25, $15, or as much as you can spare?

Thank you for whatever you can give in this time of need.

Gratefully,

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.
President

CG:Fph/ru

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national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE
National Press Building, Suite 34
529 14th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 2004

Dear Right to Life Supporter:

This is the most exciting letter I have ever written!

I can't tell you how happy I am to share with you the news about many stunning and significant victories we've seen in this election just as occurred in the recent primaries.

Did you know that pro-abortion Senators Brooke of Massachusetts and Hathaway of Maine have lost their seats? I especially wanted to open with this good news.

Here's more:

In the Senate, at least six pro-life men have been elected to seats that were held by pro-abortion people.

In Minnesota David Durenberger took the Humphrey seat and Rudy Boschwitz won over Wendel Anderson.

In Iowa -- an exquisite upset -- Roger Jepson defeated Sen. Richard Clark.

In New Hampshire Gordon Humphrey defeated pro-abortion Sen. Thomas McIntyre.

Colorado saw William Armstrong defeat Floyd Haskell.

In So. Dakota Larry Pressler will replace pro-abortion Sen. James Abourezk.

Also we note that pro-life Senator Jesse Helms was re-elected in North Carolina.

More good news...

Three of the most important victories by pro-life men in governorship races were: Al Quie of Minnesota, Edward King of Massachusetts and James Rhodes of Ohio.

Of the House seats, we had equally good news. First of all... ALL strong pro-life incumbents were returned to the House and all reasonably close races where abortion was a major issue were won by pro-life people with the exception of Senator Robert Griffin of Michigan. Next, you'll want to know that two very vocal pro-abortion Congresswomen were defeated: Rep. Martha Keys of Kansas

(over, please)

and Rep. Helen Meyner of New Jersey.

Now let me mention a few of the "Good News Victories" from other states: in Wyoming, pro-lifer Richard Cheney won over Bill Bagley. In Indiana, Joel Deckard defeated pro-abortion Congressman David Cornwell. In Illinois, strong pro-life Representative Henry Hyde was re-elected and pro-life newcomer Daniel Crane upset Rep. Terry Bruce. Also in Illinois, a strong friend of pro-life, Congressman Martin Russo, was returned to office. Rep. Robert Dornan of California and Rep. Robert Bauman of Maryland were re-elected. In Minnesota, pro-lifer Arlen Erdahl won the congressional seat vacated by Al Quie when he decided to run for governor.

By the time this letter reaches you, no doubt you will know of many more national and local pro-life public officials who were elected or returned to office. In almost all of these races it is an unquestionable fact that the magnificent effort given by thousands of right to life workers in NRLC's Voter Identification Project meant the difference of victory to people who will work to save the lives of thousands of tiny babies.

> My friend...I can tell you this...the politicians out there are getting the message. They are beginning to realize what the people of this country think about the heinous abortion laws which allow the merciless killing of tiny babies.

Yes, we lost a few, but in balance we're way ahead.

The pro-abortionists, just a few years ago were fully expecting us to go away. They hoped that we would be just another protest movement that would falter and fade.

But were they ever wrong!

The issue of whether or not to allow the legalized killing of unborn babies to continue has become, in more and more areas, THE issue. In addition to being the issue in the November 7 election, it was the deciding factor in taking pro-abortion Senator Clifford Case (R-NJ), and Congressman Donald Fraser (DFL-MINN) out of public life in the primaries.

We are winning our goal to restore to the Constitution what we had all assumed was already there, and that is equal protection, under law, of all innocent human lives whether born or unborn. This is what the Human Life Amendment will do.

The way all amendments (since the original ten) have been passed to date, has been through the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives with a two-thirds vote. We are close on this in the House. We are closer to it in the Senate now than we were before this election, but still, more Senators must be replaced and we must change the minds of others. We're convinced that three-fourths of the states will ratify the Human Life Amendment once we get over our problem with Congress and they pass it.

Can it be done?

Yes, we're convinced that it can if we start to work now!

How will we do it?

Well, it all began less than two years ago. That's when we formed the National Right to Life Committee's Voter Identification Project. If your local or state Right to Life group is not already involved in this extremely effective program, it will be before the 1980 elections roll around.

> For that is the date we have set for full nationwide participation. That is when pro-lifers will win the majority of all targeted seats in city, county, and state elections...as well as in U.S. Senate and House of Representative races.

Let me explain how "Voter Identification" works -- and why it can't fail to produce the promised results -- if we are successful in expanding from our current projects to a nationwide campaign.

Briefly, "Voter Identification" starts with a skillfully designed telephone survey of all registered voters -- precinct by precinct -- to reveal those who are pro-life, those who are pro-abortion, and those who are still undecided on this crucial issue.

It will require a real dedication and a lot of hard work by all of you, but you can all help -- even those who are "shut-in" by illness or injury. All you need is a little time and a phone.

You'll also need direction, trained leaders, the lists to call, the reports to fill out and the instruction booklets. Finally, you'll need to store the information in retrievable form, on computer tapes. Of course, this will cost money, far more money than NRLC has now. That is why I am asking you in this letter to be as generous as you can with financial help now.

A huge job? Certainly it is! But one that can be accomplished if we all work together. We need your support now.

And especially: we need your prayers!!!

What will the Voter Identification Project tell us? Well, as an example, the first area to complete the 100,000 phone calls necessary to canvass two entire Congressional districts, was Cincinnati.

What was the result? Cincinnati found out that 75% of its registered voters opposed all abortion (except to save the mother's life), 10% were undecided, and only 15% approved abortion, including those who only approved it for rape pregnancies or other rare reasons. It is no accident that all four Congressmen from Southwestern Ohio are pro-life.

From the very earliest survey results -- up until the present time --

(over, please)

our experience has shown that pro-lifers outnumber pro-abortionists by a majority as high as five to one in some areas. And in no significant areas have pro-abortionists ever outnumbered pro-lifers!

This proves what we have been saying all along
-- that the majority of Americans are pro-life.

Since National Right to Life's Voter I.D. Project has now substantiated this fact, the minds of many politicans have been changed!!!

Are there other benefits from this program? Yes, very many. The identification of pro-life voters will substantially enlarge and strengthen your pro-life group. Also, you can mail or contact the undecided to try to sway them, as well as go to the pro-lifers to strengthen them, to educate them, to ask for help and most importantly, to get them out to vote. The possibilities are vast.

A large order? Yes, but one that could be accomplished across the entire USA in the next two years. No! Let's not say "can be" but rather "must be." The Voter Identification Project can change the course of history in the next two years!

The pro-life movement may not have the backing of the abortion elitists, but we do have real people power. NRLC has 1,800 affiliated chapters in all 50 states. You are represented through your local chapter and through your state Right to Life group on the board of directors of the NRLC.

Your check for $50, $25, $15 or more will enable us to keep our momentum sizzling and expand it as wide as we can in the next election...as well as... to continue all of our other projects and activities which are now coordinated out of our Washington office.

Please help us with as large a contribution as you can. You will find an envelope enclosed for your convenience. I know I can count on you again. Thank you.

Yours for the Right to Life

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.
President

P.S. In September, we were surprised and saddened when our capable Washington lobbyist, Thea Rossi Barron, submitted her resignation. We are pleased, for her, that she has started working in the new position she wanted. She is a full-time lobbyist for a foreign country. Clouds, however, often have silver linings. I'm pleased to tell you that we have engaged the services of Mr. Sean Morton Downey, Esq. as our new lobbyist. He has had vast political experience and already has been of great help in Congress. Together with Mr. Charles Donnavan and Barbara Barrett, our new political researchers, we expect to sharply increase our visibility, activity and influence on Capitol Hill.

CG:pp/ru

national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE — Suite 341, National Press Bldg. — 529 14th Street, N.W. — Washington, D. C. 20045 — (202) 638-4395

March , 1978

Dear Friend:

It has been so long since we wrote to you that it is difficult to know where to begin.

Recently we have been re-evaluating our organizational structure and office locations, and are making some changes that we're convinced will enable us to do an even better job of leading the pro-life movement than in the past.

For one thing, we are moving the NRL News office and our Tulsa Special Projects office to Washington, to share the space now available there with the administrative staff. This move, we are certain, will reduce costs, increase efficiency and concentrate our activities closer to where the action is. We want to greatly expand our lobbying and information effort in Congress this coming year, which had such a dramatic impact last year in our support of the Hyde Amendment, and which must continue with more force!

The Board and the National Right to Life Committee has appointed Mary Reilly Hunt, our Treasurer, as Executive Director and Financial Manager. This will continue to guarantee that your contributions will be used in the most effective manner, while relieving Dr. Jefferson and me of the time-consuming administrative duties we have been handling. Speaking engagements, writing and other national leadership activities can now have our undivided attention.

The officers and members of the Board are probably more excited now about the capabilities of NRL than at any time in the past. The fight for life that you and we are so deeply committed to has reached the stage where our past victories will seem small in comparison to what we can achieve in the year ahead. Our opportunities have never been as great.

Let me review the things we have accomplished this past year, through your support:

- The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that the state and federal governments have no legal obligation to pay for abortions. There are now 35 states which provide no funding for abortion and legislation is now pending in many more states which would restrict abortions.

- We spent the past several months working with members of Congress in an effort to gain passage of a Health, Education and Welfare funding bill which would have eliminated all federal funding of abortion just as we did with the Hyde Amendment. The final bill, after 25 roll call votes in the House and Senate (which now clearly identifies

-continued-

our friends), will result in 250,000 fewer abortions this year. We are thankful that we have been successful in sparing this many lives, but there will still be 750,000-or-more legal abortions this year that we've been unable to prevent!

There is much we can and will accomplish in the next few months, with your continued support:

- We must win the needed votes in Congress to guarantee an end to all taxpayer funding of abortions.
- We must redouble our efforts on behalf of the Human Life Amendment. This Amendment will end legal abortions and spare the lives of over a million babies each year.
- We must increase our activities on the state level, making sure that state and local laws are designed to defend and protect life, rather than destroy life.
- And, most importantly, we must continue to do everything we can to inform every American about the life issue.

We haven't asked you for financial support since November, but in the meantime, our expenses have continued. There are substantial costs connected with running our offices in Washington, and the rent, phone and payroll for our small dedicated staff are all due now! Last month, the state right-to-life groups responded to our needs by holding various fundraising drives which kept us operating through the month of February. Unless we receive substantial help promptly, we will have to curtail our activities at a time when they should be stepped up to take advantage of the gains we've made.

Your support in the past has been the main reason we have a national office, and have become a national force. And, you've done so much in the past that I hesitate to ask again -- but you are the backbone of the pro-life movement.

Please send your contribution as soon as possible, so we can meet our expenses, and get on with the important work at hand. I hope you can at least equal your previous contribution -- or, double or triple it if you possibly can. Any amount will help, but your check for $100 - $50 - or even $25 will help enormously at this time of great need. And, putting your own stamp on the return envelope will save us many thousands of dollars, too.

Our need has never been as great. But, it is matched only by our opportunities to make great strides in our fight for life. We are winning! The anti-life forces are admittedly and obviously on the run, and victory will be ours with your continued support.

Thank you again for being such a loyal friend of life. I look forward to hearing from you very soon. We're counting on you!

Sincerely for life,

J. C. Willke, M.D.
Executive Vice President

P.S. Just a reminder ... we're still flying!

These four children
have a very special reason
for celebrating
Christmas
this year . . . . . .

They're alive!

These youngsters escaped a tragic fate that is claiming the lives of hundreds of thousands of other children each year: ABORTION.

Dear Friend of Life:

Here are four children who will soon experience the incomparable joy of Christmas...a joy I wish for you and your family this year.

If I could manage to visit you personally, I am sure that you and I could share many happy memories of past Christmasses.

Can't you recall a child who was very close to you (or maybe even picture yourself) bursting into a room that Santa had visited? Remember the gaily decorated tree -- the Christmas stockings filled with candy and toys -- and the wonderful aroma of a ham or turkey (and maybe even a pie!) baking in the kitchen?

Those are memories I hope will be re-lived in your house this Christmas. And I wish those same pleasures for every other family in America...particularly for the children.

> Unfortunately, I am periodically distracted in my thoughts of Christmas by the rude reality that hundreds of thousands of children <u>will not be here to celebrate the holidays this year...or any year</u>.

Those victims of abortion are very much on my mind as our family prepares for the holidays. My only consolation is that you and I are helping to speed the day when abortion will again become rare, condemned, and <u>illegal</u> throughout our beloved land.

As I pointed out in my recent letter, that longed-for day is drawing ever closer. The tremendous influence of the pro-life movement grows stronger and stronger every day.

> Meanwhile, regrettably, abortion chambers <u>do</u> continue to flourish. Small but unmistakably human infants are torn apart or subjected to caustic salt solution procedures which abortionists euphemistically call "termination of pregnancy."

Before they ever had a chance to breathe, to cry out, or to smile, the lives of these baby boys and girls were snuffed out...with instruments of

death...manipulated by the hands of men and women who still call themselves "doctors."

You and I find it difficult to imagine how a doctor -- sworn to save lives -- could willfully kill a helpless child, or how a jurist could sanction such an act.

But they do!

It is only the knowledge that there are so many decent men and women like you who share my outrage that prevents me from believing our civilization is doomed. You have no idea of how important your support has been to me as I am confronted with the terrible reality of legalized abortion...day after day.

So please accept my gratitude for your help in speeding the day when America will once again protect the lives of the innocent.

This was supposed to have been a Christmas message, and I am sorry I had to interrupt the greeting with these thoughts on abortion.

We who work on your behalf -- and on behalf of the unborn -- at the National Right to Life Committee -- will be away from our offices only over the Christmas and New Year's weekends. Otherwise, It will be "business as usual" throughout the holiday season.

The National Right to Life Committee is the only national pro-life organization representing the grass roots movement of all fifty states. As the momentum of the movement increases, so does our work.

We'll be overseeing the planning and implementing of the "Voter Identification" program. Keeping in touch with the attorneys representing us in the courts. Answering correspondence from out-state affiliates and individual volunteers. Preparing educational materials.

> That's our job. And we do it willingly. Our only complaint is that there never seems to be enough time or money available to accomplish all we wish to do.

Of course, there's nothing we can do about the time. Bills for rent, office supplies and materials, lobbying expenses, Legal Action Project expenses, Voter I.D. expenses keep piling up. (When our bookkeeper asks me how we're ever going to pay them, I have often answered: "Pray!")

That's exactly what I'm doing now. Praying that you and our other friends will be able to help us out of this difficult financial situation.

(over, please)

I know that you're probably experiencing a "tight money" problem yourself at this time of the year. But could you please get out your pen now and write a check for $10, $15, $25 -- or possibly more, if you can afford it -- as a Christmas gift to a baby who might otherwise never receive another gift?

Please remember that whatever you give will be of tremendous help to us in our effort to save human lives.

You may mail your check in the pre-addressed envelope provided for your convenience.

My husband Josef, our five sons, and I (family photo enclosed) join with the officers, directors, employees and volunteers of NRLC to personally thank you for everything you've done this past year. May you have peace and prosperity in the new year.

Gratefully,

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.

Carolyn F. Gerster, M.D.
President

P.S. In the near future I will be writing you about Matthew. Matthew is a marvellous person. He gives much love and he is much loved. Meanwhile, I ask your prayers for aid to all those involved in this work.

Thank you,

C.F.G.

CG:pa/ru

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national
RIGHT TO LIFE
committee, inc.

NATIONAL OFFICE
National Press Building, Suite 341
529 14th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20045

Dear Friend:

Are you aware of the fact that I think of you often? I don't know each of you personally, of course, and I certainly can't "put a face" to every name, but you are very real to me.

I am met with evidence of your support, trust, and prayers at every turn. I travel from city to city carrying our message because you have helped make it possible for me to do so.

Do you know who we are...you and I? We are truly the "Keepers of the Flame". We share the memory of a not-too-long ago society in which care, love and trust mattered...before the Supreme Court abortion decision of 1973...before the wanton destruction of over 10 million unborn American babies. Together, we must keep the truth alive for those yet to take their place in history.

You are with me every time I make a speech, board a plane, lobby a legislator, or debate an opponent. Much of these actions would not be possible without your help.

Because I am constantly aware of your presence, an extraordinary idea occurred to me. Let me share it with you.

What if we could make your pro-life presence felt as keenly by our legislators on Capitol Hill as it is felt by me? What if suddenly the spokesmen for the unborn and the defenseless were to become more numerous and more highly visible in Washington than ever before?

Would the cause of the unborn become a constant presence in the minds and in the lives of the men and women in the United States Congress?...the men and women who can effect a change?

Of course it would!

We have had plans for a Citizens' Lobby effort on the drawing board at National Right to Life for some time. The plan calls for participation by at least two lobbyists from each of our 50 state Right to Life organizations. Can you imagine the impact on Capitol Hill if every new day would bring the prospect of a visit from a Right to Life Citizen Lobbyist, formally trained and certified by the National Right to Life Committee to carry the pro-life message?

Further, imagine the communication value of these first hand reports as our Citizen Lobbyists present them back home. They'll give every involved pro-life American insight into just what goes on with their elected representatives as they sit in Washington.

Over Please

What will it take for the voice of the unborn to be heard on Capitol Hill? We have the voices...the voices of articulate, committed volunteers. They come highly recommended by their state Right to Life groups. They are people who speak from the heart while using their heads. I know many of them personally, others by reputation. We must bring them to Washington from every state in the nation.

Don't forget, the pro-abortion organizations have long maintained staffs of well-paid lobbyists on the hill. These strident voices of the radical pro-abortion groups are constantly heard in the halls of Congress. So much so, that many Congressmen really believe that those groups speak for the women of our nation.

They don't, of course, and when our volunteers speak for us, most legislators will recognize the difference. They will see the logic, the honesty, the dedication of the pro-lifers. They will listen and come to realize that what is killed in an abortion is truly a baby, and that the civil rights of all Americans, born and unborn, need to be, once again, fully safeguarded by law.

That is the dream, but what is the reality? What will it take in terms of dollars and cents to formally train and certify these pro-life lobbyists?

We will have to provide training sessions, materials, transportation, food, lodgings, and communications. This is the nuts-gnuts. We need funds to pay the expenses of our pro-life volunteers, all of whom will be serving without salary, of course. And these funds can only come from the contributions of pro-life supporters like yourself.

We are asking you to make NRLC's Citizens' Lobby a reality. We will need at least two Citizen Lobbyists from each state. Our costs for the full program as we have outlined above would be in excess of $200,000 per year. We so desperately want to make these advocates of the unborn a reality on Capitol Hill. I'm sure you do too. You have been so generous in the past that it is difficult to ask again, and yet, in consistence, it would be more difficult not to.

Please help. Your check for $10, $15, $25 -- or more will go a long way in helping us set up this Citizens' Lobby project.

Our volunteer Citizen Lobbyists will, of course, rely on the expertise of our full-time, D.C.-based lobbyist, who will continue to be highly visible on Capitol Hill. Our legislative research staff must also continue to formulate forceful and precise papers which document our support of pro-life legislation. Your contribution mailed today will assist us in paying operating expenses here at the national headquarters. Our office staff must continue to maintain phone and mail communication with our 1,500 affiliates in every state. All of these things require telephones, postage, secretarial help, and the renewal of supplies necessary to operate an efficient and smoothly functioning office.

Next Page Please

If there seems to be an urgency about this message, it is indeed intentional. I am spurred on by a haunting quote, which came to my attention recently and which I have not been able to put out of my mind.

"The lion spares her whelp and licks her cubs.
The kestral cloaks the fledgling in her nest.
The rosebud guards her blossom with a thorn.
But you attack the offspring of your loins.
And lay him where he can't emit a cry,
Or plead for pity with a speechless tongue.
Oh, man, you less than angels made,
You should be better than the beasts.
Yet they would shrink in shame from what you do."

We are engaged in a struggle for the conscience of America, now and for generations yet to be born. The need is urgent. We dare not falter. Please help.

May God's blessing be on all our efforts.

Yours for the Right to Life,

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.

Carolyn Gerster, M.D.
President

CG:brs

3 1 0 4 2 3 1 1 3

(Over Please)

WILL YOU DO THE FIGHT FOR LIFE A FAVOR?

Surely you must have relatives, acquaintances and friends who support the Right to Life. Would you kindly send us their names and addresses for our files? We need all the support we can muster as a united voice. Even one name will be a big help. Thank you.

(Please Print)

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Name _____
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Name _____
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Name _____
Address _____
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State _____ Zip _____

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

MAIL TO:

National Right to Life Committee

[redacted]

BYLAWS

THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

ARTICLE I

PURPOSE

In order to guarantee the right to life of all people of the United States of America, the purposes of the NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC., are to engage in educational, charitable, scientific and political activities, projects or purposes including specifically, but not in limitation of the foregoing:

1. To promote respect for the worth and dignity of all human life, including the life of the unborn child from the moment of conception.

2. To promote, encourage and sponsor such amendatory and statutory measures which will provide protection for human life before and after birth, particularly for the defenseless, the incompetent, and the impaired and the incapacitated.

3 To engage in such activities as shall be set forth in the bylaws of the Committee which will assist in the accomplishment of those purposes immediately aforementioned.

ARTICLE II

OFFICES

The principal office of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be at Washington,D.C. The corporation may have such other office or offices, within or without the District of Columbia, as the Board of Directors may determine or as the affairs of the corporation may require, from time to time.

ARTICLE III

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. GENERAL POWERS. The affairs of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., shall be managed by its Board of Directors. Directors need not be residents of the District of Columbia.

2. NUMBER AND TENURE. The number of Directors shall not be less than three (3) nor more than sixty-one (61). Each State Director shall hold office until his or her successor shall have been elected. Each At Large Director shall hold office until the next annual meeting.

3. ELECTION OF STATE DIRECTORS. Each State and the District of Columbia may elect one State Director to serve on the Board of Directors. The time, place and manner of electing the State Director shall be decided by each State and the District of Columbia but shall, generally speaking, be done annually in conformity with these bylaws.

4. NOTIFICATION OF ELECTION OF STATE DIRECTORS. Each state shall elect its State Director and notify the Board of Directors by filing the results of said election in the principal office of National Right to Life Committee, Inc., within 10 days of said election and no later than thirty(30)days prior to the commencement

Revised June 1974 - 1976 - 1977 1979

to state the date of said election, the manner in which said election was held, the place where it was held, the manner of voting, the total votes eligible to be cast, the qualifications for eligible voters, the total votes cast, the names and addresses of each candidate and the number of votes cast for each, and finally, the name and address of the newly elected State Director and the number of votes he or she received. The information shall be filed in a sealed envelope labeled with the new State Director's name and address and the caption "election results", to be opened by the Credentials Committee only in the event of a challenge from within said state. The Board of Directors shall be notified of intended challenges to the election of any State Director by notice in writing filed in the principal office of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., no later than ten (10) days prior to the commencement of any Board meeting. Said notice shall clearly specify the reasons for the challenge and shall be served upon the challenged State Director no later than ten (10) days prior to the commencement of the meeting. Such notice may be served by Registered or Certified Mail to the address of the State Director as listed in the records of the National Right to Life Committe, Inc.

5. CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE. Any challenge to the authority of a State Director to be seated on the Board of Directors shall be decided by a Credentials Committee composed of five (5) non-challenged Directors, which shall be appointed by the Board of Directors, or by the Executive Committee if the Board of Directors has not done so twenty (20) days prior to the annual meeting. The Credentials Committee shall hold hearings on said challenge and determine by majority vote the authority of any challenged State Director to be seated on the Board of Directors. The decision of the Credentials Committee may be appealed to the Board of Directors. A majority decision by the Board of Directors is final and non-appealable.

6. ELECTION OF AT LARGE DIRECTORS. At Large Directors may be elected by the Board of Directors. The number of At Large Directors shall not exceed a number equal to twenty percent (20%) of the elected State Directors. The elections for At Large Directors shall immediately follow the seating of the State of Directors. Nominations shall be by petition signed by not less than five (5) State Directors. No State Director shall sign more than one such petition. At Large Directors shall be elected by majority vote of the State Directors. Election as an At Large Director may occur at any duly convened meeting of the Board of Directors, provided nominations for such are mailed to all Directors ten days prior to the opening of such meeting.

7. RESIGNATION OF DIRECTORS. A director may resign at any time from the Board of Directors by giving written notice to the President. Such resignation shall be effective on the date designated in such notice, or if no date is designated, then upon receipt by the President. Unless otherwise stipulated, acceptance of such resignation shall not be necessary for it to be effective.

8. REMOVAL OF DIRECTORS. By a vote of two-thirds (2/3) of the Directors, any Director who is judged as unwilling or unable to fulfill his or her duties may be removed at any meeting of the Board of Directors upon the written initiative of at least six (6) Director presented to the President, and after appropriate hearing. The proposed removal shall be stated in the notice to be given for such meeting, such meeting notice to be mailed 20 days before said meeting.

9. VACANCIES. Any vacancy occurring on the Board of Directors shall be filled by the jurisdiction which such State Director represented.

10. COMPENSATION. Directors as such shall not receive any compensation for their services; but nothing contained herein shall be construed to preclude any Director from serving the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., in any other capacity and receiving compensation therefore. Directors with financial interests in the Pro-Life movement should exercise care to avoid conflicts of interest.

11. MEETINGS.

(A) The annual meeting of the Board of Directors shall be held during the second or third quarter of each calendar year at such time and place as is decided upon by the Board of Directors. The Board of Directors may provide by resolution for the time and place, either within or without the District of Columbia, for the holding of additional regular meetings.

(B) Special meetings of the Board of Directors shall be called by the Chairman of the Board upon majority vote of the Executive Committee or by petition of a number of Directors equal to at least twenty-five percent (25%) of the full Board of Directors.

(C) Notice of any regular or special meeting of the Board of Directors shall be given at least twenty (20) days prior to the meeting by written notice delivered personally or sent by mail or telegram to each Director at the address shown for such Director in the records of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. If mailed, such notice shall be deemed to be delivered when deposited in the United States mail in a sealed envelope, so addressed, with postage prepaid thereon. If notice be given by telegram, such notice shall be deemed to be delivered when the telegram is delivered to the telegraph company. The attendance of a Director at any meeting shall constitute a waiver of notice of such meeting. Neither the business to be transacted, nor the purpose of any regular or special meeting of the Board of Directors need be specified in the notice of such meeting unless specifically required by law or by these bylaws.

12. QUORUM. A majority of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting of the Board of Directors. For purposes of establishing a quorum, a State Director shall not be considered present if his or her proxy is held by another Director.

13. INFORMAL ACTION BY DIRECTORS. Any action required by law to be taken at a meeting of the Board of Directors may be taken without a meeting if a consent in writing, setting forth the action so taken, shall be signed by all of the Directors.

14. PROXY VOTES. A State Director may assign his or her vote to another Director, or to a person from the same state, by proxy executed in writing. No person may exercise more than one (1) proxy. The presence of a Director at a meeting revokes his or her proxy. A proxy cannot be exercised from a director, unless said Director, or an alternate from that State has been physically present at a regular Board meeting within the preceeding two meetings. In the event of such absence of a State's right to give proxy, said State will also not be counted in determining a quorum or for passage of amendments to the bylaws.

15. VOTE BY MAIL AND TELEPHONE. A vote to be taken by the Board of Directors on any matter may be conducted by mail, telephone, or other electronic device.

16. VOTING BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. Each Director shall be entitled to cast one (1) vote on all matters that come before the Board of Directors. Cumulative voting shall not be allowed.

17. COMMITTEES AND ADVISORS. The Board of Directors may from time to time appoint committees, advisory boards or councils to perform functions designated by the Board. Minutes shall be kept of the meetings of all such committees, advisory boards or councils.

ARTICLE IV

HONORARY DIRECTORS

There shall be another class of directors called Honorary Directors who may attend meetings of the Board of Directors but will not have voting privilges. Honorary

Directors will be selected because of their unique contribution to the pro-life movement. Nominations for Honorary Directors may be made upon the written initiative of any six (6) Directors. Honorary Directors shall be elected by the Board of Directors and shall serve for indefinite terms subject to reconfirmation by the board at each annual meeting.

ARTICLE V

OFFICERS

1. OFFICERS. The Officers of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., shall be a President, an Executive Vice President, Other Vice Presidents (the number thereof, if any, to be determined by the Board of Directors), a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Chairman of the Board, a Vice Chairman of the Board, and such other officers as may be elected in accordance with the provisions of this Article. The Board of Directors may elect or appoint such other officers as it shall deem desirable, such officers to have the authority and peform the duties prescribed from time to time by the Board of Directors. The Officers of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., must be elected from the members of the Board of Directors. A State Director elected to serve as an officer, may elect to serve as an At Large Director during term of office, and allow another to serve as Director. Any two or more offices may be held by the same person, except for the offices of President and Secretary.

2. ELECTION AND TERM OF OFFICE. The President, Executive Vice President, Other Vice Presidents (if any), Secretary, Treasurer, Chairman of the Board and Vice Chairman of the Board of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at the regular annual meeting of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. The Board of Directors shall elect a Nominating Committee of five Directors who shall receive nominations in writing to these offices. The Nominating Committee shall place in nomination each name so received, and such additional names as it deems appropriate. The candidate receiving the most votes for each office will be the winner providing he or she has received the affirmative votes of a majority of those voting. If no candidate for an office receives the majority of the votes, then the two (2) highest candidates for that office shall run in a run-off election, the winner being the person obtaining the highest number of votes. If the election of officers shall not be held at such meeting, such election shall be held as soon thereafter as convenient. Other offices may be created and filled at any meeting of the Boardof Directors. Each officer shall hold office until a successor shall have been duly elected and shall have been qualified.

3. REMOVAL AND RESIGNATION. Any officer elected or appointed by the Board of Directors may be removed after appropriate hearing by the Board of Directors, notice of such hearing having been mailed 20 days prior, whenever in its judgment the best interest of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. would be served thereby. Any officer may resign at any time by giving written notice to the Chairman of the Board or the Secretary of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

4. VACANCIES. A vacancy in any office because of death, resignation, removal, disqualification or otherwise, may be filled by the Board of Directors for the unexpired portion of the term.

5. DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

(A) THE PRESIDENT. The President shall act as the chief executive officer of the corporation, preside at all meetings of the Executive Committee and perform all duties incident to chairing these meetings, sign and execute all legal instruments, serve as an ex-officio member of all committees except the nominating committee, make certain that all orders and resolutions of the Board of Directors and Executive Committee are carried into effect and appoint all committees, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.

(B) THE EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT. The Executive Vice President shall assist the President in the performance of his or her duties, and shall perform those duties in the absence or inability of the President.

(C) OTHER VICE PRESIDENTS. Other Vice Presidents may have such duties as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

(D) THE SECRETARY. The Secretary shall keep the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors in one or more books provided for that purpose; shall see that all notices are duly given in accordance with the provisions of these bylaws or as required by law; shall be custodian of the records of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.; shall keep a register of the postal addresses of each Director of the Committee, and in general, shall perform all the duties incident to the office of Secretary and such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors. The Secretary, with the approval of the Executive Committee, may assign such duties to another.

(E) THE TREASURER. The Treasurer shall have charge and custody of, and be responsible for, all funds and assets of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. He or she shall receive and give receipt for money payable to the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., from any sources, and SHALL DEPOSIT ALL SUCH MONEY IN THE NAME OF AND TO THE CREDIT OF the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., in such banks and other depositories as shall be selected by the Executive Committee. He or she shall, in general, perform all the duties incident to the office of Treasuer, including the maintenance of complete and accurate books and records of account, and such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors. Such duties may, with the approval of the Executive Committe, be assigned to another.

(F) CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall preside at the first annual meeting of the Board of Directors until the Board shall elect its own chairman. The Chairman of the Board of Directors shall perform all duties incident to the office and such other duties as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

(G) VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. The Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors shall assist the Chairman of the Board of Directors in the performance of his or her duties, and shall perform those duties in the absence or inability of the Chairman of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VI

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee shall consist of nine (9) members. The President and the Executive Vice President of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall serve as Chariman and Vice Chariman, respectively, and voting members of the Executive Committee. The Secretary and Treasurer shall also be voting members of the Executive Committee. The remaining members of the Executive Committee shall be members of the Board of Directors and shall be elected by the Board of Directors at the annual meeting. The nomination, election, removal, resignation, and filling of any vacancies for said remaining positions shall be in the manner specified for officers in Article V Above; provided, however, that the remaining members of the Executive Committee shall be elected on a single ballot. Cumulative voting shall be prohibited. This Committee shall, between meetings of the Board, exercise all the powers of the Board, with such specific limitations as the Board may, in its discretion, determine.

ARTICLE VII

STAFF

1. EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. The Executive Committee may appoint an Executive Director who shall serve at the pleasure of the Executive Committee. A vacancy in the position may be filled at any meeting of the Executive Committee. The Executive Director may be paid a salary, in the discretion of the Executive Committee. Between meetings of the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee, the Executive Director shall be responsible to the President for day-to-day operation of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. He or she shall be empowered with such financial responsibilites and authority as specified by the Executive Committee.

2. OTHER STAFF. The Executive Director shall have the power to hire other staff and perform other personnel functions. He may delegate duties to them. The provisions of this paragraph shall be subject to policies and procedures defined by the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VIII

MEMBERS

The members of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be divided into four (4) classes:

1. STATE DIRECTORS. A State Director is a duly elected member of the Board of Directors who is then serving in office as a State Director. A State Director shall have the right to vote on the management and affairs of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., as provided for in the bylaws.

2. AT LARGE DIRECTORS. An At Large Director is a duly elected member of the Board of Directors who has been elected pursuant to the provisions of Article III above. At Large Directors shall have the right to vote on the management and affairs of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., as provided for in the bylaws.

3. HONORARY DIRECTORS. An Honorary Director is an ex-officio and non-voting member of the National Right to Life Committee, Incl, elected by the Board of Directors in acknowledgement of his or her unique contributions to the pro-life movement.

4. ASSOCIATE MEMBERS. An Associate Member is any individual, partnership, trust, firm or corporation, who or which shall pay annual dues to be set by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE IX

CHECKS AND DEPOSITS OF FUNDS

All checks, drafts or orders for the payment of money, notes or other evidences of indebtedness issued in the name of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be signed by such officer or officers, agent or agents and in such manner as shall be determined from time to time by the Executive Committee. All funds of the National Right to Life Committee,Inc. shall be deposited TO THE CREDIT OF THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO COMMITTEE, INC. in such banks or other depositories as shall be determined from time to time by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE X

CORPORATE SEAL

The Corporate Seal shall be a metallic seal and shall be kept in the possession of the Secretary of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., or in the principal

office of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

ARTICLE XI

BOOKS AND RECORDS

National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall keep correct and complete books and records of accounts and shall also keep minutes of the proceedings of its Board of Directors and committees having any of the authority of the Board of Directors, and shall keep at its registered or principal office a record giving the names and addresses of the Directors entitled to vote. All books and records of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. may be inspected by any Director, or his or her agent or attorney, for any proper purpose at any reasonable time.

ARTICLE XII

INDEMNIFICATION

National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall indemnify each member of the Board of Directors, each committee member and each officer of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., now or hereafter a member of the Board of Directors, committee member or officer, his or her heirs, executors, and administrators, against all costs, expenses and liabilities, including settlements approved by the Board of Directors, reasonably incurred or imposed upon him or her in connection with or resulting from any action, criminal or otherwise, suit or proceeding or the compromise thereof, prior to final adjudication to which he or she is or may be a party by reason of his or her being or having been a member of the Board of Directors, committee member of officer of National Right to Life Committee, Inc. except in relation to matters as to which the or she, if finally adjudged in such action, suit or proceeding, to have been negligent or derelict in the performance of his or her duty as a member of the Board of Directors or as an officer of National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

Provided, however, that in criminal actions the Director, committee member or officer of National Right to Life Committee, Inc. had no reasonable grounds to believe that his or her conduct was unlawful. The Board of Directors may purchase such insurance as is necessary to effectuate this policy of indemnification.

In the event that a question arises as to whether or not such Director, committee member or officer of National Right to Life Committee, Inc. has met the standars of conduct hereinabove set forth in this Article, such question shall be conclusively determined by the Board of Directors acting by a quorum consisting of Directors who are not involved in such claim, action, suit or proceeding, or by the written opinion of reputable, disinterested legal counsel selected by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE XIII

WAIVER OF NOTICE

Whenever any notice is required to be given under the provisions of the District of Columbia Non-Profit Corporation Act or under the provisions of the Articles of Incorporation or the Bylaws of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., waivers thereof in writing, signed by each person entitled to such notice, whether before or after the times stated therein, shall be deemed equivalent to the giving of such notice.

ARTICLE XIV

VOTE BY MAIL

Notwithstanding any other provisions of these bylaws, where these bylaws allow voting by mail or other electronic device, those Directors voting by mail or other

electronic device shall be included as present for the purposes of determining a quorum on only such subject matter of the vote taken by mail or other electronic device.

ARTICLE XV

AMENDMENTS TO THE BYLAWS

These bylaws may be altered, amended or repealed, or new bylaws may be adopted at any meeting, by a two-thirds (2/3) vote of the Board of Directors; provided, however, that at least ten (10) days notice be given of the intention to alter, amend or repeal, or adopt new bylaws, prior to such meeting; and that such notice shall include the proposed change or a discussion of the substance and issues involved.

ARTICLE XVI

PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY

The rules contained in the current edition of Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised shall govern the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., in all cases to which they are applicable and in which they are not inconsistent with these bylaws or any special rules of order the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. may adopt, and any statutes applicable to this organization.

Revised - 1974-1976-1977

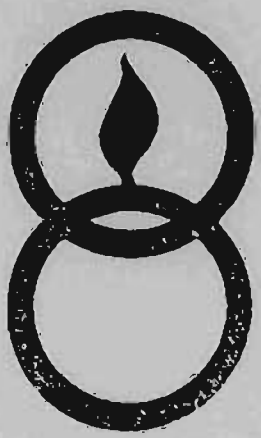
June 1979 - moved to be effective June 1979.
Repeal absence of Directors

ABSENCE FROM MEETINGS - If a Director or his alternate fails to attend at least one Board of Directors meeting during a 12 month period, beginning with the annual meeting, such office of Director shall be declared vacant. Thereafter the Director and State organization shall be notified no later than 20 days after the annual meeting. The state shall have 30 days from after such notice to elect a new Director, who shall, in person or by alternate attend the next Board meeting of NRLC. Failure by the State to elect a Director and notify the NRLC 20 days after such election of Director; the Board of Directors may fill this vacancy by appointment until the next annual meeting.
This by-law effective at the 1979 annual meeting."

MID-YEAR REPORT

1973

for the Board of Directors of the
National Right To Life Committee, Inc.
Suite 500, 1200 Fifteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005



In The Beginning...

Robert E. Greene
Executive Director
202 872 0323

1973 MID-YEAR REPORT
FOR THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
OF THE
NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.
1200 15TH STREET, N. W.
SUITE 500
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005

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* * * *

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Appendix E Report of Audit
Appendix F Proposed Budget
Appendix G Directory

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

JANUARY 18-20, 1974

STATLER HILTON HOTEL

WASHINGTON, D. C.

R E V I S E D A G E N D A

Friday, January 18, 1974

2:00 O'clock P.M. LEGAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE -- The Legal Advisory Committee will conduct a hearing on the matter of a Constitutional Amendment. Dennis Horan, Esq. will act as Chairman of a Hearing Panel composed of Prof. Charles Rice, Prof. Joseph Witherspoon, Prof. David Louisell, Prof. Robert Byrne, and Prof. Victor Rosenblum. This hearing will be open to members of the Board of Directors and their guests.

2:00 O'clock P.M. CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE -- A Credentials Committee consisting of Roy Scarpato, Chairman, Ruth Karim, Mary Carpenter Bruce and Robert Brake, Esq. will be available to resolve any dispute that may arise concerning the seating of any persons on the Board of Directors. Meetings of the Credentials Committee are normally closed except to participants.

7:30 O'clock P.M. AN INFORMAL RECEPTION -- An opportunity for the Directors to meet informally and renew acquaintances prior to the meeting. Please arrange to eat dinner beforehand. A cocktail bar will be available during the reception.

9:00 O'clock P.M. A CALL TO ORDER

1. Invocation

2. Keynote Address -- A welcome to the meeting by Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors, Mildred F. Jefferson, M.D.

3. Determination of a quorum -- the Credentials Committee will give any report it may have concerning the seating of any persons on the Board of Directors

4. Roll call and seating of new Directors

5. The adoption of an agenda for the meeting

6. The adoption of standing rules for meetings of the Board of Directors

7. Approval of minutes of last Board of Directors meeting held in Detroit June 8-10, 1973

8. Reports of officers

   a. Remarks by the Chairman of the Board, Marjory Mecklenburg

   b. Remarks by the President, Edward J. Golden

   c. Remarks by the Executive Director, Robert P. Greene, concerning the Mid-Year Report

9. Announcements

11:00 P.M. ADJOURNMENT

Saturday, January 19, 1974

9:00 A.M. A CALL TO ORDER

1. Invocation

2. Roll call and seating of new Directors -- The Credentials Committee will again be called upon to make any report it may have.

3. The report of the National March for Life Committee -- A brief report by Nellie Gray, Chairman of the National March for Life Committee, concerning the Committee's plans for observing the first anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision of January 22, 1973

4. Consideration of several resolutions

a. Resolutions remaining from the convention in Detroit will be reported by the Resolutions Committee

b. Resolutions proposed by members of the Board of Directors at an informal meeting in Chicago on December 8, 1973

c. Other proposed resolutions except proposals to amend the bylaws

5. Announcements

1:00 O'clock P.M. ADJOURNMENT

BUFFET LUNCHEON -- The Board of Directors will be joined at luncheon by members of the Executive Board of the National Youth Pro-Life Coalition. Following the luncheon there will be a brief presentation by a spokesman for the Executive Board of the National Youth Pro-Life Coalition and a brief response by a spokesman for the Board of Directors of the National Right to Life Committee.

2:30 O'clock P.M. A CALL TO ORDER

1. Invocation

2. Determination of a quorum

3. Consideration of several resolutions continued, if necessary, from the morning's business meeting

4. Consideration of proposed amendments to and for revision of bylaws.

5. Announcements

5:00 O'clock P.M. ADJOURNMENT

5:30 O'clock P.M. INTER-FAITH SERVICE AND CATHOLIC MASS. Rev. Warren A. Schaller will conduct an Inter-Faith Service which will be immediately followed by Catholic Mass. Msgr. James T. McHugh will be the Celebrant.

7:30 O'clock P.M. BANQUET -- Thomas A. Bendorf, Esq., a noted Washington lawyer with many years' experience, will comment on the Congress of the United States. Following Mr. Bendorf's presentation, he will entertain questions from the audience.

Sunday, January 20, 1974

9:00 O'clock A.M. A CALL TO ORDER

1. Invocation

2. Determination of a quorum

3. Report of the Legal Advisory Committee on the Constitutional Amendment

4. Any unfinished business

5. New business

   a. The appointment of a Credentials Committee in preparation of the next regular meeting of the Board of Directors

   b. The appointment of a Nominating Committee in preparation for the next regular meeting of the Board of Directors.

6. Announcements

1:00 O'clock P.M. ADJOURNMENT SINE DIE

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

JANUARY 18-20, 1974

STATLER HILTON HOTEL

WASHINGTON, D. C.

A G E N D A

Friday, January 18, 1974

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9:00 O'clock P.M. A CALL TO ORDER

1. Opening Prayer

2. A welcome to the meeting by Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors, Mildred F. Jefferson, M.D.

3. Roll call and seating of new Directors

4. Approval of minutes of the last Board of Directors meeting held in Detroit June 8-10, 1973

5. Remarks by the Chairman of the Board, Marjory Mecklenburg

6. Remarks by the President, Edward J. Golden

7. Remarks by the Executive Director, Robert F. Greene, concerning the Mid-Year Report

Saturday, January 19, 1974

9:00 O'clock A. M.

8. Announcements

   a. A brief report by Nellie Gray, Chairman of the National March for Life Committee, concerning the Committee's plans for observing the first anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision of January 22, 1973

   b. Other announcements

9. Old Business -- Resolutions remaining from the convention in Detroit will be reported by the Resolutions Committee.

10. New Business

   a. Proposals to amend the bylaws

   b. Resolutions proposed by members of the Board of Directors at an informal meeting in Chicago on December 8, 1973

   c. Other proposed resolutions

1:00 O'clock P.M. BUFFET LUNCHEON -- The Board of Directors will be joined at luncheon by members of the Executive Board of the National Youth Pro-Life Coalition. Following the luncheon there will be a brief presentation by a spokesman for the Executive Board of the National Youth Pro-Life Coalition and a brief response by a spokesman for the Board of Directors of the National Right to Life Committee.

2:30 O'clock P. M.

11. A continuation of the morning's business meeting

5:30 O'clock P. M. INTER-FAITH SERVICE AND CATHOLIC MASS. Rev. Warren A. Schaller will conduct an Inter-Faith Service which will be immediately followed by Catholic Mass. Msgr. James T. McHugh will be the Celebrant.

7:30 O'clock P. M. BANQUET -- Thomas A. Bendorf, Esq., a noted Washington lawyer with many years' experience, will comment on the Congress of the United States. Following Mr. Bendorf's presentation, he will entertain questions from the audience.

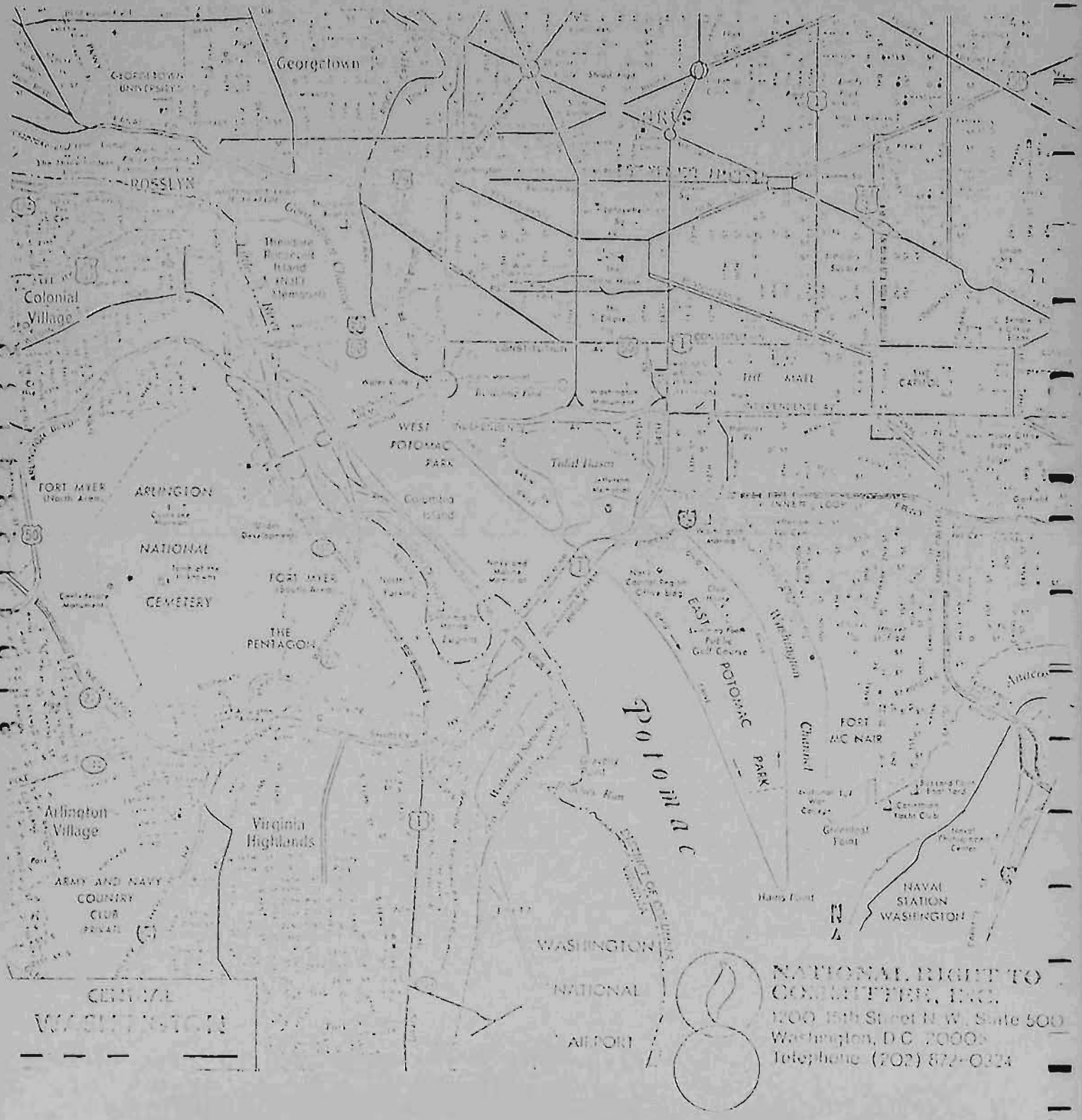
Sunday, January 20, 1974

9:00 O'clock A. M.

12. A report from the Legal Advisory Committee on the Constitutional Amendment

1:00 O'clock P. M.

13. Adjournment



NATIONAL RIGHT TO
COUNSEL COMMITTEE, INC.
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Telephone (202) 872-0324

PREFACE

This first semi-annual report to the Board of Directors of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., by the Executive Committee, committee chairmen and staff shares with you our accomplishments and our plans for the future. There is substantial work that has been done and unquestionably tremendous work that still is to follow. The cooperation, participation, support, loyalty and good will of every board member toward this fledgling organization is imperative if we are to move forward rapidly. The challenge we in NRLC face is almost overwhelming. We must awaken or educate Americans to the pro-life philosophy and then polarize and mobilize enough of them to wield sufficient political power to return us to a country where human life is protected and revered.

Selection of a primary and definable goal that we can unite behind and work toward will be helpful. The Constitutional amendment will be such a goal when agreement can be reached on the wording of one amendment to back. However, when the amendment is ratified, if our organization is a vital force truly concerned about human justice, we will see and select other goals in our continuing effort to protect human life.

To build momentum on the way to ratification of an amendment many carefully planned and executed victories by our movement are necessary. Passage of memorializations to Congress, ancillary pro-life legislation at state and federal levels, election of both state and federal level pro-life

candidates and defeat of some not sharing our views are some of these precursor steps. These necessary victories will only be won when a sufficient number of people are activated in every state to exert enough political power to get the job done. There are no magic shortcuts to the promised amendment land or no grand gurus we can hire who will make it happen--except through us. We, in our own states, must take the responsibility of building the pro-life political power sufficient to deliver our Congressional and legislative votes. In addition, those in states who are able have to be willing to help those in other states who are just starting or are having problems, because ratification by three-fourths of the states is necessary to realize our primary goal. It does little good to have a pro-life state in an anti-life nation and we will not have a pro-life nation until we have many pro-life states.

The role of a national organization is to provide the exchange of ideas and information that will help us be more effective, to be a vehicle for assisting the states and to offer a mechanism for decision making and coordination of efforts. The massive kind of national effort we need will only be successful with leaders, including board members, who work together, operate in good faith and have primary loyalties and commitment to the NRLC. Independence is to be commended, but neither the lone ranger nor the dogmatic approach by leaders make a team effort possible. Neither will we be unified until we can see <u>ourselves</u> as the NRLC and not view the the organization as a distant, independent entity or to constantly be concerned about what the NRLC can do for us rather than how we can serve it.

Leaders must study the skills of leadership, members learn how to function as effective members, committee chairmen how to do their jobs, etc., if we care enough to really want to win. Having chosen a participatory democracy as a model for the NRLC, we need enough self discipline to adhere to parliamentary procedure, to work within the system to effect the changes we desire and, with no undercutting or impugning of motives, to abide by the will of the majority once a decision has been reached. If we cannot support the decisions of the majority then it is honorable to withdraw and work in a group that we can support.

It is also a minimum requirement that there be firm insistance that we all must play by the rules and that leaders are expected to be both cooperative and effective in carrying out their roles at the national level or be replaced if we want an organization that moves forward. The job we have to do demands excellence from each of us. Too many people depend on us to let our insecurity, our self interest, outside interests or personal shortcomings get in the way of saving lives.

We are only seven months old and we are facing constant internal crisis. Yet with your help and that of the countless pro-life workers in every state this organization and this movement will survive and prosper.

We have barely began and we still have a unique opportunity to make the decisions that will move this organization forward being that creative, effective vehicle which is needed.

MARJORY MECKLENBURG
Chairman of the Board

INTRODUCTION

The title of this report "In the Beginning....." may seem as corny to some of you as the editorial style of the Greene Sheet. But I chose that particular title because I want you to know what it was like in the beginning. Some of us began working in this movement earlier than others, but I am really talking about the new beginning of the National Right to Life Committee. We all recognized that there was a great deal of work in the Right to Life movement at the national level for a number of years prior to the convention in Detroit last June. Some of this work was done under the auspices of the National Right to Life Committee as it then existed, some of it was done under the auspices of other organizations and some significant work was done by dedicated individuals who were not necessarily associated with any pro-life organization. Obviously, some of the important contributions were in the formation of the new National Right to Life Committee in the weeks and months immediately preceding the Detroit convention and we, the people in the pro-life movement, owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to those who have worked so hard to bring this organization into being. Most of the people to whom this report is addressed, the directors of the National Right to Life Committee, have played important roles in the pro-life movement at the state and national level. The national organization was thus structured at the convention in Detroit recognizing the very important role you are to play

in guiding the affairs of the national organization. Evidence of that intent is contained in the bylaws and is certainly reflected in the composition of the Executive Committee.

We all worked very hard at the convention building our corporate structure and we considered carefully several resolutions, but the convention failed to resolve certain other very important matters. There was no time to develop a really clear statement of our objectives, there was no time to assess priorities. There was general agreement as to what we wanted but it was always expressed in a variety of ways. Some would say that we are simply to pass a constitutional amendment with little thought as to how that is to be accomplished. Others would state in more general terms the need to generate a respect for life among the American people, but would also fail to provide directions to accomplish such a task. The common basis of agreement was really a desire to wipe away a growing anti-life philosophy, thereby making it possible to return to the society of former years which was credited with being pro-life, or moving forward into a new society which properly respects human life and provides appropriate protection for human life. In short, we simply wanted the problem to go away.

"In the Beginning" is a report in which members of the Executive Committee, chairmen and members of some of the functional committees and members of the staff are trying to show you some of the more significant problems they have encountered and the way they have gone about

solving the problems or attempting to establish the means by which the problems could be solved.

It was exceedingly difficult to decide where to begin. The previous executive committee had already rented an office in Washington. There was no staff on board other than the continuing availability of Warren Schaller on a per diem basis. The convention had enacted bylaws, elected officers and passed several resolutions, but there existed no plan of action to be followed. The National Right to Life Committee corporate purpose was written with broad and sweeping language to promote and encourage among the general public an understanding of the dignity and worth of each human life and to foster respect for human life and finally to promote, encourage and sponsor such amendatory and statutory measures which will provide protection and support for human life. Resolution No. 8 adopted by the Board of Directors at the convention in Detroit fully indicated the type of amendatory measure to be promoted, encouraged and sponsored, but nowhere did it say how one should go about obtaining the desired amendment.

There were a number of suggestions as to how the Executive Committee might proceed. Some of the members of the Executive Committee were legitimately concerned with the development of policy. Resolution No. 8 made clear our policy on a constitutional amendment but left grave questions unanswered in the broader spectrum of respect for human life. A policy statement was needed on euthanasia. A policy statement was needed on involuntary sterilization. Policy statements needed to be

developed on IUD's, prostaglandins, alternatives, and many other concerns. Others on the Executive Committee were primarily concerned with the selection of staff, particularly the selection of an Executive Director and the earliest possible development of a presence in Washington possessing expert political knowledge that could begin to deal with the Congress. I proposed that we establish a committee structure which could deal with a number of tasks simultaneously. I proposed that these committees be broadly based, drawn from the best talent available nationwide and that they be given very broad charges which would permit them an opportunity to develop their own realistic appraisal of what needed to be done. These committees would make reports to the Executive Committee containing recommended programs, the time-table in which the programs could be undertaken and reasonably accomplished, a tentative budget for each program and a further indication of the cash flow or a scheduling of expenditures which would aid in the development of an overall budget. I visualized that the Executive Committee would then review the programs recommended by these functional committees along with their budgets and schedules, the Executive Committee providing the necessary coordination between functional committees. The use of this system would, I believe, produce within a relatively short time a work program for the entire national organization. The total work program would consist of those programs recommended by the functional committees which were selected and approved by the Executive Committee. I believed that from this process policy would evolve and that the priorities which needed

to be set would become discernable. A copy of my original memorandum to the Executive Committee is contained in the Appendix in the hope that it will help you to understand what I was trying to do.

The committee system of program planning undoubtedly has many drawbacks. It is time consuming and expensive. The quickest and most inexpensive method would be for one person to simply outline the entire program that is needed. Less time consuming, but more expensive, the National Right to Life Committee could employ a management consultant firm of specialists to develop its program. And, there are probably other ways in which the program could be developed, but I think the committee system produces several valuable by-products which are difficult to obtain any other way. We must remember that we are trying to achieve change. We want a change in the law which can only be achieved by changing the minds of lawmakers. In most instances changing the minds of lawmakers will require us to change the minds of those who elect the lawmakers. We are trying to achieve a significant change in the basic attitudes toward life now evidenced in our society.

While we live in an age of radical changes in our society, you will agree that for most people it is more comfortable not to change. Demands for change actually represent alterations in the lives of people and touch most of the elements and processes upon which they depend for day to day security. It is little wonder that people often feel threatened with changes demanded of them in areas of great importance. They may comply, but

by-products of apathy, suspicion and resistance are frequently manifested as well. Participation in achieving change is characterized by higher morale, commitment, acceptance and early identification of barriers to change. The goal of participation is to communicate to as wide a group as possible that they are truly part of an organization. No one wants to be just an object to carry out orders. In addition, people want to know what is going on. They want to avoid surprise and many times they simply want to contribute. In view of this "need to know", efforts to sit on some issues or straddle the fence on others is seen as a withholding of information which has relevance if we are to succeed in making everyone connected with the pro-life movement an agent of change. I saw in the committee system an opportunity for "participation in achieving change" and also for picking up the highly desirable by-products, higher morale, commitment, acceptance and earlier identification of the barriers to change.

In addition to these considerations which favor the use of a committee system there are certain other assumptions which I made and which I believe to be valid. First, I have assumed that the pro-life movement has volunteer leadership of high quality which it could never obtain for hire. Secondly, I have assumed that the National Right to Life Committee can do monumental tasks economically by the proper utilization of these volunteer resources. Thirdly, I have assumed that volunteers at every level will work more effectively in programs which they have helped to develop. Again, I don't believe that the people in the Right to Life movement want to be considered as just objects to carry out orders.

Another thing I think important to consider is that we are trying to change the way people feel and act about human life. If you can visualize this as a certain level of activity, anti-life activity in the society leading to the acceptance of the "quality of life" ethic, you can also see that this level of anti-life activity at any given time or place is the resultant of a number of forces. There are forces which cause more of the activity and therefore tend to increase the level and there are forces which oppose the activity and tend to decrease the level. Kurt Lewin, a noted behavioral scientist, calls these driving and restraining forces, respectively. Within the framework of Lewin's model, driving and restraining forces are conceptualized as working in opposition to one another, much as credits and debits work against one another on the accountant's balance sheet. The level of activity, as a resultant of these opposing forces, is sensitive to changes in either the driving or restraining forces and fluctuates rather than remaining completely stationary. Change then, in this context, can be thought of as an attempt to either raise or lower the level of on-going activity and is seen as occurring within a field of forces, some of which facilitate and others of which oppose the modification.

Obviously, we must identify these driving and restraining forces and if the pro-life volunteer is to function effectively as a change agent for his community, state and nation, he must become a manager of these forces. Working together, we must determine which of the forces are amenable to his influence and devise ways of both reducing and increasing appropriate

forces. We must seek to identify the motivation for change. We must learn who is responsible for change and we must learn to identify the conditions under which change can occur.

I believe that people in the pro-life movement really want to function as effective agents for change. I think they expect and deserve to have a piece of the action. I think they are capable of analyzing the forces at work in their community, state and nation which account for the level of anti-life activity which now must be changed. The pro-life volunteers have the potential to develop plans and programs that are needed, and the National Right to Life Committee should take advantage of that resource and utilize it fully.

The Executive Committee did not fully accept my proposal on functional organization. They agreed with the concept, but they felt that it was necessary to severely limit the size of the committees to obtain greater economy and to produce results more quickly. It would cost a great deal to support with NRLC funds a large number of committee meetings when the committees are quite large. In addition, large committees of necessity work very slowly and if they lack effective leadership, they often produce poor results. I was not afraid of the cost of large committees because I felt that local and state organizations would support the activities of their members who were selected to work on these committees. I was not afraid of the leadership problem. It's true enough that we could have suffered from the failing efforts of a poor committee chairman, but since the committees were to select their own leadership, I was confident that in a large committee

the leadership would surface from our greatest resource, the pro-life volunteers. While I knew that the committee process would take a great deal of time, I also realized there was much to be done and very large committees could be divided into smaller sub-committees to consider different parts of any one functional area. For example, take a look at the report of the Education Committee which did, in fact, assign various problems to members of the committee. The report is not complete. Only one or two committee members were available to work on any given problem. If more workers had been allowed to put their shoulder to the wheel, perhaps the report would be complete. The educational function of the National Right to Life Committee would then have been thoroughly analyzed. The needs would have been inventoried and programs would have been developed to meet those needs. Education as an institution in our society would have been evaluated as one of the forces to be reckoned with in achieving the change we so desperately need. Maybe more cooks would have spoiled the broth, but I doubt it. Maybe you can hire someone to do all those things and do them well, but I doubt it.

Finally, if we are going to produce this change in our society, we must come to the realization that it will take several years at best to bring about and it will cost many millions of dollars. We are learning the lesson today that we don't introduce substantial changes into our communities without adequate planning. Years of planning have gone into the development of a downtown office building, a tunnel, a bridge, a hospital or a mass transit

system. Who among us is so reckless as to attempt this very substantial change in our society without investing the necessary resources of which time and money are only two. If we will do the necessary planning and marshal the necessary resources, we will win. If we proceed without the planning and without the commitment of our volunteers to the plans then we shall surely fail.

Many of you are looking for a comprehensive plan. Some of you have asked me what is the plan by which we are going to succeed. The answer is that there are many plans. I have plans and you have plans and there are lots of other good solid leaders in the pro-life movement who have plans. What I have attempted to structure is not the plan itself but a mechanism for producing the best plan that the National Right to Life Committee can generate. By participating in the work of the committees we will draw from the expertise within the movement the kinds of plans that will work. It will then become the task of the Board of Directors or its Executive Committee to set the priorities, to select the very best plans and implement them in a sequence that will bring about the desired change making it possible to achieve some very specific goals. I don't really have a war plan, but I have given some thought, as I am sure all of you have, to the ordering of a proper sequence of events, a procedural guide which will aid in the setting of the priorities and the selection of those programs which ought to be implemented from among those which are being produced by the different committees. Given unlimited resources, we would want

to do several of them at the same time; but we will have limited resources so we must begin piecemeal. Recognize that many activities once begun must continue and that some activities cannot be successfully undertaken until others that are preliminary to it are fully completed. This then is my sequence or my procedural guide which was accepted by the Executive Committee.

1. We should first implement those plans which provide us with an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the National Right to Life Committee and its state and local organizations. We should also attempt to assess the strengths and weaknesses of opposing organizations. These pro and anti organizations represent the driving and restraining forces which result in a level of anti-life activity. Without a proper inventory and assessment of these key forces, it will be difficult to develop further plans.

2. We already are aware of significant weaknesses in our state and local organizations. If you have any doubt about this, look at some of the staff analysis charts in this report. In some areas the assessment can be made very quickly and we must move forward quickly to build and strengthen our state and local organizations. Our immediate goals lie in the political arena and it is essential that we develop a pro-life political action capability right down to the precinct level.

3. While this political capability is being constructed, it will bring many more people into the pro-life movement and educational programs must be developed for them. As a part of building these stronger state and

local organizations, it will be necessary to build bridges to Protestant fundamentalists and other large religious groups, civic groups and existing organizations which are or ought to be pro-life and each of their members will have to have a basic education in the pro-life movement to make them effective pro-life volunteers.

4. We must begin to take an active role in litigating human life issues across the country. As you know, the greatest loss of the pro-life movement was in the area of litigation. We must encourage our pro-life lawyers to organize for this activity and we must support their professional efforts financially or develop a means for so doing. In this way, what was lost in the courts may some day be won again in the courts.

5. We must sharpen our legislative tools. We must learn how to be effective in the state legislatures. We must educate the state legislators to think in terms of protecting human life. We can accomplish this by seeking passage of memorials to Congress, by seeking the passage of restrictive abortion legislation, conscience clauses, prohibitions of various kinds and modest alternatives programs. While performing these tasks, we will become experienced in handling the state legislatures and we will be building a proper climate for ratification of a constitutional amendment.

6. We must prepare to use our newly built political power to make appropriate changes in the attitude and the composition of the United States Congress. We can attempt this in certain areas in the very near future and I am hopeful that some significant changes can be made in these areas.

Where we already have strong state and local organizations it should be possible to defeat a few Congressman who are very weak and to make our influence felt by a larger number that we do not have the strength to defeat. At a minimum, our activities must be strong enough in the 1974 elections to produce committee hearings and a more favorable lobbying climate in the 94th Congress. If we then bog down due to a lack of strength or we are pre-empted by the discovery of some new crisis in the nation, we must be prepared to do it again and more effectively in 1976.

7. Having obtained a favorable climate in the Congress, we must lobby for the passage of an acceptable mandatory human life amendment. By that time our political efforts should have become sufficiently sophisticated that our voice will be heard and we will obtain the passage of an amendment which is satisfactory to the vast majority of the people in the movement and acceptable to the American people.

8. The emphasis must now shift again to the state and local level to insure ratification of the amendment in at least thirty-eight states. If we have performed well, ratification in some states will be easy to obtain while in others it may be quite difficult. In addition, the form of the amendment that ultimately passes the Congress could make the task more difficult that you might at first envision. For example, if the amendment passed does not bar private action. Ratification may be relatively easy, but watch out for the next step.

9. When an amendment has been finally ratified by the required thirty-eight states and is then in effect, it may be necessary to pass implementing legislation in every state. This is where several years of experience by state organizations in working with their state legislatures will pay rich dividends. An amendment that passes may not be a restraining force in any self-effectuating way. It will be necessary to promote and encourage the adoption of implementing legislation even in those states in which we were unable to obtain ratification.

10. Having obtained this first goal of a constitutional amendment, I think we would still be very busy using the pro-life volunteers as agents for change. A constitutional amendment, finally adopted, ratified and implemented will be a significant restraining force against continued anti-life activity; but anti-life activity will still be present and there are other forces which must brought into play. There will be new campaigns to further develop the restraining forces and to weaken the driving forces of anti-life activity. The driving forces for anti-life activity were not developed overnight and they will not quickly disappear.

The committee and staff reports in this book are not necessarily complete, nor does their inclusion necessarily mean that they have been approved by the Executive Committee. In some instances portions of the report have been approved and these approvals are expressed in the minutes which you will also find in the appendix. Some of the committee reports are lengthy, others are quite brief. Sheer volume is not the measure of their

quality. A few of the committees have only recently been activated. Some have yet to meet for the first time, so you must not be too harsh in your criticism of what may appear to you as a lack of effort.

Assembling this report has been difficult for much of the work had to be accomplished by a very small staff working under considerable stress. I am extremely grateful to the members of the Executive Committee, the Chairman of the Functional Committees and their committee members, and especially to the members of the staff who have put very much of themselves into this effort. It was not meant to be a literary work, but a useful tool to help you evaluate what was done....."in the beginning".

ROBERT F. GREENE
Executive Director

PUBLIC POLICY COMMITTEE

The Public Policy Committee was established by the Executive Committee on June 30, 1973, and given the following charge:

> The Public Policy Committee is hereby established for the purpose of developing recommendations relative to the organizational positions on public policy, bearing upon the protection of human life, for the consideration of the Executive Committee.

The following persons were appointed to the Public Policy Committee:

Professor Joseph Witherspoon, Executive Committee Consultant and Temporary Chairman;
Professor Walter Trinkhaus;
Larry Washburn, Esquire;
Edward Becker;
André Helegers, M. D., and
Roy Scarpato

The committee first undertook to study the proposed human life amendments to the Constitution of the United States and produced a report dated August 14, 1973. Written responses to the report were submitted by Professor Robert M. Byrn on September 4, 1973, Professor Charles E. Rice on September 5, 1973, Professor James Smith on September 7, 1973, John F. Markert, Executive Director of the Minnesota Catholic Conference on September 19, 1973, and by Roy R. Scarpato on October 7, 1973.

On October 11, 1973, the Executive Committee restated the charge of the Legal Advisory Committee to allow that committee to undertake an analysis of the wording of the human life amendment, and Professor Joseph

Witherspoon was appointed as Executive Committee Co-consultant with Robert F. Greene to the Legal Advisory Committee. As a result, the above mentioned report and the responses to it have been incorporated in the report of the Legal Advisory Committee.

On June 30, 1973, the Executive Committee asked the Public Policy Committee to consider the euthanasia and forced sterilization issues as early priority items. The Public Policy Committee has not yet produced a report on these matters.

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FINANCE COMMITTEE

The Finance Committee was established by the Executive Committee on June 30, 1973, and given the following charge:

> The Finance Committee is established to determine the avenues in which money can be raised for the complete funding of the National Right to Life Committee and its varying programs, and upon the acceptance by the Executive Committee of these programs, the Finance Committee will be charged with raising these monies.
>
> The Finance Committee will also act in an advisory capacity to the Executive Committee of NRLC on budgetary preparation and control.

The following persons were appointed to the Finance Committee:

> Gloria Klein, Executive Committee Consultant;
> J. Robert Dergeron;
> Sandra Simmons;
> Edward Swick, and
> Kenneth VanDerbeek, Esquire.

The Finance Committee held its first meeting in Detroit on July 14, 1973, and produced the report of that date shown on the following pages. The chairman of the committee, Mr. J. Robert M. Dergeron, attended the Executive Committee meeting of July 29, 1973, in Chicago, where he delivered the report. No further action was taken concerning a report except a letter by President Ed Golden dated July 30, 1973, implementing a program of state assessments in conformity with the report of the Finance Committee. The Finance Committee has had one or more additional meetings in person and by telephone conference call, but has made no further report.

Additional information relating to fund-raising, financing and budgeting are contained in other portions of this report.

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NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

FINANCE COMMITTEE MEETING

JULY 14, 1973

Metro Motel, Detroit, Michigan

Convened: 9:00 A.M. Adjourned: 5:30 P.M.

Present:

Gloria Klein
Sandy Simmons
Ken Vanderhoef, esq.
Edward Siwik
J. Robert M. Bergeron

Guest: Warren Shaler

AGENDA

I. BUDGET
- a. Office Expenses
- b. Salaries
- c. Executive Comm. Expenses
- d. Special Comm. Expenses

II. FUND RAISING
- a. Jostens' Report
- b. Assessment of States
- c. Direct Mailing
- d. Christmas Cards
- e. Other Sources

III. OTHER BUSINESS
- a. 501-c-3 Status
- b. Bookkeeping
- c. Bonding
- d. Accounting

First order of business: Election of Chairman
Motion was made by Ken Vanderhoef, seconded by Gloria Klein, to elect J. Robert M. Bergeron as Chairman of the Finance Committee. This was accepted and unanimously approved.

AGENDA:

I. BUDGET (Interim period only)

a. Office Expenses

	Monthly
Rent	$1000.00
Telephone	1000.00
Postage	2000.00
Supplies & Equip.	1000.00
Miscellaneous	500.00
Total	$5500.00

b. Salaries (Benefits incl.)

Interim Director	$2500.00
Interim Secretary	650.00
Total	$3150.00

c. Executive Committees

Telephone Conferences	$1000.00
Telephone Communications	1000.00
Monthly Meetings	3000.00
Total	$5000.00

d. Special Committees (3 Comm. meetings per mo. only)

Telephone Communications and Conferences	$ 900.00
Meetings	2100.00
Total	$3000.00

TOTAL (Monthly Interim Only)	$16,650.00

II. FUND RAISING (Interim period only)

a. Josiens' Report.

1. Moved by Sandy Simmons, seconded by Gloria Klein, to urge the Executive Committee not to renegotiate contract with N.Y.P.L.C. regarding percentage split on sale of bracelets. Motion unanimously passed.

2. Moved by Ken Vanderhoef, esq., seconded by J. Robert M. Bergeron, to urge the Executive Committee to seek out and obtain an inventory control amendment in the contract with Josten's - Said amendment to list N.R.L.C. approved distributors on consignment, prepaid purchase excepted. Motion unanimously passed.

3. Moved by Ken Vanderhoef, esq., seconded by Ed Siwik, that a special reserve account be established against possible delinquency losses. Motion unanimously passed.

4. Moved by Ken Vanderhoef, seconded by Sandy Simmons, urging retention of legal counsel to advise about N.R.L.C. 75% liability before negotiating accounts receivable. Motion unanimously passed.

5. Discussed and unanimously suggested that legal counsel retained be independent.

b. Assessment of States.

Moved by J. Robert M. Bergeron, seconded by Gloria Klein, that a letter be sent to the Board of Directors' delegates in all States, urging immediate contributions for the purpose of funding N.R.L.C. thru December 31,1973. Suggested initial quarterly participation at 1/8 cent per capita, for an effective assessment of $125.00 per 100,000 population ($1250.00 per million population).

c. Direct Mailing

d. Christmas Cards

e. Other Sources

No action was taken. It was discussed and agreed that specific fund raising projects, other than assessments, are in the nature of policy decisions that are the responsibility of the future Executive Director in consultation with the Executive Committee.

The Finance Committee is, at all times, available for advise on views that have already begun to take perspection owing to our discussions thus far. Such endeavours require careful analysis. The complexities are subtle.

III. OTHER BUSINESS:

a. 501-c-3 Status.

Moved by Ken Vanderhoef, seconded by J. Robert M. Bergeron, that,for the present and foreseeable future, funds are not available. Motion unanimously passed.

b. Bookkeeping

c. Bonding

d. Employment of Accountant

Discussed and agreed that Treasurer, Gloria Klein undertake with the assistance of an accountant of her choice, the establishment of such interim bookkeeping procedures and secure such bonding coverage as is reasonable. Suggested bonding figure of $100,000.00 for each member of the Executive Committee and Employees who are authorized to handle cash or sign checks, or in any way accept for transfer monies for the Corporation.

National Right To Life Committee, Inc.

1200 16th Street NW SUITE 500 Washington, D.C. 20005

OFFICERS

President
EDWARD J. GOLDEN
Vice President
CAROLYN GERSTER, M.D.
Secretary
JUDITH FINK
Treasurer
GLORIA KLEIN
Chairman of The Board
MARJORY MECKLENBURG
Vice Chairman of The Board
MILDRED F. JEFFERSON, M.D.

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*Executive Committee

July 30, 1973

Dear Pro-Lifer:

I would like to start this communication by first introducing myself. I am Ed Golden, former Chairman of New York State Right to Life Committee, and the current President of the re-constituted National Right to Life Committee, Inc. I am a life long resident of New York State and reside in Troy with my wife Kate and six children.

Again for the benefit of those unable to attend the recent NRLC Convention in Detroit, Mich. I would like to present a brief review of the Convention's business meetings.

The duly constituted and expanded Board of Directors convened on three occasions during the week-end in their endeavor to thoughtfully amend and ratify the new Constitution and By-Laws and to hold the election of officers. (A copy of the names and addresses of the Board of Directors is enclosed for your convenience.)

The newly elected officers are as follows: Vice-President, Carolyn Gerster, M.D. (Arizona); Secretary, Judith Fink (Pa.); Treasurer, Gloria Klein (Mich.). Marjory Mecklenburg of Minnesota was elected Chairman of the Board of Directors and Mildred Jefferson, M.D., of Massachusetts was elected Vice-Chairman of the Board.

The nine member Executive Committee was elected with the following individuals being seated: Judith Fink, Albert Fortman, M.D. (N. J. Rota), Ed Golden, Robert Greene, Esq. (Ky.), Gloria Klein, Marjory Mecklenburg, Michael Taylor (Md.), John Willke, M.D. (Ohio), and Prof. Joseph Witherspoon (Texas).

The affairs of the Corporation will be conducted by this nine member group in consultation with the Board of Directors. Please feel free to contact any of us if you feel that we can be of assistance to you in a special manner.

The Executive Committee has already met on three occasions since the Convention and has established a schedule of monthly meetings for the next 12 months.

The following decisions have been agreed upon by the Executive Committee and are currently being implemented:

1. The establishment of a committee system to involve the many pro-life talents throughout the nation as we strive to build varied programs in our quest for a constitutional amendment.

   These committees will be entitled Policy, Finance, States Organization, States Programs, Legal Advisory, Public Relations and Media, Education, Intergroup Participation, and Medical Advisory. There will be several other committees formed in the near future; however, the above mentioned groups are duly authorized and functioning.

2. The Rev. Warren Schaller, an Episcopalian minister from Minneapolis, Minn. has been hired as interim Executive Director and, in the near future, will be working in the new office with varying obligations and duties.

3. The last full week in Aug. (the 20th to 25th) has been designated as NRLC Garage Sale Week - and this is no small proclamation. From past experience well-coordinated and promoted garage sales have proven themselves as financial giants in the drive for pro-life funds, and we are initiating this program to assist each state in meeting their suggested assessment for NRLC needs. (Now you know we need money!)

   Gloria Klein, Treasurer of NRLC, Inc. and Executive Committee Consultant to the Finance Committee, has drawn together some program ideas on how successful pro-life garage sales have been conducted. A copy of this letter is enclosed.

4. Michael Taylor has agreed to serve as our Research and Political Consultant during an unspecified transition period and as such will be continuing the valuable newsletter he has published over the past years; we are extremely fortunate to have this continuing service.

The preliminary report from the Finance Committee indicates the need for $100,000 for the Washington, D.C. office from now until Dec. 31, 1973. The attached breakdown of suggested state assessments will act as a guide to your responsibility (Appendix A). I would ask that the State Directors take special note of Appendix A. It is imperative that the State Directors respond to the guidelines suggested for state contributions to NRLC, Inc. no later than Sept. 1. How much money, do you think, your state could contribute to the support of National for the remainder of the year? NRLC, Inc. needs to be able to make an immediate and realistic assessment of its income sources for the remainder of 1973. Please forward your responses to Gloria Klein, Treasurer of NRLC, Inc., with carbon copies to J. Robert M. Bergeron, Chairman of the Finance Committee, and to myself. The addresses:

Gloria Klein 33728 Tawas Trail Westland, Mich. 48185	J. Robert M. Bergeron 70 Water Way Barrington, R. Island 02806	Edward Golden 4 Willowbrook Lane Troy, New York 12180

There is no doubt that the type of national program that we envision will be costly and for the most part will have to be financed through a state assessment program. At this hour the big dollars will be spent out of Washington, D.C. Eventually, the thrust of action will turn back to the various states as the ratification program begins.

The NRLC, Inc. intends to conduct a major fund raising drive in 1974.

We are currently seeking an individual to be employed as an Executive Director and, to this end, we are pursuing several channels at this time. However, if you are aware of an individual with prime Washington, D.C. experience (knows the Congress) - pro-life - with a background in people oriented programs, call me as quickly as possible with the individual's name and as much information as possible.

I would like to express a deep debt of gratitude to the Michigan Citizens for Life for hosting the National Right to Life Convention in June. Their capability to program and deliver the Convention within ten weeks is ample evidence why they were successful in the Michigan abortion referendum last November.

I would also like to direct your attention to five individuals who served on the formative Executive Committee from March through June, 1973: Martin McKernan, Jr., Esq. (N. Jersey), Carolyn Gerster, M.D. (Arizona), Jay Bowman (Georgia), John Beliveau (Maine), and Ken VanDerhoef, Esq. (Wash.). These people served tirelessly in their desire to see a national pro-life movement launched and their efforts will be remembered by the Pro-Lifers in the "Right to Life Book of Genesis."

In conclusion let me re-iterate what you have probably heard before on many occasions. The work we have cut out for ourselves is difficult at best and never before tried in the manner we propose. At times we become tired and discouraged. However, when the work and contribution of each individual is brought together, then our strength multiplies. It is this unity and strength of purpose that the Pro-Life movement can and must build over the coming months and years.

Sincerely yours,

Edward J. Golden

Edward Golden

President, National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

ATTACHMENT A

It was suggested in the Finance Committee Report of July 14, submitted to the Executive Committee at its July 20-21 meeting by J. Robert M. Borgeron, Chairman of the Finance Committee, that a letter be sent to the State Directors urging immediate contributions for the purpose of funding NRLC, Inc. through Dec. 31, 1973; with an initial quarterly participation at 1/8 cent per capita, for an effective assessment of $125 per 100,000 population ($1,250 per million population). (The ideal total of the suggested state assessments amounts to approximately $250,000.)

There follows a listing of state populations according to 1971 Census Bureau Reports, with the corresponding suggested state contributions:

State	Population (in thousands)	Suggested Assessment
Alabama	3,479	$4,340
Alaska	313	391
Arizona	1,849	2,311
Arkansas	1,944	2,430
California	20,223	25,278
Colorado	2,283	2,853
Connecticut	3,081	3,851
Delaware	558	697
Florida	7,041	8,801
Georgia	4,664	5,830
Hawaii	789	986
Idaho	732	915
Illinois	11,196	13,995
Indiana	5,274	6,592
Iowa	2,852	3,565
Kansas	2,258	2,822
Kentucky	3,282	4,102
Louisiana	3,681	4,601
Maine	1,003	1,253
Maryland	4,000	5,000
Massachusetts	5,758	7,197
Michigan	8,997	11,246
Minnesota	3,881	4,851
Mississippi	2,216	2,782
Missouri	4,749	5,936
Montana	708	885
Nebraska	1,519	1,899
Nevada	507	633
N. Hampshire	762	952
N. Jersey	7,309	9,125

State	Population (in thousands)	Suggested Assessment
N. Mexico	1,030	1,[illegible]
New York	[illegible]	[illegible]
N. Carolina	[illegible]	[illegible]
N. Dakota	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ohio	10,[illegible]	13,[illegible]
Oklahoma	2,[illegible]	[illegible]
Oregon	2,[illegible]	[illegible]
Pennsylvania	11,[illegible]	14,[illegible]
R. Island	[illegible]	1,[illegible]
S. Carolina	2,[illegible]	3,[illegible]
S. Dakota	[illegible]	887
Tennessee	3,[illegible]	4,[illegible]
Texas	11,[illegible]	14,[illegible]
Utah	1,[illegible]	1,[illegible]
Vermont	458	572
Virginia	4,714	5,892
Washington	3,449	4,311
W. Virginia	1,[illegible]	2,[illegible]
Wisconsin	4,476	5,593
Wyoming	340	425
Dist. of Columbia	741	926

*As found in The 1973 [illegible] Almanac, prepared by the Bureau of the Census, issued Sept. [illegible], adapted to Sept. 1972 by Newspaper Enterprise Assoc., Inc.), p. 14.

STATES ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

The States Organization Committee was established by the Executive Committee on June 30, 1973, and given the following charge:

> The States' Organization Committee shall be charged with the development of strong state and local Right to Life organizations in each of the several states and the District of Columbia. The Committee shall act in an advisory capacity to the Executive Committee on matters of organization. It shall prepare an appropriate organizational manual.

The following persons were appointed to the States Organization Committee:

> Michael Taylor, Executive Committee Consultant;
> Jane Muldoon;
> Michael McCabe;
> Jane Arnold, and
> Joe Lampe.

The States Organization Committee has not had a full meeting but has worked by correspondence and by telephone. A portion of the charge of the States Organization Committee was transferred to the States Program Committee by the Executive Committee on September 16, 1973, to facilitate the work of the States Program Committee.

The States Organization Committee has presented a written report and an oral report was presented to the Executive Committee on August 12, 1973, which is reported fully in the minutes of that meeting.

A questionnaire was circulated by the committee, a copy of which is enclosed. The results of the questionnaire have not been tabulated but a staff report will comment on the degree of participation by the states.

National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

1200 15th Street NW SUITE 500 Washington, D.C. 20005

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*Executive Committee

Jan. 11, 1974

Robert Greene, Esq.
Executive Director
National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
1200 15th St. NW Suite 503
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Bob,

Please find attached the materials regarding the States Organization Committee that you requested from me this afternoon.

The cover letters of July 17, 27, and Aug. 10 fairly well outline the activities of the States Organization Committee during the summer months.

The questionnaire program that was approved at the Aug. 17-19 Executive Committee meeting was subsequently implemented with the help of the office staff of NRLC, Inc.

The purpose of the questionnaire program was preliminary information gathering. However, as the attached reports indicate at several points, further specific programming of a significant nature, e.g. regionalization, devolved upon other policy decisions of the Executive Committee, eg, the actual structure of the political programming, staffing, etc. The difficulties of the Executive Committee in dealing with the concept of regionalization at its Aug. 17-19 meeting seemed to reflect the reality of these programming relationships. After the Aug. 17-19 meeting a consensus on this matter was expected to myself by the members of the States Organization Committee.

At the Sept. 14-16 Executive Committee meeting further staffing organizational moves made. At the same meeting the Executive Committee narrowed down the responsibilities of the States Organization Committee. The motion that was made and passed: "That the concept of dealing with the structure of state organizations

at the program organizational level be transferred to the States Programs Committee." The effect of this resolution was to limit the efforts of the States Organization Committee, as expressed in the second aspect of its original charge /"...act in an advisory capacity to the Executive Committee on matters of organization"/, to advising the Executive Committee on organizational matters at the level of policy. The first aspect of the original charge - "the development of strong state and local Right to Life organizations in each of the several states and the District of Columbia" - was transferred to the States Program Committee headed by Marge Mecklenburg.

Since the September Executive Committee meeting, the States Organization Committee has held no further meetings.

If you have any questions on the attached materials or on the activities of the States Organization Committee in general, please give me a call.

Sincerely yours,

Michael A. Taylor

Michael A. Taylor

Exec. Com. Consultant to the
States Organization Committee

Attachments:
- July 17 Letter and Draft Paper to Members of States Organization Committee
- July 27 Letter to Members of States Organization Committee
- Aug. 10 Report to Executive Committee

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National Health Council, Inc.

1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

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JACOB [illegible]
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DOROTHY [illegible]
PAUL [illegible]
*[illegible]
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Aug. 10, 1967

Dear Fellow Member of the Executive Committee:

The States Organization Committee was requested to submit a report at the Aug. 17-18 Executive Committee meeting, with a written report submitted to the Executive Committee one week prior to the Aug. 17-18 meeting. This letter and attachments constitute the written report.

The States Organization Committee was also requested to submit budget projections for FY68, for state organizational work. No major budgetary figures are being submitted at this time. However, areas of expenditure with high priority pending are noted in the course of the report. As the report tries to indicate, large expenditures of money could often depend on other policy and program decisions of the Executive Committee.

That far the preliminary work of the States Organization Committee has been centered on the question of its own purpose and programming. Memorandums between myself and the other members of the States Organization Committee are enclosed (July 17 Draft Working Paper and July 27 Letter).

No meetings according thereto have been held.

The July 17 memo and paper should be considered as supplemental to this report.

In light of the Executive Committee recommendation at the July 10-11 meeting that the Committee limit themselves to one conference call, the July 27 conference call mentioned in the July 17 memo was postponed to a more advantageous time.

This report with the recommendations has not been approved by the full States Organization Committee. The report is being mailed to the full Committee [illegible] and will be the subject of a conference call today, Aug. 10, 10 p.m. EST. A report

on this will be part of my presentation at the Executive Committee meeting Aug. 17-19.

The attached report contains a variety of recommendations. However, the paper requires Executive Committee approval or disapproval:

1. The establishment of a States Organization records questionnaire in the name of NSO, Inc.

2. The initial implementation of a Regional Organization teams program.

The question of the implementation and funding of the other projects does not require Executive Committee action Aug. 17-19.

The cost of the circularization of the records form should be determined by the cost of reproduction and the mailing ($200-225).

The major cost of the Regional Organizational program should be carried by the participating organizations. Decisions about special expenditures in this area need not be made Aug. 17-19.

I would estimate that as of Aug. 17-19 the States Organization Committee will have spent approximately $300 (long distance phone calls, mailings).

As for future funding of the States Organization Committee itself I would request that $1,500 be available at least for incidental expenses and that all other expenditures be submitted to the Executive Committee for approval.

I am looking forward to a worthwhile and constructive discussion of the States Organization Committee report at our Aug. 17-19 meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Michael A. Taylor

Consultant to Executive Committee on States Organization

cc: Members of the States Organization Committee

3107803211357

Aug. 10, 1973

To: Executive Committee, NRLC, Inc.

From: Michael Taylor, Consultant to Executive Committee on State Organization

Re: States Organization Committee Report for the Aug. 17-19 Executive Committee Meeting

The States Organization Committee has two basic functions: (1) to work for the development of strong and effective local/state organizations; (2) to advise the NRLC, Inc. on organizational policy matters.

Each of these basic functions will be discussed in turn.

I. The Development of State Organizations

NRLC, Inc.'s effort to develop strong and effective state organizations could be approached from two levels:

- the development of effective and representative state organizations/coalitions.
- the development of organizations or organizational structures in light of special program requirements.

A. The Role [illegible] of Effective and Representative State Organizations/Coalitions

1. The organizational principle building the right to life organization should not primarily depend on one or another specific program, e.g., the constitutional amendment program, the legislative program, the communications program, the education program, etc. Thus, basic initial concern should be the establishment of functioning organizations that presumably would begin working as effectively as possible in as many program areas as possible.

If organizational priorities are set for 1976, [illegible] at the initial stages, such priorities would more probably be determined by resident need or requests for help.

2. At this time -- and probably for some time to come -- the primary concern of the State Organization Committee should be the establishment of effective and representative state organizations or state coalitions.

It should be presumed that pro-life organizations of one type or another are functioning in every state in the union.

Current leadership in the states should be surveyed and listings of pro-life and pro-choice organizations established. Using existing pro-life organizations that, if properly nurtured,

will grow and flourish.

For this reason an organization should be as representative of a state as possible. People will pitch in and work when they feel like it is their organization and that it is something they have built.

Also, states differ from each other politically and socially. Such differences should be considered an ingredient of effective organization. The best understanding of such social characteristics will come from people who live in each state.

3. For the above stated reasons I would recommend that organizational work at this time and stage of development be done on a regional basis.

- the attached Census Bureau regional map could be used as a basis for regionalization (nine regions). (States here and there - perhaps in the West or South - be re-shuffled for convenience purposes.)

- the Board members in each region could be considered the initial organization committee for that region.

- the States Organization Committee, in conjunction with the Board members in each region, should attempt to establish more permanent organizational committees for each region based on the talent from within each region. (Questionnaire

be used to solicit such information.)

- the States Organization Committee, with the approval of the Executive Committee, should establish a team of NRLC States Organization consultants who, then, would be available to the regions and states for organizational advice and meetings. (Questionnaire help solicit such names.)

It is my recommendation that the NRLC State Organization consultants be as regionally based as possible, but, in any case, drawn from states or regions with proven organizational experience and success.

- the following procedure be recommended to the states: that states or regions, when they hold conventions (as many are this fall), convene a special session on organization, at which sessions members of the Regional Organization team and members of the NRLC State Organization consultants be invited in to participate and advise. The expenses of such regional or at large advisers should be paid by the sponsoring organization or convention.

- the following procedure be recommended to the States Organization Committee: that through Dec. 1973 such state or regional meetings be encouraged, and that states be polled immediately as to the current scheduling of such

meetings (use questionnaire), and that in cases of manifest need the States Organization Committee be prepared to recommend to the Executive Committee that expenses for such an organizational meeting be met in full or in part by NRIC, Inc.

4. The States Organization Committee should instruct the regional teams and at-large consultants to submit written material on organization to be used in an organization manual to be drawn up by the States Organization Committee.

On the basis of this material, as well as other materials known to the Committee, the States Organization Committee should, as soon as possible, submit to the Executive Committee for approval a States Organization Manual.

Such a Manual should be considered preliminary. The Manual should undergo revision by the end of 1973, and, as necessary, be revised or up-dated periodically thereafter.

The States Organization Committee should be prepared to advise the Executive Committee that political consultants or professional writers be retained in the preparation of this manual.

5. As state and local organizations develop, the work of the States Organization Committee in reference to this first level or stage of organizational work, should be re-evaluated. A major

re-evaluation should be set for Dec. 1973, or, perhaps Jan. 1974.

B. The Development of Priority or Specialized Organizational Structures

For particular program needs (especially as regards the federal Congress), the development of local or state structures may have to be accelerated, refined or adapted. A state or a particular Congressional district may need special organizational attention.

1. It may be that the timetable of normal development be accelerated as much as possible (key committee member, vulnerables, good guy who needs supports, bad guy who should be defeated, etc.). The Executive Committee should be prepared to consider offering financial support to such a special effort.

2. The organizational problems of a particular locale, state or region may be of a more complex type (generally states with large population). The Executive Committee should be prepared to consider funding special political or sociological research so that the national organization could be of assistance to the state.

3. The NPUC, Inc. may decide to become involved in the 1974 Congressional campaign. In that case, special organizational work (actual assistance, specialized manuals) should probably be

performed preliminary to actual campaign work, and perhaps continue at some level in conjunction with the program work. The Executive Committee should decide whether or to what extent it wants NRLC, Inc. to become involved in the 1974 Congressional campaigns, at what financial level, etc.

4. On the basis of intelligence work, the NRLC, Inc. may select out 10-15 target states for passage of memorials in the state legislatures in the 1974 sessions. Some of these states may need special work on organization. In such cases the Executive Committee should be prepared to consider offering financial support for special organizational work.

5. The function of the States Organization and the States Program Committees should not be confused, eg, in Feb. or March of 1974 the NRLC, Inc. may decide to run a series of Congressional liaison meetings in the various states educating local and state leadership regarding Congressional hearings, the 1974 Congressional campaigns, etc.

II. NRLC, Inc. Organizational Policy

The full extent of the States Organization Committee's responsibility in this area was not specified in the original charge from the Executive Committee. Presumably the States Organization Committee

should advise regarding the affiliation process with other organizations, especially local and state organizations. Perhaps the States Organization Committee is responsible to advise on NRLC, Inc. organizational structure and procedure (eg, relative function of Executive Committee, the working Committees, the national office, etc.). Clarification is required on this latter point.

Several comments on organizational affiliation:

1. Organizational affiliation depends on, first, overall organizational purpose and on, second, agreements about areas of responsibility and decision-making regarding programs.

2. As to the first point, current NRLC, Inc. policy is expressed in the Articles of Incorporation (Art. III), the Resolutions of the Board of Directors at the June meeting, and in any further major policy statements issued by the Board of Directors at consequent meetings.

3. As to the second point above, the important and sensitive question of program responsibility of NRLC, Inc. vis-a-vis the affiliating organizations needs to be resolved. Presumably NRLC, Inc. would assume responsibility for national programming in those areas of common interest covered in the policy statements.

3 1 0 1 0 3 1 1 7 3

Political programming is primary. For this reason the affiliating procedures of other national political organizations should be studied (the unions, Chambers of commerce, farm bureaus, even the major political parties). Of course, the over-structuring of the affiliation process should be avoided. The members of the States Organization Committee should assume the responsibility for this research.

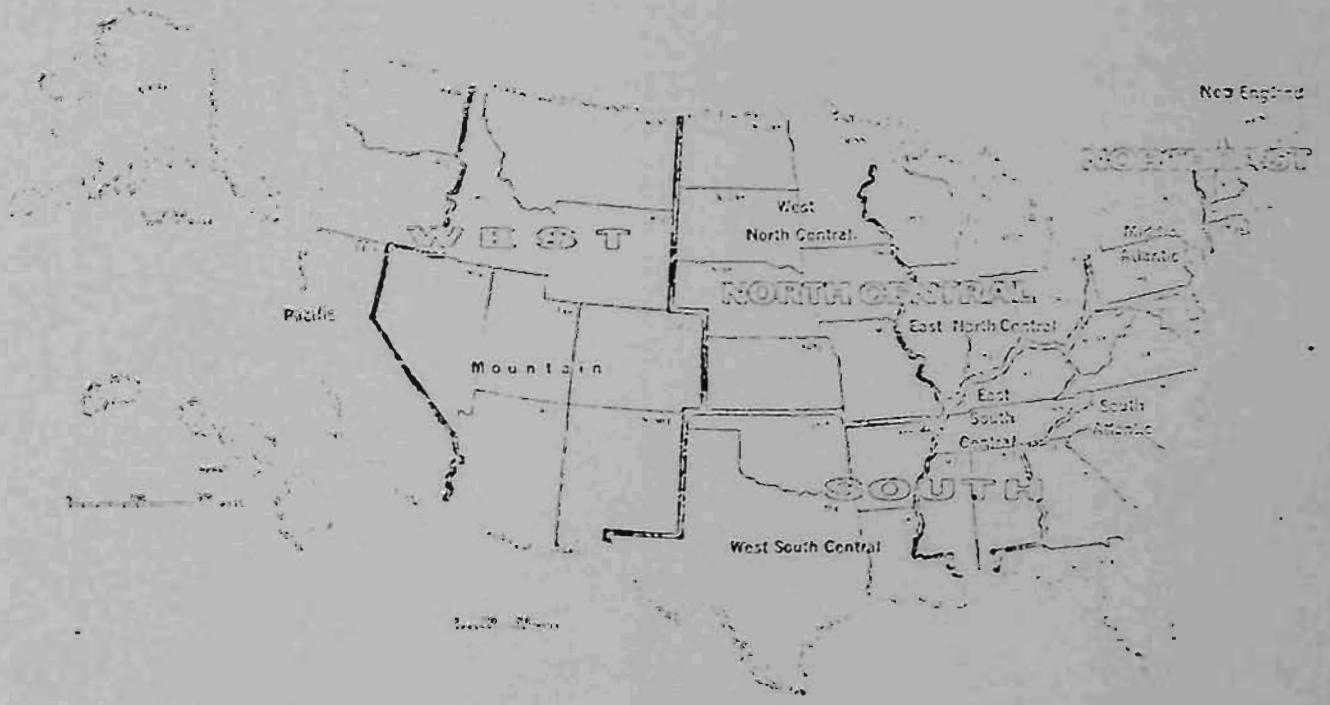
Also, the various local and state organizations should be researched as to their current policy, organizational structure, etc. (see questionnaire).

4. Currently, NRLC, Inc. has no organizational affiliation and it has organizational ties only with its officers and members of the Board. NRLC, Inc.'s relationship with the various local and state organizations is one of trust and good will. Good faith is a necessary ingredient of any functioning organization. However, as fund raising and programming proceed, good faith can become soured by misunderstandings. Simple, basic and reasonable affiliation procedures should be established in due course so as to avoid such misunderstandings as much as possible.

A first recommendation, however, is that the positions of state directors from the remaining blank states be filled. Such directors should be as representative as possible of the existing right to life organizations in those states.

FIG. 1. MAP OF THE UNITED STATES, SHOWING CENSUS REGIONS AND DIVISIONS

[Alaska and Hawaii are drawn at different scales from conterminous United States and are not shown in their correct relative geographic positions]



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

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ROBERT J. SASSONE, Esq.
DOROTHY SHAED
PAULETTE STANDIFER
*MICHAEL TAYLOR
CAROLYN J. THOMSON, R.N.
MARY BETH WELCH
KENNETH VAN WESTHUIZEN, Esq.
*JOHN C. WILLKE, M.D.
*PROF. JOSEPH M. WITHROW

*Executive Committee

August 31, 1973

To: National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
Board of Directors, Right to Life Committees

From: NRLC States Organization Committee

Re: States Organization Questionnaire

At its June 29-30 meeting in Chicago, the Executive Committee of NRLC, Inc. established a series of committees, one of which is the States Organization Committee. The charge of this committee reads as follows:

> The States Organization Committee shall be charged with the development of strong state and local Right to Life organizations in each of the several states and the District of Columbia. The Committee shall act in an advisory capacity to the Executive Committee on matters of organization. It shall prepare an appropriate organizational manual.

The members of the committee are listed at the end of this memo. Michael Taylor was named Executive Committee Consultant to this committee.

At its August 17-19 meeting, the Executive Committee accepted a preliminary report from the States Organization Committee. The first project approved for implementation was the attached research questionnaire program.

Please note the instructions at the beginning of the questionnaire. We are asking the members of the Board of Directors from each state to assume a special responsibility in the distribution and completion of the questionnaires in their state. To assist in this work the names of the other individuals in your state who have received this mailing are attached in a separate list (Attachment A).

(OVER)

We are asking that the questionnaire be returned as soon as possible, in that much of the information will assist in the immediate implementation of programs. In any case, please have the questionnaires returned within 30 days (September 29).

The purpose of the questionnaire is to obtain specific objective data to guide the national office and the Executive Committee in the development and implementation of a national organizational program and in the development of recommendations on organizational matters for the various local and state organizations (See Questions 1-9, and 14).

Two specific projects have received Executive Committee approval for initial implementation:

1. The preparation of an organization manual (See Question 12).

2. The exploration of the feasibility of regional organizational teams (See Questions 10 and 11).

A mailing to follow will explain the projections for the regional organizational teams.

The most important question listed is No. 13: "In what ways do you think that the NRLC, Inc. could be of assistance to your organization and to your state on organizational matters?" NRLC needs to know what you want and what you expect from the national organization on organizational matters.

A brief note on Question 14. The importance of this question should not be underestimated. The up-date of the Right to Life Directory will be an invaluable help in the development and improvement of communication systems on the local, state and national level. The information obtained through Question 14 will be assembled for use by all Right to Life organizations.

If you have any questions about this project, please feel free to call or write the NRLC office in Washington or any of the States Organization Committee members. The information returned on this questionnaire (except for Question 14 as explained in the previous paragraph) will be treated with confidentiality and is for the use only of the NRLC, Inc.

It is not the intention of the States Organization Committee to issue reports evaluating the worth of current local and state organizations. The cultural, social, and political situation of each state is unique. For this reason organizational responses will vary from state to state. The States Organization Committee considers it its first responsibility to listen to the leadership of the various local and state organizations as we all together work to continue the development of our organizations, local, state and national. At this time in the history of the Right to Life movement we have one national goal: the passage of a constitutional amendment to protect the unborn child.

Members of the States Organization Committee:

Jane Arnold
207 Heacock Lane
Wyncote, Pa. 19115

Tel: (215) TU7-5703

Michael McCabe
2885 Concord Blvd.
Concord, California 94519

Tel: (415) 687-3450 (office)
(415) 687-0748 (home)

Michael Taylor
P. O. Box 9365
Washington, D. C. 20005

Tel: (202) 638-6235 (office)
(301) 779-8475 (home)

Jane Baldoon
1942 Sherman SE
Grand Rapids, Mich. 49506

Tel: (616) 774-9174 (home)
(616) 336-9273 (summer)

Joseph A. Lampe
MCCL
4803 Nicollet Avenue
Minneapolis, Minn. 55409

Tel: (612) 825-3611 (office)
(612) 929-1256 (home)

STATE ORGANIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Name

Street City State Zip

Tel.

Organization

Street City State Zip

Tel.

INSTRUCTIONS. Fill out the questions as best you can. All questions may not apply to your situation.

Wherever the term "your organization" occurs, it should be taken as referring to the organization listed at the top of this page.

This questionnaire is being sent to all members of the Baord of Directors of NRLC, Inc., as well as to other individuals and organizations in a particular state. A list of these names is enclosed (Attachment A). The Director for the state should assume the responsibility of coordinating the questionnaire work so that needless duplication does not occur, or so that the questionnaire be more adequately circulated.

At the same time the filling out of these questionnaires takes some work. However, the collection of information is essential to the effective functioning of the national organization as it sets about the task of serving the organizational needs of the local and state organizations. The Directors for each state are asked to also assume the responsibility of encouraging the individuals in their state to send in their questionnaires.

Please forward the main copy of this questionnaire to:

National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
1200 - 15th St., N.W., Suite 500
Washington, D. C. 20005

Duplicate a copy for your own files.

This questionnaire should be forwarded to the national office as soon as possible, but no later than September 29.

1. As part of its research the States Organization Committee is seeking to identify as best it can the currently operating state and local organizational structures.

   Is your organization incorporated? YES NO

   Does your organization exist under some other formal and legally recognized structure? YES NO

   If yes, please describe _____

   _____

   Please attach copies of your organization's Articles of Incorporation, Articles of Association, Constitution, By-Laws or other formal organizational documents.

   Has your organization issues any policy statement or statements of purpose beyond those contained in the organizational documents referred to above?

   YES NO

   If yes, please attach copies of the same.

   Has your organization received an IRS federal tax-exempt status?

   501 (c) (3) charitable/educational (contributions tax-deductible by donors; organization income tax-exempt)

   501 (c) (4) social action/lobbying/political (contributions not tax-deductible by donor, but income of organization still tax-exempt)

   If your organization has not received an IRS federal tax-exempt status, has it applied for such status or does it intend to do so in the immediate future?

   YES 501 (c) (3)

   YES 501 (c) (4)

   NO

2. Many organizations are only informally organized. If this situation obtains regarding your organization, please check here ☐ . Also, please attach all policy statements or statements of purpose ascribed to by your organization.

3. The statement of purpose of the NRLC, Inc., as contained in the Articles of Incorporation (Art. III), is attached. Could your organization ascribe to this statement? (Attachment B)

☐ YES ☐ NO

If no, please explain. _____

_____

_____

4. Does your organization concentrate in a particular kind of work (lobbying, public education, alternatives, etc.)? If yes, please specify, or list several areas in order of priority. _____

_____

_____

5. Could you provide a brief history of your organizational development, eg, when founded, when major programs launched, outstanding accomplishments, etc. (newspaper articles about your organization may be helpful).

_____

_____

_____

6. Does your organization have a membership structure?

☐ YES ☐ NO

If yes, how large is your membership? _____

Does your organization have a mailing list?

☐ YES ☐ NO

If yes, how large is your mailing list? _____

Does your organization have a membership fee or dues?

☐ YES ☐ NO

If yes, what is the minimum or suggested amount? _____

7. How much was your organization's income and/or expenditures during the most recent year for which you have figures or an estimate? _____

_____

8. What are the basic organizational units for your organization? (Check where applicable.)

_____ neighborhood/parish chapter

_____ city/town chapter

_____ metropolitan districts

_____ county

_____ regions

_____ state legislative districts

_____ congressional districts

_____ other. Describe: _____

_____

If check more than one, please briefly indicate the general relationship of one organizational unit to another. ____

_____

_____

If your organization has a diagram or chart showing its structure or operation, please attach a copy.

9. How often does your organization hold meetings?

general membership _____

board of directors _____

executive or steering committee _____

Does your organization have an office? ☐ YES ☐ NO

Does your organization have any employees? ☐ YES ☐ NO

If yes, how many? _____

10. The NRLC, Inc. is considering the establishment of regional organizational teams or committees. Who in your state do you think is best suited to serve on such a committee? (Feel free to name several such individuals - name yourself if you have the experience in organizing.)

Name	Name
Organization	Organization
Street City State Zip	Street City State Zip
Tel.	Tel.

Use opposite side to add more names. If so inclined, add comments about the individual's experience in right to life organizing.

11. Is your state or region planning a convention sometime this fall?

☐ YES ☐ NO

If yes:

Where? _____

When? _____

What organization(s) sponsoring? _____

_____

Where contact for further information? _____
Name

_____
Street City State Zip

_____
Tel.

Please attach any other pertinent program information that is available.

If no:

Do you think that your organization, and other organizations in your state, would be interested in attending a regional organizational seminar? ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ MAYBE If yes or maybe, where and when is most convenient for you? _____

_____

12. The States Organization Committee of NRLC, Inc. is in the process of preparing a States Organization Manual. Has your organization prepared an organization manual for its own use? ☐ YES ☐ NO

If yes, please attach a copy to this questionnaire. (Feel free to attach any and all information, comments or advice that you think would be helpful in such a manual.)

13. In what ways do you think the NRLC, Inc. could be of assistance to your organization and to your state on organizational matters? _____

_____

_____

_____

14. The NRLC Right to Life Directory (Aug. 1972) listings for your state are attached (Attachment C). To the best of your knowledge please add, delete, or change the listing of groups for your state or region of the state. Please include the following information: name of organization, address, phone number. Where possible include the name/address/phone of one contact person for each organization.

If the name/address/phone of officers, board members, committee chairman, etc. is available, please attach to the questionnaire.

Organization Name	Organization Contact
Street	Street
City State Zip	City State Zip
Tel.	Tel.
Organization Name	Organization Contact
Street	Street
City State Zip	City State Zip
Tel.	Tel.
Organization Name	Organization Contact
Street	Street
City State Zip	City State Zip
Tel.	

Organization Name			Organization Contact		
Street			Street		
City	State	Zip	City	State	Zip
Tel.			Tel.		

Organization Name			Organization Contact		
Street			Street		
City	State	Zip	City	State	Zip
Tel.			Tel.		

Organization Name			Organization Contact		
Street			Street		
City	State	Zip	City	State	Zip
Tel.			Tel.		

Organization Name			Organization Contact		
Street			Street		
City	State	Zip	City	State	Zip
Tel.			Tel.		

Organization Name			Organization Contact		
Street			Street		
City	State	Zip	City	State	Zip
Tel.			Tel.		

Please forward main copy of this questionnaire to: MRLC, Inc., 1200 15th St., N.W., Suite 500, Washington, D. C. 20005. Duplicate a copy for your own files.

ATTACHMENT A

The following individuals and organizations are receiving the States Organization research questionnaire. We are asking the Board members from each state to assist in the circularizing of the questionnaire. If there are individuals or organizations who should receive the questionnaire but are not listed below, please forward a copy of this mailing to them or contact the national office and a copy will be forwarded.

ATTACHMENT B

Listed below is the statement of purpose of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. as contained in Article III of the Articles of Incorporation.

ARTICLE III

In order to guarantee the right to life of all people of the United States of America, the purposes of the NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC., are to engage in educational, charitable, scientific and political activities, projects or purposes including specifically, but not in limitation of the foregoing:

A. To promote respect for the worth and dignity of all human life, including the life of the unborn child from the moment of conception.

B. To promote, encourage and sponsor such amendatory and statutory measures which will provide protection for human life before and after birth, particularly for the defenseless, the incompetent, and the impaired and the incapacitated.

C. To engage in such activities as shall be set forth in the bylaws of the Committee which will assist in the accomplishment of those purposes immediately aforementioned.

ATTACHMENT C

Listed below are the Right to Life organizations for your state as contained in the Right to Life Directory compiled by the national office Aug., 1972.

National Right To Life Committee, Inc.

1200 15th Street NW SUITE 500 Washington, D.C. 20005

OFFICERS

President
EDWARD J. GOLDEN
Vice President
CAROLYN GERSTER, M.D.
Secretary
JUDITH FINK
Treasurer
GLORIA KLEIN
Chairman of The Board
MARJORY MECKLENBURG
Vice Chairman of The Board
MILDRED F. JEFFERSON, M.D.

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RUTH KARIS
PATRICIA KELLEY
*GLORIA KLEIN
FRANCES KUNZ
MAGALY LLAGUNO
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JAMES MAUCK, ADSW
*MARJORY MECKLENBURG
MARTIN MCKERNAN, JR., Esq.
WILLIAM P. MCGLONEY
ANNE R. MURPHY
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*MICHAEL TAYLOR
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KENNETH VAN DE MARLE, Esq.
*JOHN C. WILLKE, M.D.
*PROF. JOSEPH WITHEROW

*Executive Committee

July 27, 1973

Dear Fellow Member of the States Organization Committee:

At its July 20-21, 1973 meeting the Executive Committee, at the recommendation of the finance committee, urged that the various committees work within a limited budget. It was recommended that, for the time period preceding the August 17-18 Executive Committee meeting, our committee hold no meetings involving travel, hold only one conference call, and keep all other expenses to a minimum.

For this reason I have delayed the conference call until memos on the purposes and programs of the States Organization Committee have been exchanged by committee members.

After talking with each of you I recommend the following work schedule:

1. Immediate exchange of memos on purposes and programs of the committee.

2. Construct a research questionnaire. Section D. 1 of my memo contains some concepts for such a questionaire.

   a) Each member of committee develop concepts and/or actual questions to be included or used in the questionnaire. Forward this material to my office. On the basis of this information I will construct the final questionnaire.

   b) Each member of committee make suggestions regarding the best method of distributing the questionnaires. Under the current structure of the national organization, such questionnaires, it would seem, must be sent to the Board members from each state.

   The possible distribution to other leadership types in the state is the question that needs addressing. While we conduct the research program in an orderly fashion, we must respect existing lines of authority within a state.

3. Submit the questionnaire program to the Executive Committee for approval (definitely at August 17-18 meeting in Chicago; perhaps at August 6 conference call).

Again, allow me to thank you for your generosity in serving on the States Organization Committee.

Sincerely,

Michael A. Taylor

MICHAEL A. TAYLOR
Executive Committee Consultant for
States Organization Committee

MAT/sb

cc: Edward Golden, President, N.R.L.C., Inc.
ex officio member of States Organization Committee

Warren Schaller, Interim Director, N.R.L.C., Inc.

Marjory Mecklenburg, Temporary Chairman of the
States Program Committee

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National Right To Life Committee, Inc.

1200 15th Street NW SUITE 900 Washington, D.C. 20005

OFFICERS

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Vice President
CAROLYN GERSTER, M.D.
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JUDITH FINK
Treasurer
GLORIA KLEIN
Chairman of The Board
*MARJORIE MECKLENBURG
Vice Chairman of The Board
MILDRED JEFFERSON, M.D.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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RICHARD M. ARTLEPAUM, M.D.
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JAY BERMAN
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MAUREEN CHRISTENSEN
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JAMES W. FEENEY
*JUDITH FINK
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*ALBERT H. FORTMAN, M.D.
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MARIE GENTLE
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PATRICIA KELLEY
*GLORIA KLEIN
FRANCES KUNZ
MAGALAY LEAGUNG
DONALD T. MANION, M.D.
JAMES MARICK
*MARJORIE MECKLENBURG
MARTIN MURPHY BOYLE, JR., Esq.
WILLIAM MOLONEY
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PAUL T. STANDIFER
*MICHAEL TAYLOR
CAROLYN THOMPSON
MARY ANN URBANSKI
KENNETH VAN BELTHOEF, S.J.
*JOHN C. WILLKE, M.D.
*PROF. JOSEPH WITHERSPOON

*EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

July 17, 1973

Dear Fellow Member of the States Organization Committee:

At its June 29-30, 1973 meeting in Chicago the Executive Committee of the NRLC, Inc. established a series of working committees, one of which was the States Organization Committee. The charge for this committee reads as follows:

> The States Organization Committee shall be charged with the development of strong state and local Right to Life organizations in each of the several states and the District of Columbia. The Committee shall act in an advisory capacity to the Executive Committee on matters of organization. It shall prepare an appropriate organizational manual.

The Executive Committee named myself as Consultant to this Committee. The other members of this committee include:

Jane Arnold
207 Hoacock Lane
Wyncote, Pa. 19115
Tel: 215-887-5703

Joseph Lampe
3924 Dakota Ave.
St. Louis Park, Minn. 55416
Tel: 612-929-1256 (home)
612-825-3611 (NRLL office,
4803 Nicollet Ave., Minneapolis,
Minn. 55409)

Michael McCabe
Imperial Savings Bldg.
1849 Willow Pass Rd.
Suite 403
Concord, CA 94520
Tel: 415-687-3450 (office)
415-687-0740 (home)

Jane Muldoon
1942 Sherman SE
Grand Rapids, Mich. 49506
Tel: 616-774-9177

Michael Taylor
4214 Russell Ave. #3
Mt. Rainier, MD. 20822
Tel: 301-779-5475 (home)
202-638-6333 (NRLC office
at PO Box 9555, Washington,
D.C. 20005)

In the motion establishing this committee the committee was granted leave to add members as it saw fit; was voted a full budget on which to operate, i.e, NRLC, Inc. would pay for incidental expenses for the work of the committee members (phone, mailing, saves, baby sitters, etc.), and, if judged necessary, for travel expenses for meetings.

As explained below, in the initial planning stages I would envision projects that involve only incidental expenses.

The States Organization Committee has been instructed to submit a preliminary report to the Executive Committee one week prior to its Aug. 17-18 meeting. That report is expected to include budgeting projections for the work of the Committee.

In the initial organizing stage, I would not be inclined to add any further permanent members to the committee, nor would I be inclined, at this time, to elect a permanent chairman for the committee. Such actions, it would seem to me, should await a fuller determination of the Committee's purpose and function.

It is my initial judgment that the ability of our committee to function effectively depends on the availability of staff in the national office. I would recommend that one staff person be employed to work full time in the area of state organization. Ultimately the States Organization Committee would serve in an advisory or liaison role with such an individual.

Until such an individual is hired, our committee has several options before it. On the one hand, it can begin with preliminary research projects, and, thereafter, function as best it could to design and implement action programs.

Or, the committee could do research on its own, with no program implementation finalized until professional staff in the area of organization is hired.

In either case, the question should be raised whether even the questionnaire research project, without adequate staff input, would not be a waste of time, energy, and money, e.g, whether the questionnaire

itself could be or would be adequately constructed to obtain information for yet unspecified programs, or whether a centralized staff could not more efficiently, and with less cost and confusion, conduct such a questionnaire-research program.

It is questions such as these that relate to the nature and function of the States Organization Committee that need to be resolved.

Enclosed is an initial sketch of the overall scope of the Committee's work. I have concluded with a description, with time table, of a possible initial study project.

Initially, and immediately, I would encourage the committee members to exchange memos on their conception of what the States Organization Committee is, what it should/can do, etc.

Tentatively, I would propose a conference call, July 24, 1973, 10 p.m. EDT, to discuss the above questions, and, if possible, to confirm a work schedule for the committee.

The work of the States Organization Committee is very important to the effective implementation of state and national programs. I want to thank you all for your generous initial work commitment.

Sincerely yours,

Michael A. Taylor

Michael A. Taylor

Executive Committee Consultant for
States Organization Committee

cc: Edward Golden, President NNIC, Inc. - ex officio member of States Organization Committee.

DRAFT WORKING PAPER

A. PROGRAM GOALS FOR PRLC, INC.
1. To have positive impact on the 1974 congressional elections.
2. To build up as much strength as possible for a vote on a constitutional amendment, in either chamber, in spring/summer/fall of 1974.
3. To build up and strengthen state organizational structures.

B. PROGRAM PRIORITIES FOR THE STATES ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE
1. National structures
   a) Develop the chairman/committee structure in select congressional districts.
   b) Develop chairman/committee structure in each congressional district.
2. State Structures
   a) Develop and strengthen the currently existing state structures.
   b) Assist and encourage new local/state organizations.

C. PROGRAM TOOL/ACTIONS FOR THE STATES ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE
1. Develop two organizational manuals
   a) Congressional district manual
   b) State organization manual
2. Develop organization teams
3. Essential program research be completed

D. INITIAL RESEARCH PROJECTS FOR THE STATES ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE
1. Develop a questionnaire, to be sent to the State Directors, as a tool to study the structural models currently employed by pro-life organizations within the various states.
2. Develop guidelines for State Directors to research on-going effective political organizations in their locale/state.

3 1 1 7 1 2 3 4 1 1 7 5

DRAFT WORKING PAPER

A. PROGRAM GOALS FOR NRLC, INC.

The establishment of a program for the development of strong state organizations depends, ideally, on the prior articulation of overall program policy. Program goals/policies of NRLC, Inc. will, in part, affect program priorities, means, projects and projections of the States Organization Committee; this relationship is explored in the following sections of this program sketch.

It is the responsibility and prerogative of the Executive Committee of NRLC, Inc. to articulate the program policy. As the States Organization Committee begins its work, I would, then, posit the following program policy possibilities for discussion by the States Organization Committee and for recommendation for consideration by the Executive Committee. The following discussion is by no means complete.

Presumably the articulation of program policy vis-a-vis program priorities, means, projects and projections for the States Organization Committee will be a continuing concern for both the States Organization Committee and the Executive Committee.

1. To have positive impact on the 1974 congressional elections.
   a) gain pro-life strength in Congress;
   b) unseat some key congressmen/senators who have voted unfavorably on abortion related legislation, or, who continue to waffle badly on the issue of abortion (eg, Rep. Thomas O'Neill, D-8th, Mass., Majority Leader in the House). Some such selective

defeats would have a definite impact on the 94th Congress.

c) to unseat members of Judiciary Committees in either chamber who oppose a Constitutional Amendment.

Comments. Goal (1) is based on known long-term considerations. There may or may not be hearings on the amendments before the 1974 elections (though there probably will). If there are hearings, there may or may not be a vote on an amendment before the '74 elections. Even if there is a vote, it may be unfavorable or, if favorable, the amendment voted on may be unacceptable. However, there will be elections in '74. In those elections the pro-life movement will either gain or lose strength in Congress.

We must prepare for the '74 elections. Such political work should generally have positive impact on either hearings or a vote. The on-going relationship between the hearings/voting process and the elections in '74 should be constantly monitored by the Executive Committee and NRLC staff.

2. To build up as much strength as possible for a vote on a constitutional amendment, in either chamber, in spring/summer/fall of 1974.

Comments. Goal (2) represents a possible necessity and a possible option. If Congressional leadership, for good or ill, would push for a vote prior to the 74 elections, then the pro-life movement, on the basis of its developed strength at that point, will lobby for a

favorable vote on an acceptable amendment.

On the other hand, the NRLC, Inc. might decide to push for a vote, eg, hearings in Spring of 74, vote in the fall prior to the elections. The Executive Committee, in consultation with staff and political advisors, should discuss this option.

The question of hearings implies that specific emphasis be placed on (a) the Judiciary subcommittees to which the amendments have been referred and (b) the full Judiciary Committees. The states/districts of the committee members represent organization target areas.

Even in the case of hearings, if the intent is to move an amendment on to the floor for a vote, work on the full House and the full Senate must begin immediately (in context of 74 elections, cf. goal one).

The decision to push for a vote on the floor should be preceded by an informed judgment regarding our voting strength.

The question of a vote before/after the 74 elections needs a thorough discussion.

3. To build up and strengthen state organizational structures so as to better facilitate lobbying efforts directed at the state legislatures and to better facilitate the implementation of other state organization programs.

Comments. State legislative activity, along with other state programs,

is, of course, a sine qua non. Such activity over the next several years may be the only way that the pro-life movement can cut back or stall the de facto performance of abortions. Further, state legislative expertise must be kept alive and healthy for the ratification of a constitutional amendment.

I place this objective in third place only because Right to Life activity in this area is well underway on the state level.

Even though national organization needs primary practical consideration at this time, the State Organization Committee should not simply presume that the strengthening and building of current organizational models will automatically benefit state programs. The States Organization Committee should be concerned, if possible, to advise regarding the re-structuring of state organizational models to work more effectively on the state level.

B. PROGRAM PRIORITIES FOR THE STATES ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

1. National Structures.

The basic geographical unit when dealing with the Federal Congress, whether House or Senate, is the congressional district. Within the context of current, re-structured, or newly established local/state organizations, a committee structure should be established within each congressional district. The primary purpose of such a congressional district committee would be to develop a politically functional unit that could participate in a co-ordinated national campaign.

The policy/decision-making relationship of such committees to state co-ordinating committees, and thence to the national committee requires top-priority consideration.

Assuming that the '74 elections are the primary program goal for the national effort, I would suggest the following programs, in order of priority, for the States Organization Committee:

a) Develop the chairman/committee structure in those congressional districts where:

(1) pro-abortion congressmen are vulnerable;

(2) pro-life congressmen are vulnerable;

(3) neutral congressmen are vulnerable;

(4) pro-abortion congressmen are.

Without research it is estimated that a possible 68-70 districts, out of 435, fall in the classification of vulnerable.

Several criteria indicate whether a district falls in the class of vulnerable: the congressman is a freshman, or perhaps second term (by third term a congressman has had the opportunity to entrench himself in his district); elected by close majority last time, or by decreasing majorities in last several elections; unfavorable population shift in the district make-up, etc.

A caution: discussion of fall '74 elections can be deceptive in that many of these contests will be "settled" in the primaries. Many candidates are vulnerable to attack only from within their own party. Thus, the organizing time-table, in this scheme, would often

have to be moved up.

b) Develop chairman/committee structure in each congressional district.

The establishment of such congressional district committees could be the way to initiate the development of state structures where lacking, or to build up disjointed state structures (under a regional or metropolitan basis, eventually state coalition basis).

The congressional district chairman could initially double as chairman or co-ordinator for state legislative districts.

Congressional district committee structures, as they relate to local, metropolitan, county or state structures, vary from state to state within currently operating political units, eg, the major political parties, the labor unions, chambers of commerce, the farm bureaus, etc. Such organizations should be researched on the local, metropolitan, or state level. Such research should provide valuable clues to right to life as to the methods and procedures best suited to organizing in a particular locale, city, state, as well as warn right to life of some typical pitfalls.

2. State Structures.

Here the basic geographical unit is the state legislative district. The states have variously organized these districts.

In general the goal of the States Organization Committee is twofold: (a) to strengthen and build up the ongoing state organizations; (b) initiate

organizations in those states that lack substantial organizations, or, more likely, assist those states with fledgling or new organizations. Perhaps only the state of Arkansas lacks the presence of a formally organized right to life unit. States with new or fledgling units would possibly include: N. Carolina, S. Carolina, Mississippi, Nevada, Idaho, and Alaska. Even in these states organizational plans may already be under development and may already be in process of implementation.

a) Develop and strengthen the variety of currently existing state organizational structures. Different structures are functioning in different states and regions. Generally, the state structure operates on the coalition model, with sub-groups organized along a variety of lines: metropolitan area, chapter, small city, county, regions of the state, state legislative districts, etc. Two booklets, one describing MCCL, the other MN State Right to Life, are enclosed for your information and study.

b) Assist and encourage new and fledgling local/state organizations. In this regard I am enclosing two items currently distributed by the NRLC, the opening chapter of the Legislative Manual, "The Ad Hoc Committee on Abortion Legislation," and the opening chapter of the Public Relations Manual, "Initiating a Right to Life Committee."

C. PROGRAM TOOLS/METHODS FOR THE STATES ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

At this point I will outline one way of approaching programs for the States Organization Committee:

1. Develop two organizational manuals

a) Congressional District Manual

b) State Organization Manual

The employment of a political consultant to help draw up such manuals should be considered.

2. Develop organization teams

a) The ideal goal should be the development of standing organizational teams (for both congressional district and overall state organization) from within a state to serve the needs of that state.

b) Initially, organize local/district/state according to regions of the country (cf. enclosed Census Bureau map for a regional model). Organizational teams be developed from within the regions.

c) On a schedule, beginning in the Fall of 1973, NRLC, Inc. organize and fund a select team or teams of experts to conduct a series of seminars on a regional basis (several regions perhaps participate in one centrally located seminar).

Such seminars should be held only with prior intensive preparatory work, including the assembling together of the best people for the organizing work, the development of

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program directives, some determination of NRLC, Inc. program policy, etc.

The organizational manuals should be prepared prior to the holding of the organization seminars.

3. Before the manuals can be prepared and before the seminars can be held, it is incumbent that essential research in two general areas be completed:

a) factual descriptions of the current status of pro-life organizations;

b) the political program needs, structural and substantial, of the pro-life movement, on both state and national levels (Section A of this memo discussed substantial program needs as they potentially relate to structural program needs, primarily on the national level).

In the next section of this memo I attempt to outline a program that would initiate work on 3. a).

However, the research work of 3. b) will fall heavily to staff working with political consultants.

B. INITIAL RESEARCH PROJECTS FOR THE STATES ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

1. Develop a questionnaire, to be sent to the State Directors, as a tool to study the structural models currently employed by pro-life organizations within the various states.

a) Such a study should aim at the collection of limited, but specific data. Such information would then be on file with the national office for use by staff and professional consultants in the construction of organizational and political programs.

-- assemble names, addresses, phone numbers of the various organizations within a state; along with names, addresses, phone numbers of key officers if possible.

-- assemble statements of purpose, articles of incorporation, by-laws of the various organizations from within a state; along with a brief history of organization, eg, when founded, incorporated, etc. if possible.

-- develop a description of the organizational model/models employed in a state, or region of a state, eg, what is basic organizational unit: metropolitan area, region, city/town, county, state legislative district, congressional district, etc.? Do different sections of a state vary one from the other, eg, urban/suburban v. rural, or, one urban area v. another urban area? How are state legislative committees structured? C-3, C-4 organizations? etc.

— develop a description of the policy decision-making structures for the state, for the organizational bodies within a state.

— how does the state director envision his state being best helped organizationally by the national organization?

It should not be the intention of the States Organization Committee to issue reports evaluating the worth of current state organizations on a scale of 1 to 50, or even in categories of 1 to 5. The cultural/social/political situations of each state is unique. For this reason such categorizings are too easily susceptible to needless misunderstandings. Comparisons or analogies with effective political organizations within the particular state would probably be more helpful.

This committee should consider it a primary responsibility to listen to and learn from the on-going pro-life leadership in each city, state, region, etc. NRLC, Inc.'s goal should be the building up, in co-operation with the states, of the pro-life organizations so that those organizations can work effectively in the political forum, especially in the passage of a constitutional amendment.

Information received through the questionnaire should be treated with confidentiality and should be considered for the use of the NRLC, Inc.

b) Such a questionnaire/study program could involve the following several elements:

— divide country into regions. Suggested divisions: enclosed Census Bureau map of nine regions. The present five members of the committee assume responsibility for that region in which they live. Four individuals, one from each of the remaining regions, be added to the committee on an ad hoc basis, ie, for the purpose of the study project. Some suggested names: New England - John Belliveau; South Atlantic - Jay Bowman; East South Central - Michael Taylor; West South Central - Paulette Standefer; Mountain - Dr. Wm. McBirter.

As an alternative, it may be more efficient to regionalize the states under the present five members of the committee. The communication problem is made more difficult as we add more members to the committee.

— structure of study program: the nine (five) regional consultants communicate with the members of the Board of Directors from the states within their region, or when such directors are lacking, with leadership within the state.

Suggested program procedure:

(1) a questionnaire embodying the elements of point D.1.a. above be developed.

(2) questionnaire is sent to the state directors.

Prior to sending the questionnaire, the regional consultant

should telephone the individual state directors within his or her region, explaining the questionnaire, aims of the States Organization Committee, etc.

Similarly, after the questionnaire has been sent, the regional consultant should place follow up phone calls with the state directors, encouraging them to complete the questionnaires, discussing the meaning of the questions, etc.

(3) On completion the state directors should duplicate the questionnaire with one copy to be sent to each of the following:

(i) regional consultant;

(ii) the Executive Committee consultant on State Organization (M. Taylor);

(iii) the national office (1200 15th St. NW Wash., D.C.).

c) I would propose the following work schedule:

(1) Committee conference call Tuesday, July 24, 10 pm EDT.

Prior to the conference call I will again call each member of the committee.

I strongly encourage committee members to exchange their own program memos with the other committee members.

If necessary, the above conference call could be delayed a couple of days to allow the exchange of memos.

The purpose of this conference call would be to discuss the purpose of the States Organization Committee, its functions, and to confirm our immediate work schedule.

Further conference calls be scheduled as needed.

(2) by Aug. 7 to have questionnaire developed for distribution to state directors.

(3) completion date of project: Sept. 18.

(4) Aug. 10 - preliminary report on activities of States Organization Committee for submission to the Executive Committee.

d) Committee members, and possible ad hoc consultant for the questionnaire project, submit incidental expenses for the above study project (long distance phone calls, mailings, xerox, baby sitters). No committee meetings involving travel be conducted between now and Aug. 10.

2. Develop a model (guidelines, resource hints, questionnaire) for State Directors to research on-going effective political organizations in their locale/state (cf. above B.1.b).

This project would more properly be slotted as the first project of the locale/congressional district/state organization committee.

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STATES PROGRAM COMMITTEE

The States Program Committee was established by the Executive Committee on June 30, 1973, and given the following charge:

> The States' Program Committee is charged with implementing research concerning the existing programs in the various states, with an analysis of their effectiveness; and with the development of new programs for the purpose of political and social persuasion.

The following persons were appointed to the States Program Committee:

Marjory Mecklenburg, Executive Committee Consultant;
Mary Beliveau;
Lucille Bufalino;
Marie Gentle;
Mary Rita Urbish;
Patricia Kelly, and
Carolyn Thompson.

The States Program Committee has had one meeting of the full committee and several meetings of smaller sub-committees. In addition, members of the committee have consulted each other by telephone when necessary and have had access to several resource people. The Executive Committee amended the charge of the States Program Committee on September 16, 1973, to include the concept of dealing with the structure of state organization at the program organization level. This responsibility had been included in the charge of the States Organization Committee.

The States Program Committee has developed several questionnaires which are included here following the report. The results of the questionnaires returned are available in the staff reports or in the appendix as may be appropriate in each case.

REPORT OF
STATES PROGRAM COMMITTEE

I. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

This initial report of the States Program Committee of NRLC assumes that our highest priority is to assist in the development of strong, active and politically effective Right to Life groups at the state level. We cannot accomplish the huge task before us -- we cannot win against the odds we face -- unless we are able to put together a massive participatory organization which draws its vitality from a firmly established state level movement. Both the organizing and strengthening of state and local groups and assistance in their program development are the responsibility of this committee. Left to the Organization Committee's responsibility is the whole concept of relationship between state organizations and the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. The degree of affiliation or integration, and the result in terms of corporate structure, bylaws, memberships and dues will play an important role in the future of the organization.

To date, the States Program Committee has held one conference call in August and one meeting in Washington in September. The minutes of this meeting, together with a list of our projected goals and activities, are included as part of this report. The minutes reflect that individual committee members have already undertaken a large number of projects. Because the committee did not subsequently meet to approve this report after it was written, the opinions expressed are those of the authors and do not represent a committee vote.

II. ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE

The first priority of the committee was to determine the current level of organizational and political development in each state in order to identify those states which need specific help; and then in turn to offer help through manuals, workshops, serving as resource people in surrounding states, working and coordinating with staff to provide political information for distribution, preparing for Congressional hearings, and preparing a manual and materials for "When You Come to Washington".

1. States Organization Questionnaire

The purpose of the States Organization Questionnaire was to determine the extent, number, structure, activities and effectiveness of the organizations existing in the various states and from this to determine the states that need organizational help. It was a project of the States Organization Committee, a portion of whose charge was transferred to the Program Committee.

The questionnaire was sent to organizations and leaders in the various states so that the structure of each could be individually determined.

As of December 10, 1973, thirty-five states have returned the questionnaire to the national office where they are in the process of being analyzed.

2. States Appraisal Questionnaire

The purpose of the states appraisal questionnaire was to determine the ability of the local and state structures to affect Congress. After determining the political effectiveness of the states, e.g.,if they are able to initiate a letter-writing campaign, able to activate 2% of the constituents in a Congressional district, etc.), those key states needing help will be able to receive necessary motivation and support.

(a) As of December 10, 1973, sixteen states have returned the states appraisal questionnaire.

(b) Lucille Buffalino has compiled the returns and charted them to give us a picture of what states need help and in what area they need the help and which states are already effective. The purpose of the chart is to immediately be able to determine the number of states which have similar needs and those states which have individual needs.

(c) Further appraisal of the results of this questionnaire is needed to determine the specific action needed in each state. In the meantime, Lucille Buffalino of the States Program Committee has been following up on the questionnaire with various contact people in the states by telephone, and letter, and offering the help of the committee where the states need it.

3. Manuals on Political Effectiveness

The purpose of the manuals on political effectiveness is to provide the states with a basic guide so that they can develop political effectiveness leading to passage of a Human Life Amendment. Initial drafts of some sections of the manuals have been completed.

After completion of the manuals, proper distribution will be needed to the key people in each state (which can be done by the national office). The manuals can then be used by individuals and in workshops.

4. Workshops

The purpose of the workshops will be to develop and provide the specific tools and personnel needed by each state for developing political effectiveness.

Several members of the States Program Committee are developing outlines for the various workshops, such as:

(a) How a bill is passed

(b) How you get to the November elections from the caucuses

(c) Preparation of skits to be used in the workshops

(d) Volunteer lobbying

Several members of the States Program Committee have provided their services for conducting workshops in various states, e.g., Pennsylvania, Kansas and California.

The States Program Committee could be expanded so that teams of experienced volunteers would be on call in different sections of the country to give workshops and help the NRLC field organizer. They could be specialized in giving workshops in the various areas of organization and political effectiveness, such as state legislature, lobbying, elections, etc. These efforts should be coordinated according to the priority of need determined by the staff political coordinator and also the states asking for help.

5. Questionnaire: Legislators for a Human Life Amendment, Governors for a Human Life Amendment, Legislators to testify, Others to Testify

The purpose of this questionnaire was: (a) To get a long list of the authorized signatures of legislators from the various states to be listed under the letterhead "Legislators for a Human Life Amendment" in order to be used at the hearings in the Spring. If the states have a long list of supportive state legislators, this would be effective in influencing the Congressional delegations from the various states; (b) To get the authorized signature of the Governors in favor of a "Human Life Amendment" to be listed under the letterhead "Governors for a Human Life Amendment"; (c) To get a list of state legislators who would testify at the hearings; (d) To get a list of others in the state who would be effective at the hearings. As of December 10, 1973, fifteen states have returned their questionnaires.

6. "When You Come to Washington"

The purpose of this manual will be to provide those coming to Washington with some concrete guides and materials which they can use in their lobbying efforts.

As a result, those who see their Congressional delegation can analyze the effectiveness of various materials and techniques and report them to the Washington office.

III. RESEARCH AND PLANNING

National Right to Life and each state right to life group have to become knowledgeable about politics -- become politically activated and have on hand for easy reference as much political data as will be useful in the battles and campaigns that lie ahead. The accumulation of this data has been begun by the staff.

We need to continue to build in Washington a repository of this political data in the simplest, most retrievable form that is possible. We must work toward the development of state political profiles geared to human life issues.

The profile will include at least the following:

(A) Members of the State Board of Directors
(B) State Right to Life organizations
(C) Local Right to Life organizations
(D) Opposing forces -- Organizations which espouse the "quality of life ethic"
(E) A summary of the state laws on human life issues
(F) A summary on state government -- Executive, Legislative and Judicial as they have operated in human life issues
(G) A good work-up on each of the state legislators: committees, voting record, letters, speeches, election results, etc.
(H) A good work-up on each of the U.S. Representatives and their districts -- All the usual things, plus the hard gut political intelligence that is needed to be effective: Sources of campaign funds, close advisors, former business or professional associates, family friends, business interests, etc.

The next step, after the necessary information is accumulated, is careful analysis of such information to identify strengths and weaknesses in the various state organizations. We must identify key Congressmen who must be influenced if we are to get hearings and to pass the amendment (or to pass other needed bills). We must also identify key states that must be organized or made more powerful.

Finally, our research and analysis, if it is to be worthwhile, must become the basis for a detailed but flexible plan of action to build those key state organizations, influence and lobby key Congressmen and make attainment of our goals possible.

The Executive Committee is a necessary element in deciding where to allocate our resources, but must be assisted in setting its priorities by skilled staff and volunteers. We feel that our committee should provide such a base for Executive Committee planning and policy-setting.

IV. SPECIFIC PROJECT RECOMMENDATIONS

Although research, analysis and policy planning are basic prerequisites to success, there are some undertakings which we feel must be considered for immediate implementation. These involve projects which can begin concurrently with any research and planning activities contemplated in the above section. These projects are intended to complement and supplement our research and planning and, at the same time, move us closer to our goal of developing, maintaining and improving grass roots political organizations in every state. Listed in priority order, they are:

Project "A" -- National or regional symposia designed to train state Right to Life leaders in the techniques of political action and organization. A single symposium could be held in Washington, D. C. or, alternatively, regional symposia could be held at four to six locations throughout the country. A single symposium in Washington (or at some other central location) would permit greater uniformity and commonality in the training. However, it would probably be attended by only one or two persons from each state. The regional meetings, conversely, could be attended by more people but would probably involve some loosening of control over the content of the training offered.

The cost of this project is estimated at $50,000.00. This amount could be paid in full by NRLC or, alternatively, expenses could be shared by NRLC and state groups sending persons to the symposium. Under the latter alternative, the NRLC cost could be as low as $15,000.00 to $20,000.00.

Alternate Project "A" -- State Development:

Another approach to training Right to Life leaders is to take the program to them in their own states. This state development program would entail setting up an intensive and extensive schedule of leadership, organization and political effectiveness workshops, seminars and semi-public meetings throughout the nation for the next year. These would be cooperatively scheduled by NRLC staff in Washington or elsewhere, state Right to Life contacts and one (or more) persons who might variously be described as "evangelists", advance men or field organizers for NRLC. In addition, many experienced Right to Life volunteers would be utilized to lead these sessions as Trainers. Cost of this program would equal or exceed that of Project "A", but it would be a distributed, rather than one-time expenditure. As for Project "A", cooperative funding by the states could be arranged.

Project "B" -- Memorialization of Congress

We must assist state groups in pushing as many additional Human Life memorializations as possible through state legislatures.

Benefits of this project are two-fold: (1) provide Congress with an indication of grass roots pro-life sentiment; and (2) improve the political effectiveness of state Right to Life groups by making them familiar with state legislative processes and procedures. The cost of this project is difficult to determine; however, the estimated cost to NRLC would be $1000 per state for travel, telephoning and preparation of special materials.

Project "C" -- Political Effectiveness Manuals

This project entails the development, printing and distribution of two manuals: one for state Right to Life leaders and one for Right to Life members and local leaders. Like Project "A", these manuals would be designed to enhance the political understanding and effectiveness of state leaders and rank-and-file Right to Life members.

Cost of the first manual would be about $1500.00 for printing and mailing of 1,000 copies. Preparation of the manual itself would be done by volunteers. Drafts of major sections of such a manual follow this report. (MOBILIZING PRO-LIFE FORCES).

Overall cost of the second manual cannot be determined until such time as the Executive Committee makes a policy decision as to its distribution: is the manual to go to all members? Or is it to be a more limited document for selected local Right to Life leaders? These basic questions must be answered before we can proceed. If the quantity printed were 50,000 or more, the cost could likely be held under $1.00 per copy.

Project "D" -- State Organization Manual

This project calls for the development, printing and distribution of a state organization manual. Purpose of this document would be to help state and local leaders in building strong, effective and participating Right to Life organizations.

Because of the pressing need for a manual of this type, we recommend that it be prepared by a paid writer in consultation with pro-life leaders who have built effective organizations. This would entail an estimated cost of $4,000 ($2,500.00 for the writer and about $1,500.00 for printing and mailing of 1,000 copies).

It was adopted by general consent that:

1. The SPC pledge to cooperate with Mike Uhlmann and others, placing ourselves at their disposal to help in whatever way we can with the hearings. When the questionnaires are returned, suggestions for those who might testify should be noted with resumes if possible.

   (Questionnaires should be returned to NRLC office; Warren Schaller will make copies for Mary Beliveau. Mary should be contacted if there are any questions. Decision on use of information will be made later in cooperation with Policy Committee, Executive Board, political advisors, etc.)

2. Pat Kelly begin work on a booklet of hints on politically effective action for state lobby groups, tentatively titled "WHEN YOU COME TO WASHINGTON".

3. Mary Beliveau will rewrite the cover letter for the Hearings Package and submit for approval. Included in the mailing will be requests for a list of "State Legislators for Life", "Governors for Life", to be used at the hearings, and a list of those who, if asked, would be willing to testify.

4. Warren Schaller will check with AUL re list of "Doctors for Life".

5. The SPC accept recommendations proposed by Ed Golden on the Congressional Questionnaire, as follows: Question #2: ADD: "will you sponsor OR CO-SPONSOR such an amendment?"; Question #7: DELETE: "some sort of"; and Question #10: DELETE entire question.

The following suggestions made by President Golden were adopted by general consent:

1. Any materials sent out should indicate title/position of sender;
   CC: to SPC members
   DEADLINE for response should be noted on all correspondence (10 days from date mailed)

THE FOLLOWING PROJECTS RECEIVED APPROVAL OF PRESIDENT GOLDEN:

1. Congressional Questionnaire
2. Questionnaire re states' political effectiveness status
   (Pat Kelly will rewrite, send to LM who will forward to NRLC office for copies to be sent to SPC for response)
3. Hearings Package, including cover letter; TWO WEEK DEADLINE
4. Role-playing skits (Buffalino)
5. Pamphlet: "When You Come to Washington" - (Kelly)
6. Manual: (St. Martin)
7. SPECIAL: Agreement reached re letter of introduction to Congressmen (LMC) and cover letter for questionnaire to Congressmen (M.)
8. $25.00 funding for SPC members to expedite committee's programs (petty cash)

ANNOUNCEMENTS:

No date set for next meeting; chairman will be in touch.
Mail expense vouchers to Treasurer Gloria Klein for reimbursement.

Mary Rita Urbich

Mary Rita Urbich, Secretary, SPC

SUMMARY OF MOTIONS ADOPTED AT SPC MEETING (NRLC) - September 6 and 7, 1973

The States Program Committee, NRLC, met on September 6 and 7, 1973, at the Ramada Inn, Thomas Circle, Washington, D. C., with Marjory Mecklenburg, chairman pro-tem, presiding. Present were Mary Beliveau (Maine), Lucille Buffalino (New York), Carolyn Thompson (Iowa), Darla St. Martin (Minnesota), Pat Kelly (Illinois), Pat Goodson (Kansas), and Mary Rita Urbish (Colorado), secretary.

The following motions were unanimously adopted:

1. (AS AMENDED): That the States Program Committee request the Executive Committee to authorize Warren Schaller and/or the office staff to communicate with the members of the Board of Directors and/or the political contacts in the various states to follow up on programs conceived by the SPC.

2. That the SPC ask Ed Golden Friday for allocation of funds for Lucille Buffalino to follow up with each member of the Board of Directors regarding return of the Congressional Questionnaire and the names of the political contact person for each state.

3. That the SPC ask Ed Golden Friday to put before the Executive Committee a request to allocate to each member of the SPC an amount not to exceed $25.00 per month, substantiated by voucher, to expedite the committee's programs.

4. Expenditures of any amount in excess of $25.00 must be submitted to the Executive Committee for approval.

5. That the SPC request authorization for the NRLC office to mail follow-up letters to the Board and political contacts in each state concerning the return of the Congressional Questionnaires.

   (Lucille Buffalino and Warren Schaller will maintain close communication regarding the Congressional Questionnaire. Pat Goodson will compose the follow-up letter and Warren Schaller will mail it to all Directors on NRLC letterhead. Lucille Buffalino will follow up with a telephone call if no immediate reply is received; she will check with Warren Schaller before making the calls.)

6. That the Congressional Questionnaire be sent out as amended by Warren Schaller and Lucille Buffalino.

7. That Lucille Buffalino be authorized to work on role-playing skits for legislative workshop aids and submit to the SPC for approval before distribution to the states.

8. THAT THE SPC IS OPPOSED TO THE CONCEPT OF HIRING A PAID PROFESSIONAL LOBBYIST. Therefore, we recommend that NRLC primarily utilize citizen lobbyists from the various states, and that NRLC should encourage the formation of a group of volunteer professional lobbyists, such as special interest lobbyists who share our views or staff aides from friendly Congressmen, and that NRLC authorize a staff person to coordinate this effort.

National Right To Life Committee, Inc.

1200 15th Street NW SUITE 500 Washington, D.C. 20005

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*Executive Committee

September 4, 1973

To: State Programs Committee

From: Marjory Mecklenburg

Draft Possible Goals, activities, tools and research methods for State Programs Committee

Please--add as many ideas as possible. We will brainstorm at the meeting, set priorities and come up with our expanded plan of action.

GOALS

1. Passage of an NRLC approved human life amendment in Congress.
2. Ratification of the amendment by at least 3/4 of the states.
3. Election of pro-life sympathizers to public office at national, state and local levels.
4. Passage of ancillary pro-life federal legislation.
5. Passage of state restrictive abortion regulatory laws.
6. A coordinated national political force reaching into each congressional district.
7. A coordinated political effort in each state.
8. An effective program of positive humane alternatives to abortion and euthanasia and other anti-life solutions to problems at the state and federal levels.
9. Meet the program needs of states not covered by activities of other committees.

Activities of State Programs Committee to meet goals

1. Keep membership and leadership informed of national pro-life political progress and problems. Direct activities they may wish to engage in to affect success in meeting the political goals of NRLC (In consultation with NRLC political advisor and/or the executive committee).
2. Develop and circulate a political effectiveness manual for pro-lifers.
3. Evaluate status of the states in political effectiveness.
4. Locate a responsible political contact in each existing state or local group. When an umbrella state group is formed, encourage a contact in each congressional district for coordination with state and national groups (this would be ideal).
5. Develop political effectiveness workshops and speakers and offer to come into state or regional meetings to consult on problems and teach in this area.
6. Offer consultation services to NRLC state leaders and members on pro-life political matters.
7. Assist in preparation for congressional hearings. "Legislators for Life", "Governors for Life" etc.
8. Circulate and encourage passage of model state legislation as recommended by NRLC policy committee.
9. Encourage passage of as many state memorializations to Congress as possible for a human life amendment.
10. Gather educational handouts already developed for legislators and assist in developing needed new handouts and make them available to members.

TOOLS AND RESEARCH METHODS FOR MEETING GOALS

1. Newsletter - (Will be out November 1 and monthly thereafter.) Column or ideas to be communicated by editor.
2. Special political mailings (bulletins) to membership and/or political contacts.
3. Questionnaire to determine political effectiveness of each state and locate political contacts.
4. Directory of pro-life political contacts.
5. Questionnaire to develop list of legislators and governors for life.
6. Bibliography of existing materials that build political know how.
7. Packets of educational materials recommended as handouts for state legislators and officials.
8. Political manual.
9. Regular mailings to Congressmen.
10. Political teaching teams and consultants.
11. A manual on alternatives programs and legislation.
12. Model legislation at State and Federal levels (drafted by policy committee and ratified by executive committee).

11. Coordinate with Washington NRLC lobbyist or political advisor to bring pressure to bear in selected districts or states where congressional support is crucial.

12. Assess the probability of each state ratifying a human life amendment. Blitz selected target states that will be crucial to swing in obtaining 3/4 of the states to ratify the amendment and put pro-life forces in control in those states.

13. Assist in developing regularly distributed political and educational materials for Congressmen concerning pro-life matters.

14. Develop liasons with known pro-life political experts to give advice on effective ways to carry out our goals.

15. Assess the areas of programs being covered by other committees of NRLC and fill the unmet needs.

16. Research and develop creative and positive alternatives to anti-life solutions for problems in abortion and euthanasia.

National Right To Life Committee, inc.

1200 15th Street NW SUITE 500 Washington, D.C. 20005

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*EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

September 20, 1973

To: Political Contact Persons or Directors of all States

From: Lucille Buffalino, State Programs Committee, National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

The business of the State Program Committee is the development of Right to Life programs and organizations right down to the Congressional District level. The purpose of these programs and organization is political effectiveness in the passage of a human life amendment.

We need to know what your state is capable of doing in this area. And this questionnaire is one of our attempts to gather the intelligence we need. You will find the names, addresses and telephone numbers of the State Program Committee below, and we are at your disposal. Please answer these questions or have them answered as accurately and as quickly as possible. If your organization is not organized to the degree that these questions suggest, we need to know that. We will put at your disposal whatever you need to help you prepare for the coming effort.

By October 2nd, please return this questionnaire to the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., 1200 - 15th St., N.W., Washington D.C. 20005.

LB:dhw

Names, addresses and telephone numbers of States Program Committee:

Marjory Mecklenburg
1219 W. 51st Street
Minneapolis, Minn. 55419
(612) 827-4973

Carolyn Thompson
4219 Sheridan Avenue
Des Moines, Iowa 50310
(515) 255- 2765

Darla St. Martin
380 Pinewood Drive
Woodbury, Minnesota 55119
(612) 739-8053

Mary Rita Urbish
1150 So. Forest
Denver, Colorado 80222
(303) 757-0935

Mary Beliveau
12 Surry Lane
Lewiston, Maine 04240
(207) 782-5627

Pat Goodson
12742 Circle Drive
P. O. Box 3068
Shawnee Mission, Kansas

Patricia Kelly
2108 Henley Street
Glenview, Illinois 60025
(312) 729-7588

Lucille Buffalino
6 Howe Street
Huntington Station, N.Y. 11746
(516) 271-2978

Marie Gentle
1749 48th Street
Birmingham, Ala. 35208
(205) 785-2766

S T A T E

A P P R A I S A L

Q U E S T I O N N A I R E

Name _____

Street _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____

Questionnaire for appraisal of the state of _____ with respect to the development of a local and state structure able to effect Congress.

1. Do you have separate chair-persons, one for the national and one for the state legislature? _____ YES _____ NO

   A. If you do, kindly list the name, address and telephone number of the person in charge of your state legislative program. _____

   _____

   Also, please list the name, address and telephone number of the chair-person in charge of your national Congress program. _____

   _____

   B. If not, would you consider appointing such persons in order that neither the state or federal program might be lacking in leadership?

   _____ YES _____ NO

2. Do you know for certain that each Congressional District in your state has some activity aimed at the national Congress? _____ YES _____ NO

   Does each Congressional District have a chair-person assigned and have you those names and addresses available? _____ YES _____ NO

   If not, is it feasible to appoint such people from your state organization?

   _____ YES _____ NO

3. From your contact with the Congressional Districts in your state, through your local chair-person, if you have one, can you ascertain whether the following activity is going on in each district? (check each answer that applies)

   A. Letterwriting campaigns _____ YES _____ NO

   B. Repeat letters and replys _____ YES _____ NO

   C. Visit with representatives in Washington, D. C. _____ YES _____ NO

   D. Visits with representatives in their home district _____ YES _____ NO

E. Other _____

F. Should the need arrive, would your people be willing and able to take further action against a representative should he be strongly anti-life or refuse repeatedly to discuss the issue with your organization?

_____ YES _____ NO

4. If any of the answers in question three are NO, could you ascertain the reason. (Check appropriate answers)

A. State people are not sufficiently organized or motivated on the question of abortion and euthanasia. _____ YES _____ NO

B. State people are pro-life but not willing to act on legislative matters? _____ YES _____ NO

C. State people work steadily, but only on the state legislative level.

_____YES _____ NO

D. People are willing to work on both the state and national level, but lack experience. _____ YES _____ NO

E. We would benefit from the National Right to Life office providing necessary information, manuals, and workshops to expedite efficient local action? _____ YES _____ NO

5. Do you have a reference chart for your state, listing each Congressman and Senator, together with the name of the contact person? ____ YES ____ NO

Do you keep a report on each Congressman and Senator, so you know what their expressed attitudes toward abortion, euthanasia and other related matters are? _____ YES _____ NO

If you do not, can this kind of information system be implemented in your state in the near future? _____ YES _____ NO

6. It has been said that two percent of the active constituents of a Congressional District are sufficient to move a Representative to action.

By your estimate, do you have the potentiality to stimulate two percent of the constituents in each of the Congressional Districts of your state?

_____ YES _____ NO

(You can check the Congressional Directory for the number of people in each district. The Directory is available free from any pro-life Representative.)

7. Do you have in your possession the following items:

   A. A map of each Congressional District in your state? _____ YES _____ NO

   B. Election law information pertaining to your state and county? (Have a pro-life attorney photostat these documents from a law library.)

   _____ YES _____ NO

   C. Information on your federal and state Representatives indicating when their term expires? _____ YES _____ NO

8. Does your telephone chain of communication reach down into every Congressional District, and can you reach people who are particularly responsive and action in legislative matters? _____ YES _____ NO

9. Do you have funds which would allow your organization to carry on a campaign through the newspaper if you have to zero on specific Congressional Districts? _____ YES _____ NO

10. Has your organization held any rallies? _____ YES _____ NO

    Could a rally be organized in a specific Congressional District if that district were considered very important? _____ YES _____ NO

11. Please put down any other questions or comments you have.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

PLEASE RETURN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE BY OCTOBER 2nd, 1973.

National Right To Life Committee, Inc.

1200 15th Street NW SUITE 500 Washington, D.C. 20005

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*EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

To: Board of Directors
Political Contacts in States
State Programs Committee Members

From: State Programs Committee, NRLC

Re: Preparation for Congressional Hearings in fall

IMPORTANT: DEADLINE
PLEASE RETURN BY: October 5, 1973
TO: Warren Schaller, Exec. Dir.
If any questions, contact him during daytime hours; or contact
Mary Beliveau
8 Champlain Avenue
Lewiston, Maine 04240
Tel: (207) 782-5627

The States Program Committee, NRLC, needs your immediate help to provide the names of individuals who could be called on to testify at Congressional hearings this fall.

We also need your help in compiling a list of State Legislators and a list of Governors for a Human Life Amendment.

These names should all be verified by the authorization slips enclosed.

This will also be useful for states which have not yet passed memorials to know the attitudes of their legislators and governor.

The following will be included in the questionnaire:

A. Five or six of your most influential pro-life legislators who, if asked, would testify at hearings in the fall.

B. State legislators who would be willing to add their names to a list under the letterhead "State Legistors for Life", to be used at hearings including those listed in A above.

C. Governors who would be willing to add their names to a list under the leatterhead "Governors for a Human Life Amendment", to be used at hearings. Use the authorization slips enclosed.

D. Other persons in your state who would be qualified to testify at a hearing in the fall (such as doctors, lawyers, feminists, civil rights leaders, biologists, ministers, rabbis, etc.)

PLEASE FILL IN THE INFORMATION AS COMPLETELY AS POSSIBLE.

A. Five or six influential State Legislators who could be asked to testify at hearings in the fall.

1. _____ _____ _____ _____ _____
Legislator's name Address Phone Age Sex

_____ _____ _____
Religion House or Senate How long served

_____
Political Party

Does he hold a position of Party leadership or is he a chairman of an important committee? YES NO

Comment: _____

_____

_____

What is his voting record on pro-life bills such as conscience clauses, memorial to congress for a Human Life Amendment, etc.

Comment: _____

_____

_____

Has he sponsored any pro-life legislation, such as memorial, conscience clauses? YES NO

Comment: - Name type of legislation. _____

_____

_____

Has he actively supported pro-life legislation? YES NO

Comment: e.g. Speaking, lobbying fellow legislators, signing literature to be distributed. _____

_____

_____

Does he/she have asperations to a higher political office? YES NO

Comment: _____

_____

_____

Would he/she be an effective speaker before a congressional audience?

YES NO

Comment: _____

_____

_____

Please list any other comments.or political climate in your state that would be helpful in knowing more about your legislator.

Comment: _____

_____

_____

8107120381

2. _____ _____ _____ _____ _____

Legislator's name | Address | Phone | Age | Sex

_____ _____ _____

Religion | House or Senate | How long Served

_____ _____

Political Party

Does he hold a position of party leadership or is he a chairman of an important committee? YES NO

Comment: _____

_____

_____

What is his voting record on pro-life bills such as conscience clauses, memorial to congress for a Human Life Amendment, etc.

Comment: _____

_____

_____

Has he sponsored any pro-life legislation, such as memorial, conscience clauses? YES NO

Comment: - Name type of legislation. _____

_____

_____

Has he actively supported pro-life legislation? YES NO

Comment: e.g. Speaking, lobbying fellow legislators, signing literature to be distributed. _____

_____

_____

Does he/she have asperations to a higher political office? YES NO

Comment: _____

_____

_____

Does he/she have asperations to a higher political office? YES NO

Comment: _____

_____

_____

Would he/she be an effective speaker before a congressional audience?

YES NO

Comment: _____

_____

_____

Please list any other comments or political climate in your state that would be helpful in knowing more about your legislator.

Comment: _____

_____

_____

3 1 7 4 2 3 1 2 3 3

B. State Legislators to be listed under the letterhead "State Legislators for a Human Life Amendment" (to be used at hearings). These names must be verified by a signed authorization slip (sample attached).

1. Name _____ Address _____

Phone _____ House or Senate _____ Party _____ Religion _____

2. Name _____ Address _____

Phone _____ House or Senate _____ Party _____ Religion _____

3. Name _____ Address _____

Phone _____ House or Senate _____ Party _____ Religion _____

4. Name _____ Address _____

Phone _____ House or Senate _____ Party _____ Religion _____

5. Name _____ Address _____

Phone _____ House or Senate _____ Party _____ Religion _____

6. Name _____ Address _____

Phone _____ House or Senate _____ Party _____ Religion _____

7. Name _____ Address _____

Phone _____ House or Senate _____ Party _____ Religion _____

8. Name _____ Address _____

Phone _____ House or Senate _____ Party _____ Religion _____

C. Governors to be listed under the letterhead "Governors for a Human Life Amendment" (to be used at hearings). Use the authorization slips.

1. Name _____ Address _____

Phone _____ Party _____ Religion _____

2. Name _____ Address _____

Phone _____ Party _____ Religion _____

3. Name _____ Address _____

Phone _____ Party _____ Religion _____

4. Name _____ Address _____

Phone _____ Party _____ Religion _____

5. Name _____ Address _____

Phone _____ Party _____ Religion _____

6. Name _____ Address _____

Phone _____ Party _____ Religion _____

7. Name _____ Address _____

Phone _____ Party _____ Religion _____

8. Name _____ Address _____

Phone _____ Party _____ Religion _____

D. Other persons in your state who would be qualified to testify at a hearing in the fall (such as doctors, lawyers, feminists, civil rights leaders, biologists, ministers, rabbies, etc.)

1. _____ _____ _____ _____
Name Address Phone Profession

Qualifications and comments: _____

_____

_____

Reasons you feel he/she would be effective to testify: _____

_____

_____

_____

2. _____ _____ _____ _____
Name Address Phone Profession

Qualifications and comments: _____

_____

_____

Reasons you feel he/she would be effective to testify: _____

_____

_____

_____

3. _____ _____ _____ _____
Name Address Phone Profession

Qualifications and comments: _____

_____

_____

Reasons you feel he/she would be effective to testify: _____

_____

_____

_____

AUTHORIZATION SLIP FOR GOVERNORS

The undersigned hereby authorizes the use of my name by the National Right to Life Committee for the purpose of appearing on a letterhead entitled "Governors for a Human Life Amendment".

It is understood that no other names of organizations will appear on said stationery. It is further understood that this letterhead is to be used for the purpose of support at the hearing of a Human Life Amendment.

_____
Signature

(This can be duplicated and sent to governors for verification.)

MOBILIZING PRO-LIFE FORCES

STATE LEADERSHIP EDITION

LIMITED CIRCULATION

DISTRIBUTION OF THIS PAMPHLET SHOULD BE LIMITED TO PRO-LIFE STATE LEADERS AND THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR ORGANIZING AND DIRECTING THE STATE POLITICAL AND MOBILIZATION EFFORTS.

MOBILIZING PRO-LIFE FORCES

PREFACE

From different parts of the United States have come reports of remarkable political success achieved by small groups of inexperienced pro-life people. Many of these people began with only their common sense about how to influence people and a willingness to learn more about politics--if political involvement was what it took to defend human life. Even by their trial-and-error methods, success was eventually achieved.

However, success can be achieved more easily if pro-life people have the benefit of practical, useable advice and suggestions from professional pro-life politicians and politically experienced pro-life volunteers. This is the first of a series of pamphlets designed to provide this type of practical help for developing state political effectiveness more quickly.

This pamphlet is designed for pro-life state leaders only, to help them direct the mobilization of pro-life forces in their own states. Other leadership pamphlets will deal with political campaigns and lobbying.

Later, we would also like to produce a more general political manual for the use of local pro-life leaders and members which would include information on educating for political impact, political party activity, campaigns and elections, constituent lobbying, and letter writing.

Our suggestions are based upon general political theory and expertise. But, more important, they are based upon the realities of pro-life politics, because pro-life politics offers its own unique set of political opportunities and pitfalls. These ideas have come from pro-life people who have actually fought and won pro-life political and legislative battles in the states. They can be used, altered, developed, or applied as they can best serve your own state needs.

1/1/74

Darla St. Martin

MOBILIZING PRO-LIFE FORCES

OFTEN A FEW KEY PEOPLE MAKE DECISIONS WHICH AFFECT MANY LIVES.

BUT IN AMERICA THESE DECISIONS CAN BE INFLUENCED BY BEING ALERT TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF DECISIVE SITUATIONS AND CORRECTLY MOBILIZING EFFECTIVE GROUP OR INDIVIDUAL PRESSURES AT THE RIGHT MOMENT.

HOWEVER, THE CRITICAL DECISION-MAKING PERIOD FOR INFLUENCING KEY PERSONS IS OFTEN SHORT AND PRO-LIFE FORCES MUST BE WELL ORGANIZED AND READY TO BE MOBILIZED QUICKLY IN RESPONSE TO AN EMERGENCY SITUATION. EVEN A SMALL NUMBER OF DEDICATED CORE PEOPLE CAN ACCOMPLISH THIS--IF THEY HAVE SOME KNOWLEDGE OF SUCCESSFUL POLITICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL METHODS.

ONE RESPECTED, PROFESSIONAL POLITICIAN GAVE THE PRO-LIFE MOVEMENT AN EXCELLENT POLITICAL MOTTO WHEN HE OFFERED US SOME ADVICE IN THE WORDS OF TEDDY ROOSEVELT....

"SPEAK SOFTLY BUT CARRY A BIG STICK."

MOBILIZATION IS OUR "STICK".

WE MUST ORGANIZE WELL TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT OUR "STICK" IS A "BIG" ONE.

BUT WE MUST ALSO EDUCATE PRO-LIFE PEOPLE IN SUCCESSFUL POLITICAL TECHNIQUES, SO THEY KNOW HOW AND WHY TO "SPEAK SOFTLY."

MOBILIZING PRO-LIFE FORCES

Page

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B. Pro-Life Allies to Mobilize.....10

C. Situations for Mobilization.....11

D. Organization for Mobilization.....13

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A. PRINCIPLES OF SUCCESSFUL MOBILIZATION

1. MANY PRO-LIFE BATTLES HAVE BEEN WON WITH A MINIMUM OF EFFORT BECAUSE THE PRO-LIFE GROUP ALREADY HAD THE RIGHT IMAGE. YOUR USE OF THE POWER TO MOBILIZE PEOPLE IS A CRITICAL FACTOR IN THE REPUTATION YOU ACHIEVE AMONG POLITICIANS.

2. Whenever you mobilize, remember that you want to cultivate a reputation for:
   a. Tremendous political power to mobilize public opinion and bring it to bear on a particular situation or election.
   b. The political knowledge to know what is happening politically and be able to react wisely.
   c. The dedication to remember and follow through at election time if a politician does not cooperate in a particular situation.
   d. The justice to use your power fairly and responsibly.
   e. Success in whatever you attempt.
   f. The ability to apply political pressure with subtle, "professional skill".
   g. Support of a human life amendment motivated by a concern for human rights and equality. ("Religious" motivations are too easy for opponents to dismiss as "private" matters which should not be written into law.)
3. Members and allies should be educated in advance on successful pro-life lobbying techniques.
   a. The most successful citizen lobby approach is three-fold, to persuade the politician that our position is not only expedient, but our people are friendly, respectful and sincere and we have a good, logical case.
   b. It is especially important that pro-life people learn to persuade politicians without offending their personal pride. (Example: "Much as I admire you, Senator Doe.....this is an exceptional issue..... one which involves millions of human lives.....and I really regret that I cannot go along with your stand.")
   c. CRUDE, OFFENSIVE THREATS ARE FAR LESS SUCCESSFUL WITH POLITICIANS THAN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A FRIENDLY RELATIONSHIP--BUT ONE IN WHICH THE POLITICIAN KNOWS, WITHOUT EVEN BEING TOLD--THAT YOUR GROUP LIKES AND RESPECTS HIM, BUT THEY HAVE BUSINESS AND CANNOT BE PUT OFF BY SMOOTH DOUBLE-TALK AND A CHARMING MANNER.

MOBILIZING PRO-LIFE FORCES

4. Once you have established a reputation for political power, it is usually to your advantage to use as little mobilization as possible to accomplish your task because:
   a. The mass of pro-life people have a limited amount of time and energy to expend on the cause. If you call on them too often, they will not be there when you really need them. (However, they may also lose interest if you call on them too infrequently. You need to study each situation and balance these two factors as you make your judgements.)
   b. If you use your total mobilization power too often, you may get a reputation for bullying unnecessarily. This could produce a backlash which could hurt your cause.
   c. It is expensive for your organization to do the necessary mailings or telephoning for extensive mobilization.
   d. It is always good to have something more in reserve to use at a critical moment.
   e. In some situations a series of mobilization pressures can be brought to bear on a politician in a "phasing in" operation--which will allow you to judge how he is reacting to one phase before you activate the next one.

5. YOU CAN ESTABLISH A REPUTATION FOR POWER AND SUCCESS BY:
   a. SUCCESS IN DEFEATING AT LEAST ONE OR TWO ENEMIES AT EACH ELECTION.
   b. PRODUCING A REALLY SPECTACULAR MOBILIZATION EFFORT (RALLY, LETTER-WRITING CAMPAIGN, HEARING ATTENDANCE, ETC.) AT LEAST ONCE EVERY YEAR OR TWO.

6. Thereafter, for every politician who has heard about the defeat of a pro-abortionist, the recognition threat is always present, and you can rely on your reputation to do part of the work for you while you preserve the politician's pride by persuading him with sweet reason and logical arguments.

7. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT YOU ALWAYS USE YOUR POWER FAIRLY AND RESPONSIBLY.

   a. Be non-partisan. Whatever the pro-life leaders' personal political outlook, the pro-life group must treat politicians of all political parties fairly. Remember that, in this battle, we have all degrees of liberals, conservatives, Democrats, Republicans, etc. for both allies and enemies.
   b. Make rational rather than emotional or personal judgements. Never let your personal affection or

3 1 7 4 9 2 3 2 1 3

anger affect your political judgement. Politicians should be aided or opposed entirely on the basis of their pro-life actions or opposition rather than on the basis of their personal compatability with pro-life leaders or lobbyists. (Some politicians, however, hypocritically say they are pro-life and then work against right-to-lifers using personal disagreements with pro-life leaders as an excuse for not supporting the pro-life cause. Their pro-life constituents should make it clear that they are not fooled by such hypocracy, and expect better cooperation in the future. In some cases these politicians may have to be defeated if they cannot be converted.)

8. Mobilize only when your group has a well-planned clearly-defined goal for doing so.
   a. Do mobilize when you have studied a situation carefully and see a real need for action and a reasonable chance of success.
   b. Do not mobilize a district if you have no clear goal in mind or when you just feel an urge to harrass an obnoxious enemy politician who you would have little chance of influencing or defeating.
9. Mobilization can, however, be used as an effective technique for polarizing and radicalizing an enemy's pro-life constituents shortly before he is a target at an upcoming election. If a large number of pro-life people in his district have personally experienced the frustration of a politician's refusal to cooperate or his political double-talk, they will be more highly motivated to work against him in the next political campaign.

10. THERE IS A WAY TO EFFECTIVELY INFLUENCE MOST GOVERNMENTAL UNITS, INSTITUTIONS OR BUSINESSES---YOUR JOB IS TO FIND THAT WAY AND CONCENTRATE YOUR MOBILIZATION EFFORTS THERE.

Study each group you wish to influence--hospitals, welfare boards, TV stations, departments of education, school boards, health and welfare departments, etc., and analyze how you can most effectively influence each target. For example:
   a. Governmental units and the bureaucrats who run them can be influenced not only by pressure from determined citizens, but also by pressure from a pro-life chief executive (governor or President) or the pro-life legislators serving on the committees which pass on funds for their departments.
   b. Many bureaucrats or officials who are not usually the targets of pressure can be influenced simply by a desire to rid themselves of the annoyance of

numbers of people calling them with protests or suggestions.

c. Television stations are moderately responsive to the public and very responsive to the advertisers who sponsor the station's programs. These sponsors are, in turn, responsive to the consumers who buy their products.

d. Hospitals are responsive to their boards, doctors, and the public in their communities.

11. IN A REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY MANY PEOPLE MAY INFLUENCE A POLITICIAN'S DECISIONS. REMEMBER WHO THESE ARE WHEN YOU MOBILIZE:

a. The citizens who elected them (all the voters living in their own district).

b. Influential people in their own district.

c. The people who worked on their campaign.

d. Financial contributors to their campaign fund.

e. Influential politicians in their own party--either legislative or party leaders.

f. Their fellow legislators--through friendships, respect, or vote trade offs.

g. Their spouses, family, friends, relatives, and girl friends (or boy friends).

h. Their social or business associates.

i. The professional people who serve them--their own doctor banker, etc.

j. The spokesman for special interest groups (business, labor, etc.) with whom they have strong ties.

k. Prominent clergymen of their own or a faith with membership and influence in their district.

l. Persons with a philosophy or outlook similar to their own--especially anyone with a public reputation.

m. Doctors.

12. THE EXCHANGE OF FAVORS IS ONE OF THE MOST BASIC "FACTS OF LIFE" IN POLITICS, AND THE SKILLFUL TRADING OF POLITICAL "FAVORS" CAN BE A VALUABLE TOOL FOR PRO-LIFE PEOPLE.

Favor trading in some form is universal in American politics. It may even be referred to in special terms such as calling in..."chits","brownie points","I.O.U.'s" or just "personal favors".

a. It is important to identify and recruit as allies "special influencers" listed above in number 11, who already have "chits" from politicians which can be used, when necessary, during a mobilization effort.

b. All pro-life people should also be encouraged to use their opportunities to do favors for politicians--

especially powerful ones--which give them "chits" to collect later. (It's best not to publicly put it in these blunt terms, however, but rather to encourage people to "get active politically" or "get to know their representatives and work in their campaigns".)

c. "Chits" can be earned by campaign contributions, political work, legislative trade-offs or other favors. In most cases, it is not considered polite to openly demand to collect your "chit". Though you may know that a politician owes you a favor, it is best to politely make your request for "a personal favor" with no reference to the fact that he owes you one. Then, if he says he just can't do that particular favor, you can graciously accept his refusal and use your "chit" at a later time.

d. "Chits" are like currency. They have a certain limited value, and they can only be used once. Once they are spent, they are gone. So when you see "chits" for mobilization, be sure you spend them as wisely as you would money. If you are really lucky, you may find a pro-life "special influencer" who has already accumulated lots of "chits" from a politician and is willing to use them for the pro-life cause.

13. When planning your mobilization effort it is important to be aware of the enemy's attempts to use religious bigotry to their advantage. There is always a danger of the enemy ranting about a sinister "Catholic plot" whenever a Catholic church group acts in defense of life--especially in political situations. Our response must be reasoned and well balanced. We must avoid the unnecessary use of Catholic churches for the more sensitive political activities while refusing to let the enemy make us afraid to use pro-life churches of all denominations for distributing really essential pro-life information. While we do want to avoid occasions for bigotry if we can, there is no legitimate reason to apologize for any church's participation in the defense of human rights.

14. WE MUST CONSTANTLY ENCOURAGE AND MAINTAIN A STRONG YEAR-AROUND EDUCATION PROGRAM--FOR PRO-LIFE CHURCHES AND OTHER PRO-LIFE GROUPS.

a. This can be conducted by the officers, priest, minister, members, or by the local right-to-life group and should include education on the issue and the importance of citizen political participation, working with political representatives, voter pro-file, etc.

b. With such an issue vitally important to the pro-life message pro-life education in churches can be an important means of reaching large numbers of potentially pro-life people in one convenient place. Many people who really care about their fellow human beings are church members.

15. The following suggestions can serve as guidelines in areas of the country or states where the potential for a backlash of religious bigotry exists.

a. Discretion should be used in deciding when a particular political situation is important enough to use churches--whatever their denomination--as a rallying point for citizen support.

b. The most likely instance for paranoid cries of a "Catholic plot" is the endorsement of a particular political candidate by a priest from the pulpit. While a volunteer right-to-life group with people of many religions has no influence over clergy statements of this sort, they can offer their own services as an alternative means of political education. Many clergymen are willing to leave some of the more sensitive political activities to an independent right-to-life group who can distribute information such as questionnaire results before elections to members of pro-life parishes.

c. Another approach is to carefully select which elections are critical and which political districts are target areas. In these instances every means ought to be used to inform pro-life people about which candidates are pro-life and which are abortionists.

d. In other areas alternative methods for informing voters about candidate stands can be used--printing the results in church newspapers, or your own right-to-life newsletter, doing direct mailings to appropriate parish membership lists or, in heavily pro-life communities, printing the results in local newspapers.

16. An objective questionnaire sent to all candidates early in a campaign makes a good tool in mobilization efforts.

a. In the interests of justice, it is advisable to print only the candidate's own response or refusal to respond to your questionnaire and his voting record; allowing the people to draw their own conclusions.

b. However, a few words cautioning that those candidates who do not respond are often the pro-abortionists and answers which seem vague were probably deliberatively designed to evade taking a firm stand can be added if this seems necessary.

17. WHATEVER, NEVER FAIL TO DO WHATEVER REALLY MUST BE DONE, EVEN IF THERE IS A DANGER OF A BACKLASH OR EXHAUSTION. IT IS BETTER TO ACT BOLDLY--WHEN NECESSARY--AND RISK A REACTION, THAN TO DO NOTHING AND LOSE AN IMPORTANT BATTLE....BUT IT IS BEST OF ALL TO ACT SO SKILLFULLY THAT YOU ACCOMPLISH YOUR PURPOSE WITHOUT A BACKLASH.

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MOBILIZING PRO-LIFE FORCES

18. A functional mobilization structure requires:
    a. A prime leader or leaders to organize and direct the total state mobilization mechanism.
    b. Competent personnel--willing to carry out the task of contacting the mass of pro-life people.
    c. A large number of pro-life people sufficiently accessible and motivated to respond to the call to action.

19. TO MOTIVATE THESE PEOPLE, YOU MUST HELP THEM TO REALIZE:
    a. THAT THE CAUSE IS RIGHT.
    b. THAT THE CAUSE IS IMPORTANT ENOUGH TO BE WORTH THEIR TIME AND ENERGY.
    c. THAT THEY PERSONALLY HAVE SOMETHING SIGNIFICANT THEY CAN CONTRIBUTE (EVEN IF IT IS JUST A LETTER OR A PHONE CALL).
    d. THAT THEY ARE CAPABLE OF DOING THE REQUIRED JOB.
    e. THAT THEY ARE APPRECIATED FOR WHAT THEY DO.

20. IT IS IMPORTANT TO MAKE IT VERY EASY AND CONVENIENT FOR THE MASS OF MOTIVATED PRO-LIFE PEOPLE TO RESPOND TO YOUR CALL TO ACTION.

    Provide directions, samples, addresses, etc. and don't forget to include instructions on creating the right image for your pro-life group.

21. If your experience with them indicates they can successfully do so, it is ideal to have each pro-life allied group handle the mobilization of their own members themselves, this will free overworked right-to-life volunteers for other tasks.

22. After a successful mobilization effort give everyone the praise and appreciation they deserve. Everyone must be made to feel that they participated in something significant and that what they did made a difference.
    a. If there were only a few people involved, thank them personally.
    b. If there were large numbers involved, you can use the newsletter or chapter network to reach them.
    c. If it is a smaller number, who meet as a group, it might be appropriate for someone to bring victory punch or cookies to the meeting.
    d. Pro-life leaders should also think of their own ways to keep up the group spirits and reward those who respond to mobilization by some recognition of their contributions.

B. PRO-LIFE ALLIES TO MOBILIZE

EVERY STATE AND LOCAL ORGANIZATION SHOULD PREPARE A MASTER LIST OF THEIR POTENTIAL ALLIES AND A PLAN FOR THE COORDINATION AND MOBILIZATION OF THESE ALLIES.

It should include all known pro-life groups throughout the state (divided into legislative and congressional districts). The following allies ought to be included on your list: (This is not intended to be exhaustive.)

1. ALL RIGHT TO LIFE GROUPS IN YOUR STATE (WHETHER POLITICAL, EDUCATIONAL OR BOTH).

2. Pro-life youth groups.
3. Special interest or special professional groups.
   Examples: Doctors for Life, Feminists for Life, Republican Pro-life Caucus, etc.

4. ALL CHURCHES WITH A STRONG PRO-LIFE STAND.
   EXAMPLES: MISSOURI SYNOD LUTHERAN, ROMAN CATHOLIC, FUNDAMENTALIST CHRISTIAN, CONSERVATIVE JEWISH, ETC.

5. Pro-life religious groups.
   Examples: Protestant prayer groups, Knights of Columbus, Catholic Guilds, Protestant Women's Circles, etc.
6. Pro-life secular groups.
   Examples: Farm Bureau, Labor Unions, Jaycees. (If these groups are strongly pro-life in your area.)

7. SPECIAL INFLUENCERS: INDIVIDUALS WHO MAY HAVE SPECIAL INFLUENCE WITH A PARTICULAR POLITICIAN OR INDIVIDUAL YOU WISH TO INFLUENCE. (SEE PAGE 7 FOR A DETAILED LIST OF INFLUENCERS FOR POLITICIANS.)

C. SITUATIONS FOR MOBILIZATION

The following list includes some of the more frequent situations for mobilization. However, you will discover many other situations in which pro-life groups can use mobilization as a tool for achieving pro-life goals.

Mobilization can be used:

1. TO INFLUENCE THE VOTE OF A POLITICIAN.
   a. In committee.
   b. On the floor of the legislative body.
2. To "soften up" a politician so that he will help you in some way.
   a. By becoming a co-author on pro-life legislation.
   b. By using his personal influence to persuade other legislators to help you or vote for pro-life legislation.
3. To force a legislative body into action on a controversial piece of pro-life legislation. If you allow them to get by

with it, clever politicians may try to avoid either consideration or voting on controversial legislation. Politicians want to keep their constituents happy, and they know that however they vote on a controversial bill they will have a sizable group of angry constituents. Therefore, even those politicians who will vote pro-life if they have to vote may do everything in their power to avoid voting at all. When pro-life legislation is stalled somewhere, mobilization to demand its release may be necessary to prove to politicians that it is more controversial to stall than to vote. This is especially effective if you know which leaders do have the power to get action on the bill and you can zero in some of your mobilization efforts directly on them. (Be sure to do it with courtesy and respect, rather than threats, but let them know you cannot be bought off with flattery and smooth words.)

4. To neutralize an enemy politician (especially an influential one) so that he does not use the full force of his influence against you.

   Examples:

   a. Refraining from giving a public speech against your position.
   b. Being elsewhere during a close vote in the committee or on the floor.
   c. Not asking others to vote against you.

5. To encourage the appointment of pro-life people and prevent the appointment of pro-abortion people to key positions such as:

   a. Boards and commissions.
   b. Regents of universities.
   c. Heads of departments.
   d. Welfare departments.
   e. Health departments.
   f. Departments of education.
   g. Local school boards.
   h. Special commissions (to study problems related to pro-life issues).
   i. Medical schools.
   j. Supreme Court Justices.
   k. Justices or judges who might receive pro-life cases.
   l. Others (such as U.S. Vice President).

6. TO ENCOURAGE CERTAIN "LEGISLATIVE LEADERS" (THE SMALL GROUP WHO REALLY RUNS THINGS) TO COOPERATE WITH THE PRO-LIFE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM.

   a. To get committee chairmen to give your bills a hearing (if your state is one in which committee chairmen personally control which bills their committee will even consider).
   b. To put these few "legislative leaders" in a pro-life frame of mind.

7. To influence research centers which are conducting inhumane human experiments. (Especially on aborted babies or premature newborns.)
8. To influence hospitals and medical schools toward more pro-life policies.
9. To influence the policies or guidelines of governmental departments on the local county, state, or federal level.

10. TO INFLUENCE THE OUTCOME OF POLITICAL ELECTIONS.

11. To influence political party platforms, resolutions, and candidates (by mobilizing pro-life people to attend important party meetings or caucuses).

12. To influence the policies of other groups. For example, church groups or feminist groups (Women's Political Caucus) by turning out pro-life people in large numbers or encouraging pro-life people to become delegates to their policy-making conventions.

13. TO INFLUENCE THE MEDIA (IN AN ATTEMPT TO GET FAIR COVERAGE FOR THE PRO-LIFE CAUSE).

    a. Mass letters to the editor, subscription cancellations and telephone protests to the editors are a few methods used successfully with newspapers.
    b. Another example of successful media influence was the mass national pro-life mobilization and protest against the pro-abortion Maude rerun in the summer of 1973 which resulted in all sponsors cancelling out before show time.

D. ORGANIZATION FOR MOBILIZATION

1. Organizing the Mobilization Committee.

    a. A STATEWIDE COMMITTEE ORGANIZATION (OR COALITION OF RIGHT-TO-LIFE GROUPS) WHICH WOULD ALLOW EITHER SELECTIVE MOBILIZATION IN ANY KEY STATE LEGISLATIVE OR CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, OR TOTAL MOBILIZATION THROUGHOUT THE STATE, MUST BE ORGANIZED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

    b. If a closer union of state right-to-life groups cannot be achieved immediately, some mechanism which would allow them to cooperate in mobilization efforts must, at least, be used. Communication--whether through a coalition, ad hoc committee or alliance--is important to success.

c. Ideally, the mobilization committee should be a separate committee which can concentrate its efforts on efficient mobilization. It should work closely with other committees--such as Health, Welfare, or Political Committees needing mobilization efforts as part of their programs. In states where there are numerous groups, plans for communication cooperation and authority must be made which are appropriate to the special needs of that state.

d. A formal approval system for mobilization efforts should be set up. The committee chairmen involved, the President (or Presidents) or a designated steering committee (which can be polled quickly by telephone) may be chosen to approve all mobilization efforts.

e. The central state mobilization committee could work with district mobilization committees in each state legislative and congressional district. In a few states where county identification is strong, this might have to be the division of organization. The chairmen of each legislative district could serve as members of the congressional district mobilization committee.

f. If there are a number of different right-to-life groups in the state, master lists can either be assembled which include all of the units or each group can set up its own mechanism for a mailing system or phone tree. Pro-life educational groups with favored tax status as purely educational groups may not wish to engage in any political activities, so it may be necessary to buy or obtain their membership lists for direct mailings or phone calls by your mobilization committee.

g. IT IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT THAT THE MOBILIZATION SYSTEM BE WELL ORGANIZED FOR THE DISTRICTS OF KEY POLITICIANS WHOSE AIDES YOU ARE MOST LIKELY TO ACTIVATE.

2. Preparing the committee for action. Several sub-committees will be needed.

a. A POLITICAL FILE OF ALL OF THE STATE RIGHT-TO-LIFE MEMBERSHIP CARDS OR LISTS SHOULD BE FILED ACCORDING TO LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS.

A committee (perhaps a local chapter or a parish women's group) can take this as a special project. When an emergency call for action comes, they will have to send out postcards to the members in the necessary districts as fast as possible. In one state all the cards are in the home of a couple who call in a small devoted group of pro-life people for emergencies.

b. FOR MORE URGENT SITUATIONS REQUIRING AN IMMEDIATE RESPONSE A STATEWIDE TELEPHONE TREE NETWORK DIVIDED INTO DISTRICTS (EACH DISTRICT CAN BE ACTIVATED INDIVIDUALLY WHEN NECESSARY) MUST BE ORGANIZED.

Probably this is best accomplished by a separate sub-committee with their own duplicate membership lists (also listed according to district).

c. A third sub-committee can organize constituent visits at the capitol (this may also be done directly by the state or national political committee). It can be done through the cooperation of the state committee and several responsible people in the districts involved. Buses have several advantages over car caravans for transportation. People should also be given some instructions or information on how to lobby successfully.

3. Stimulating allied groups to action.

Allied groups must be identified, motivated, and a mutually agreeable system for activating them must be planned and organized in advance.

a. Ideally, the central state right-to-life organization or the leading state right-to-life organizations will have an Intra-Group Liaison Committee which has already developed the contacts and information necessary to determine which state groups are highly pro-life and who to contact for cooperation and mobilization within these groups. If this preliminary work has not already been done, someone must be assigned to do it.

b. Potentially pro-life groups (even church groups) need a good education program to motivate them to make the special effort necessary for mobilization. The Liaison Committee, the Mobilization Committee, and the Education Committee should work cooperatively to make certain that potentially pro-life groups are well educated on the issue. (Booths at conventions, workshops, bulletin inserts at church and guest speakers at meetings or churches are a few methods.) These groups should receive a high priority in any educational program. If your state has a separate pro-life education organization, a good working relationship should be developed to allow cooperation in areas like this.

4. Finding and Motivating Special Influencers.

LISTS OF SPECIAL INFLUENCERS WHO ARE PRO-LIFE SHOULD BE COMPILED FOR EACH LEGISLATOR, EXECUTIVE OR OTHER KEY PERSON YOU MAY NEED TO INFLUENCE. (SEE LIST ON PAGE 7.)

a. The task of mobilizing special influencers should be

.part of the total cooperative mobilization plan. It can be done as part of the mobilization committee task, but it usually works better to let the people or committee closest to the situation do at least part of this more delicate work. For example, the political committee members or lobbyists probably already have a network of personal contacts and relationships they can call upon to influence politicians; the Health Committee may know more about the special influencers of hospitals, Media Committee about media influencers, etc. The important point is that someone be clearly assigned to this task and keep others informed about what they are doing.

b. The real trick is to discover just which of these have the most influence on each politician or other key person --especially the powerful politicians--and whether or not they might be willing to use their influence for the pro-life cause. A pro-life activist--if possible, one they already know--should discuss the issue with key influencers and discover whether they are pro-life, neutral or pro-abortion. Such information ought to be added to the records of the political committee for inclusion in their lobby records on each politician. The contact activist will have to judge which influencers may be asked immediately for help and which will have to be approached more subtly after the activist has established a good rapport with them.

5. Responding to the Situation.

WHENEVER YOUR GROUP IS PRESENTED WITH A SITUATION REQUIRING MOBILIZATION, YOUR FIRST ACT MUST BE A CAREFUL ANALYSIS OF THE POSSIBLE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF EACH METHOD OF MOBILIZATION. THE TECHNIQUES FOR INFLUENCING PEOPLE SHOULD ALSO BE SELECTED WITH CAREFUL CONSIDERATION.

Your mobilization communication, whether it is a newsletter article, telephone call or ad, should include a recommendation about what techniques are likely to be most effective. Letters may be fine if you have time, but calls or telegrams are absolutely necessary in other situations where the time for action is short.

Have the organization ready - and plans and people standing by to move into action as soon as you choose the method or methods of mobilization for each situation.

METHODS OF MOBILIZATION

1. Pro-life newsletter article (good, when there is time).

2. Statewide telephone tree network (for rapid mobilization).

3. Postcards to all Right-to-Life members and other groups you wish to include (good, if you have a few days to mobilize).

4. Ads in public newspapers, T.V., radio (especially good for mobilization of larger numbers for long-range goals--such as support of the constitutional amendment. Disadvantages: Not good in hostile communities where it may stimulate excessive enemy activity. It is expensive).

5. Ads in pro-life church newspapers, newsletters or publications.

6. Letters to clergy of pro-life denominations from their own leaders asking clergy to promote sermons, announcements or bulletin inclusions on the subject (should be used with discretion to avoid religious bigotry).

7. Instructions to local pro-life groups to promote church bulletins, inserts, announcements from lay people, hand-outs at church doors, etc.

8. Notification of all allied organizations asking them to mobilize their own members.

9. Notification of all allied groups to send an official letter or telegram to the decision maker from the group itself. (This can be done when the group has a formal, official pro-life policy.)

When a situation occurs decide what response or combination of responses would be most effective for persuading the people you want to influence.

TECHNIQUES FOR INFLUENCING KEY PEOPLE

1. Individual constituent visits by appointment (at the Capitol or at the politician's home or office).

2. Private phone calls, letters, or visits from special influencers.

3. Visits from groups of constituents bused to the Capitol for lobbying.

4. Telegrams from constituents.

5. Telephone calls from constituents. (It is important to leave a message or call back if callers are unable to reach their legislators.)

6. Resolutions passed by various area groups to be presented to legislators or others.

7. A public meeting on the subject with the person you're trying to influence present. (Be sure to have plenty of pro-life people there.)

8. Letters to editor.

9. Petitions signed by area people and presented to the legislator (or other key person).

10. Picketing and distribution of protest literature at a site where the legislator will be. (This should be used with discretion as it carries with it the danger of backlash.)

11. Holding a mass rally at some appropriate place such as the State Capitol, making it clear what the purpose of the rally is. (Call on the press for coverage too.)

METHODS OF MOBILIZATION (Cont'd)

10. Notification of all right-to-life organization leaders: (group chairmen, chapter chairmen, etc.) to mobilize their people.

11. Direct mailings of post cards or letters to the members of pro-life churches.

12. Direct mailings to lists compiled from those who have signed pro-life petitions at fairs, churches, etc.

13. Letters to the editor making the public aware of the situation and asking them to protest.

TECHNIQUES FOR INFLUENCING KEY PEOPLE (Cont'd)

This pamphlet is a project of the States Program Committee.
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LOBBYING THE STATE LEGISLATURE

Practical suggestions for the organization and activities of a pro-life volunteer lobby effort in the state legislature.

By

Darla St. Martin

LOBBYING THE STATE LEGISLATURE. Lloyd G. Harris, Volunteer Lobbyist, Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life.

I. Organize and educate volunteer lobbyists.
   A. Set up a control system of direction and coordination.
      1. One chief lobbyist can coordinate the pro-life legislative efforts.
      2. A clear division and delegation of responsibility and authority can avoid overlap, duplication and confusion.
         a. Experienced volunteer lobbyists are generally happier if they are given as much authority as possible in their own area of responsibility within overall policy, guidelines and direction.
         b. A weekly lobbying conference (perhaps for lunch at the Capitol) can aid coordination and communication.
   B. Educate volunteer lobbyists carefully.
      1. Lobbyists must be willing and able to spend 1 - 4 days per week at the Capitol.
      2. The ability to get along well with others is important.
      3. Lobbyists must be able to think and speak intelligently.
      4. It is an asset to be a person of child-bearing age.
      5. Lobbyists should be willing to dress and behave modestly.
         a. It's important not to offend certain legislators unnecessarily by extreme fashions.
         b. Hostility, crying, or shouting can create a negative attitude toward your group.
      6. It is good to have lobbyists of a variety of religious and political affiliations.
   C. Educate your lobbyists.
      1. Provide background information on legislators.
         a. A lobby book with each legislator's name and extensive information on his district, family, groups he belongs to, etc. is ideal.
         b. A working list of legislators with a photograph (can usually be obtained during the session at the Capitol) and pictorial information such as his name, party, seat number, record on abortion, etc. is essential.
      2. If possible, assign new lobbyists to understudy a more experienced lobbyist.
      3. Have a workshop for lobbyists before each session. (Experienced lobbyists - pro-life or pro-choice - and legislators, and give them time and answer questions).

II. Organize supporting groups for the lobby effort.
   A. The [illegible] of the pro-life people in each district should be responsible to the chief lobbyist.
   B. Pro-life [illegible] should organize and educate [illegible] into districts, and a lobbying action committee should be ready to [illegible] when the need arises. There are different procedures to follow.
   C. [illegible]
   D. [illegible]
      1. [illegible]
      2. [illegible]
      3. [illegible]

III. Plan strategy carefully.

A. Seek the best advice you can get.

1. Ask, ask, ask - that's the way you learn!
2. Make sure you get advice from legislators in all parties and factions.
3. Friendly lobbyists, or other politically-astute persons - can be helpful.

B. Group strategy sessions are good for mapping out goals, setting priorities and long-range plans.

1. Only the most trusted legislator's advisors and top lobbyists should be present.
2. The whole group can analyze enemy activity and plan general reactions.
3. Such a group could also deal with in-group differences of opinion or particularly difficult strategy problems.

C. Many strategy decisions must be made immediately.

1. Make sure someone has the authority to deal with emergency decisions.
2. At strategy sessions, try to anticipate various problems and what the best reaction would be.

IV. Your most important legislative goal must be the passage of pro-life bills.

A. Proposed legislation must be drafted carefully! (It will be the law of state!)

1. Get expert help from doctors and lawyers.
2. Give your pro-life author your draft of the bill. (He will send it to the revisor's office which may change the wording slightly, but this can be kept to a minimum if you have an attorney do the final draft.)

B. Choose your authors carefully.

1. Get the most respected authors you can. (Sometimes the highly influential but busy legislators will be willing to be second author.
2. But make certain that your author is really going to work hard to pass the bill. (Legislators will sometimes take bills they want to kill or control and then not act on them).
3. Brief your author carefully on the bill. He may want to meet with legal or medical experts. to .

C. Do intensive lobbying in the subcommittee or committee which your bill has been assigned.

1. Count votes carefully. Don't ever make assumptions. Ask. Check.
2. Concentrate on legislators who seem undecided.
3. Ask your supportive groups for letters and calls from the districts of the legislators on this sub-committee.
4. Have a friendly legislator keep you informed about what is going on in the committee.

D. Have your author (or you can do it too if the author thinks that would be a good idea) press the sub-committee chairman for a hearing.

E. Offer to help your author organize testimony for the hearing.

1. Line up the best possible medical, legal and social experts you can.
2. Get lobbyists or representatives of other pro-life groups to testify for your bill.
3. Provide written materials as background for legislators, but don't depend upon them reading everything.

F. Work carefully with your author in preparing for the debate and vote by the full Senate or House.

1. Make certain that your lobbyists have lobbied every legislator before the final vote. (Your lobbyists can be assigned to see the bulk of the legislators - giving them information and answering their questions).
2. Ask your author if he needs any other help preparing for the floor fight.

IV. F. 3. Make plans with your author on how you will react to possible amendments and who else will help him in the debate.

V. Blocking or amending enemy legislation is also important. BE ALERT!
A. A subscription for the chief lobbyist to a legislative service providing summaries of all entering bills is invaluable.
B. Other legislators or professional lobbyists may also keep you informed about "family planning", welfare, or sex education bills which contain sections which could be interpreted to relate to abortion.

VI. Have lobbyists practice good lobbying techniques.
A. Treat ENEMIES with friendly respect.
1. Appreciate your fellow pro-life lobbyists.
2. Give pro-life legislators praise and appreciation for their help.
3. Be kind to your legislator enemies.
a. The time to defeat enemies is at election time.
b. Between elections, it is smart politics to neutralize them as much as possible by a respectful relationship. This does not compromise either one of you by insincerity. (Don't give them any strategy information though).
B. Stick to the issue.
1. Don't tie your party politics with lobbying.
2. Lobby only pro-life legislation. (There are many worthy causes, but lobbying them all together can cause problems).
C. Earn the respect of the legislators.
1. Be certain that you tell them is accurate.
2. Always tell the truth.
3. Don't attack other legislators or officials.
4. Remember:
a. Legislators are very busy.
b. Think about what you intend to say. Say it quickly and leave.
D. Know your legislature.
1. Know the power structure, both formal and informal.
2. Remember what each key legislator looks like, and know the important background information about him.
3. Know who has influence and legislative ability.
4. Try to determine how far each legislator is willing to go for the pro-life or the pro-abortion cause. (Don't expect either friends or enemies to betray their party).
5. Know the written and unwritten rules under which the legislature operates.
E. Know your opponents.
1. Be aware of pro-abortion events in this district prefer[illegible]. (This is best done during or right after a session. It can [illegible] election time if it is remembered.
2. Know [illegible]

VII. [illegible]

POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

by Darla St. Martin

I. Gather information.

II. Develop a Plan.

III. Start organizing early

IV. Get local pro-life people involved.

V. Educate candidates

VI. Inform pro-life voters on the political record of each candidate

I. Other information.

A. Get an extensive report on [illegible] legislators from [illegible] study their voting record).

B. Get information from the national office or study the voting record of [illegible] of congressional candidates.

C. Study the political party index [illegible] from each district.

D. Poll [illegible] to state and congressional candidates as soon as [illegible].

E. Get [illegible] of [illegible] officials from both parties to brief [illegible] political views in the state.

II. Involvement.

A. Protect valuable legislative allies if pro-abortionists appear to be [illegible] to defeat him.

B. Choose [illegible] which you have a reasonable chance of victory. (A word of caution, many politicians who run in spite of you can be a very dangerous enemy.

C. In selecting [illegible] among them, remember that a powerful pro-abortion position on [illegible] is more dangerous than a mild pro-abortion position with [illegible].

D. Study the [illegible] area of your emphasis and take steps to counteract this [illegible].

E. Choose a few well [illegible] districts in which you concentrate your efforts and attempt to [illegible].

F. Urge all pro-life [illegible] through the media to carry out basic political [illegible] in every district.

III. Start of voting cards.

A. Planning and organization should be at least a year before the election.

B. Top pro-life workers can be volunteered for churches and other groups in target districts. Often, the most effective speeches are guest sermons or lay addresses given in sympathetic churches.

1. Educate everyone.
2. Motivate.
3. Have [illegible] vote cards, if possible.

C. A district chapter of the pro-life group should be organized if there isn't already one in the district. (NRLC has been very successful with a number of encouraging individual political participation on behalf of pro-life candidates rather than involving itself in the complicated matter of official endorsement of candidates.

D. Even organization for the precinct captains can put special emphasis on [illegible] districts. Consider strong pro-life support in these areas.

IV. Get local pro-life [illegible] involved in politics.

A. Have local [illegible] with candidates.

B. Get pro-life [illegible] active in both political parties.

C. Have pro-life [illegible] volunteer to work on the campaign of pro-life candidates. (The people who have the most influence on politicians are those who help get them elected. If such politicians are pro-life it is ideal if there are active pro-life people working on both campaigns.)

V. [illegible]

A. [illegible] will be sent to every state or congressional [illegible]. (Check it over before you [illegible].)

B. [illegible] should start an emphasis [illegible], but be [illegible] to avoid [illegible] and offer to discuss it with [illegible] and [illegible].

V. C. Follow-up calls by an experienced lobbyist can be made to those candidates who have not yet returned the questionnaire.

D. Have a number of local people contact candidates. (Should help candidates to realize that it is politically wise to be pro-life.)

E. Get to prospective candidates as soon as possible. If pro-life people are active in the parties, they can meet with all prospective candidates and give them literature as soon as they hear names mentioned as possible candidates.

VI. Inform pro-life voters on the political record of each candidate.

A. Poll results and voting records and other relevant facts should be printed by the pro-life organization and the widest possible distribution among pro-life groups made.

B. Inform yourself on which groups are pro-life. Arrange for the list to be published in synagogue, church, union or other newsletters.

C. In key districts, publish lists of local legislative candidates and their stands in church bulletins or organization newsletters.

I would appreciate any additions or suggestions you may have. I would be especially interested in the different problems and political situations in other states.

WORKSHOP OUTLINES

POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS & ELECTIONS

* 1. Do you think our group can use the political questionaire as a tool during political campaigns?

* 2. Where and how should the results be published to be of the greatest advantage to us?

3. What kinds of people do you think we can turn to for accurate political advice and information about campaigns and elections?

* 4. Should we make it a point to get advice from both political parties? Why?

5. How can we help our legislative allies at election time?

* 6. What criteria do you think we should use in selecting enemy targets who we will attempt to defeat at election time? (Chance of success, political power of the enemy, the degree to which the enemy has angered us)

7. Should our targets be public or private?

8. How would you suggest that we promote pro-life political activity in a target district?

9. When is the best time to influence candidates?

* 10. Which people have the most influence on a politician?
A. Influential people in his community
B. Any people who live in his district
C. Contributors to his campaign
D. People who have worked on his campaign
E. His own political party leaders or legislative leaders
F. Special interest groups such as labor or business
G. His mother, wife, children or friends

11. Who should speak to a candidate about the pro-life point of view?
    A. Only official lobbyist or group representatives
    B. Every pro-life person who get a chance
    C. People from his own district primarily
    D. Others

* 12. What is the best way to educate candidates?
    A. Person to person contact
    B. Mailings
    C. Resolutions
    D. Good Media coverage
    E. A combination of the above

13. What kinds of mailings are most likely to influence candidates, and when should they be sent?

14. Should mailings be sent to:
    A. Friendly candidates?
    B. Enemy candidates?
    C. Unknown candidates?
    D. Undecided candidates?
    E. All candidates?

15. What if your funds are limited?

16. Do we have an obligation to help friendly candidates articulate their position well?

POLITICAL PARTIES

* 1. Do you think the right to life movement would be most effective if it:
    A. Formed a third party?
    B. Allied itself with one of the major political parties?
    C. Remained non-partisan, supporting pro-life candidates whatever their party?

* 2. What is the most realistic aim for the pro-life movement?
    A. To vote all pro-abortionists out of office
    B. To be able to organize a block of purely pro-life votes which could swing the election in two-party districts.
    C. To run our own pro-life candidates

3. Would you recommend that pro-life people become active in political parties? Why?

4. What could a citizen do within the party to promote the pro-life cause?

5. Do you think that party workers have more influence on politicians than ordinary citizens? Why?

6. How do you become influential in a party? How do you get active in a party?

CITIZEN LOBBYING

1. Do you see a need for central co-ordination of the pro-life lobby effort at the state capitol?

2. What characteristics are valuable in a volunteer lobbyist?

* 3. What kinds of information will a lobbyist need in order to lobby effectively?

* 4. Do you see a need to organize a special pro-life legislative back-up committee which will be ready to alert members and other pro-life allies when a critical vote is coming up and calls and letters could influence a legislator?

* 5. What other groups in this state area are likely to be allies of the right to life groups? How can you reach them?

* 6. Who should we go to for advice?

7. Is any politician capable of giving completely non-partisan advice especially if he is a powerful politican with a real stake in his party?

8. How can we balance off partisan political advice?

9. What is the value of marches or rallies at the capitol?

* 10. How should we treat our legislative allies?

* 11. How should we treat our legislative enemies?

12. Is it ever possible to neutralize a powerful enemy? How?

* 13. Is it important to understand the power-structure in the legislature? How can this information be useful to you?

* 14. Does every legislator have equal or relatively equal power in your state? How is it distributed? Where are the concentrations of power? How can you affect the power brokers?

15. What makes a legislator powerful?

16. How can lobbyists find out about pending anti-life legislation or bills containing sections which could be interpreted to relate to abortion?

17. What factors should we consider in choosing authors for pro-life bills?

* 18. Briefly, how does a bill become a law?

19. How can a bill be blocked from becoming a law?

20. How should we go about preparing a possible bill?

* 21. What techniques can we use to get a bill reported favorably out of a sub-committee or committee?

22. What are our responsibilities for the bill? What are your chief author's responsibilities?

* 23. How should we organize and choose speakers to testify at a hearing?

* 24. Should pro-life lobbyists also lobby other legislation at the same time?

25. Is a reputation for honesty, accuracy and a willingness to stand by your political deals worth the effort?

26. How can you keep abreast of what is going on informally among committee members or legislators?

27. If a legislator indicates he is pro-life in answer to a poll or in private conversation with lobbyists, does this mean that you can always count on his vote for pro-life legislation?

* 28. Where can we find background information and photographs of state legislators, and the legislative process?

29. Can you ever expect a legislator to betray his party or another legislator of his party?

* 30. How can pro-life lobbyists get good press?

31. How should we treat reporters?

32. Should we seek advice or help from sympathic professional lobbyists at the capitol?

33. What kind of a relationship should we try to develop with legislative staff people?

34. What arguments are most effective with legislators?

35. Do you think lobbyists should bring religion into the discussion or concentrate primarily on the human rights aspects of the issue?

36. What is the most important thing for a lobbyist to remember?

37. What should the pro-life lobbyist try to create for herself and her organization?

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PUBLIC RELATIONS/MEDIA COMMITTEE

The Public Relations/Media Committee was established by the Executive Committee on June 30, 1973, and given the following charge:

> The Public Relations/Media Committee shall be charged with the formation of the public image of the National Right to Life Committee; with the creation of a progressive and healthy relationship with all types of media; and with developing the concept of a broad based newspaper as the official organ of the National Right to Life Committee.

The following persons were appointed to the Public Relations/ Media Committee:

> Albert Fortman, M.D., Executive Committee Consultant;
> Maury Sheridan, Assistant Consultant;
> Alice Hartle;
> Gerry Ghiglieri;
> Kathy Martin;
> Dexter Duggan;
> Bruce Zaeffel, and
> Robert Winn, Esquire.

The Public Relations/Media Committee has done all of its work through correspondence, personal telephone calls and one national conference telephone call. It produced several preliminary reports which were presented to the Executive Committee on August 17-19, 1973, and again on September 14-16, 1973, at which time the number one priority project of the committee, a broadly based newspaper to become the official publication of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., was approved by the Executive Committee. The pilot issue of this paper was produced in late November and appears to have been well received by people in the pro-life movement. The initial reports of the committee have been omitted in favor of a more recent comprehensive report on the following pages.

NORTH DAKOTA
Right to Life
ASSOCIATION

BOX 551 · BISMARCK, NORTH DAKOTA 58501 · PHONE 258-3811

TO: Board of Directors
National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT: Mid-Year Progress Report

FROM: Members of th Public Relations and Media Committee

Members:

Mr. Dexter Duggan, Phoenix, Arizona
Mrs. Gerry Ghiglieri, Portland, Oregon
Mrs. Alice Hartle, Minneapolis, Minnesota
Mrs. Kathy Martin, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan
Mr. Maury, Sheridan, Seattle, Washington
Mr. Ted R. Smith, Bismarck, North Dakota
Mr. Charles Young, New Orleans, Louisiana
Mr. Bruce Zaepfel, Rochester, New York

Executive Committee Consultant: Dr. Albert Fortman, Bismarck, North Dakota - Executive Committee

Charge given by National Right to Life Committee, Inc:

"The Public Relations and Media Committee shall be charged with the formation of the public image of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc; with the creation of a progressive and healthy relationship with all types of media; and with developing the concept of a broadly based newspaper as the official publication of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc."

To date the committee has done all of its work through correspondence, personal telephone calls and one national conference call. We fully recognize that this is inadequate but funding is insufficient for us to do otherwise.

The committee has established three priorities of work.

Priority No. 1

A broadly based newspaper to become the official publication of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

Priority No. 2

The placement of a qualified media relations officer in our national office whose sole purpose would be to issue timely press releases to the media and to supervise their distribution throughout the fifty states via a communication system consisting of state volunteer media officers.

Other functions of this national media relations officer would include:

1) Establish close liaison with the Religious News Service and all Christian publications.

2) To identify pro-life friends throughout all media and utilize their help and advice to promote our cause.

3) To advise and educate the National Committee and state groups in the use of the media via a handbook which would be developed in conjunction with the Public Relations Committee. This handbook would attempt to communicate the ways and means by which our group's image could be projected as a loving, compassionate, positive minded organization, leaving our determined and militant face for the political arena. Special emphasis should be to given alternatives to abortion and value of life issues as primary objectives. Education concerning the Human Life Amendment should also be stressed.

4) The formulation of an informational National Right to Life Committee, Inc. brochure. This brochure should be colorful, eye catching and designed to explain how our organization was formed, our purposes including those beyond the elimination of abortion in our society, and include our national office address, our board of directors and a national membership request form. These brochures should be produced in large numbers for state organizations and could have many functions such as:

   a. Suitable handouts at state, county and local conventions, meetings and fairs, especially those meetings at which our pro-life people speak.

   b. Public relations material for state soliciting National Right to Life Committee, Inc. funds.

   c. VIP mailings.

Priority No. 3

The preparation of public service radio and television spots with information designed to help pro-life groups secure and effectively use public service

radio and television time for these spots.

What have we accomplished:

Priority No. 1 - a broadly based newspaper to become the official publication of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

Volume I, No. 1 of the National Right to Life News appeared in November 1973. Printed by the Union Advocate Printing Company of St. Paul, Minnesota, and edited by Mrs. Alice Hartle and Mrs. Janet Grant of Minneapolis, Minnesota, approximately 600,000 copies of a pilot issue were printed and sent to the states for distribution free of charge. The exact number sent to each state can be found in Appendix A at the close of this report.

Why was the National Right to Life News chosen as No. 1 Priority?

1. The National Right to Life Committee, Inc. needed a national voice. It was felt that a broadly based newspaper would accomplish this goal.

2. It was felt that a national paper would serve as a vehicle of communication between the grass roots movement and the National office. A national paper would also serve as an important vehicle of education and public relations to many new friends entering the movement including the media and state and national legislators.

3. A national newspaper would serve as a unifying force with which the many pro-life people in this country could identify.

4. A national paper would be useful to state organizations in their building and recruitment programs. They would have something to offer new members without committing themselves to the large cost of a state publication. It was never our intention to supplant state newsletters with the national paper. Rather we saw the state paper continuing to report on state news and action programs.

Why were Minnesota and Mrs. Alice Hartle chosen?

The answer is simple. Mrs. Hartle has a deep pro-life commitment and in addition has had extensive experience editing a successful newsletter in a state which is predominantly Protestant. She has a long period of service in an organization highly successful in pro-life legislation. In reviewing all of the newsletters published each month, the one edited by Mrs. Hartle seemed most clearly to strike the image that our committee felt National Right to Life Committee, Inc. should strive toward. Mrs. Hartle also had professional journalism experience and possesses a deep sense of personal responsibility, both of which were considered essential for the tremendous task of launching a national newspaper.

Mrs. Hartle is paid a small monthly retainer fee.

Mrs. Hartle selected as associate editor, Mrs. Janet Grant, who has a professional degree in journalism and is deeply committed to our cause. She is paid on an hourly basis for work done.

The Public Relations and Media Committee extends to Mrs. Hartle and Mrs. Blank our deep appreciation for the time for which they have done in developing National Right to Life News. We also wish to thank the Union Advocate Printing Company for their fine cooperation and Mr. Ted Smith, a member of the committee who did much of the promotional work prior to publication.

It is fully appreciated that the paper's permanent home may not remain in Minneapolis but that a later vote be moved to Washington, D.C., where it can be more closely related with the National office. For the present, it seems logical to place the paper in a convenient location for those most deeply involved in the responsibility of publishing it.

The plan was to produce a high quality newspaper in a pilot issue and deliver it without cost to the fifty states in quantities which they requested for distribution. In this pilot issue, national memberships were sought to the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. The fact that memberships were sought which included a subscription to the paper, rather than merely subscriptions, was the realization by the Executive Committee that National Right to Life Committee, Inc. needed a funding base which would not be subject to direct political action of the states. However, all memberships received in any state will be applied toward the assessment of that particular state. Let me be specific: For political reasons, based on their own evaluation, certain states stated that they were withholding funds from National Right to Life Committee, Inc. It is not difficult to foresee that in the future other states may well choose to act likewise for different reasons. This then severely curtails the activities of National Right to Life Committee, Inc. While the newspaper should not be looked upon as a major source of funding in the immediate future, it will in the years ahead provide similar funds for National Right to Life Committee, Inc. This decision has met with criticism. State organizations felt that they were gaining very little by promoting national memberships and might actually be hurting their own state funding programs. This may be true. The final decision must come from the board of directors which it hopefully will receive at their mid-year board of directors meeting.

The plan further provided that each state organization could "buy" complimentary subscriptions for members of their state legislature and their state media. The cost of these complimentary subscriptions are $5.00. Each state is encouraged to immediately send the name and addresses of their state legislature and media to the National office with the subscription fee. Most states may wish to send complimentary copies to other groups; for example, the National Guild of Catholic Physicians will be sending copies to all of their members.

Mailing of all future issues will be made from the printing office in St. Paul as a bulk mail rate permit. Mailing service is available with charge to all states.

Study is being given to the feasibility of making available to states a service wherein their state paper could be "stuffed" into National Right

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to Life News and mailed together. We make no recommendations. The final decision will be based on demand for such a service. We are open to suggestions.

The No. II issue of National Right to Life News was published on January 9th and will be published the second Wednesday of each month, with the deadline for copy being one week prior to the publication date. National Right to Life News is now in temporary offices at 527 Lyndale Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55405. The telephone number is 612-827-9673.

The cost of the paper was considerable. The original budget called for $30,000.00. Actual production costs amounted to $19,446.00. Postage amounted to $5,000.00. This considerable cost stemmed from our best stewardship.

Following the first publication, there were requests for approximately 100,000 more copies. However, it was decided not to have a second printing but rather to place the requests in our next printing which will probably approximate 200,000.

This project has been a fascinating story filled with devotion and dedication. It was originally approved by the Executive Committee by unanimous vote on October 1, 1973. Mr. Galvin felt that sufficient funds were available and added that the paper be mailed via a railroad to cc. Several days later the majority of the Executive Committee voted to proceed with the magazine provided funds were taken from the operational budget of National Right to Life Committee, Inc. This same group then assigned a personal loan raising campaign designed to find 300 people throughout the United States who could give $100.00 as a sponsoring member to help pay for the original costs. This was accomplished. Special credit must be given to three people in this great task; namely, Dr. Mildred Jefferson of Boston, Mass., Congressman Paul Findley of Illinois and Professor Joseph Witherspoon of Texas. However, it can be said that with few exceptions state right to life committees cooperated wholeheartedly with the project and offered their cooperation. The project began in fun and the National Right to Life News was born.

Another obstacle was that of distribution. Early in the project, I expressed concern that the project would fail if an extensive pre-emptive promotional campaign was not carried out in each state. Right to Lifers agreed to what this could be true. Actual distribution problems fell in three categories.

1) It was difficult to secure even estimates on actual number of copies which would be printed. Additional printing, such as 100,000 more, were more than an initial issue.

2) The project as planned [illegible] on a postal permit which [illegible] and [illegible] to be mailed. We used this system at the suggestion of our printer [illegible] to secure [illegible] delivery were important. [illegible]

did not receive their copies at all. Mr. Joe Leape and Mrs. Sandy Simons of NRLL did a valiant job of tracking down these problems and doing what they could to help solve them.

3) Some state organizations were apparently ill prepared for an orderly distribution of the copies they requested. Because of this, distribution has been very slow and may not yet be completed.

The final response is not yet tabulated. Memberships continue to flow in at varying rates. We had hoped for 10,000 in signed memberships. To date, we have not received that figure. However, we have reached many people and the ultimate worth of the project is largely yet undetermined. I am, however, satisfied with the results and still believe that the decision to publish National Right to Life News was and will in retrospect be proven as a milestone in the movement.

Several conclusions and observations are in order.

1) The project was the first major test of our grass roots strength. It has been clearly shown that many of our state organizations are very weak and that the activity "out there" is largely undisciplined and not directed toward a national movement. Perhaps this accounts for the desire of so many for a "Messiah" type leader in Washington, D.C. Let us, however, remember that such a leader will be hard to come by and support unless greater enthusiasm and support is exhibited at the state level. Hopefully, this experience will serve to motivate all directors to get to work. States should be aware of whether their director is doing his or her job. Directors and state organizations must discipline themselves to a degree if the national movement is to take on national proportions.

Future plans and recommendations include the following:

Extensive promotion of national membership must be done immediately through national advertising and state press relative. Advertising should concentrate on church related publications, such as: The Catholic Hour, The Sunday Visitor, The Lutheran Witness, The Lutheran Standard and others. A direction should be given as to whether this task should become a duty and function of an expanded Newspaper staff or be incorporated into the Finance Committee. A fund raising program is a decision yet to be made.

Every effort should be made to acquire national advertising - through active solicitation. This will require additional staff.

Every effort should be made to sell the idea to every pro-life person in this country that this is their newspaper and they should be encouraged to contribute articles, letters to the editor, etc. to it. This will truly make the National Right to Life News the national voice of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

Priority No. 2

The placement of a qualified media relations officer in our National

office - We are prepared to make this recommendation to the Executive Committee as soon as it has had the input of the mid-year board of directors meeting.

Priority No. 3

The preparation of public service radio and television spots - Two members of the committee have been selected to make a preliminary survey and to make recommendations for implementation. They are Rev. Barry Lynn, Portland, Oregon, and Dr. Bruce Zeuschel, Rochester, New York. Their preliminary report is due about February 1st.

Respectfully submitted,

Dr. Albert Fortman
Executive Committee Consultant
Public Relations and Media Committee
National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

EDUCATION COMMITTEE

The Education Committee was established by the Executive Committee on June 30, 1973, and given the following charge:

> The Education Committee shall be charged with establishing the guidelines and providing the necessary resource materials for educating the American public about the pro-life issues, for various age levels. The endeavor shall encompass both institutional and non-institutional areas.

The following persons were appointed to the Education Committee:

John C. Willke, M. D., Executive Committee Consultant
and Temporary Chairman;
Rev. Edwin Palmer;
Robert Sassone, Esquire;
Sr. Margaret Carney, O. S. F.;
Mary Schmit;
John Middleton, and
Joseph Stanton, M. D.

The Education Committee has conducted all of its business by correspondence, personal telephone calls and one national conference telephone call. A meeting of the Education Committee was scheduled for December 8, 1973, but was cancelled in favor of another meeting. The Education Committee divided its overall tasks into a number of sub-tasks which were distributed among committee members. While a single comprehensive report has not been produced the reports of a number of individual members of the committee appear on the following pages. At the meeting of the Executive Committee on August 17-19, 1973, Mr. William Cox was added as a committee member and now serves as chairman of the Education Committee.

TO: National Right to Life Committee Education Committee
FROM: Dr. John Middleton
RE: Proposal for national list of pro-life speakers and qualifications
DATE: January 3, 1974

BACKGROUND:

As a member of the Education Committee of the NRLC, I was assigned the task of exploring and possibly preparing a national list of pro-life speakers. It was hoped that this would be a state and city localization of the top pro-life speakers, their strengths and abilities. This was to be made available through the NRLC office.

WORK TO DATE:

Besides personal contacts which were fruitful in the final development of my conclusion, a questionnaire was included in the Greene Sheet and reply was asked. Results from the questionnaire have been extremely sparce and disappointing; so much so that it has caused a re-evaluation of the entire project.

DIFFICULTIES AND OBJECTIONS:

a. It soon became apparent that we were asking for this information from the very people who in fact were those speakers. Most RTL leaders around the United States are self-made experts in this; with rare exceptions, those who have, in fact, been doing most of the speaking.

b. It is apparent that while many are jack-of-all-trades -- in speaking, many are not, having certain strengths, but certain weaknesses. In an area with multiple speakers available, it is best to choose the speaker to fit the situation, time, opponent, etc. All of this sometimes involves more information than can be simply put on a summary page.

c. The considerable difficulty in having the questionnaire returned reflects the fact that RTL people by and large are activists, not too prone to the organized paperwork activity that this would entail.

d. It becomes apparent that when a speaker is needed, said speaker is needed in a local area. It probably is then best to ask a person in the local area for recommendation and availability of said speaker when occasion arises. Those available or qualified to participate in major national forms are in fact quite well known at this time already to most who would be setting them up. The listing of major national pro-life speakers would in fact be redundant.

CONCLUSION:

Speaking for myself and those with whom I have consulted on this, and in view of the above facts, it is my conclusion that we seriously question the need for the list.

I am submitting this as a recommendation not to pursue the above objective.

Signed,

John Middleton
P.O. Box 243
West Chazy, New York

January 1974

From: Education Committee, National Right to Life

Re: Catholic School Materials

Sr. M. Carney agrees with my thinking in regard to suspending for the present any full scale investigation into the area of identifying individuals within the USCC or NCEA who would be willing to develop materials for use at all grade levels.

The reason for this is that the Respect Life Program of the USCC Family Life Division will probably be expanded in the near future. This expansion may include a greatly augmented set of classroom materials, i.e., elementary and secondary models for a pro-life curriculum - teachers manuals, ideas for establishing in-service workshops for teachers, etc. adult education, CCD, etc.

Should this occur, we as a committee should turn our attention to the development of materials for use in the public elementary and secondary schools.

Should it <u>not</u> occur, we will have to explore other alternatives.

Mr. William Cox
Chairman, Education Committee
P.O. Box 1022
Jefferson City, MO 65101

TO: Education Committee, National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
ATTENTION: Doctor Jack Wilke and Mr. William Cox

FROM: William J. Hogan, M. D.

Re: Development of audiovisual materials and possible sources of distribution of same.

During the telephone conference of September 24, 1973, it was noted that visual aids, i.e., slides, picture, movies, had perhaps been our most effective and versatile tools in educating people on the abortion and related life issues. It was suggested that a 28-minute, 16 mm. color motion picture along the lines of the presentation of Barbara and Jack Wilke might be the singularly most useful educational device to carry into any forum where the pro-life cause enters. The cost of such an item is, of course, of great interest.

The Agora Group, Inc./ Creativity In Market Place, of New York City (an organization which did public relations for Buckley Senatorial campaign) gave me an estimate of $20,000 to $25,000 to produce such a motion picture and market it throughout the country. Keeping the retail cost of such a film below $200.00 they believed would enhance its sales and distribution potential. If 125 copies were sold, the initial investment would be reclaimed. They thought this was certainly a realizeable goal considering the great growth of the pro-life movement these past few years.

The Agora Group conceded that another organization such as National Right To Life, using some donated time and expertise, no frills and doing our own marketing might produce such a film

for $12,000. Three years ago, Americans United For Life produced a low budget 28 minute color film for $10,000. With, in essence, only word of mouth advertising, they sold about 45 copies 2 1/2 years ago for $175.00 per copy.

There may also be a sizable market for movie rentals among grass root Right To Life workers.

Another visual aid--perhaps not as easily adapted for showing to a diversity of groups and organizations, is the film strip presentation. Film strips on abortion are now available but they do not embrace the entire Right To Life issue. I think it is important that some inter-related subjects such as abortion, Dred Scott Decision, Supreme Court - 1973, German experience, birthright story, aborted infant experimentation, infanticide, euthanasia, psychosurgery, forced sterilization and abortion, etc., be presented in a single showing to help the audience grasp the full scope of the anti-life mentality and reality.

A nine-minute film strip with corresponding sound tape including briefly many of the above issues, narrated by Archbishop Baum and members of the Speech and Drama Department of Catholic University was produced in October 1973, by the Knights of Columbus, D. C. and Maryland Right to Life groups and distributed to 141 parishes. One hundred thirty copies cost $700.00 with, of course, much donated labor.

Without coherrion, 41 parishes showed the film during their Sunday Masses, 44 outside of Mass, and 56 chose to ignore it completely. In one week, 67,800 people viewed the film strip which was the highlight of Respect Life Month.

This, then, gets us into the area of distribution of educational materials, specificially audiovisual aids.

The Leadership Foundation, Inc., 4808 Cleveland Park Station, Washington, D. C. 20008, under its President, Martha Rountree (co-founder of Meet The Press), is conducting a Crusade Against Moral Pollution. This Foundation serves as a clearing house, presenting programs, educational materials etc., for women's clubs throughout the country. It seems that the chief efforts of these women's organizations has to date been directed at halting the Equal Rights Amendment, drug addiction, and pornography.

Martha Rountree recently enthusiastically informed me that she would like to see our audiovisual materials packaged in some form at reasonable costs and made available through her Foundation to the affiliated organizations throughout the country.

Other sources for wide distribution of educational materials are diverse.

Many religious denominations have rejected the abortion mentality anew since January 22, 1973. Yet our contacts recently with prominent individuals who were Russian Orthodox, Seventh Day Adventist, Southern Baptist, and Mormon demonstrated a definite lack of information and understanding on the abortion issue and related subjects but an eagerness to become better informed. If the right contacts were reached in these and other religious demoninations our educational materials might well be sought and distributed by church leaders.

The Knights of Columbus, with a well organized membership of two million have made the Right To Life cause their chief concern and have demonstrated a willingness to donate their financial means to distribute educational materials throughout the community. I believe they would work closely with a National Right To Life educational campaign.

We have found seminarians in Maryland anxious to receive our materials. A core of them quickly embraced the Right To Life cause and became very active workers. It is my impression that not many seminaries in the Country have had the entire Right To Life cause articulated in their classrooms. I suspect seminaries of all denominations and religious orders might be a fruitful outlet for our materials.

Other outlets might include the following:

Military Chaplains
Hospital Chaplains
Educational institution libraries
Rural TV stations (we have had almost uniformly bad results working with Washington TV stations)
Ethnic and minority group organizations in cities

An adjunctive approach in the realm of teaching devices might be to produce a straight forward clear, factual film or filmstrip on the development and humanity of the unborn child without ever mentioning or hinting at the word abortion. This would have to have other than Right To Life auspices so that it would be acceptable to the entire public school system to be used in sex education or family life courses. Once introduced to the open mind of a student, the unborn child would speak for himself.

Respectfully submitted,

William J. Regan, S. D.

To: [illegible]

From: [illegible]

Re: Proposal for a paper/draft by moral catholics on abortion

Date: [illegible]

Hello [illegible],

[illegible] to [illegible] with the [illegible] church, to help [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] I'd [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

1. Normal skin theory (Definitions, Stock Exchange and Bonds)

Homework: This could take a variety of forms. We already have [illegible] in which many of the students are unfamiliar, while [illegible] are unfamiliar with [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

LEGAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The Legal Advisory Committee was established by the Executive Committee on June 30, 1973, and given the following charge:

> The Legal Advisory Committee is charged with the review, analysis and reporting of court decisions, legislative acts, and administrative regulations as they relate to the protection of human life; with the establishment of a resource library of appropriate publications and other legal materials; and with the publication of a law review to provide the legal profession with a scholarly appraisal of legal developments in the protection of human life.

The following persons were appointed to the Legal Advisory Committee:

Robert F. Greene, Esquire, Executive Committee Consultant;
Martin F. McKernan, Jr., Esquire;
Judge James Ryan;
George Devlin, Esquire;
Professor James Smith;
Dennis J. Horan, Esquire;
Professor Robert Byrn;
Nellie Gray, Attorney;
Robert Brake, Esquire, and
John DeMay, Esquire.

The Committee first undertook an exchange of written memoranda. Professor James Smith and Professor Robert Byrn requested that they be excused from the committee because of their heavy workload in other pro-life activities. Several other pro-life lawyers whose names are not listed as members of the committee have indicated a willingness to serve on the committee and several of them have participated to some extent. They are Mr. William J. Hassing, Esquire, Mr. George E. Barrett, Esquire, Professor

David Louisell, Professor Victor Rosenblum, Professor Charles E. Rice, Mr. Robert C. Cetrulo, Esquire, Mr. Donald Lynn Billman, Esquire, Mr. Michael McCann, Esquire, and Mr. John Archibold, Esquire, among others. The committee met in Chicago on September 24, 1973, and elected Dennis Horan as Chairman. The committee recommended to the Executive Committee a restatement of its charge which was approved by the Executive Committee on October 11, 1973, in the following form:

I. Whereas in the opinion of the Legal Advisory Committee and the Board of Directors the selection by the Board of Directors of a constitutional amendment that will unify the movement and be supported by all in the movement is a matter of first priority, therefore the Legal Advisory Committee is charged with the responsibility to act as a liaison and catalyst in the implementation of this program in the following ways:

1. To examine and analyze currently existing and proposed amendments;

2. To coordinate the revision and/or the drafting of an amendment acceptable to the Board;

3. To recommend to the Board a specific amendment stating the legal reasons in support of said amendment; and

4. To act as a liaison between the various groups of lawyers of differing legal opinions in order to facilitate the acceptance of an amendment by all (to the extent this is humanly possible).

II. The Legal Advisory Committee is further charged with the responsibility to coordinate and supervise the study of related human life issues, and to draft model legislation in the following areas:

1. To draft a model memorial that the various state legislatures may use to guide them in memorializing the Congress; and to advise the Executive Committee on matters relating to the calling of a Constitutional Convention;

2. To draft a model conscience clause which will provide maximum protection for the free exercise of conscientious opposition to abortion by hospitals, doctors, nurses and other medical personnel;

3. To draft model restrictive legislation which is allowable under Roe v Wade, and which at the same time will become the springboard for future litigation and the ultimate reversal of Roe v Wade; and

4. To draft whatever implementing legislation may be ultimately necessary in the several states when the constitutional amendment is ratified.

III. The Legal Advisory Committee is further charged with the responsibility of establishing a Legal Defense Fund and/or a Public Interest Law Firm, or both (depending on further research and need), to ensure that human life issues are adequately litigated from a pro-life point of view in current and future litigation. The Legal Advisory Committee will coordinate the functions of the Legal Defense Fund and supervise all litigation.

IV. The Legal Advisory Committee is further charged with the responsibility to act in an advisory capacity to the executive committee and Board of Directors to advise on the legal implications of policy issues.

V. The Legal Advisory Committee is further charged with the responsibility to advise the Board and the executive committee on all matters pertaining to the legal organization and structure of both the national and state organizations.

VI. The Legal Advisory Committee is further charged with the responsibility to identify and recruit pro-life lawyers across the nation.

Mr. Horan appeared before the Executive Committee on November 16, 1973, and reviewed the written report which follows, setting forth four programs in order of priority. On November 17, 1973, the Executive Committee approved the first two programs which have been implemented. The

first program for the selection of appropriate wording for a constitutional amendment is the subject of the second written report which follows. The second priority program concerning the drafting of model legislation is in progress but the committee has not produced a written report for this program. As mentioned in reference to the Public Policy Committee the report contains a memorandum initially prepared for that committee by Professor Joseph Witherspoon and several responses to it. It should also be noted that Professor Joseph Witherspoon is now an Executive Committee Co-consultant to the Legal Advisory Committee.

September 24, 1973

REPORT OF LEGAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE NRLC

TO: Executive Committee NRLC
Members, Legal Advisory Committee NRLC

FROM: Dennis J. Horan, Chairman LAC

RE: 1. Charge from Board
2. Work Program of LAC
3. Funding of LAC Work Program

The LAC met in Chicago on September 22, 1973 and considered various problems related to its charge, work program and funding. As its first order of business it elected Dennis J. Horan as chairman. Various subcommittees composed of LAC members and non-members were created to implement the work program when and if that work program as well as the revised charge are approved by the executive committee.

The charge which was revised by the LAC is herewith recommended to the executive committee for approval, and is as follows:

Charge to Legal Advisory Committee

I. Whereas in the opinion of the Legal Advisory Committee and the Board of Directors the selection by the Board of Directors of a constitutional amendment that will unify the movement and be supported by all in the movement is a matter of first priority, therefore the Legal Advisory Committee is charged with the responsibility to act as a liaison and catalyst in the implementation of this program in the following ways:

1. To examine and analyze currently existing and proposed amendments;

2. To coordinate the revision and/or the drafting of an amendment acceptable to the Board;

3. To recommend to the Board a specific amendment stating the legal reasons in support of said amendment; and

4. To act as a liaison between the various groups of lawyers of differing legal opinions in order to facilitate the acceptance of an amendment by all (to the extent this is humanly possible).

II. The Legal Advisory Committee is further charged with the responsibility to coordinate and supervise the study of related human life issues, and to draft model legislation in the following areas:

1. To draft a model memorial that the various state legislatures may use to guide them in memorializing the congress;

2. To draft a model conscience clause which will provide maximum protection for the free exercise of conscientious opposition to abortion by hospitals, doctors, nurses and other medical personnel;

3. To draft model restrictive legislation which is allowable under Roe v Wade, and which at the same time will become the springboard for future litigation and the ultimate reversal of Roe v Wade; and

4. To draft whatever implementing legislation may be ultimately necessary in the several states when the constitutional amendment is ratified.

III. The Legal Advisory Committee is further charged with the responsibility of establishing a Legal Defense Fund and/or a Public Interest Law Firm, or both (depending on further research and need), to ensure that human life issues are adequately litigated from a pro-life point of view in current and future litigation. The Legal Advisory Committee will coordinate the functions of the Legal Defense Fund and supervise all litigation.

IV. The Legal Advisory Committee is further charged with the responsibility to act in an advisory capacity to the executive committee and Board of Directors to advise on the legal implications of policy issues.

V. The Legal Advisory Committee is further charged with the responsibility to advise the Board and the executive committee on all matters pertaining to the legal organization and structure of both the national and state organizations.

VI. The Legal Advisory Committee is further charged with the responsibility to identify and recruit pro-life lawyers across the nation.

Comment

The Legal Advisory Committee was of the opinion that it could not practically be expected to assume the role of house counsel to NRLC in regard to day-to-day operational legal problems. The committee recommends that, when feasible, legal counsel be retained for that purpose. Until then the chairman and members of the LAC will make themselves available on an individual basis to assist when needed.

The LAC also felt that the specific publication of a law review was not warranted at this time, although some of the benefits of publication would accrue through the work of the Legal Defense Fund.

Great interest was expressed by LAC members in the Florida three-judge court case, which held the consent requirement in the Florida statute unconstitutional. The LAC recommends that the executive committee or the Legal Defense Fund consider preparation of and filing an amicus brief when and if jurisdictional statements are filed in the U. S. Supreme Court.

Work Program

The LAC then structured a work program by priorities:

Priority One - The Amendment

A subcommittee was created to implement the charge when and if the NRLC Board approves both the charge and its implementation. The subcommittee consists of Dennis J. Horan, Judge James Ryan, and Nelly Grey.

The work program of this subcommittee, pursuant to the charge, would be to seek out a method whereby this committee can be the means of unifying the movement behind one amendment. Tentatively, the best procedure was thought to be the preparation of a packet containing the amendments and comments. The packet would then be circulated by the subcommittee to Right to Life attorneys such as Prof. Byrnes, Rice, Witherspoon, Noonan, Louisell, Valenti, etc. etc., with an indication of the purpose for this proceeding. They would then be asked to write brief and final comments on the problem and the amendments to be returned within two weeks. Certain other professors not in the movement but noted for their abilities, such as Prof. Kurland of the University of Chicago, would be asked for opinions on the technical legal problems. When the comments are returned and assimilated, we would then determine through the feedback whether another session with these man would be necessary, or whether the LAC

could then be in a position to prepare an acceptable amendment to be submitted to the Board. It was thought that enough time has passed for the dialogue on the amendment to have concretized the ideas of these men.

The LAC also felt that before any amendment was finally accepted by the Board the LAC determine in what manner liaison can be effectively carried on with Buckley and Hogan so that they also would find the amendment acceptable. Indeed, it was felt that these two men should probably introduce the amendment simultaneously in their respective houses with much fanfare indicating unity of purpose and understanding. Only then should NRLC publicly announce its support of the amendment. Thus it will appear to the public that Hogan and Buckley have solved this problem and unified the movement.

The time schedule calls for completion of this entire project in ample time for the executive committee to consider the amendment in its December meeting (7,8) so that the matter can be concluded by the January meeting of the Board of Directors.

The LAC wishes it to be understood that in its opinion a unifying amendment must come out of the January meeting of the Board, together with a complete program for implementation. We are at an extremely critical period.

Priority Two

A subcommittee headed by Robert Brake was formed to complete a work program on charge II. Other members appointed were Robert C. Cetrullo (Ky.), John Markert (Minn.), and Thomas Morkan (Fla). They are directed to prepare a legislative packet for a November mailing to each state. They are directed to draft model legislation to:

1. Memorialize the Congress from states that have not yet done so;

2. Create conscience clauses that maximize legal protection for conscientious objection to abortion;

3. Narrow the effect of Roe v Wade to the extent possible, and which will provide a springboard for pro-life litigation;

4. Implement the Human Life Amendment when and if that is necessary.

Priority Three

A subcommittee was created for charge V. Its purpose would be to create a state organizational packet which could be sent to the various states by November. The packet would

contain form by-laws, articles of incorporation, etc. so that each state can organize or reorganize itself in the manner best suited to make the NRLC a strong grass-roots organization.

The chairman of LAC will contact Ben Larkin in Tulsa to obtain assistance in securing by-laws of other national organizations that have both a strong national and strong local organization.

Priority Four

A subcommittee of Dennis J. Horan and John DeMay was set up to investigate the best possible way of handling the creation of a Legal Defense Fund and/or a Public Interest Law Firm, or both, as quickly as possible. Tax ramifications were discussed and it became clear that further research in this area was essential. The chairman will ask his tax counsel to undertake this research. This work can be carried out under a 501(c)(3) corporation. Completion of this project is one of the most important aspects of the LAC's work, but not as pressing in terms of the critical time problems previously discussed, and therefore it was assigned a fourth priority but merely from the point of view of timing.

It is thought that the legal defense fund would operate as a 501(c)(3) corporation with a separate Board of Directors, none of whom are directors for NRLC. This would be necessary under IRS regulations in the event the legal defense fund ever created a public interest pro-life law firm, or used existing public interest law firms to carry out the litigation. Since there is a good possibility that eventually use of public interest law firms will be advisable, then the proper structures must be set up now to cover this foreseeable eventuality. A public interest law firm cannot handle matters directly or indirectly for a non-(c)(3).

The 501(c)(3) set up as a legal defense fund would generate its own funding to the extent possible by seeking foundation grants from other 501(c)(3). Seed money would be sought from the NRLC. It is thought that $10,000.00 in seed money from the National would be sufficient to get this project started. Thereafter it would hopefully be self-sustaining through contributions.

The Legal Defense Fund's principal work would be the conduct of, coordination, and eventually the instigation of, pro-life litigation. It would not itself have legal employees, but would retain individual lawyers around the country to do the necessary in pro-life cases. Hopefully it could convince these lawyers to donate some or all of their time or, at least, handle the case for a well-reduced rate on behalf of the movement, just as much pro bono litigation

is carried in other areas. The Board would screen the cases coming in from the field and determine where the limited assets would best be used for the movement. For example, it was felt that the consent case in Florida would be an excellent case to begin this project.

Research on the structure remains to be done, but has been assigned. Our plans remain tentative for a short while until the tax aspects become clear. More later.

Funding Requirements

Priority One will require at least one meeting of the three-person subcommittee, and one meeting of the full LAC before the executive committee's December meeting. It may require one general meeting of lawyers from many parts of the country. It will also require small mailings and secretarial costs, unless that time is donated. The funding necessary from the NRLC executive committee therefore would fall between a minimum of $2,000.00 and a maximum of $7,500.00.

Priority Two may require one meeting of the subcommittee, but probably will not. There will be mailings, secretarial work and Xeroxing. If these are provided to the committee then probably no funding will be necessary under this priority from NRLC. If a subcommittee meeting is necessary then funds up to $1,000.00 may be necessary.

Priority Three -- funding requirements here are substantially similar to priority two. Assuming volunteered secretarial and legal help, there remains only travel and lodging costs for perhaps one subcommittee meeting which would not exceed $1,000.00.

Priority Four was discussed in the body of this memo and requires $10,000.00 in seed money to create a viable legal defense fund. With this support it could organize itself, embark on its first legal project (the Florida case), and obtain the necessary help to begin solicitations for foundation support.

Caveat

The funding requirements were not discussed by the LAC, and the above figures are the chairman's attempts to complete and move this memo along without further delay because of the urgency of the matters discussed. Feedback from the LAC may change these funding requirements substantially and, if so, will be reported immediately to the executive committee.

DENNIS J. HORAN
9/24/73

December 10, 1973

MEMO TO: Mr. Bob Greene
Ms. Nellie Gray
Prof. Witherspoon
Judge Ryan

Re: Amendment Selection Process

I have discussed our proposed method for selection of an amendment with the Executive Committee of the NRLC. They are in agreement with the outline of the plan as contained in the Report of the Legal Advisory Committee of 9/24/73. I reported to the Executive Committee on 11/16/73 and gave them an additional memo, a copy of which is enclosed.

To implement the work program - Priority One - I visualize these steps:

1. Packet containing amendments with critiques furnished to all pro-life lawyers asking for final comment and critique to be returned forthwith, alone with completed quiestionaire;

2. Review of returned material, critiques and amendments and questionaire by LAC;

3. Selection of one or more amendments by LAC and selection of alternative wordings concerning each conceptual problem; (several amendments may be necessary depending on tactics)

4. Final meeting of pro-life lawyers wherein one or more amendments (depending on problems and tactics) would be selected. (this could be done at the Jan. 18-20, 1974 meeting);

5. Preparation of papers explaining the amendment and reasons for language choice;

6. Circulation to Board of Directors of amendment and supporting papers;

7. Hearings (if felt necessary) at annual meeting of Board of Directors.

I am enclosing a memo, plus supporting documentation, which I propose we use to start this process. The material enclosed would be step 1 above. I would like each of you to review this material and determine its adequacy. Then please telephone me and give me your suggestions and I will see if we can speed up

this process by having packets made of the enclosed material to be sent to all pro-life lawyers. Also, please give me a list of the pro-life lawyers who should receive copies of the packet.

I have despaired of ever digging out from under my desk to hold the meeting of the sub-committee. I have taken this route in an effort to get this process moving so that the project is completed no later than 4/15/74.

You will find enclosed the material I think should be contained in the packet:

1. Memo explaining purpose of packet;
2. Questionnaire;
3. Various amendments; and
4. Various papers.

Please let me have your comments as soon as you can.

DENNIS J. HORAN

ms

enc.

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December 18, 1973

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IN REPLY REFER TO FILE NO.

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NUMBER

630-4432

TO: ALL PRO-LIFE LAWYERS

Re: Selection of Constitutional Amendment

As Chairman of the Legal Advisory Committee of the NRLC, I am writing you concerning a most urgent matter.

It is now almost one year since the opinions of the U. S. Supreme Court in the Bolton and Wade decisions. The consternation brought on by these opinions has resulted in a proliferation of human life amendments, each with its own solution to the terrible problems created by the decisions of January 22, 1973.

As worthy as each of these amendments is in its own right, as a whole they are creating divisive problems for the movement by attracting adherents to camps which, while not opposing one another, in failing to unite under a single banner are rendering the movement ineffective.

We, therefore, think that the time has come when the movement must select the amendment behind which all people can unite in a common effort to save the unborn. Selection of this amendment must come through a process wherein all movement people will have an opportunity to be heard. The first phase of this process includes you as a pro-life lawyer.

We are asking that you review the enclosed material and give us your comments on each of the enclosed amendments and papers. We also ask that you complete the enclosed questionnaire and return it with your comments by January 5, 1974.

After receiving similar responses from other pro-life lawyers, we will correlate the material and determine whether a concensus exists. We will then narrow the proposed amendments and write papers explaining the amendments. These papers will be made available to the Board of Directors and other interested pro-lifers.

A hearing will be held at the January meeting of the Board, at which time all interested pro-lifers will have an opportunity to be heard on the problem of selecting the best amendment. This hearing will be conducted by a distinguished panel of pro-life lawyers, and is tentatively scheduled to be held at the Statler Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C., January 18, 1974, 2:00 to 5:00 PM.

After this public session there will be a meeting of all lawyers and allied disciplines for the purpose of finalizing the amendment selection process. This is not to say that the lawyers will select the amendment, but merely that, given certain potential courses of action, the lawyers will recommend to the Board of Directors the language to fulfill the policy.

As a pro-life lawyer you are invited to attend the lawyers' meeting at the Statler Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C., January 18, 1974, commencing at 8:00 PM. Unfortunately, we cannot reimburse you for the expenses you may incur. However, we cannot stress enough how important your presence will be, and we are sure that you will understand the historical significance of this meeting.

Please review the enclosed material and questionnaire, and give us the benefit of your thoughts in the most expeditious manner possible.

Very truly yours,

Dennis J. Horan

DJH:gs
Enc.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Should the Human Life Amendment prohibit private action?

Yes _____ No _____

2. Or should it be limited to only those prohibitions included under the 14th Amendment? (State action)

Yes _____ No _____

3. Should the Human Life Amendment contain an exception to save the life of the mother?

Yes _____ No _____

4. Whether or not it should contain such an exception, and, if so, is the following the best wording for that exception?

"unless medically necessary to prevent the death of the mother"

Yes _____ No _____

5. Is there a better way of phrasing that exception? If so, what is it?

6. Should the Human Life Amendment define the word "person"?

Yes _____ No _____

7. Whether or not it should, what is the best way to define that word?

8. Has Justice Blackman's statement defining "conception" as a process so diluted the meaning of that word so that it's use should be avoided?

Yes _____ No _____

9. Does this expression "including their unborn offspring at every stage of their biological development" mean the same as "from the moment of conception"?

Yes _____ No _____

10. If you answered No. 9 No, why?

11. Is there a better way of defining the commencement of an individual human life? If so, what is it?

12. Because of evidentiary proof problems, should the amendment attempt to protect life only from the time of implantation?

Yes _____ No _____

13. Should the Human Life Amendment merely return to the States the right to legislate in the area of abortion? (State Rights Type of Amendment)

Yes _____ No _____

14. Should the amendment attempt to also prohibit euthanasia?

Yes _____ No _____

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Following are the texts of the constitutional amendments before the Congress as of August 1, 1973. Although there are as many as 27 numerically different submissions, these can be reduced to about five basic models. It is to be expected that additional versions will be submitted to Congress during the Fall of 1973. The following breakdown identifies the various models by the name of the sponsor with whom it is most commonly associated. Strictly speaking, models IV and V (Denholm and Froehlich) are proposed laws, and not constitutional amendments. They are included as part of the general legislation because they are before the Congress.

I THE 'HOGAN' AMENDMENT

1. H.J. Res. 261. Jan. 30. Mr. Hogan (R.-5th, Md.). The proposed amendment reads:

"SECTION 1. Neither the United States nor any State shall deprive any human being, from the moment of conception, of life without due process of law; nor deny to any human being, from the moment of conception, within its jurisdiction, the equal protection of the laws.

"SECTION 2. Neither the United States nor any State shall deprive any human being of life on account of illness, age, or incapacity.

"SECTION 3. Congress and the several States shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

2. H.J. Res. 281. Jan. 31. Mr. Zwach (R.-6th, Minn.). Similar to H.J. Res. 261. Reads: "from conception."

3. H.J. Res. 290. Feb. 5. Mr. Delaney (D.-9th, N.Y.). Similar to H.J. Res. 261. Sec. 1 reads:

"SECTION 1. No person from the moment of conception, shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor shall any person, from the moment of conception, be denied equal protection of the laws.

4. H.J. Res. 321, Feb. 5. Mr. Zablocki (D.-4th, Wisc.). Identical to H.J. Res. 261 (Hogan).

5. H.J. Res. 364, Feb. 21. Mr. Erlenborn (R.-14th, Ill.). Similar to H.J. Res. 261 (Hogan). Reads: "from conception."

6. H.J. Res. 394, Feb. 28. Mr. Roncallo (R.-3rd, N.Y.). Similar to H.J. Res. 261 (Hogan). Reads: "from conception."

7. H.J. Res. 423, March 13. Mr. Dominick V. Daniels (D.-14th, N.J.). Identical to H.J. Res. 261 (Hogan).

8. H.J. Res. 473, April 2. Mr. Hogan (R.-5th, Md.); Mr. Bevill (D.-4th, Ala.), Mr. Camp (R.-6th, Okla.), Mr. Huber (R.-18th, Mich.), Mr. Keating (R.-1st, Ohio), Mr. Lujan (R.-1st, N.Mex.), Mr. Mazzoli (D.-3rd, Ky.), Mr. Won Pat (D.-Del, Guam). Identical to H.J. Res. 261 (Hogan).

9. H.J. Res. 500, April 16. Mr. Biaggi (D.-10th, N.Y.). Identical to H.J. Res. 261 (Hogan).

10. H.J. Res. 561, May 21. Mr. Gaydos (D.-20th, Pa.). Identical to H.J. Res. 261 (Hogan).

11. H.J. Res. 659, July 11. Mr. Sandman (R.-2nd, N.J.). Identical to H.J. Res. 261 (Hogan).

In the Senate:

12. S.J. Res. 130, June 29. Sen. Helms (R.-N.C.). Identical to H.J. Res. 261 (Hogan).

II THE HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT

1. S.J. Res. 119, May 31, 1973. Mr. Buckley (C.R.-N.Y.), Mr. Bartlett (D.-Okla.), Mr. Bennett (R.-Utah), Mr. Curtis (R.-Neb.), Mr. Hatfield (R.-Ore.), Mr. Hughes (D.-Iowa), Mr. Young (R.-N.D.). (Mr. Eastland (D.-Miss.) announced as co-sponsor some days later.)

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each house concurring therein), that the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution

when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within 7 years from the date of its submission by the Congress:

"ARTICLE_____

"SECTION 1. With respect to the right to life, the word 'person', as used in this Article and in the Fifth and Fourteenth Articles of Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, applies to all human beings, including their unborn offspring at every stage of their biological development, irrespective of age, health, function or condition of dependency.

"SECTION 2. This Article shall not apply in an emergency when a reasonable medical certainty exists that continuation of the pregnancy will cause the death of the mother.

"SECTION 3. Congress and the several States shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation within their respective jurisdictions."

2. H.J. Res. 589. June 6. Mr. King (R.-29th, N.Y.). Identical to S.J. Res. 119 (Buckley).

3. H.J. Res. 603. June 7. Mr. Quie (R.-1st, Minn.). Identical to S.J. 119 (Buckley).

4. H.J. Res. 645. June 27. Mr. McEwen (R.-30th, N.Y.). Identical to S.J. Res. 119 (Buckley).

III STATES' RIGHTS AMENDMENT

1. H.J. Res. 427. March 13. Mr. Whitehurst (R.-2nd, Va.). The proposed amendment reads:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring thereinl, That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to be valid only if ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years after the date of final passage of this joint resolution:

"ARTICLE_____

"SECTION 1. Nothing in this Constitution shall bar any State or territory or the District of Columbia, with regard to any area over which it has jurisdiction, from allowing, regulating, or prohibiting the practice of abortion."

2. H.J. Res. 468. March 28. Mr. Whitehurst (R.-2nd, Va.), along with Mr. Archer (R.-7th, Tex.), Mr. Bevill (D.-4th, Ala.), Mr. Joel T. Broyhill (R.-10th, Va.), Mr. Butler (R.-6th, Va.), Mr. Derwinski (R.-4th, Ill.), Mr. Gerald R. Ford (R.-5th, Mich.), Mr. Hastings (R.-38th, N.Y.), Mr. Huber (R.-17th, Mich.), Mr. Hunt (R.-1st, N.J.), Mr. Ketchum (R.-38th, Calif.), Mr. Mazzoli (D.-3rd, Ky.), Mr. Parris (R.-8th, Va.), Mr. Sikes (D.-1st, Fla.), Mr. Steiger of Arizona (R.-3rd, Ariz.), Mr. Won Pat (D.-Del. Guam), Mr. Zion (R.-8th, Ind.). Identical to H.J. Res. 427.

3. H.J. Res. 471. March 29. Mr. Whitehurst (R.-2nd, Va.); Mrs. Holt (R.-4th, Md.), Mr. Treen (R.-3rd, La.). Identical to H.R. 427.

4. H.J. Res. 476. April 3. Mr. O'Brien (R.-17th, Ill.). The proposed amendment reads:

"Nothing in this Constitution shall bar any State, or the Congress with regard to any area over which it is granted the power to exercise exclusive legislation, from enacting laws respecting the life of an unborn child from the time of conception."

5. H.J. Res. 488. April 4. Mr. Whitehurst (R.-2nd, Va.), along with Mr. Abdnor (R.-2nd, S.D.), Mr. Cleveland (R.-2nd, N.H.). Identical to H.J. Res. 427.

6. H.J. Res. 485. April 4. Mr. Ichord (D.-8th, Mo.). The proposed amendment reads:

"The State shall have the power to regulate or forbid the voluntary termination of human pregnancy."

7. H.J. Res. 526. April 18. Mr. Whitehurst (R.-2nd, Va.); Mr. Gunter (D.-5th, Fla.), Mr. Rarick (D.-6th, La.), Mr. Wampler (R.-9th, Va.), Mr. Wright (D.-12th, Tex.). Identical to H.J. Res. 427.

8. H.J. Res. 537. May 2. Mr. O'Brien (R.-17th, Ill.); Mr. Burgener (R.-42nd, Calif.), Mr. Hanrahan (R.-3rd, Ill.), Mr. Huber (R.-18th, Mich.), Mr. Mazzoli (D.-3rd, Ky.). Identical to H.J. Res. 476.

9. H.J. Res. 544. May 7. Mr. Whitehurst (R.-2nd, Va.); Mr. McCollister (R.-2nd, Neb.). Identical to H.J. Res. 427.

IV DEFINITION OF 'PERSON'

H.R. 7752. May 10. Mr. Denholm (D.-1st, S.D.).

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That clause six of section 1, chapter 1, title 1 of the United States Code shall be amended to provide as follows:

"The words 'person' and 'whoever' include corporations, companies, associations, firms, partnerships, societies, and joint stock companies, as well as individuals, and pursuant to and for the purposes of the 'due process' and 'equal protection' clauses of the Constitution of the United States shall mean any animate combination of viable human cells capable of becoming or being an actual independent living human (singular or plural) entity."

V DEFINITION OF FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT RIGHTS

H.R. 8682. June 14, 1973. Mr. Froehlich (R.-5th, Wisc.).

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress enacts this legislation in the exercise of its power to enforce the fourteenth article of amendment to the Constitution by defining certain rights thereunder, and in the exercise of its power to establish courts inferior to the Supreme Court and to define the jurisdiction of the courts so established.

"SEC. 2. Nothing in the fourteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States shall be construed to bar any State from exercising power to regulate or prohibit the practice of abortion, except that no State may prohibit an abortion that is necessary to save the life of the pregnant woman.

"SEC. 3. No court established by Act of Congress shall have jurisdiction in any case or controversy in which a right to abortion is maintained contrary to the law of a State."

Msgr. James T. McHugh
Director, Family Life Div., USCC

Life Amendment

Since the introduction of Senate Joint Resolution 119, proposing a constitutional amendment to restore legal protection to unborn children, there seems to have arisen a misimpression as to the amendment's intention ["James Buckley: Life Amendment," June 22]. I would like to take this opportunity to clarify as best I can what the amendment is designed to do.

The principal source of the misimpression would appear to be the attribution to me of a statement that appeared in the *New York Times* of June 1, 1973. The *Times* attribution was in the form of an indirect quotation and read as follows: "The key issue, Senator Buckley said, is that scientists are tending increasingly to believe that life begins not when fertilization takes place—that is, when the sperm penetrates the ovum—but when the fertilized ovum implants itself in the wall of the uterus." This was not what I said, and the attributed statement does not represent my own understanding of the question in issue.

I suspect that the reporter, with the best of intentions, ran together two separate statements made in different contexts during my press conference. The first had to do with the understanding of scientists that human life begins at the moment of conception—an understanding that I share. The second had to do with what I understand to be the limits of science to determine in any particular case when conception has in fact taken place.

Let me now state as precisely as I can the thinking that directs my intentions.

1. It is my belief and my intention in introducing my amendment that the word "person" will apply from the moment of conception.

2. In framing an amendment to accomplish this result, however, a close reading of the *Wade* decision convinced me that the term "conception" had been robbed of the legal meaning that those who invoke it to protect life act on it to have. I therefore looked for substitute language that would fulfill that intention. I believe that the language used in my amendment, to wit, "all human beings including their unborn offspring at every stage of their biological development," is well-suited to this purpose and is altogether consistent with the intentions of any amendment that uses the words "conception" or "moment of conception." By firmly establishing the identity between "person," within the meaning of the Constitution, and "human being," as a distinct biological entity, my amendment would extend the protection for human life back to the first moment that science can establish its existence. Given the perversity of the courts and the slipperiness of language, I feel this is the surest way of guaranteeing that the amendment will have its intended effect. Whether there are better or more precise ways to do this that the language contained in my amendment will be determined during the hearing process by scientists and lawyers having particular competence in their respective fields.

3. The problem that lies at the heart of the matter is not at all easy to resolve from a legal point of view. Assuming legal personhood to be conferred at conception, how is this protection to have operative legal effect until a specific human being who may not as yet be either known or knowable" there seems to be no hard and fast answer to that question, and I know of no other way to resolve it than by relying on scientific expertise.

4. Lastly, I think it worth mentioning that this question and related questions are not peculiar to my amendment. They will arise also under Congressman Hogan's amendment and I believe that Congressman Hogan is well aware of that fact.

In short the mere specification of "the moment of conception"—even if that term had not been rendered ambiguous by the *Wade* decision—does not, without more, solve the problem. The "more" of necessity will have to be left to the hearing process and to the implementing legislation necessary to give the amendment full force and effect. Hopefully science will in the future shed greater light on the problem and enable us to make the kind of precise legal distinction on which the specific effect of the law so vitally depends.

Washington, D.C. JAMES L. BUCKLEY

THE MANCHESTER 7-13-73

Robert M. Byrn

It is not often that I find myself in disagreement with Charles Rice. On those infrequent occasions that I do, I hesitate to take him on. His scholarship and integrity are so self-evident that even via the printed word, he compels doubts in those who disagree with him. Besides, he has an intimidating way of demolishing his adversaries. But even Homer nods sometimes, I guess. Did Prof. Rice in his June 11th Wanderer article on the Buckley and Hogan Human Life Amendments. Both amendments are directed against the Supreme Court's infamous decision in Roe v. Wade. Both are intended to mandate the right to life for all human beings. Prof. Rice was critical of the Buckley amendment. I now prefer it. Prof. Rice raised specific points of objection. I disagree with them. Before addressing myself to these points, I would like to suggest several matters upon which there is no dispute:

1) We agree that the life of a human being begins at the moment of conception and is endowed at that moment with all the dignity and value that inhere in every human being. Any proposed amendment which posits a lesser point in [illegible] of human life is deplorable. In this respect, we all remain alert to a significant danger. If Congress scrubs the Human Life Amendment, whether it be Hogan's or Buckley's, that the amendment ends up excluding the unborn children, then we cannot support it.

Equally unacceptable is an amendment proposed by Rep. Whitehurst which reads: "Nothing in the Constitution shall bar any State or Territory or the District of Columbia with respect to any area over which it has jurisdiction, from any regulation or prohibition of the practice of abortion." Mr. Whitehurst's proposal affirmatively adopts the unfounded proposition of Wade that an unborn child is neither a human being in fact nor a human person in law. Were Mr. Whitehurst's intent otherwise, he could not possibly ask us to place within the discretion of State legislatures — and perhaps the sole discretion of an infant governor exercising a veto — the question whether to recognize the right to life of a whole class of human beings. Worst of all, the Whitehurst proposal does not guarantee the constitutionality of State anti-abortion laws. I mean by this that if a State were to enact a restrictive abortion law, as it would seemingly be empowered to do, a court would still be free to declare the legislation unconstitutional under that State's constitution. For example, assume that the Whitehurst amendment has been passed and that State X has enacted a restrictive abortion law. A pregnant woman has commenced a lawsuit in a court in State X claiming that X's anti-abortion law violates her right of privacy under the Due Process Clause in X's State constitution. The court casts about for some authoritative exposition of the meaning of due process insofar as it applies to the unborn and it hits upon Roe v. Wade. (Remember that the Whitehurst amendment does not challenge the substantive holdings of Wade; it merely makes the Federal Constitution inoperative on the abortion area.) Citing Wade the court holds that the unborn child is not a legal person and proceeds to declare X's anti-abortion law violative of a woman's right of privacy under X's State constitution. Now there is a decision which can be used as precedent by other States. The whole business is why Mr. Whitehurst and his co-sponsors may originally have meant well. But if they continue their sponsorship of this amendment now, they are perpetrating a fraud upon the American people and threatening the lives of millions of children.

2) I have dwelt at length on the Whitehurst proposal because it is relevant to the next point of agreement among pro-life people: we are out to win! The Whitehurst amendment includes the powerful Gerald Ford among its co-sponsors. It represents a substantial roadblock in the path of a Human Life Amendment. If a Human Life Amendment is to win, it must be backed by a congressional army of strength that can and will outmuscle the Whitehurst bloc.

3) Finally, we all agree that in the days immediately following the Wade decision, Rep. Hogan was the vanguard of the pro-life movement in Congress. Call him the conscience of Congress if you will. Understand too, however, that there are no heroes in this movement. Admiration of an individual must not interfere with our primary obligation to the unborn child. In two letters and one nationally circulated memorandum, I supported the Hogan amendment in an effort to head off a move within the pro-life movement to espouse a Whitehurst-type amendment. I would like to think that I contributed something to the drafting of the Hogan amendment. But just as there can be no misplaced loyalties in our movement, neither is there room for pride of authorship. If we decide that an amendment is acceptable, and it seems to have a better chance of winning, then let's go with it. Personalities don't count.

So much for the matters upon which I hope we all agree. Now let us examine Prof. Rice's objections to the Buckley amendment. First, Prof. Rice is concerned that the Buckley amendment fails expressly to specify a right to the equal protection of the laws, a right implicit in the Fifth and explicit in the Fourteenth Amendments of the U.S. Constitution. He admits that because the Buckley amendment recognizes the unborn child's right to life, "there may be no practical detriment." I suspect there is no detriment at all. Consider this simple syllogism: (1) the Buckley amendment accords unborn children life; (2) life entails equal protection of the laws; (3) therefore

(3) The guarantee of equal protection of the laws contained in the 14th amendment extends to all fundamental rights. Shapiro v. Thompson (1969); Schilb v. Kuebel (1971); Dunn v. Blumstein (1972); (4) even, the guarantee of equal protection of the laws in those amendments will extend to the unborn child's right to live. The only conclusion between the right to life and the right to equal protection of the laws is expressed in a landmark equal protection decision rendered in 1886 "For, the very idea that one man may be compelled to hold his life ... at the mere will of another, seems intolerable in any country where freedom prevails, as being the essence of slavery itself." Yick Wo v. Hopkins. Prof. Rice's fear that the Buckley amendment will not extend the equal protection guarantee to unborn children is groundless. First, it should be admitted that the fetus is "probably of course not viable." Since, in any event, the right to life is specifically guaranteed to unborn children by the Buckley amendment.

Second, Prof. Rice argues that the terminology of the Hogan amendment, "any human being from the moment of conception," gives clearer protection to unborn children from the actions of abortionists than does the Buckley terminology, "all human life, including the unborn offspring at every stage of biological development, irrespective of age ..." But the opposite seems to be true. As one result not intended, the Wade decision, by its unnecessary reference to the fetus' lack of viability outside the mother's womb, has created confusion in the law. In this connection, it is pertinent to note that in the text sentence, the Court mentioned medical extraction. Were the Court to rule that a fetus will "quicken" before it is viable, then the "stage of development" be interpreted. Will it mean the moment when it appears sentient or

thereby exclude all unborn children who are not at one months old? Menstrual extraction can be performed up to seventeen days after the missed period -- fourteen days after conception! I am puzzled as to why Prof. Rice is adamantly "perhaps overcautious" in some of his criticisms of the Buckley amendment, but is willing to tolerate the ambiguity in the Hogan amendment. It is true that he challenges the Hogan critics to come up with better language. That is exactly what Sen. Buckley has done. Prof. Rice scoffs at the Buckley term "offspring" as though it had never been used to refer to unborn children. He is wrong. Dependent on gestational age, modern science refers to the unborn child as "zygote," "embryo," or "fetus." Before these terms came into use, it was common to refer to the child from the [illegible] by the generic label "embryo." Webster's Third International Dictionary defines embryo in this original usage as "a human or other animal germ at any stage of development prior to birth. ..." Embryo has a different meaning today, as I have already indicated, but the term "offspring at any stage of development prior to birth" remains viable and current as a way of describing, unambiguously, conception to birth. Sen. Buckley's "all human beings, including their unborn offspring at every stage of their biological development" is a felicitous restatement of a familiar term with a well-settled meaning that is accurate to all pro-life people. Add to all this the intent of the framer of the amendment, [illegible] by a misquotation in the New York Times, subsequently repeated in other publications. Sen. Buckley has issued a statement to the New York Times in which he reaffirms his belief and intent that "person" in his amendment "will apply from the moment of conception." He then explains that the word "conception" had been robbed of its natural meaning by Roe v. Wade, and it was necessary to find another term to express the idea. The term has been found. The words and the intent are clear. Months of rethinking and redrafting went into the Buckley amendment. It is co-sponsored by six prestigious Senators representing a religious, political, and geographic cross-section of America. Is this powerful pro-life bloc to be broken up and all this effort scrapped because of an objection which, with all due respect to Charlie Rice, is utterly without merit?

Third, Prof. Rice objects that the Buckley amendment does not provide sufficient protection against euthanasia. He does admit "that the Buckley affirmation of personhood irrespective of age, health, function, or condition of dependency) may be sufficient protection," but he fails to tell us why it may not be except to reiterate his objection that the amendment fails expressly to specify a right to the equal protection of the laws -- an objection already dealt with above. The Buckley amendment provides as much protection against euthanasia as the Hogan amendment.

Fourth, Prof. Rice objects to the clause in the Buckley amendment which exempts from its application "in emergency when a reasonable medical certainty exists that continuation of the pregnancy will cause the death of the mother." He claims that this makes the unborn child a non-person. History is against him. For instance, in 1877 an Alabama court, in the course of expounding on the purpose of the Alabama abortion statute, asked rhetorically "[D]oes not the new born infant from the first day of its birth acquire a legal and moral status that entitles it to the same protection as that guaranteed to human beings in every stage of life?" Texas, State Penitentiary. The Alabama abortion statute exempted abortion necessary to preserve the life of the mother, the court viewed the unborn child as a person in law notwithstanding its total dependency on its mother. The provisions of the mother and the exception to prevent unlawful death are fully compatible. Here Prof. Rice complains that the exception will be abused. Yet he admits that the same exception is implicit in [illegible] as amended.

Charles Rice

Bob Byrn is one of nature's men. He is personally and professionally an out-looking man every respect. There [illegible] Courtroom [illegible] [illegible]tively and constructively in [illegible] act of the right to live. I know well and I have the highest [illegible]miration for him. And not least [illegible] his virtues is the fact that [illegible]mes from the Bronx. He is, [illegible]dentally, too, the principal [illegible]or of the Hogan amendment, a [illegible]e desire not to declare until [illegible]ly. Prof. Byrn and I con[illegible]ded the [illegible] meeting on the [illegible]dend following the [illegible]-Jo[illegible]son and, after consultation [illegible] other attorneys, I presented [illegible]al possible formulations to [illegible] Byrn, from [illegible] which [illegible]more, seemed to the very [illegible] I had been initially suggested [illegible]of. Byrn. So when Bob Byrn [illegible]s that pride of authorship [illegible] I have no influence here, [illegible]e it. For he is now arguing [illegible]ust his own proposal. He was [illegible]t then and I suspect he is [illegible] now.

Hogan amendment has now [illegible] introduced in the Senate by [illegible] Jesse Helms of North [illegible]lina. [illegible]

[illegible]ress [illegible]ver, of the fact that Prof. [illegible]n opposes the Hogan-Helms [illegible]endment does not [illegible] by the fact [illegible] he supports the [illegible]ley amendment. If Hogan's [illegible]guage cannot gain several [illegible]stance among opponents of [illegible]ion, we can find the more that [illegible]t may seem confusing to have [illegible]ife lawyers arguing over the [illegible]uage of an amendment. But [illegible]tuation is encountering Prof. [illegible]r that the problem [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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Isn't the danger of abuse less if the exemption is enunciated in tightly and narrowly phrased language? Further, there are some who disagree with Prof. Rice and, with some basis in law, argue that the exemption is not implicit in the Hogan amendment — that the amendment would not allow a maternal life-saving abortion. They point out that the anti-abortion statutes of this Country have always included such an exception. Ergo, they argue, the exception must be included in the amendment. Prof. Rice answers that maternal life-saving abortions are medically obsolete; the exception isn't really necessary at all. This line of attack requires him to deny that the removal of an ectopic pregnancy is an abortion "even in Catholic teaching." But it is not the Catholic definition of abortion of which we speak. The question is: Does medicine consider the procedure an abortion? Koch and Shettles in their book From Conception To Birth treat ectopic pregnancies in a section on abortion. They call the abortion is the interruption of pregnancy and then go on to state that "ectopic pregnancies must always be terminated by surgery." "Termination of pregnancy" and "interruption of pregnancy" are typically used interchangeably to denote an abortion in medical terminology. Termination of an ectopic pregnancy is an abortion within the maternal life-saving exemption. So it all boils down to this: Unless the exemption is explicitly stated in a correctly circumscribed way, we risk losing the support of two different groups — those who share with Prof. Rice that the exemption is implicit in the Hogan amendment and who fear that even an abortion of an ectopic pregnancy would be banned, and those who know that the exemption is implicit in the Hogan amendment, but who fear that the failure to enunciate it precisely will give pro-abortionists room to maneuver by misinterpretation. Prof. Rice has no objection to an exemption as such. He admits it to be better if the exemption were explicit in the amendment, in the way Sen. Buckley has drafted it, than if it were omitted and we lost all this support. Of course, those who object that there ought to be no exemption at all cannot support either amendment. The rest of us had better get it all together soon or the exemption will be the least of our worries.

Fifth, Prof. Rice asks: "Do you agree that the constitutional protection of life should apply generally from the moment when the sperm combines with the ovum?" The answer is, Yes.

Sixth, Prof. Rice asserts that "The language of whatever amendment becomes the focus of the pro-life campaign will set the tone of the campaign." I would suggest rather that the pro-life campaign will establish the meaning of the amendment — except possibly if the amendment contains technical legal language, as "moment of conception" may be. Should, for instance, the National Right-to-Life Committee back the Buckley amendment, it would be outside the mandate of a resolution that any amendment must explicitly establish it. The New York State Right-to-Life Committee is under a similar mandate with respect to any amendment it may choose to back. Further, as far as I know, has made a decision at this point.

The expressed intent of Sen. Buckley, the plain meaning of his language, and the long-standing and well-known pro-life orientation of his phraseology persuade me that his amendment is superior to Rep. Hogan's. Sen. Buckley has a potential coalition of supporters that is stronger than the one Mr. Hogan has. At the time of this writing, after four and a half months, Rep. Hogan has not gathered a single co-sponsor in Congress. I believe Buckley can win; I am far less sanguine about Hogan's chances. As I provided the amendment is acceptable to the pro-life movement (which Buckley's ought to be), then we must support it all the way. It is not enough to have faith in the good fight. There are too many lives at stake.

Finally, in closing this article, I would echo Father Drinan's plea, "We ought to pray." Our prayers are not for ourselves, but for the unborn and for the right thing by God's children.

93d CONGRESS
1st Session

H. J. RES. 769

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

OCTOBER 12, 1973

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States for the protection of unborn children and other persons.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission by the Congress:

"ARTICLE —

"SECTION 1. With respect to the right to life, the word 'person', as used in this article and in the fifth and fourteenth articles of amendment to the Constitution of the United States, applies to all human beings, including their unborn offspring at every stage of their biological development, irrespective of age, health, function, or condition of dependency.

"SEC. 2. No abortion shall be performed by any person except under and in conformance with law permitting an abortion to be performed only in an emergency when a reasonable medical certainty exists that continuation of pregnancy will cause the death of the mother and requiring that person to make every reasonable effort, in keeping with good medical practice, to preserve the life of her unborn offspring.

"SEC. 3. Congress and the several States shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation within their respective jurisdictions.".

[illegible] of the United States, Inc.

[illegible] SUITE 530 Washington, D.C. 20005

August 14, 1973

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*Executive Committee

From: Joseph P. Witherspoon, Consultant to Public Policy Committee

To: Executive Committee, NRLC

Subj: Proposed Report of Public Policy Committee on Human Life Amendment to the Constitution of the United States

1. This memorandum submits in outline the contents for a proposed report by the Public Policy Committee to the Executive Committee, NRLC on a Human Life Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The proposed report has been prepared by your consultant to this committee and is currently being circulated to its members and to certain specialists who can be helpful to them for comment and any proposed modifications.

2. It is recommended that the Executive Committee adopt the following positions:

A. The Buckley Human Life Amendment, S.J. Res. 119 (May 31, 1973) and the Hogan Human Life Amendment, H.J. Res. 261 (January 30, 1973) are both worthy of support by all who are committed to restoring full protection for the life of unborn children under the Constitution of the United States.

B. The Buckley Amendment possesses a number of strong points, including an inbuilt capacity to meet certain difficulties that are likely to be presented in the administration of any human life amendment, that are not clearly possessed by the Hogan Amendment. For this reason, the Buckley Amendment is considered to be preferable to the Hogan Amendment.

C. The Buckley Amendment can and should be strengthened by modification of its Section 2. That section presently reads:

> "Section 2. This Article shall not apply in an emergency when a reasonable medical certainty exists that continuation of the pregnancy will cause the death of the mother."

For reasons stated below this section should be modified to read as follows:

> "Section 2. No abortion shall be performed by any person except a doctor and in conformance with law permitting an abortion to be performed only in an emergency when a rea-

sonable medical certainty exists that continuation of pregnancy will cause the death of the mother and requiring that person to make every reasonable effort, in keeping with good medical practice, to preserve the life of her unborn offspring."

3. Both the Buckley and Hogan Amendments should be supported by NRLC because although they differ in their expressed formulas, they are likely to produce in large measure the results desired by NRLC with respect to restoring protection under the Constitution for human life from and after conception.

4. The Buckley Amendment should be the Human Life Amendment preferred and promoted by NRLC because it has the following advantages over the Hogan Amendment:

a. because it more assuredly provides protection of the unborn child from the instant of fertilization than does the Hogan Amendment due to the possibility that the Supreme Court of the United States, as a result of its decision in Roe v. Wade, might construe the words of the Hogan Amendment "from the moment of conception" to refer to a process that covers a considerable period of time, perhaps as much as a month, and that would exclude from constitutional protection those unborn children who are not yet one month old. The Buckley Amendment avoids this possibility of construction by the Supreme Court by adopting language which precludes that Court from adopting a view of conception that ignores the facts of life before birth. The language adopted by the Buckley Amendment protects the unborn offspring of human beings as a person under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments "at every stage of their biological development." Thus, the unborn child at every stage of its process of biological development as a new, separate, individual, living being is protected by this form of amendment. There is no stage of any such process at which it is outside the protection of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments provided for the life of the person. The Supreme Court cannot take some period less than the whole period of biological development of the unborn offspring of human beings as the period, and only the period, in which they are to be recognized as human beings. Moreover, the measure established by the Buckley Amendment for determining the beginning and development of human life is biological science. This measure excludes the method of definition utilized by several members of the Court in defining a human being which would bring to bear on the matter so-called "value judgments".

b. because it utilizes the very language that has been utilized by physicians since at least the 1850's to describe the needed protection for foetal life and that still is in current use. See, e.g., Horatio R. Storer, M.D., Criminal Abortion in America (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1860) pp. 10, 100, 107: "... the foetus (is) already, and from the outset, a human being, alive, however early its stage of development and existing independently of its mother. . . .it is not rational to suppose . . . that life . . . dates from any other epoch than conception. . . . medical men, in all obstetric matters, are the physical guardians of women and their offspring. . . ." (Protection of the unborn child is required) at every stage of gestation." See, also, Henry Miller, M.D. "Address" (of President of American Medical Association at 1860 Annual Meeting), Transactions of the American Medical Association, Vol. XIII (June 1860) pp. 58-59: "from the moment of conception, a new being is engendered, in whose constitution, mi-

croscopic though its parts may be, lies unfolded the substratum in which inheres potentially all that pertains to man. . . . In every stage of its development, it is as much an independent being as are its parents. With such enlightenment as this, what virtuous woman . . . would be accessory to so foul a deed as the destruction of her offspring. . .?"

c. because it utilizes a formula that better strikes at the very roots of the Supreme Court's tragic error in Roe v. Wade. That Court separated the concept of the human being from the concept of the human person and held that although a being might be a human being, that fact did not entitle that being without more to the constitutional protection of the human person. In so holding, the Court destroyed the traditional common sense and scientific view equating the concept of the human being and the concept of the human person. And, indeed, it now can be clearly demonstrated that the Court destroyed, for the time being, the work of the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment's First Section. Those framers were very cognizant that these two concepts had been separated in the actual administration of the Constitution of the United States and it was their clear, demonstrable purpose to prevent for all time thereafter any such separation of the two concepts. The author of the first section of this Amendment, Congressman John A. Bingham of Ohio, stated how it was to operate: "Before that great law the only question to be asked of the creature claiming its protection is this: Is he a man?" And of the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment he stated: ". . . no person, no human being, no member of the family of man shall, by virtue of federal law or under the sanction of the federal authority . . . be deprived of his life, or his liberty, or his property, but by the law of the land." See, Alfred Avins, The Reconstruction Amendments' Debates (1967) pp. 274, 36-38.

The Buckley Amendment explictly restores this traditional equation of the two concepts of the human being and the human person by defining "person" as used in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to apply "to all human beings, including their unborn offspring at every stage of their biological development, irrespective of age, health, function or condition of dependency." The Buckley Amendment thus specifically overturns the tragic underpinning of Roe v. Wade. The Hogan Amendment does not specifically overturn this underpinning. It accomplishes the needed rectification only by inference. The Hogan Amendment does not define the constitutional concept of the "person". While it accomplishes the necessary protection of a human being, from the moment of conception (providing the Supreme Court does not distort the proper meaning of the latter clause), the Hogan Amendment fails to correct the basic doctrinal error of that Court committed in Roe v. Wade in haec verba and to restore the Fourteenth Amendment to its original form of equating the human person and the human being. By virtue of this failure, the opportunity for asserting a great moral and legal truth is lost. The basic error of the Supreme Court in Roe v. Wade should be explicitly corrected. The Buckley Amendment does this.

d. The Buckley Amendment is more precise and full in its protection of human beings as persons, irrespective of their age, health, function, or condition of dependency, than is the Hogan Amendment. The latter Amendment explicitly protects a human being against deprivation of his life by the United States or a State only on account of illness, age, or incapacity. The Buckley Amendment fully encompasses a human being within the protection

of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments and all clauses thereof with respect to the right to life whatever the excuse that might be advanced for taking away that right by government and then adds, out of an abundance of caution, that that right may not be taken away on account of age, health, function, or condition of dependency. Perhaps, Section 2 of the Hogan Amendment will be read by the Supreme Court as not limiting Section 1 of that Amendment with respect to the protection of the life of a human being. But, at this stage, no stone should be left unturned to prevent the Supreme Court ever playing fast and loose again with the constitutional protection of life of the human person. The Buckley Amendment is not only better drawn to accomplish this result explicitly. It is also better in its draftsmanship by virtue of the fact that it covers the whole field of possible excuses or reasons government might give for taking a person's life, while specifying some such reasons particularly, and it does so in one comprehensive section, rather than in two sections.

e. The Buckley Amendment deals specifically with a problem that could undercut the effectiveness of any Human Life Amendment--the problem of an exception for an abortion for preserving the life of the mother. No Human Life Amendment will be adopted that does not permit state and federal laws to be enacted that permit such an abortion. The Hogan Amendment does not explicitly prohibit such an abortion and inevitably it must face an attack from two sides. One side will urge that the Hogan Amendment prohibits any abortion. Another side will urge that the Hogan Amendment permits abortions to be authorized by state and federal law that are performed to preserve the health of the mother and perhaps to preserve her mental health and to subserve socio-economic purposes. While I do not agree that the Hogan Amendment prohibits any abortion, it is a weakness of that Amendment that it can be subjected to such argumentation and that the latter will prove persuasive to many persons who are basically pro-life in their orientation. On the other hand, the greatest weakness of the Hogan Amendment is that it probably does not confine permissible abortions to those done for the purpose of preserving the life of the mother. Indeed, it would turn over to the very court that decided Roe v. Wade the function of deciding what abortions are permissible under the very fluid and flexible concept of "due process of law". I am unwilling to turn over to that Court such a function after its performance in Roe v. Wade and I think most pro-life people, when they understand this weakness of the Hogan Amendment, will be opposed to it for that reason.

It is essential that any Human Life Amendment clearly and narrowly draw a provision for the kind of an abortion that may be permitted under State and Federal Law. The Buckley Amendment has done this in light of the history of the administration of the exception in traditional anti-abortion laws for abortions for the purpose of saving the life of the mother. That history indicates that even this exception was given a wide and liberal interpretation in many states, such as California. For this reason, the Buckley Amendment would only permit an abortion for this purpose in the situation of an emergency when there is reasonable medical certainty that continuation of the pregnancy will cause the death of the mother. Such a phrasing of the exception will be efficacious in preventing authorization of an abortion, by judicial interpretation, that really involves no real danger to the mother's life from a continuation of her pregnancy.

The Buckley Amendment with respect to this matter of exception for an abortion to save the life of the mother does suffer from two kinds of weaknesses. These

will be examined below and a corrective recommended.

5. A major weakness of both the Buckley and Hogan Amendments is that neither proposal prohibits abortions directly. Thus if a State Legislature or the Congress fails to enact an anti-abortion law, neither the Buckley nor the Hogan Amendment will stop abortions without more. They will resemble, in their actual impact or application, the so-called States Rights Amendments. They are designed to prevent action by the United States or any State in denying due process of law or equal protection of law to any human being from and after the conception of that human being with respect to his or her enjoyment of life. They are not designed to operate upon the private action of physicians in performing or of parents in seeking abortions. Adoption of neither the Buckley nor the Hogan Amendment will stop private action in seeking and authorizing abortions or in performing abortions. They operate only through action that is public or official action. If a State Legislature or a Congress fails to enact an anti-abortion law, this will probably constitute official action that denies due process of law and equal protection of law to unborn children. In such event, court action will have to be instituted to compel a State Legislature or Congress to enact anti-abortion law to protect unborn children from abortions by private persons. This will take time. It will be done piece-meal. It must be done through the courts and this means that these Amendments put the Supreme Court back in the saddle again with many possibilities for delay and inadequate protection of the unborn child. It is entirely possible that adoption of either the Buckley or the Hogan Amendment will result in another fifty years of efforts to get appropriate anti-abortion laws on the statute books plus efforts in the courts to bring this about. This will be an intolerable situation and one which should be avoided at all costs.

What is needed is a Human Life Amendment that prohibits abortions by private persons much as the Thirteenth Amendment prohibits slavery and involuntary servitude by private persons. Indeed, there is a very close resemblance between killing human beings by abortion and subjecting them to slavery and involuntary servitude. Slaves were also beaten and killed by their masters. When the people of the United States decided to be rid of slavery and involuntary servitude, they adopted an amendment to the Constitution that prohibited any private person or government itself from imposing slavery or involuntary servitude upon another person. That Amendment reads: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

A provision similar to the Thirteenth Amendment applicable to abortion by private persons as well as officials can readily be inserted into the Buckley Amendment by modification of its Section 2 to read as follows:

> "Section 2. No abortion shall be performed by any person except under and in conformance with law permitting an abortion to be performed only in an emergency when a reasonable medical certainty exists that continuation of the pregnancy will cause the death of the mother." (Underlined portion is substituted for the words "This Article shall not apply")

Another modification will be suggested of Section 2 of this Amendment shortly for another purpose. At the present moment will be discussed the point that this modification definitely creates from the moment of the adoption of the Amendment

a legal protection for every unborn child in the country from and after its conception with respect to its life. This law can be enforced in the courts without the necessity for state or federal legislation although, of course, it permits implementative legislation. Moreover, it preserves the excellent idea of the Buckley Amendment in dealing with the problem of an exception for an abortion performed for the purpose of saving the life of the mother and doing so in a narrow, precise manner. We definitely need this modification and should vigorously seek to get it adopted.

An excellent point about this modification is that it answers a basic criticism that has been directed against the Buckley Amendment. This criticism is that the Buckley Amendment expressly recognition of an abortion for the purpose of saving the life of the mother. While I think this criticism is wrong, the Amendment is subject to having such a criticism made and credited. The criticism should be undercut by modifying Section 2 according to the suggestion just made. The modification clearly does not compel recognition of an abortion for the purpose of saving the life of the mother. It simply leaves it up to the State Legislatures and to Congress to enact a "law permitting an abortion to be performed only . . . etc." Until such law has been enacted "No abortion shall be performed by any person". When such a law is enacted "No abortion shall be performed by any person except under and in conformance" with such state or federal law. Moreover, such state or federal law can only "permit. . . an abortion to be performed . . . in an emergency when a reasonable medical certainty exists that continuation of the pregnancy will cause the death of the mother." As suggested above, this completely undercuts the criticism that has been made by several prominent persons of the Buckley Amendment at the same time that it accomplishes the main objective under discussion of preventing abortion directly by private persons and thus providing immediate legal protection of unborn children even if state and federal legislatures fail to provide this protection.

6. Another major weakness of both the Buckley and Hogan Amendments is that, while both permit an exception to be made for abortions to save the life of the mother, and while the Hogan Amendment probably permits many other exceptions to be made in behalf of abortions, neither Amendment does anything about protecting the unborn child during and after the process of the excepted abortion. We are all familiar with the fact that babies are aborted live-born usually in hysterotomies and sometimes in saline injections. We are also familiar with the reports that these babies are usually permitted to die without adequate care or even destroyed. Whatever form of abortion is utilized with respect to an abortion that is permitted in an emergency when a reasonable medical certainty exists that continuation of the pregnancy will cause the death of the mother under the Buckley Amendment, it should be permitted only under a law "requiring . . . every reasonable effort, in keeping with good medical practice, to preserve the life of her unborn offspring." For this reason, the modification of Section 2 of the Buckley Amendment should read as follows:

> Section 2. No abortion shall be performed by any person except under and in conformance with law permitting a abortion to be performed only in an emergency when a reasonable medical certainty exists that continuation of pregnancy will cause the death of the mother and requiring that a person do every reasonable effort, in keeping with good medical practice, to preserve the life of her unborn offspring." [illegible]

lined portion is the modification suggested in the instant discussion. The earlier underlinedportion is the modification suggested in Point 9.)

7. I was the draftsman of a proposed constitutional amendment to overturn the Supreme Court decisions that came to the attention of Senator Buckley and with one major exception adopted by him. This proposal was drafted in my role as a member of the drafting committee of the Legal Advisory Committee of NRTL in late January and February of this year. Professor Walter Trinkaus of Loyola of Los Angeles made an extremely valuable contribution to this proposed amendment that is incorporated in Section 2 of the Buckley Amendment. As draftsman of the proposal, I was aware of the Hogan Amendment and sought to achieve its objectives by more certain measures and to add correctives to strengthen its protection for human life. The direct prohibition of abortions by private persons was eliminated by Senator Buckley, largely for political reasons. I have redrafted the direct prohibition of abortions by private persons that was submitted to him as described in this memorandum. I believe it is not only necessary in principle but also politically acceptable in its present form.

8. While the Public Policy Committee is performing its task of considering the form of a Human Life Amendment to be recommended by it for support by NRLC, this memorandum will serve, among other purposes, the purpose of informing the Executive Committee of the position of its consultant to that Committee and of stimulating any suggestions or criticisms that seem appropriate to members of the former. While layers are essential for the performance of the task of proposing the form of a Human Life Amendment for consideration by the Executive Committee, it is also just as essential that every pro-life person and group consider how any given proposal might operate in practice and what problems may not have been foreseen or considered.

APPENDIX

A. The Buckley Amendment (S.J. Res. 119, May 31, 1973):

"SECTION 1. With respect to the right to life, the word "person", as used in this Article and in the Fifth and Fourteenth Articles of Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, applies to all human beings, including their unborn offspring at every stage of their biological development, irrespective of age, health, function or condition of dependency.

"SECTION 2. This Article shall not apply in an emergency when a reasonable medical certainty exists that continuation of the pregnancy will cause the death of the mother.

"SECTION 3. Congress and the several States shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation within their respective jurisdictions.

B. The Witherspoon proposal to the Executive Committee for a modification of the Buckley Amendment:

"SECTION 1. (same)

"SECTION 2. No abortion shall be performed by any person except under and in conformance with law prohibiting an abortion to be performed only in an

in an emergency when a reasonable medical certainty exists that continuation of pregnancy will cause the death of the mother and requiring that person to make every reasonable effort, in keeping with good medical practice, to preserve the life of her unborn offspring."

"SECTION 3. (same)

C. The Hogan Amendment (H. J. Res. 261, January 30, 1973):

"SECTION 1: Neither the United States nor any State shall deprive any human being, from the moment of conception, of life without due process of law; nor deny to any human being, from the moment of conception, within its jurisdiction, the equal protection of the laws.

"SECTION 2. Neither the United States nor any State shall deprive any human being of life on account of illness, age, or incapacity.

"SECTION 3. Congress and the several States shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

D. Memoranda of June 1 and July 30, 1973, of Michael Taylor, Executive Secretary of NRLC entitled: "Federal Legislation - Constitutional Amendments . . ." and "Constitutional Amendment . . ." (I assume these are generally available)

E. Articles of Robert M. Byrn and Charles Rice in The Wanderer, July 12, 1973. (I assume these are generally available)

Rec'd for
Bob Bryan
9/7/73

September 4, 1973

Prof. Joseph P. Witherspoon
University of Texas Law School
2500 Red River
Austin, Texas 78705

Dear Joe:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your excellent memorandum (8/14/73) on the Human Life Amendments. Herewith my comments:

First: I agree with paragraphs 2A, 2B, 3 and 4 of your memorandum (except, perhaps, so much of 4a as refers to the weaknesses in the Buckley Amendment). When I wrote the WANDERER article, it was not with the idea in mind that the Hogan Amendment was worthy of support. I intended only (a) to indicate that Buckley Amendment was superior and (b) to answer Charlie Rice's argument that pro-life people ought to oppose the Buckley Amendment for reasons which I believed to be unsound. In his reply Charlie wrote that I was the principal author of the Hogan Amendment. Actually, the language was the product of several lengthy telephone conversations. How much of it is mine, I simply cannot recall at this moment. Even assuming the language to be all mine, nevertheless, I agree with your criticisms.

Second: Having confessed multiple egregious errors, I may have succeeded in destroying the credibility of the rest of this letter, but I will continue anyway.

Third: Paragraph 5 of your memorandum raises the thorny problem of private action. The following observations are intended more as questions than objections:

a) As a practical matter, can we expect to obtain more in the way of constitutional protection for the lives of unborn children than the protection afforded to the lives of other human beings? To put it another way, the Supreme Court in Roe and Doe might have accepted the arguments of the State of Texas that unborn children are fourteenth Amendment persons. Such a finding is the most we could have hoped for. Still private action would not have specifically been forbidden since the Fourteenth Amendment does not bar private action. Will we muddy the waters and give additional ammunition to our adversaries if we seek more protection for the unborn than (1) they would have enjoyed had we won and (2) other human beings enjoy?

b) Would the proposed modification be self-executing? Or (in the absence of some prohibition) would it require the enactment by Congress of appropriate criminal or other civil rights legislation? I suppose the answer to this question might be that even in the absence of such legislation, the modification would permit the appointment of a guardian for unborn children to bring a class action against hospitals and doctors performing abortions to enjoin their continued violation of the rights recognized by the Amendment. Or perhaps the wording of some existing civil rights statutes directed against private action might be broad enough to cover unborn children - although I have my doubts about this latter approach.

c) I gather, Joe, that you have concluded that all restrictive and A.L.I state abortion laws; presently remaining on the books, are a nullity and that ratification of the Buckley Amendment, at least in its unmodified form, would not revive them even though they have not been legislatively repealed. If this be so, then your proposal for a private action clause is considerably reinforced. Charlie Rice, on the other hand, has argued against a private action clause on the grounds that (1) existing, unrepealed, restrictive state anti-abortion laws would be enforceable after ratification of the amendment, (2) existing, unrepealed ALI type laws would be unconstitutional only to the extent that they permit abortion for reasons other than to save the mother's life, and would be otherwise enforceable, and (3) permissive state abortion laws (like New York's) would become unconstitutional thereby reviving the prior restrictive laws which were repealed or amended by the enactment of the permissive laws. If Charlie is correct, then a private action clause would not be necessary. He relies principally on cases deciding that where law A was declared unconstitutional, law B (which A repealed or amended) was revived. There is, of course, a significant difference in the present situation. Under *Roe*, New York's existing law is constitutional. In the hypothetical I presented law A never was constitutional. For this reason, Charlie's point may not be valid.

d) I gather that some Senators had objections to a private action clause. Perhaps the wording of the modification takes care of their objections (paragraph 7 of your memorandum).

As I said, the above are not objections but questions which I have heard raised and which I relay for your consideration. I have one suggestion which is purely semantic. It seems to me that "No pregnancy shall be terminated . . . except where and in conformance with law permitting termination of pregnancy . . ." may be preferable to the references to abortion. The word abortion, I am told, is appropriately used only up to the twentieth week.* Many definitions limit it to "expulsion of the fetus from the uterus." Because the termination is normally obtained, I suggest the change in language. Admittedly this may be unrealistic. I recognize too that there is some public relations value in actually using the word abortion in the Amendment.

Fourth: In paragraph 5 of your memorandum, you suggest an additional modification about which I have some reservations:

a) I think it may open a Pandora's box of controversy regarding "ordinary means" vs "extraordinary means" in medical treatment, the meaning of "reasonable efforts" and "good medical practice," *etc.* In short, I am concerned that our adversaries will use it to cloud the real issue - the fundamental right to life of unborn children - and thereby delay the Amendment.

*I am not certain as to the technical definition but it is an area encompassing first and

b) the modification guarantees to aborted children something which is not specifically guaranteed to newborn children - the constitutional right to good medical care from the physician involved. Can this be interpreted to mean that the newborn child does not have such a right (e.g., the Bangladesh baby who was allowed to starve to death at Johns Hopkins)? On the other hand, if general principles of law protect the newborn in such a situation, won't they also protect the aborted child?

c) the thrust of the Amendment should be the restoration of the unborn child's right to live. The language of the modification is directed toward a particular criminal practice violative of that right. It is excellent statutory language, but, I suggest, not appropriate for an Amendment. The more specific ills the Amendment tries to cure, the more opposition we will encounter. I believe an Amendment ought to guarantee fundamental rights - not proscribe specific instances of violation of those rights.

d) how can this provision be enforced without enabling legislation? If such legislation is required, it can be enacted without the modification.

e) As much as I agree with the intent of the modification, there comes a period, I think, when we begin to ask for too much and thereby turn off borderline Senators and Congressmen or give an easy out to those (like Senator Kennedy) who are caught in a squeeze.

f) as a practical matter, the modification comes into play only after the 19th or 20th week. If a doctor is in such bad faith that he will perform an abortion at this stage, under the pretense of saving the mother's life, then he won't have too many qualms about letting the baby die, regardless of the wording of the modification.

I must admit that I recognize two advantages to your modification no. 2 besides those mentioned in the memorandum. It anticipates the day when an artificial placenta will be available to sustain the life of aborted babies. Also it provides a vehicle for calling to public attention, via Congressional hearings, the unscrupulous practice of letting babies die after an abortion.

Finally: In summary, I am in total agreement with the recommendation to support both Amendments, with a preference for Buckley's. I really think questions concerning modification no. 1, but I have reservations about modification no. 2. If it is decided to adopt either or both modifications, it is important, I think, that it be done in such a way that hearings on the Amendments are not delayed and an impression of disunity and confusion is not conveyed. It is also important that we close ranks. To this end, all pro-life people should be prepared to support Senator Buckley's choice whether it be Percy, Beckley, or Brierley with one or both of the modifications, which, as I read your excellent memo, Joe, is also your position.

Sincerely,

RHB:am

Robert H. Byrn
Professor of Law

Massachusetts Citizens For Life, Inc.

430 CENTRE STREET NEWTON MASS. 02158 (617) 965-5513

"In recognition of the fact that each human life is a continuum from conception to natural death, the objective of this organization is to foster respect for human life and to defend the right to life of all human beings, born and unborn, through educational, political, and other forms of activity."

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October 7, 1973

Prof. Joseph Witherspoon
5312 Shoal Creek Blvd.
Austin, Texas 78756

Roy R. Scarpato
Member of Public Policy Committee

Subject: Constitutional Amendment.

Your memorandum of August 14 has been reviewed in Massachusetts by the Massachusetts Citizens For Life Directors and other knowledgeable pro-lifers. Several comments resulted, followed by Dennis Moran's memo which generated yet more comments. This letter will attempt to summarize the concensus of our opinions.

1./ The desire to avoid divisions in the movement over Hogan vs. Buckley, as suggested by both you and Dennis is well received. We believe the pro-life movement should first formulate an optimal version of an amendment. Political realities may require some flexibility, but those considerations should not deter us from making a concerted effort to attain the ideal. This point has been well stated by both you and Dennis.

2./ Section 2 (Buckley): we agree that Buckley's formulation is inappropriate and urge the direct prohibition of abortion as opposed to a cancellation of Section 1's definition of person due to medical necessity. Either your new formulation of Section 2 or Moran's is acceptable to us. Moran's may be politically preferable since an argument against passage of the amendment would be made that in the interim, before state laws in conformance with your Section 2 would be passed, doctors would be prohibited from aborting even to save the mother's life. We do however prefer your more explicit requirement for reasonable efforts to preserve the child's life in the cases of medical emergency, since the amendment when passed will have a teaching power transcending its legal implications.

3./ Professor Smith's comments (attached) relate to your Section 1. Smith's comment #1 is that "with respect to the right to life" may be unduly restrictive. However, it may be justified as a device for focusing attention on the right most immediately threatened. We believe his comment has some validity and suggest it be considered.
Smith's comment #2 has been adequately addressed by Moran. We concur.
Smith's comment #3 raises a basic question as to strategy of the movement. Although a further section expressly prohibiting euthanasia would probably create difficult problems in drafting, the inclusion of "irrespective of age, health, function or condition of dependancy" seems important to us, again for the teaching value, as regards euthanasia. We see this phrase as intending to illustrate rather than limit the scope of Section 1. Regarding Moran's example of mental health not being included, the word "health" has been most liberally interpreted by the courts in the abortion question; we see no reason why "health" would not include mental health in the amendment. We therefore prefer the retention of the phrase beginning with "irrespective..."

4./ The words "at every stage of biological development" lead to misgivings since they appear subject to interpretation. Is there a good reason for avoiding the more precise "at every stage from fertilization."? Within the movement, however, there exists in some quarters an aversion to the Buckley amendment under the assumption that his choice of words in some way would permit early abortions. While I do not support this conclusion I feel that inclusion of the word "fertilization" (but not "conception") would allay these fears without detracting from the scope or the SALABILITY of the amendment.

This letter is written as part of the dialogue we all wish to sponsor within the movement concerning the amendment. It is not intended to reflect an inflexible position but rather to pose some questions for further consideration. At the same time, we hope a generally acceptable formulation will be quickly arrived at. Moran's comment on possible frustration on the part of pro life legislators waiting for SCRI to act is well founded.
Warmly,

Roy R. Scarpato.

Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

TELEPHONE 283-6626

September 5, 1973

Professor Joseph P. Witherspoon
2500 Red River Street
Austin, Texas 78705

Dear Joe:

I appreciate the opportunity to examine your memorandum of August 14th with reference to the Public Policy Committee. You have done a thoughtful and painstaking job and I believe that your revised section two is a clear improvement over the present section two in the Buckley amendment.

Some things occur to me that may be helpful in your further consideration of the subject. First, I suggest that it is essential not only that the amendment have the effect of extending the constitutional protections to all human life, but also that the amendment specify when human life begins. The Supreme Court left undecided the question of when human life begins. In order for the protection of the Buckley amendment to attach, one must first be a human being or, in terms of the unborn child, he must first be an "unborn offspring" for those protections to attach. As I see it, there is nothing in the Buckley amendment to prevent a state legislature from deciding, for example, that one becomes an "unborn offspring" only after implantation. Prior to that time, one does not enjoy the constitutional protections because, although he is in the process of "biological development," he is not yet an offspring and therefore he is not a "person." The Hogan Amendment attempts to specify the point at which human life constitutionally begins, i.e., at the "moment of conception." While I believe that the words "moment of" would operate to prevent the Court from regarding conception as a process, I would not hesitate to support any language which would do the job better. In any event, I fear the Buckley amendment is deficient in its failure to specify the point at which human life, offspringhood and personhood begin.

The second thing that occurs to me is that your revised section two seems to require a definition of "abortion." You might use,

"abortion, as used herein, means the intentional termination of unborn human life." But this might raise confusing arguments about the principle of double effect and such things as the removal of a cancerous uterus of a pregnant woman. As you have it in your version, the use of the term, "abortion," without definition and in tandem with the first section of the Buckley amendment, leaves the door open to a legislature to define abortion as the post-implantation termination of pregnancy.

Thirdly, the Supreme Court's discussion of its holding in Vuitch indicates to me that, if the entitlement of the unborn to constitutional protection were established, a state law which allowed abortion for any reason less than the preservation of the life (not health) of the mother would be unconstitutional. I therefore believe your fear that the Hogan amendment would allow abortions for health is unrealistic.

There is a tendency among some right-to-life attorneys to deplore any efforts to find a phrasing for the amendment that would improve on both Hogan and Buckley. I do not agree with that and I believe the sort of effort you are making is desirable although I disagree with certain of your conclusions. Keep up the good work. If I can be of any assistance to you, please do not hesitate to let me know.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Charles E. Rice
Professor of Law

CER/ae

810427-27

MINNESOTA CATHOLIC CONFERENCE
145 UNIVERSITY AVENUE (at Rice)
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Phone: 612/227-8777

JOHN F MARKERT
Executive Director

September 19, 1973

Professor Joseph P. Witherspoon
313 Townes Hall
2500 Red River Street
Austin, Texas 78705

Dear Professor Witherspoon:

I have read with a great deal of interest your communications of August 14th and 21st concerning the Constitutional Amendments. I am essentially in agreement with your proposal concerning the Buckley proposal as you have suggested it be amended.

I believe, however, that both amendments pose another problem. Both are couched in terms specifically relating to abortion and thus may tacitly exclude other areas of concern to a pro life organization. I refer to the old latin phrase "Expressio unius est exclusio alterius". (The mention of one thing is the exclusion of another, i.e. when certain persons or things are specified in a law, contract, or will, an intention to exclude all others from its operation may be inferred.) Of course you realize that MNCC is concerned with broader life issues than just abortion.

In addition, specificity and the singling out of abortion in the proposed amendment smacks much more of legislation as distinguished from constitutional ingredients. It seems to me that the Constitution should cover the subject of "life" generically as against the specific subject abortion. I, therefore, have taken the liberty of rewriting your amended form of Section 2. of the Buckley proposal by substituting the general term of "life terminating procedure" in lieu of "abortion". Accordingly Section 2. might read as follows:

"No life terminating procedure shall ever be performed on any person except:

1. Under and in conformance with law permitting such procedures; and

2. Only in an emergency when a reasonable medical certainty exists that continuation of the life of the person subjected to said procedure will cause the death of another person who is directly affected; and

3. Requiring that said procedure incorporate every reasonable effort, in keeping with good medical practice, to preserve the life of the persons exposed to said terminating procedure."

I believe that my proposed amendment incorporates all of the strong points that you have built into Buckley's proposal while also covering the areas of euthanasia and its related subjects.

Respectfully submitted,

John F. Markert

JFM/mw

cc: Marjory Mecklenburg, NRLC
Edwin C. Becker, NRCC
William Massing, Esq.
George Reed, USCC

81702281112

28 Bosworth Road
Framingham, Mass. 01701
September 7, 1973

Mr. Roy Scarpato
30 Rolling Lane
Wayland, Massachusetts 01778

Dear Roy:

As regards the memorandum relative to the Hogan and Buckley Amendments, as I mentioned to you the other evening, I agree with Joseph Witherspoon that both are deficient in failing to directly prohibit abortion and for that reason I support Witherspoon's suggested change. There are however a few other matters which you might want to raise:

1. Why does Section 1 commence with the language "...ith respect to the right to life." While I appreciate that the amendment wishes to emphasize "life" does Section 1 by implication mean that the unborn does not enjoy the other rights provided by the Fifth and Fourteenth Articles of Amendment to the Constitution? Unless there is some purpose for this language which I have overlooked, I would recommend deletion of the words "...ith respect to the right to life".

2. Section 1 states "the word 'person' as used in this Article and in the. . . ." Yet the word "person" is not again used in the Article. Does this make sense?

3. Is the Buckley Amendment intended to also cover euthanasia? If so, do not the arguments advanced by Witherspoon relative to abortion apply also with respect to euthanasia? In other words, if the protection of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments do not relate to private action relative to abortions, I assume they do not apply to private action relative to euthanasia. Is there need for a direct prohibition on euthanasia? I am not sure I can take a position on this point so I will simply raise it.

Sincerely,

Jim Smith

JWS/jtc

MEMO TO: Public Policy Committee,
NRLC

FROM: D. J. Horan, Legal
Advisory Committee, NRLC

DATE: September 5, 1973

I think much of the concern that exists in the Right to Life movement at the present time over the content of the amendment arises from the misconception that the amendment will solve all of our problems. Approaching the technical question of drafting the amendment from that point of view leaves one with feelings of anxiety and uneasiness after reviewing each of the types of amendments. However, this exercise is not one of futility. It should become evident to any careful reader that the political climate being what it is, the technical legal problems being what they are, the amendment will solve only some, but not all, of our problems.

For example, neither the Buckley nor the Hogan amendment prohibit private action. As you are well aware, the bulk of abortions in America are done by private clinics, not through public hospitals. Unless the Hogan and Buckley amendments had the moral persuasive power to convince people that abortions should not be performed, or unless it was backed up by strong state legislation, neither of these amendments would affect the sphere of private action at all and thus, would not affect the bulk of the abortions that are being performed. This is not to say that these amendments are not important - quite the contrary.

If one decides that, based on prudential political wisdom, an amendment that prohibits private action is politically impossible at the present time, then the Hogan and Buckley amendments must be the next step. In my opinion, an amendment that reached only state action would need further state legislation. I understand from Bob Byrn, though, that asking a member of Congress to sign an amendment that prohibits private action is like asking a Senator to disavow apple pie.

The real lesson to be learned from this dialogue is that any constitutional amendment, no matter how carefully drafted, will need further state legislation in order to plug the loopholes. Not only that, we will continue to need the pro-life educational drive and the pro-life alternative drive, not only after the amendment is passed, but long after the new state statutes plugging the loopholes are passed.

In short, the constitutional amendment is only one prong of this attack. When one realizes this, one becomes less concerned about the technical problems in the amendments, although obviously the

best amendment possible should be the amendment pushed by the Right to Life.

As I have said before, looking at the movment as a whole helps put the amendment problem in better perspective. In that respect I see three overall approaches. The first is through a National political organization seeking the best amendment possible.

The second is through 501(c)(3) organizations, such as Birthright, Right to life Educational Organizations, Americans United for Life, and Alternatives to Abortion, providing the educational means and alternatives to women caught in this quandry.

The third is by a National Public Interest lawfirm, which would provide a spearhead for litigation toward the ultimate goal of reversing Roe v. Wade. This lawfirm could achieve 501(c)(3) status and thus, be the recipient of tax exempt funding.

To isolate anyone of those elements as though it were the total solution to the problem to me seems myopic. Even a constitutional amendment will not solve the problem if the hearts and minds of the people are not changed from the pro-abortion attitude that presently exists and, even if the attitudes changed, there would be little cessation in the number of abortions if organizations have not provided alternative means of handling the problem. Consequently, all these avenues must be pursued diligently until the final goal is achieved.

These comments, of course, do not solve the problems raised both by Professors Byrn and Rice as to the technical difficulties in each amendment. However, the dialogue is excellent and I think out of it will come an amendment acceptable to most.

I have sat down for many hours and attempted to draft a constitutional amendment considering all of the problems not only raised by Prof. Byrn and Prof. Rice, but by other people both in and outside of the movement. Having done this, I would add a few principles which I think should be considered in drafting the amendment:

1. Changing the definition of the word "person" is not enough, although it is a step in the right direction. There should be some actuating language prohibiting abortion under certain circumstances.

2. The definition of "person" should include the unborn child from the earliest stages of its biological development.

3. The first type of amendment should reach private as well as state action.

4. A second type of amendment should include most of the other points mentioned above, but should exclude private action.

5. Ambiguous phrases are to be avoided.

6. The amendment should be couched in language similary used in other amendments which have withstood the test of time.

7. The amendment should be selected by the movement. The movement should not have the amendment selected for it.

Both the Hogan and Buckley amendments are well drafted within the proscriptions that each accepted. I am sure that neither amendment attempts to prohibit private action based upon a prudential political judgment that such an amendment would never be accepted. However, if this is a necessary element, then prohibition of private action should at least be tested. I am advised that it was tested during the drafting stages of the Buckley amendment and found to be too hot a potato to handle in the Senate.

What makes the Buckley amendment so attractive is the prestigious list of sponsors, including Senator Eastland. However, I must agree with Prof. Rice that more technical problems with the Buckley amendment than with the Hogan amendment would be incurred. The basic problem that I have with the Buckley amendment is that it merely re-defines the word "person" and then attempts to omit the definition's applicability when the mother's life is in danger. I prefer stronger actuating language as is contained in the Hogan amendment. However, I agree that the Hogan amendment may lead us back to the old problem that state statutes passed under it might still contain enough exceptions to allow widespread abortion, yet be considered under the law to provide due process. This is a most difficult problem.

On the other hand, I disagree with both of them when they attempt to include and prohibit euthanasia. The euthanasia ballgame is so entirely different and rests on such different principles and applications from the abortion question that I think it is premature to include that concept in the abortion area. I think we unnecessarily divide the force of the amendment by including euthanasia as one of its concepts.

I should point out, though, that I do not consider any of my criticisms of either the Hogan or Buckley amendment substantial enough to deter my support of either amendment in the event that either amendment seems likely to succeed in Congress.

By that I mean that if either of these amendments pass they will do so in a flurry of activity which will perhaps carry the moral education necessary to persuade the country that abortion is evil. I'm sure that if the amendments pass Congress and the necessary

number of states adopt them, that in that climate we can pass state statutes that would plug the loopholes that either of these two amendments might still leave.

I hope that our own forces do not become divided through their support of either of these two amendments. I agree that both amendments seek to do the same thing as far as they seek to indicate when human life commences. I do not think that the Buckley amendment can properly be construed as one which allows early abortion and, as you know, I am one of those who will not accept early or microscopic abortion.

The greater danger is that Senator Buckley and Congressman Hogan, two men who have committed themselves to our cause, will feel frustrated and trapped by the seemingly refusal of the NRTL to put its muscle behind their efforts. Unless corrected, greater harm can be done to the movement especially in the ennui that would be created in the minds of other potential banner carriers in Congress.

With these prefatory comments, I herewith submit for the Committee's consideration the attached amendment.

Dennis J. Horan

DENNIS J. HORAN

ms

att.

P.S. Please see Comment after Article.

ARTICLE

Sec. 1.

With respect to the Right to Life, the word "person" as used in the Fifth and Fourteenth Articles of Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, applies to all human beings, including their unborn offspring at every stage of their biological development.

Sec. 2.

The Right to Life being unalienable, the performance of abortions by any person within the United States and all territory, subject to the jurisdiction thereof, is hereby prohibited unless medically necessary to prevent the death of the mother.

Sec. 3.

The Congress and the several states shall have concurrent power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation.

COMMENT

As you can see there is not a great deal of difference between this amendment and the amendment suggested by Prof. Witherspoon. I claim no pride of authorship.

It is essential that a complete dialogue be had on the substance of the amendment. Prof. Witherspoon correctly points out that this matter should not be left in the hands of the lawyers, just as war should not be left in the hands of the generals, nor life in the hands of doctors.

It is of the utmost importance that the movement select the amendment, or amendments, which best fit its plan of action. The movement cannot go shopping in the political forum and expect to find the cereal of its choice. The movement must bring its will and its choice of amendment to the Congress. It is one thing to say that the amendment must be "saleable" and quite another to preserve the ultimate goal of the movement.

I want to make several comments on the language of the amendment that I have enclosed, but I do not want to make a brief for its support.

The language of the Buckley amendment "... the word person as used in this article ..." was felt to be superfluous merely because the word person is, in fact, not used in the article.

Section 2 of the Buckley amendment presently reads:

> "... applies to all human beings, including their unborn offspring at every stage of their biological development, irrespective of age, health, function or condition of dependency".

It is not clear whether the draftsman intended the phrase beginning with the word irrespective to modify the words "unborn person" rather than "all human beings". I think the draftsman intended it to mean "... applies to all human beings irrespective of age, health, function or condition of dependency, including their unborn offspring at every stage of their biological development". As redrafted it clearly applies to the phrase "to all human beings". One wonders, however, why it is necessary to say "irrespective of age, health, function or condition of dependency" if one merely means "all human beings". The modifying phrase can create more problems than it solves. For example, it does not include mental health. I am also concerned that the words "function and condition of dependency" are too vague.

Section 2 of the Buckley amendment purports to make the Article inapplicable when there is a medical emergency. However, Section 1 merely defines the word "person". Therefore, Section 2 removes that definition when it is an emergency necessary to save the woman's life. Presumably then, the definition of "person" in the Texas and Georgia cases would be applicable and would create technical legal problems. It seems to me it does not get at the heart of the problem when one merely defines a word in one section of the Constitution and removes that definition in another. Consequently, the Witherspoon proposal or Section 2 as I have drafted it seems more appropriate.

As I have said, there are fewer of these technical drafting problems with the Hogan amendment, but the Hogan amendment leaves standing the problem of what constitutes due process in the abortion area. As Prof. Witherspoon indicates, one does not exactly trust this court in handling that problem.

It has been suggested that Section 2 of the enclosed Article can stand alone as an amendment. However, it seems to me that without Section 1 we have not reversed the effect of Roe v. Wade and, therefore, Section 1 is necessary. Although we know that the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments already apply to all human beings, it seems to me that Section 1, as drafted in its present form as enclosed, is the most felicitous way of handling the phrase "including their unborn offspring at every stage of their biological development". Although Section 1 could be redrafted as follows:

Sec. 1.

> With respect to the Right to Life the word "person" as used in the Fifth and Fourteenth Articles of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States applies to all unborn offspring of any human being at every stage of the unborn offspring's biological development.

I have omitted from my Section 2 the language of the Witherspoon proposal requiring every reasonable effort in keeping with good medical practice to preserve the life of the unborn offspring. I frankly do not understand the basis of the criticism that necessitated that response. Section 1 already defines the word person as applying to a human being and includes their unborn offspring. Obviously, therefore, Section 1 will require that every reasonable effort will be made to keep the unborn offspring alive. Also, state statutes could be drafted that would solve this problem and it seems to me that if we can pass a constitutional amendment through Congress and the necessary number of states, we can get the supporting state legislation.

I would, therefore, conclude that that phrase should be omitted.

Section 2, as I have enclosed, follows in form the prohibition amendment. The phrase "unless medically necessary" comes from the Roe v. Wade case.

The enclosed Article is sent for consideration and dialogue. Hopefully, the dialogue will produce the right amendment and the right spirit amongst our people.

Respectfully,

Dennis J. Horan

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December 1, 1973

MEMORANDUM TO: Members of the Right-To-Life Movement

SUBJECT : A MANDATORY *"H U M A N L I F E A M E N D M E N T"*

For some time I have been concerned about the wording of a *HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT*. Therefore, I have prepared for your consideration some comments on various provisions of ar amendment, plus proposed language for the amendment. These are provided in the attached paper with the following contents:

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December 1, 1973

A MANDATORY *"HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT"*.

I. INTRODUCTION.

A. "PROPER WORDING." The "proper wording" of a Constitutional amendment is essential to the RIGHT-TO-LIFE movement's forward thrust, unification of prolife organizations, and success in achieving its purposes. The amendment should include:

-- simple, clear, straightforward wording;
-- built-in enforcement provisions; and
-- self-implementing provisions.

As I perceive the tone of the right-to-life movement, members want to pour their energies and resources into a Constitutional amendment to be enacted as soon as possible. But, it must be the right amendment. Nothing else will do, and efforts to persuade prolifers toward alternatives appear to be counterproductive. Therefore, I believe that the right-to-life movement should try to structure an amendment, and take the language to the Congress, rather than request Congress to structure the language in hopes that something useful will come out through the hearing process in the Judiciary committees and on the floor of the House and the Senate. The realities of the legislative process demand that the movement knows specifically what it wants, and goes forth to persuade Congress of the merits of its position, with well-developed backup materials.

The courageous and dedicated Representatives and Senators who have already introduced amendments have done so from their own convictions and that of their dedicated staff members. They are to be commended for having been willing to speak out. However, the amendments which have been introduced have not sparked the wholehearted support of the right-to-life movement. Many of us are finding difficulty supporting amendments which we believe present difficulties and do not accomplish the task we have set for ourselves--namely, assuring that the worth and dignity of ALL human life is respected and protected.

B. RECOMMENDATION. Therefore, let the right-to-life movement turn the procedure around and

-- endorse none of the amendments which have already been introduced;
-- propose language for a mandatory *HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT*; and
-- have each state prolife delegation work with its Representatives, Senators and State legislators to gain sponsors and committments for Congressional hearings and State ratification.

II. SPECIAL PROVISIONS: WHAT DO WE WANT TO WORK FOR?

A. It seems to me that the amendment should provide that:

1. Each human life from fertilization through natural continuum of life has value and dignity, and that no one human life has a greater or lesser value than another. Thus, the unborn child should be brought under the benefit and protection of the laws for the family of human beings, with no more and no less benefits or liabilities.

2. Private individuals as well as the state shall account to the public for actions depriving a human being of life. Decision-making and action by a few people behind closed doors would no longer be permitted.

3. Right to life shall be re-mandated in the Constitution and shall not be left to each State to act as and if it sees fit.

4. A built-in enforcement mechanism shall be included to assure that the right to life is not a hollow right which can again easily be denied by evasion or non-enforcement of the laws.

5. The amendment shall be self-implementing, so that enabling legislation by the Congress or the states shall not be necessary for the benefits of the amendment to flow to the unborn human being.

In summary, the amendment should be drawn to the satisfaction of the prolifers who must do the leg work to get the amendment through the Congress and ratified by the States. These same prolifers can make a significant contribution to the philosophy and tone of the Constitutional amendment.

B. Care should be taken to assure that the amendment is not designed merely:

1. To accommodate what is believed to be politically feasible among the Representatives and Senators before they have been contacted by their prolife constituents; or

2. To accommodate the arguments of the anti-life forces.

III. WHERE DO WE START?

A. STATE OF THE LAW. We begin by looking at the state of the law, and, thereby, recognizing that as of January 22, 1973, the slate has been wiped clean, particularly with respect to the right to life of the unborn child, and possibly for other human being who are relatively dependent in our society. Therefore, there is little benefit in trying to fashion a Constitutional amendment which attempts to accommodate or build upon what has traditionally been the law for the unborn. Furthermore, the traditional state of the law for the unborn was like topsy as a little more was learned about the humanity of the unborn. Thus, attempting to take bits and pieces of the old law which served various purposes in the past will merely produce a patched up amendment, and nothing very strong for prolifers to rally round.

B. THE TASK. Since we are starting from a clean slate, it is our task to:

1. Fashion the "perfect" Constitutional amendment and work for it. Now is not the time, if ever there is a time, for compromise, and no good purpose

is served by indicating that we will be glad to take whatever we can get. I am not persuaded that any amendment is better than no amendment, because if a weak amendment is passed, there will be practically no opportunity to change it.

2. Write a series of "Federalist" papers explaining the merits of the provisions of the amendment. Such papers are extremely important to educate the Members of Congress and State legislatures, and to form the legislative history for interpretation of the provisions by the Court in the future. Further, many people who are apathetic or tend to support anti-life forces may be educated to the merits of the prolife cause.

3. Create the political climate in the Congress and in the States to get the right-to-life movement's amendment passed. Legislators can become more informed about the issue and the persuasions of their constituents, and, perhaps, can become persuaded of the merits of the prolife cause.

4. Litigate to change as much as possible of the existing law. Legal theories must be examined and re-examined and tested and re-tested.

IV. WHERE IS THE GUIDANCE FOR THE MANDATORY HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT?

A. Look first to the Supreme Court's decisions of January 22, 1973 to see why the unborn child was handed such an unfavorable decision. The important issue in the decisions is: "Is the unborn child a 'person'?" Because the Court said that the unborn child is not a person, meet the issue head on, and structure an amendment which definitely brings the unborn child within the family of human beings, leaves no loopholes, and assures that all Federal and State law shall protect each person. Some of the best guidance for fashioning this amendment is in the Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision. For instance, the Court said:

> "The appellee and certain *amici* argue that the fetus is a 'person' within the language and meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment. In support of this they outline at length and in detail the well-known facts of fetal development. If this suggestion of personhood is established, the appellant's case, of course, collapses, for the fetus' right to life is then guaranteed specifically by the Amendment. The appellant conceded as much on reargument. On the other hand, the appellee conceded on reargument that no case could be cited that holds that a fetus is a person within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment." 410 U.S. 113, 156. (Underscoring added.)

In addition, the Court stated in footnote 54 (410 U.S. 113, 157):

> "When Texas urges that a fetus is entitled to Fourteenth Amendment protection as a person, it faces a dilemma. Neither in Texas nor in any other State are all abortions prohibited. Despite broad proscription, an exception always exists. The exception contained in Art. 1196, for an abortion procured or attempted by medical advice for the purpose of saving the life of the mother, is typical. But if the fetus is a person who is not to be deprived of life without due process of law, and if the mother's condition is the sole determinant, does not the Texas exception appear to be out of line with the Amendment's command?
>
> There are other inconsistencies between Fourteenth Amendment status and the typical abortion statute. It has already been pointed out, n. 49, supra, that in Texas the woman is not a principal or an accomplice with respect to an abortion upon her. If the fetus is a person, why is the woman not a principal or an accomplice? Further, the penalty for criminal abortion specified by Art. 1195 is significantly less than the maximum penalty for murder prescribed by Art. 1257 of the Texas Penal Code. If the fetus is a person, may the penalties be different?"

For additional detail concerning the word "person," see paragraph VI, A, page 6, below.

B. Also, please reread the *Vuitch* case (402 U.S. 62) to see why any exceptions written into the amendment are the loopholes through which the abortionists operate on a grand scale. For more detail, see paragraph VI, B, page 9, below.

V. A MANDATORY HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT -- HOW WOULD IT READ?

"Sec. 1. The word 'person' and any other word meaning a human being used in the Constitution shall mean each human being born and unborn from the moment of fertilization regardless of health or condition of dependency.

"Sec. 2. The laws of the United States and of each of the several States heretofore and hereafter enacted which relate to the benefit, protection, vital statistics, and other provisions for human beings shall apply to each person from the date of enactment of this amendment.

"Sec. 3. This Article shall become effective when it has been ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States."

VI. WHAT IS THE EFFECT OF THIS LANGUAGE?

A. THE WORD "PERSON."

1. The word "person," according to my count, appears over 40 times in the Constitution, which includes using the word several times in one clause. Defining the word "person," wherever it appears, to include the unborn child achieves the purpose of bringing the child into the family of human beings as no more and no less a human being than the born person. It is self-defeating to say that the unborn child is a person for the Fifth and Fourteenth amendments, but is not a person for the rest of the Constitution. See paragraph IV, A, page 5, above.

There are other distinct advantages, as discussed in paragraph 5 and 6, below, and I do not see that there would be any ridiculous results by defining the word "person" to include the first nine months of the person's life. In various sections of the Constitution there are additional limiting qualifications. For instance, the unborn child--or the one-day old infant--could not be elected to the Presidency or other office because there are other qualification requirements stated in the Constitution, such as age.

2. I have included in *Sec. 1* the phrase "and any other word meaning human being," so that future amendments could not make the unborn child a non-person by using some synonym for the word "person."

3. In the definition of person, I have used the phrase "unborn from the moment of fertilization." I realize that the word "fertilization" (or conception) is omitted from some proposed amendments because the physicians can prove scientifically that life begins at fertilization. Then let's say so, and not leave it up to an interpretation by the Supreme Court. The scientific information has been before the Court, and the Court was not persuaded. The Court

could again disregard the scientific information and rule that some other point in time, *e.g.*, viability, is the beginning of biological development for the unborn. Remember, the Court could have ruled that the unborn is a person; the Court has ruled that a corporation--an artificial person--is a "person" within the meaning of the equal protection and due process of law clauses. The Court chose not to dignify the unborn child with personhood, and it seems unwise to give the Court another opportunity to repeat its grievous error.

4. I have included the phrase "regardless of health or condition of dependency" in *Sec. 1* to assure that the mentally retarded, aged, and persons with defects or diseases would not be killed under some later interpretation of due process and equal protection clauses which would aim at favoring the state's police power over the person's right to life. I have not used the word "age" in order to assure that no unintended and perhaps ridiculous meaning would come about from the provisions in the Constitution setting a minimum age as qualification for certain office. I believe it is unnecessary to include the word "age" in order to protect the aged, if we use the phrase "condition of dependency." Certainly, this phrase is wide open for much interpretation by the Court; but at the moment I believe it is the best term available to express the principle that a human being does not have to meet a test of "self-sufficiency" in order to have each human being's right to life fully protected by the Constitution.

5. An important advantage of defining the word "person" as used anywhere in the Constitution is to assure that a human being, born or unborn, shall not be defined as a "non-person" for any purpose. A second advantage is to assure that an enforcement provision is built into the amendment. That is, the word "person" is used not only in the due process and equal protection provisions of the Constitution, but also in Article I, Sec. 2, Clause 3 -- the apportionment and census provision, which affords effective enforcement through a proper reporting system. Each decennial census, at least, would include a count of the unborn persons.

6. In additon, under *Sec. 2* of the proposed amendment, the life of the unborn child would become a vital statistic the moment it is detected. The mother, the attending physician or midwife or father, who must now report births and deaths of human beings would also have to report immediately the life of the unborn child. A "LIFE CERTIFICATE" would be officially issued identifying the unborn child, who would at the same time be issued a social security number. This is not an unusual procedure, because now an infant must have a social security number to report income, say from bonds received as a nativity gift. There would be a requirement to furnish follow-up information when the child is born so that an official birth certificate can be issued. In addition, there would be a requirement to issue a death certificate for a miscarriage, etc. Again, this would bring the first nine months of each human being's life within the benefit and protection of the laws applicable to all other times of the human being's life. Society would protect the unborn child as it is beginning to protect the battered child. (In the District of Columbia, the law on vital statistics requires reporting the stillbirth of a fetus which has passed the fifth month of life.)

I seem to recall reading somewhere that when it was first required that each birth be recorded, with a penalty imposed for failure to record, there were

objections that the child was a private concern of the parents and not subject to control by the Bureau of Vital Statistics. In addition, there were many administrative problems, such as the child being born in the fields or hinterlands. Such arguments were answered by saying that the state had an interest in each human being and vital statistics for a variety of reasons. And so it follows that the state has an interest in the unborn child not only as a person and member of society, but also as a measure for providing services adequately, such as health facilities, day care services, educational facilities, etc., for the benefit of the child, the parents, and society as a whole.

Reporting unborn human life raises some administrative problems, *e.g.*, the mother may move before the birth. However, such administrative problems are not insurmountable, particularly through use of the social security number, and, in any event, should not be used to deny a substantive right to life and a reporting system for easily enforcing that right.

Each state's statutes should be examined to determine how easily the provisions for vital statistics can be amended to include reporting the life of each unborn child. (The D.C. Code is easily adaptable.) No longer would it be possible for a woman to go to her doctor to determine whether she is pregnant, and if so, go across the street to the abortion clinic to have the child killed.

7. It is important that the amendment be not only self-enforcing, as detailed in subparagraphs 5 and 6, immediately above, but also self-implementing. Jim Crow laws, found by our Court at one time to be constitutional, largely negated the intent of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments for almost 100 years. It would be a hollow victory for the right-to-life movement if a Human Life Amendment could be circumvented by implementing legislation at the Federal, State, or local levels which would permit either governmental or private action to kill "unwanted" human beings.

Sec. 2 of my proposed amendment is designed to assure that when the amendment becomes effective, protection will be immediately available for all human life without further implementing legislation. *Sec. 2* simply provides that all Federal and State laws pertaining to human beings apply equally to all human beings, born and unborn. This would extend the benefit and protection of laws to the first nine months of a human being's life.

QUERY: In order to be self-implementing, should the amendment explicitly proscribe abortion? My view is that it should not. First, I believe that the word "abortion" should not be used in the amendment, because it is yet another word left for interpretation by the Court. For instance, it has been said that a hysterotomy is not an abortion, thus, what period of time is considered an abortion? Second, I agree that killing the unborn child by either state or private action must be prohibited. However, I believe that this is best accomplished by including the unborn child under the protection of the homicide laws, as I indicate below in paragraph VI, C, 1, page 10. Further, a provision in the amendment which specifically proscribed abortion would not be self-implementing, but such a provision would require enactment of legislation by the Congress and states, all of which could bring about a self-defeating type of statute.

B. NO "EXCEPTION CLAUSE." Please note that in this proposed mandatory *HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT* there is no "exception clause" which provides that an abortion is legal to save the life of the mother. This is not omitted out of hard-heartedness, but because an exception is both detrimental and unnecessary to the prolife cause.

1. The exception clause is detrimental because of (a) the value system which it establishes, and (b) the legal loophole which it provides, as ruled by the Supreme Court.

a. The exception clause says that all human life is valuable and to be protected, but that some human life is not to be protected as much as other human life. Thus, a value system is established which I personally find highly objectionable, as well as incompatible with due process and equal protection. Further, once an exception is accepted, other exceptions, such as health, will be forced on us. The battle is lost before we begin.

b. The exception clause establishes a legal loophole through which the unborn child cannot be protected. This is what has happened in the District of Columbia under the Supreme Court's ruling in the *Vuitch* case, 402 U.S. 62. That case held not only that "health" meant mental and physical health, but also that because the statute did not outlaw ALL abortions--only those which did not preserve the life and health of the mother--some abortions were legal. The Court then said that it was insufficient for the prosecution to prove only that an abortion occurred, and then the physician prove his innocence by establishing that the abortion which he performed fell within the exception. Rather, the Court said, the prosecution must prove as part of its case that the abortion was NOT necessary to preserve life or health. The abortionists, news media, etc., simply said that this meant that abortions were legal in the District of Columbia. An oft-heard theory is that if a woman inquires about an abortion, she has a mental health problem, at least of stress, and therefore the abortion can be performed for the health of the mother. Abortion clinics were in full operation in no time, and the prosecutor seemed not anxious to challenge them, even though some prosecutors say that the case can be proved without too much difficulty.

As lawyers we can argue well and long that this case did not legalize abortions in the District of Columbia. But, the practical effect of the Court's ruling is otherwise. Therefore, inasmuch as we have a recent Supreme Court decision directly on point and directly against the unborn child's right to life, why put in an exception clause.

2. The exception clause is unnecessary from (a) the medical and (b) the legal standpoints.

a. From the medical standpoint, I understand that the danger to the life of the mother is minimal and in no way comparable with the medical problems in the 1800's when the provision for the life of the mother was generally put into the statutes. Therefore, if the exception clause is written into our amendment to accommodate a peculiar situation, we get a peculiar result--namely, a Constitutional amendment which cannot save the life of the unborn child.

b. From the legal standpoint, the exceptions written into the various proposed amendments are almost standard law on "excusable homicide," and therefore ably accommodated under the homicide laws. No such exception needs to be written into the Constitutional amendment in order to save the life of the mother under the language of the amendment which I have proposed.

The word "homicide" means the killing of one human being by another, and while it is an act which is accountable to society, is not a criminal offense until combined with criminal intent. Each homicide is reported to the police, who investigate any questionable circumstances surrounding the death of a human being. This same protection--no more and no less--would be provided for each human being during the first nine months of life, as well as during the remainder of life.

In the case of a tubal pregnancy, for instance, where the unborn child cannot survive in the current environment, the child could be removed, even though the removal means the child's death. Obviously, there is no criminal intent in causing this death. The death would be reported and explained by the physician, and no further action by the physician would be necessary any more than is necessary in filing other death certificates. However, my proposed amendment would assure that the death of the unborn child would be subject to examination by society, through its duly responsible officials, as is the death of any other human being. Questionable circumstances would be examined to assure that any appropriate or necessary official action would be taken. Killing a human being for convenience is not permitted under any homicide statute.

Please note that I have not cited the principle of "self-defense" as a provision of law whereby the baby could be killed to save the life of the mother, because I believe that the elements of self-defense are not usually present. For instance, I believe that the unborn child could not be called an "unjust aggressor."

C. APPLICABILITY OF FEDERAL AND STATE LAWS.

1. Mandatory. Sec. 2 of this proposed amendment is not the "states' rights" amendment which no prolifer wants enacted. This section is indeed a mandatory provision, and again, puts the unborn child within the family of human beings. The section means that all laws relating to homicide, tort, inheritance, or any other benefit or protection, including reporting provisions as discussed in paragraph VI, A, 6, page 7, above, would apply to the unborn child. If the unborn child is killed, that would be a homicide and the type or degree of the homicide would depend on the facts of the case, but never on the sole fact that the child is unborn.

In order to have a mandatory human life amendment, I believe it is not only unnecessary but also disadvantageous to include in the amendment a prohibition against abortions, as I have discussed in paragraph VI, A, 7, page 8, above. My difficulty with language in an amendment to specifically prohibit abortions, in addition to the fact that words need interpreting and Federal and state laws need to be enacted, is that such language establishes the Federal crime of homicide for abortion only. Homicide is now a matter of State law, with the Federal law applicable, in more recent days, primarily to killing Federal officials. Up to this time, the crime of abortion has carried a lesser penalty than other acts of homicide, and I would not want to recommend that it now carry a greater penalty. Again, I go back to my thesis that the unborn child should be brought into the family of human beings, with no more nor less benefits and liabilities. Thus, I have recommended an amendment which places the death of the unborn child within the homicide laws enacted to deal with the death of any human being.

A uniform Federal homicide statute could be proposed in this Constitutional amendment. However, I believe that such a provision is highly undesirable. It

overloads the amendment, and there is enough to do without getting into that subject. I believe that introducing a Federal homicide law against killing the unborn is also too heavy a burden to place on this amendment. It could well be the issue to bog down the amendment, and in trying to defend this provision, we could lose sight of the important provisions of bringing the unborn child into the family of human beings.

2. Actions of state officials and of private individuals would be covered by this provision. Laws on the books which prohibit one human being from killing another would automatically apply to the unborn child as soon as this amendment became effective. No new enabling legislation would be necessary. See paragraph VI, A, 7, page 8, above.

3. The proposed Sec. 2 would be a good basis for enacting Federal and State laws prohibiting experimentation on human beings, and, in my judgment, would stop the experimenting on babies right away, simply because the unborn baby would be within the family of human beings, and could not be the object of the experimentation any more than any other human being.

4. Abortifacients could be ruled out. If the sole purpose of the manufactured item was to kill a baby, then the manufacture, distribution and sale of the tools of homicide could be proscribed by State law and also by Federal law under the Commerce clause, authority under the Food and Drug Administration, or other areas of Federal jurisdiction. The rule of privacy governing the use of a contraceptive in the bedroom would not apply, because the act--namely, killing the baby--which the abortifacient is designed to perform would be an illegal act.

5. I believe that under the due process provisions, a rape victim could be given immediate medical treatment. She should also be given necessary assistance through the very traumatic period which includes participating as a prosecution witness. However, if the rape victim did not complain of the attack until she learned that she was pregnant, the unborn child could not be killed on the allegation that it was conceived by rape.

It is very heartening that some jurisdictions, including the District of Columbia, are re-examining existing rape statutes with a view toward providing the rape victim with appropriate medical, legal, and social assistance.

VII. WHY AMENDMENTS AS INTRODUCED ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE.

A. THE HOGAN AMENDMENT. The amendment is good because it states that life shall be protected from the moment of conception. While there are possibilities of misinterpretations, the concept is there. I believe the word "fertilization" is the better word, but I have no real difficulty with "conception."

However, omissions seem to be:

1. Human life is protected only by the due process and equal protection clauses, and, as I have indicated above (paragraph VI, A, 1, page 6), I believe the unborn child should be declared as a person for all provisions of the Constitution. Otherwise, we fall into the trap of saying that the unborn is a person for some purposes and a nonperson for others.

2. While I believe that Sec. 2 (Hogan amendment) could be interpreted to include prohibition of private action under the theory that private action is enforced or permitted by State action, it seems to me that the point needs to be made more explicitly, as I have suggested in Sec. 2 of the language of the amendment which I propose in paragraph V, page 6, above.

Thus, my observation is that the Hogan amendment could be more inclusive.

B. THE HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT. This amendment is good in using the phrase "every stage of biological development," in showing that the full span of human life is to be protected. However, the amendment has some omissions and words left for interpretation, all of which present some difficulties. For instance:

1. Sec. 1 applies only to due process and equal protection, and, as I have indicated above, I believe the unborn child should be defined as a person for all provisions of the Constitution (paragraph VI, A, 1, page 6, above.).

2. Sec. 1 does not include the words "from the moment of fertilization," which, as I have discussed above (paragraph VI, A, 3, page 6), I believe is essential.

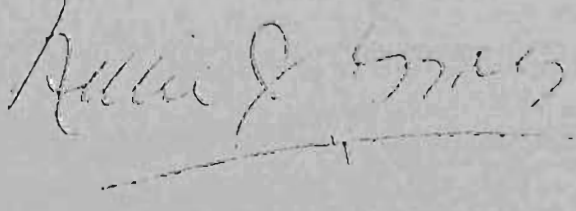
3. Sec. 2 provides an "exception clause" for the life of the mother, which, as I have indicated above (paragraph VI, B, page 6), I believe is very detrimental to our prolife cause.

4. Many words must be interpreted by the Court, such as: emergency, reasonable medical certainty, crisis (does the emergency have to actually exist now or just pose the in the future), and death of the mother (must the death be proximate or can it be remote). Even the phrase "every stage of biological development" has some problems of interpretation; "development" usually applies to an advancement toward a fulfillment, and therefore would it include the decline through senility toward death.

While it may seem that each of us knows what each of these words means literally and in intent, it must be remembered that the reason we are in the prolife work in response the Supreme Court has interpreted the easily understood words of "person" and "health" to permit unborn children to be killed. I think we should avoid as much as possible words which leave wide room for the Court's interpretation.

* * * * * *

Respectfully submitted for your consideration,



CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS - ABORTION

For several months the Committee has been considering the extremely important questions of (a) whether the United States Constitution should be amended as a result of the recent decision of the Supreme Court respecting abortion (b) if so, what that amendment should be.

At our March 30th meeting we addressed ourselves to the first question, carefully weighing whether amendment would be useful, or necessary - or for any reason inadvisable. It was our conclusion that an amendment should be presented:

1. There appears to be no other legal means of correcting the Supreme Court decision.

2. The very fact of presenting the amendment will serve to keep alive the issue of the sanctity of life and the evil of abortion, and it will provide focus to the continued anti-abortion campaign.

We were also emphatically of the view that only one amendment should be supported by the Bishops. The effort to secure adoption of an amendment will be fraught with great difficulty; that difficulty will be vastly increased if the "pro life" forces are fragmented, with one faction seeking one form of amendment, and another seeking another.

At the same meeting we then turned to consideration of the precise amendment to be adopted. This discussion continued, through exchange of views by correspondence and telephone, until the date of May 11th, when we assembled to conclude our work. We think it important that the Bishops understand that, in coming to our conclusions, we have been content to call upon the resources of legal and scholarly background to be found among our Committee members, but were most reluctant to evaluate proposals which had already been publicly made - none of these, indeed, by very distinguished legal scholars or political leaders. In fact, we were especially hopeful that one of these already published proposals could be met with our approval, since then the job of properly amending the Constitution would already have been launched. Unfortunately, it became clear to us (for reasons expressed later in this memorandum) that none of the current proposals are acceptable.

Into our final resolution went also a myriad considerations - some of these extremely abstract or technical points of constitutional law, others relating to expediency in pursuing - all being basically concerned with the real interest of the Bishops in having a truly effective amendment. We do not propose to burden this memorandum with the details of all of this deliberation, assuring them, instead, that it was exhaustive.

We have developed two amendments. We recommend the first of these. We have included the second as a choice to be resorted to only if, in spite of the strongest effort on behalf of the first of these amendments, it appears that the line cannot be held for it.

I. RECOMMENDED AMENDMENT

ARTICLE

1. The right to life being unalienable, the taking of unborn life within the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof is hereby prohibited.

2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Discussion

The opening phrase ("The right to life being unalienable") is intended as a positive declaration of the supremacy of life. The word, "unalienable" is taken from the Declaration of Independence (which speaks of certain rights as being "unalienable", as given by God).*

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* "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. - That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. . ."

The proposed Article then prohibits "the taking of unborn life". This is a flat prohibition against any killing, whether by private persons or public authority, of a fetus in any state or in any place under federal jurisdiction. We did not modify the word, "life", with the adjective, "human," because we think it entirely clear that human life is the life intended to be protected herein, and because we fear that a court, in the future, might consider "human" as a word open to interpretation and rule that a five month old fetus, for example, is not yet fully "human".

The prohibition is not open to any exception. We rejected the limitation, "except to save the life of the mother", since the Church does not recognize that, for example, a woman may be aborted because her bad heart condition may render childbirth perilous to her. Nevertheless we believe that the removal of a cancerous uterus, which collaterally or indirectly resulted in the death of the fetus, would not come within the prohibition of a criminal statute which carried out the proposed constitutional amendment.

The amendment does not cover mercy killing. The Committee believes that to write a prohibition against that into the Constitution would be tantamount to a public admission that there is no present constitutional protection for the aged, the terminally ill, the physically or mentally handicapped or like weak members of our society. We feel that these groups today enjoy the protections of the Constitution and that there are strong groups in our society (e.g., the increasingly powerful lobby of the aged, the Easter Seal movement, etc.) who will help keep these protections - which the courts have so far not sought to disturb. We think it would be very dangerous to suggest that they have thrown them aside or are about to do so.

The proposal gives Congress and the states power to enact implementing legislation. (The Constitution cannot, of its nature, require that implementing legislation be passed.)

Finally, the form of this amendment is not novel in our constitutional history, as can be seen from three prior amendments whereby the federal constitution has been used as a vehicle for prohibiting private action:

> - Amend. XIII: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude . . . shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."
>
> - Amend. XVIII: ". . . the manufacture, sale . . . of intoxicating liquors within . . . the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof . . . is hereby prohibited."

- Amend. XVII: "The transportation or importation into any State. . . of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited."

II. FALLBACK AMENDMENT

ARTICLE

Nothing in this Constitution shall bar the United States or the several States, within their respective jurisdictions, from making and enforcing laws to protect unborn life by restricting or prohibiting abortion at any time during pregnancy.*

Discussion

This amendment is aimed simply at lifting the constraints, imposed by the Supreme Court decision, on the power of the state and federal governments to make and enforce criminal laws punishing abortion. It therefore would restore to all of the states the power to prohibit abortion absolutely. By the same token, it would permit a state such as New York to have a statute which is very permissive with respect to abortion. Thus in each state the democratic processes would determine the kind of statute enacted. The will of the people would be unfettered by the present constitutional limitation.

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* The Committee has under consideration, as of May 22nd, the conforming of this text to that of the primary amendment, so that the concluding phrasing will read: "by prohibiting the taking thereof."

While the Committee initially (at its March 30 meeting) resolved that this would be its chosen form of amendment, by May 11 it had decided that this amendment would be its second choice. This conclusion was dictated by two reasons: (1) Our sincere doubt that the Bishops could back any amendment which, while permitting the banning of abortion, would also permit "liberal" abortion. (2) Our realization that no amendment stands a chance of adoption for which the Catholic Church and the Right to Life movement cannot wholeheartedly campaign.

It is therefore our thought that this second amendment would be resorted to only if, in the course of Congressional developments, an unacceptable substitute were advanced for the primary amendment.

We again stress the absolute necessity that there be <u>but one</u> amendment as the focus of the national effort. Therefore, if the Bishops decide to back the primary amendment (Number I above), the fallback amendment (Number II above) should be <u>totally unpublicized.</u>

RELATED MATTERS

<u>The Human Arrangements Other Amendments</u>. Questions will naturally be raised respecting a number of amendments which have been introduced in the Congress, various state legislatures, etc., and widely publicized. The Committee is prepared to submit memoranda of law to the Bishops with respect to the problems which we have encountered in the texts we have seen (and we believe that we have seen all of them). We limit ourselves here to the Hogan Amendment (copy attached) since that appears at this moment to be the front runner among amendment proposals. We speak with great respect for the proponents of that amendment and for certain attorneys and legal scholars who have endorsed it. The following are what we deem to be its deficiencies:

1. Paragraph I prohibits only governmental action ("Neither the United States nor any State shall deprive any human being, from the moment of conception, of life. . ."). This does not get at the problem. Abortion activities by governmental units is not the significant threat; it is the private activities of doctors and others which constitutes the great source of abortion in this country. The constitutional amendment must enable the state and federal governments to enact statutes penalizing private activity. It may be argued that one phrase of Paragraph I creates

such enablement ("nor deny to any human being, from the moment of conception, the equal protection of the laws"). This would be on the theory that a government which has no abortion statutes thereby denies equal protection to unborn human beings (since born human beings are protected by the homicide statutes). Even so read, Paragraph 1 does not do the job. A person complaining of the absence of an abortion statute would not have a legally cognizable claim; no court would be able to give him relief against the legislature.

2. Paragraph 2, which speaks of deprivation of life "on account of illness, age, or incapacity" is objectionable on several counts. First, it contains the same fault as Paragraph 1, in that it reaches only governmental activity - not private activity. Secondly, the term, "incapacity", appears to us to have no clear and certain meaning. Any such terminology in a constitutional amendment is certain to give fuel to attacks on the whole amendment. Third, for reasons stated above, we do not believe that the amendment should be aimed other than at abortion.

Therefore we are compelled emphatically to reject the Hogan Amendment.

The Amendment Process. The Constitution provides two routes for proposing amendments (1) through a convention called by Congress (2) through the Congress itself. We have heard of a number of moves to get Congress to call a convention. This would be an undesirable route to constitutional amendment. First, it would require applications from the legislatures of two-thirds of the states, and it would appear doubtful that the legislatures of thirty four states could be moved to make application. Second, a convention could consider the entire Constitution and amend it in any way it desired, and this, of itself, would provide our opponents with a handy argument for not making application. On the other hand, it is quite likely that sufficient political power in the Congress is (or can be made to be) sufficient to propose an amendment.

As to timetable, we note that the time it has taken, from proposal to ratification of the last constitutional amendment to the Constitution has been as follows:

26th Amendment (Presidential Succession): Feb. 19, 1965 - Feb. 23, 1967 (two years).

21st Amendment (Prohibition Repeal): March 27, 1933 - Feb. 4, 1933 (four years, eleven months).

23rd Amendment (Electors, District of Columbia): June 16, 1960 - April 3, 1961 (ten months).

22nd Amendment (Limit to Presidential Term): March 24, 1947 - March 1, 1951 (four years).

21st Amendment (Repeal of Prohibition): Feb. 20, 1933 - Dec. 5, 1933 (ten months).

20th Amendment (Lame Duck): March 3, 1932 - Feb. 6, 1933 (eleven months).

19th Amendment (Woman Suffrage): June 5, 1919 - Aug. 26, 1920 (one year, two months).

18th Amendment (Prohibition): Dec. 18, 1917 - Jan. 29, 1919 (one year, one month).

17th Amendment (Popular Election of Senators): May 15, 1912 - May 31, 1913 (one year).

16th Amendment (Income Tax): July 31, 1909 - Feb. 25, 1913 (three years, seven months).

Most of the above amendments were not the subject of an intense national controversy. Only one of them was the direct consequence of a decision of the Supreme Court (the Income Tax Amendment, following Pollock v. Farmers' Loan & Trust Co.). The proposed 26th Amendment (equal rights for women), which has now become a subject of controversy, has been pending ratification since March 22, 1972, with apparently a long road ahead to adoption.

From the foregoing we get one message: that there will need to be an extremely strong effort made, first in the Congress, then in the states; but if a strong enough effort is made, it should be possible to achieve amendment within two years. Happily, in many "non-Catholic" states, there is plenty of anti-abortion sentiment (e.g., North Dakota).

Chances of Adoption. Some Catholics have expressed the view that there is no chance of securing a constitutional amendment against abortion. We do not concur. Certainly the task, if undertaken, will be one of extreme difficulty. The pro-abortion and allied forces will attack the effort from well-entrenched positions in the media. The Church will be accused not only seeking to "impose its morality" on the country but of seeking, for the first

time in our history, to bend the American Constitution to its own will. Further, it may well in duly be revealed that the Supreme Court has well gauged the general outlook of our society - as one whose materialism and declining sense of morality render abortion acceptable or even welcome.

We of the Committee do not, however, believe that the Court, in its decision, has found the national vein. We have reason to hope that the sentiments of millions of thoughtful people, outspoken in national councils, rejects abortion. Further, we believe that when the ugly realities of the growing carnage are brought more vividly home to people, a revulsion will set in, helpful to the amendment effort. Finally, however, is the continuing need for public witness against abortion, to which the struggle for an amendment will give focus.

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5/22/73

AMENDMENT

Section 1. Life shall not be taken by the United States or by any State on account of age, health or condition of dependency.

Section 2. Congress and the several States within their respective jurisdictions shall have power to prohibit the taking of life on account of age, health or condition of dependency.

/s/ J. Feldman
D. Boulwell
J. Rosman

INTERGROUP LIAISON COMMITTEE

The Intergroup Liaison Committee was established by the Executive Committee on June 30, 1973, and given the following charge:

> The Intergroup Liaison Committee is charged with the fostering of informed and productive relationships with organizations throughout the United States, both religious and secular, that will contribute to the development of a broad-based foundation for the National Right to Life Committee in keeping with the states purposes and goals of the NRLC.

The following persons were appointed to the Intergroup Liaison Committee:

Judith Fink, Executive Committee Consultant;
Rev. Rod Fink;
Dwayne Summers;
Rev. Robert Holbrook;
Jean Garton, and
Rev. William Hunt.

The Intergroup Liaison Committee has had one meeting of the full committee and several meetings of smaller sub-committees. Individual members have also endeavored to meet with other resource people to develop the reports which appear on the following pages. The committee has focused its attention on its first priority program of building bridges to certain Protestant religious groups. Approaches to other religious and secular groups will be the subject of continuing study and future reports.

MIDYEAR REPORT OF THE INTERGROUP LIAISON COMMITTEE

OF NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

Prepared by: Judith Fink, Executive Committee Consultant and Chairman pro-tem

PREFACE

Acts of faith take place frequently within the Right to Life movement. With great dedication and vision, the members of the Intergroup Liaison Committee have chosen to recommend that the National Right to Life Committee break new ground within the United States to broaden the base of the movement and bring the prolife message to many millions more people than are now being reached.

The ILC recognizes that this "groundbreaking" presents challenges not fully faced by many movement activists. It is confident that those who are willing to meet these challenges will find their work more rewarding, in terms of the positive good achieved for the prolife cause, than anything done for "life" previously.

Three months ago, six people came together to ask themselves what could be achieved on an inter-denominational basis. They left the first ILC meeting aware that only lack of willing hands and adequate funding would impede the proliferation of the prolife message; the organizations and the people are waiting, some ignorant of the problem, to be shown the facts about fetal life, abortion, infanticide, etc., and that these people want to be helped to effectively witness. There is a large and mostly silent prolife untapped constituency in the United States and they are ours to teach. We have only to do it.

Since the first meeting, the Committee members have explored many paths in their task assignments. The following report details some of the Committee's recommendations and activities. It is necessary to delete some current projects from the written report. Directors interested in a complete recounting of work under way are invited to contact me by telephone or at the January board meeting in Washington, D.C. I will be happy to answer questions about our activities.

Grateful thanks are extended to all the Committee members for their strong support, and to Dennis Cock, Paulette Standefer, Rev. Warren Schaller, John Willke M.D. Mary Ann Henry, and Martin McKernan Jr. for the special interest they have shown in the work of the Committee.

JPF

.....

The Intergroup Liaison Committee quickly came to the conclusion that "liaison" was not possible without concerted effort to build bridges and to initiate the formation of prolife organizations where none existed. With rare exceptions, almost nothing was being done within the Protestant, Baptist, and Lutheran clergy to bring prolife matters to the attention of church members and clergy groups. The lack of action was evaluated as due more to the lack of a "sparking" mechanism than to lack of interest or willingness to respond.

The following recommendations were determined to be quite achievable if adequate funding and personnel is available:

1. Establishment of an interdenominational Clergy Prolife Network, set up within state or regional jurisdictions.

2. Development and implementation of specialized mailings to clergymen, with requests for responses and action.

3. The formulation of clergy workshops and seminars dealing with prolife counselling in problem pregnancies, coupled with the development of improved techniques for such counselling.

4. Establishment of counseling centers in major cities with trained clergy of all denominations to assist existing Alternatives to Abortion and Birthright groups.

5. Development of religious-oriented tracts and other literature for church distribution.

6. Insertion of advertisements with a prolife theme in religious magazines and newspapers.

7. Establishment of a satellite organization with an identifiable name such as "Prolife Clergy Association of America" (or something similar), which would have a tax-deductible tax-exempt 501-C3 tax status, and whose primary task would be to further educational efforts within specific denominations for both clergy and laity.

8. The presentation of prolife workshops at seminaries and Bible colleges.

9. Establishment of a clergy Speaker's Bureau.

10. Establishing a cooperative relationship with religious publications, and with the Evangelical Press Association, to bring about greater exposure of the prolife viewpoint in widely read religious magazines and newspapers.

11. Monitoring denominational conventions, promoting the introduction of prolife resolutions, and distributing prolife literature at these conventions and other large religious gatherings.

12. Establishing a clergy newsletter.

13. A review of the National Council of Churches study paper on abortion, with specific recommendations for strengthening its section on abortion alternatives to be presented to the NCC.

14. Using the "radio ministry" to extend the prolife message.

15. Establishing cooperative relationships with lay groups within denominations, as well as contacting secular organizations and distributing literature.

An example of the kind of prolife response that comes from patient work with denominational members is the following resolution, adopted on October 16, 1973, by the Capital Baptist Association of Oklahoma City, Okla:

Resolution #6 Abortion

INASMUCH as abortion has been condemned through the ages by law, medicine, and the Word of God, and

BECAUSE the Bible teaches that life begins at the time of conception, "But I was a sinner, yes, from the moment by mother conceived me".. ...Psalm 51.5, Living Bible, and

INASMUCH as the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States clearly states "All men are endowed with certain inalienable rights...life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness", and, "that no state shall make or enforce any law which shall..deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law," and,

WHEREAS, murder by abortion is almost doubling in numbers annually, and

WHEREAS this is one step nearer to the legal murder of the aged, the ill, the handicapped, and even the imperfect, and,

WHEREAS the guilt of this act will result in the emotional, spiritual, mental, and physical ruin to all who participate, and

WHEREAS the Supreme Court of the United States in recent ruling has opened the doors wide for abortion,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED

1. That the Capital Baptist Association encourage its pastors and congregations to be faithful to the Commandments of God and the right of every individual to live, and

2. That we take every opportunity to present ourselves to our public officials in opposition to this violation of the unborn's rights.

The Intergroup Liaison Committee recommends the following guidelines be employed when working on an inter-denominational basis:

a. Recognize the need for differentiation in approach. Some groups will respond best to direct clergy contact, while others will activate themselves when the laity initiates the approach.

b. Recognize that many Protestant, Baptist, Lutheran and other clergy are waiting to receive a directive from their headquarters before taking a public position on the issue.

c. Give consideration to the role and influence of the pro-abortion Clergy Consultation Service and its involvement with church/denominational social concerns boards and Planned Parenthood Federation, and seek to counteract that influence.

d. Be cognizant of the fact that clergymen respond best to mailings and contacts from other clergymen, especially those of their own denominations and geographical location.

e. Be aware that involvement of seminaries in prolife activities will best be accomplished as result of pressure from within the denomination which supports the seminary.

f. The use of the word "ecumenical" should be avoided in referring to united efforts of various denominations. A substitute word or phrase, such as "common Christian witness", or "common prolife concern" should be employed instead. Quite a few evangelical protestant, Baptist and Lutheran groups and churches do not fellowship with one another, and their separatism must be recognized and respected.

.....

Following the first NLC meeting, specific task assignments were made. Within a 12 week period in October, November, and December the following has been achieved:

1. Collection and tabulation of 1,752 names from 39 states and the District of Columbia of clergymen known to be prolife activists or sympathizers.

2. Passage of two prolife resolutions at denominational conventions, and the re-opening of the question for study at two other conventions.

3. A meeting with Rev. David Noebel, project director of Americans Against Abortion and participation in a prolife seminar sponsored by Christian Crusade (the parent group) at its annual convention in Tulsa, Okla. by J. Fink and R. Holbrook.

4. Initial meetings with organizers of prolife clergy activities in Oklahoma and Minnesota. Subsequent organization by Rev. Robert Wise of clergy group in Oklahoma. J. Fink and R. Holbrook.

5. Participation in "Clergy for Life" formation in Missouri, by J. Carton.

6. A meeting with the First Presidency of the Mormon Church by John Willke M.D.

7. Top level discussion with executives of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, with a request for NLC participation in the development of a broad-scale educational program for the church. Proposal developed in conjunction with J. Carton, J. Fink, J. Willke, Rev. Calvin Eichhorst of the American Lutheran Church.

8. Contacts made with numerous clergy soliciting letters and telegrams of support for the Helms Amendment, by R. Holbrook and J. Fink.

9. 3200 letters sent to Southern Baptist pastors regarding the signing of a letter protesting the Helms Amendment by an executive of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, asking for letters of protest to be sent to the Joint Committee. R. Holbrook, J. Fink.

10. Development of comprehensive guidelines for the organization of Clergy Prolife Councils, W. Hunt.

11. Formation of "Baptists for Life", R. Holbrook.

12. Weekly radio ministry to develop prolife Christian attitudes, R. Holbrook.

13. Multiple contacts with publications connected with the Evangelical Press Association, R. Holbrook.

14. A prolife presentation to black leaders of Baptist denominations in Missouri by J. Carton.

15. Multiple contacts with religious leaders and clergy by all Committee members, with intense interest and cooperation shown by most contacted.

.....

PRIORITY RECOMMENDATIONS

* Adequate clerical help is essential to the continued and increasing work of the Intergroup Liaison Committee if its program recommendations are to be carried out. Therefore, we recommend that a person be hired to serve the Committee's needs exclusively, in order to handle the large volume of mail that will result and to do necessary researching of minutiae.

* An effective program for organizing the clergy of the United States into prolife units, where possible, requires the coordination of the effort by a key clergyman inside each denomination being worked with. Therefore, we recommend that a "Clergy Coordinating Board" of advisors be organized under the Intergroup Liaison Committee, to serve as consultants and facilitators.

* Having been advised that the Roman Catholic Church intends to increase prolife activity within its own structure, we recommend that the Church appoint an appropriate individual to serve as liaison with the ILC.

* Recognizing the need for increased participation in the print media, we recommend the placement of advertisements expressing prolife concerns in newspapers with large circulation, such as the Lutheran Standard, the Southern Baptist state newspapers, etc., such advertisements inviting the reader to send for further information and literature.

* We recommend mailing a copy of the pilot issue of the NRLC news to all names on the clergy prolife list, to all denomination executives listed in the "Yearbook of American Churches" and to each editor of a publication listed in the Evangelical Press Association, as well as to each Education Director of a seminary or Bible College in the United States.

* We recommend the placement of a copy of "Abortion and Social Justice" and of "Handbook on Abortion" in the library of each major seminary and Bible College in the United States.

* We recommend that monies be made available to purchase radio time for weekly programs presented on prolife issues from a Christian witness viewpoint.

* We recommend that monies be made available for the development of tract-type literature, and that such literature be made available for a low cost to interested denominations.

* We recommend that a satellite organization be formed that will seek a 501 (C) (3) tax status, to be composed primarily of clergy together with a small group of supportive laity, such organization to be formed for educational purposes.

* We recommend that prolife literature be made available at religious conventions.

* We recommend that the evangelical press be utilized to place press notices of prolife activities into periodicals that would not normally receive or print prolife news.

* We recommend that the core group of clergy names continue to be expanded, and that a clergy newsletter on a monthly basis be initiated.

* We recommend that special attention be paid to black religious organizations, many of which have expressed marked interest to the ILC and have indicated that they would welcome workshops, etc., for their congregations and leaders.

* We recommend that seminaries and Bible colleges be sought out that will sponsor workshops for students.

* We recommend that preparatory work begin with Birthright and AAI groups to form clergy counseling groups .

* We recommend that NRLC purchase prints of the Kennedy Institute films "Who Shall Survive" and "Bertha" and make them available on a postage-and-handling basis to interested groups, especially those in formation.

To carry out the above within the states, it will be necessary to have more effective coordination than can be achieved through the state Director. Therefore, we request each state to seek out and appoint a person to work closely with the Intergroup Liaison Committee. Such person should not be overburdened with other prolife work, and should be interested in one-to-one contact and able to handle telephoning and a moderate amount of mailing.

This "contact person" would report on each state's activities with religious groups, and would make recommendations for specific action to be taken as a result of watching for important meetings being held, anti-life activity within church groups, etc.

Extensive travel and telephoning are necessary when forming new relationships within the prolife movement along church lines. One-to-one contact is almost vital in building confidence. As mentioned above, clergy respond best to contacts from members of their own denomination or church bodies. ILC members will need to have monies available for travel and phone expenses.

.....

A comprehensive program proposal that can be implemented in each state where pro-life organizations exist must, of necessity, be flexible. However, essential to the success of the effort is not just a willingness but an eagerness on the part of each state prolife group to be sensitive to the traditions and customs of different denominations.

It is simply not possible to ask an Independent Baptist to speak to the issue of prolife concerns from a Roman Catholic viewpoint, for example. These fiercely separatist people (the writer is a member of an Independent Baptist church) do not fellowship with other Baptists, and quite definitely expect that their church activities will be for the benefit of their own people, and aid in their soul-winning evangelistic witnessing. They are prolife, without question, as they base their convictions firmly on a fundamentalist interpretation of the Bible and there is, of course, no room for allowing the killing of unborn babies within a Biblical context. Urging them to political activism will encounter the hurdle of their eschewing a major role in government and social issues, as to do so is seen as deflecting energy from the major task of fulfilling the Great Commission. Their major burden is for souls. They are aware of the prolife issues, and will not only speak very vigorously from the pulpit but will distribute literature (if it is Independent Baptist in origin) to members. Pricking a social conscience comes about when it is pointed out that millions of unsaved souls of the unborn and also of the innocent unwanted born people are being lost by not assuming a burden for lives as well. When we care more for the task of witnessing to the salvation of souls, and less for the protection of the life of the body which houses either an unsaved or saved soul, we must examine our reasons for concern. And our people are doing so. That it is important to the prolife cause that those of us in the movement who will be accepted by separatist groups such as Independent Baptists, etc. be motivated and encouraged to initiate outreach is pointed up by one example of the size of some of these groups and churches: on Sunday, Dec. 23, 1973, First Baptist Church of Hammond, Indiana ministered to 23,000 people in Sunday School alone! The pastor, Rev. Jack Hyles, is undoubtedly listened to by the politicians of northern Indiana.

The remarks concerning Independent Baptists are presented merely to point out that working on an inter-denominational basis requires considerable education regarding proper outreach. It would be no more acceptable to send a Methodist to make the approach than to send a Roman Catholic. The Mormon Church is quite willing to initiate a prolife education program, but it has made it understood that the program will be done within its own confines by its own people. Of course, most groups will be willing to cooperate, in varying degrees, with other groups. But where they will not, it is almost a certainty that they are prolife. Separatists tend to be theological conservatives, and such a posture allows no room for abortion.

The Orthodox Jewish communities, while prolife with a passion, also do not mix much. They can be counted on to maintain their traditions and to make

excellent public statements at appropriate times. Many Conservative Jewish congregations also decry abortion. Effective liaison with Jewish groups takes into account the same need for sensitivity as would be used with any religious group.

. . . . . .

A review of the states where strong prolife support already exists, and is merely in need of further work in order to organize it effectively, points up the states of California, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Texas, New Jersey, Indiana, Kentucky, Wisconsin, North and South Carolina, Iowa, Utah, Ohio, Virginia, Nebraska, New York, Colorado and Maine as those which should be given first attention on any comprehensive program of development. The outreach of these states, once well organized, toward their neighbors will bring along those states assigned as second priority for clergy organization.

These states should give immediate attention to the selection of the proper Intergroup Liaison Committee contact person.

BUDGETARY CONSIDERATIONS

It is not possible to assign figures to specific program points, except in the case of educational grants and radio minutes per week. Even then, these figures depend on the degree of success with which the outreach is undertaken.

A staff person of reasonable competency in Washington, D.C. will demand a salary of $8,000-10,000.

Mailing costs could easily climb to $300 or more monthly. Travel and telephone expenses should be budgeted at a $1,000 monthly minimum, with a meeting of the NLC members and necessary consultants at least bi-monthly at a cost of approximately $1,000.

Literature development should be funded at $500 initially, and would quickly go higher as distribution began.

Clergy Councils should be supported by each state organization where possible.

Given the potential growth of the NLC's programs, a quarterly budget figure for January 30 through April 30 of $3,500 is a low estimate and should not be shaved.

Judith Finn

PARTICIPATION OF STATES IN REQUEST FOR

NAMES OF PRO-LIFE CLERGY

The following states sent five or more names:

California, Colorado, Florida, Illinois, Louisiana, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Texas, Virginia, Vermont, Maryland, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Rhode Island, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Oregon.

The following states sent one name each:

Connecticut, District of Columbia, Indiana, Kentucky.

The following states did not respond to the request:

Wisconsin, Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Georgia, Iowa, North Carolina, Alaska, South Carolina, Tennessee, Hawaii, West Virginia, Arizona, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, Utah.

(above listings as of 12/31/73)

January 2, 1974

"REVIEW AND RECOMMENDATIONS"

REPORT OF THE INTERGROUP LIAISON COMMITTEE
Prepared by Judith Fink, Secretary,
National Right to Life Committee

Contents

Report of Judith Fink, Executive Committee Consultant and Chairman pro-tem Secretary of the Board, NRLC Inc. (Pennsylvania)

Report of Rev. William Hunt, S.T.D., ILC member

"Models for Organizing Pro-Life Clergy on a State or Regional Basis"

Report of Rev. Robert Holbrook, ILC member

"Proposed Plan for Pro-Life Ads in State Baptist Papers"

Report of Dennis Cook, Board of Directors (Utah), NRLC Inc.

"Forms of Legitimate Contact for Official Spokesmen of NRLC, Inc."
"Possible Roles and Diversification of Activities of the Intergroup Liaison Committee Beyond the NRLC, Inc. Structure"

Report of Paulette Standefer, Chairman, Oklahoma Right to Life, Board of Directors (Oklahoma)

"Establishing a Pro-Life Group on an Inter-Denominational Basis"

Report of Mary Ann Henry, Co-Ordinator, Ocean County Right to Life Committee, Lakewood, New Jersey

"Reaching Non-Catholics: the Catholic Problem"

ORIGINAL MEMBERS OF THE INTERGROUP LIAISON COMMITTEE:

Jean Garton, New Jersey
Judith Fink, Pennsylvania
Rev. William Hunt, S.T.D., Minnesota
Rev. Robert Holbrook, Texas
Rev. Dwayne Summers, Michigan
Rev. Rod Fink, Connecticut

The Newman Center
at the University of Minnesota
1701 University Avenue S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414
331-3437

December 5, 1973

Judy Fink
Executive Committee Consultant
Intergroup Liaison Committee
835 Vermont Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15234

Dear Judy,

I am writing to submit a precis of my activities as a member of the Intergroup Liaison Committee of National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

Meetings

1. Washington, D.C., September 25-26, 1973

2. Conference Call, October 24, 1973

3. Washington, D.C., November 29-30, 1973

Report on suggested models for organizing clergy on a state-wide or regional basis

1. Experimental pilot project with Minnesota clergy. 800+ invitations sent out. Meeting held October 18, 1973.

2. Reflection on experience with organizers and pro-life people, and further contact with clergymen.

3. First draft of report completed October 27, 1973.

4. Consultation with members of ILC by mail and at Nov. 29-30 meeting. Also consultations with Minnesota people involved, especially Rev. Gregory Welch.

5. Preparation of second draft of report: written Nov. 30, 1973; typed and mailed out to ILC on December 5, 1973.

Mailings to ILC members

1. Gerlach and Hine, People, Power, Change.

2. William Hunt, "Abortion: Analysis and Action."

3. Samples of newspaper advertisements.

Correspondence and telephone conversations with ILC members.

I think the amount that can be accomplished by our committee is extremely limited by the lack of a clerical staff person and the lack of an adequate travel budget. If we are going to organize clergy throughout the United States, somebody is going to have to do a lot of traveling to make personal contacts and to help groups get started.

I appreciate very much the leadership you have shown regarding our committee and the pro-life movement in general.

Sincerely,

William C. Hunt

Rev. William C. Hunt

WCH:jdf
Enclosures

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 DRAFT, Nov. 30, 1973

MODELS FOR ORGANIZING PRO-LIFE CLERGY ON A STATE OR REGIONAL BASIS

Two basic models are proposed in this paper: 1) an association of clergymen from various denominations in which each clergyman represents himself; and 2) a coalition of clergy groups in which the coalition represents the groups of clergy which enter into it.

Local circumstances indicate which model is more appropriate. A combination of the models or some other model is also possible. These models are presented with the hope of facilitating the development of strong pro-life clergy organizations throughout the United States.

Pre-Organizational Phase

The first task is to identify potential leadership. Above all, it is essential to find one person (not necessarily a clergyman) who has the energy, time, ability, and desire to take on and supervise the project of organizing the clergy of the State or region. This is the first and most important step. It is worthwhile spending some time and effort to find the right person.

Contact a small group of clergy (from 5 to 7 or so), each from a different denomination. They should be from the same general area so that it will not be too difficult to

meet on a regular basis. If possible, the members of the group should reflect the dominant religious make-up of the State as well as a spectrum of religious styles, e.g. main line Protestant, Evangelical, Conservative, Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish, etc.

The main criteria for selecting this initial group are:

1) Knowledge of the issues involved.

2) Conviction, dedication, and ability.

3) Time. About five hours a week would do to begin with. Two hours could be spent in getting to a meeting and back with three hours for homework in between. When contacting a person to serve in the initial group, it is important to be specific about the sort of time commitment involved. At this stage it is more important to find people with time than to find influential figures who are already over-committed.

The group should meet each week for a short, business-like, task-oriented meeting to plan the organizational meeting. One way to meet is to arrange a luncheon from noon to 1:30 P.M. at a place where the meal is prepared in advance. That gives about a half hour for eating and socializing and about an hour for hard work.

The main item of business is to discuss the basic goals, purposes, priorities, and strategies of the organization. Should it be a new group? Should it be a coalition of existing groups? Should it be small or large? Should it affiliate with a State pro-life group?

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Organizational Phase

A. Coalition

If the group decides to form a coalition of existing clergy groups its job is: 1) to raise funds; 2) to find staff; 3) to begin to interest groups in the services offered by a pro-life coalition; and 4) to transfer control to the coalition once it is organized.

There is a kind of myth that clergymen have time to run large operations with very little expense. Actually, it is nearly impossible to coordinate an effective, communicative, state-wide organization without staff support, and this involves funding. Most clergymen are just too busy and committed on the local level to be able to coordinate a state-wide organization effectively. If the clergy of a State are pro-life, if they feel that their coalition of concern can be responsible, then the question of funding should not be an insurmountable obstacle. Perhaps a good indicator of the real concern of the clergy of a State of region is their willingness to find the money needed for staff and communication materials.

The basic staff positions are organizer, executive secretary, and clerk-typist-receptionist. Some or all of these functions may be combined in a single person. The possibilities of both paid and volunteer staff should be explored. Friendly

organizations should be approached to provide facilities and staff.

The initial group of clergymen with the help of whatever staff is immediately available should begin to interest already-existing groups in joining the coalition. Any group of ten or more clergymen would be eligible to join. This would include local, regional, or state-wide denominational groups (e.g. presbytery, house of clergy, rabbinical association, priests' council, etc.), interdenominational ministerial associations, and voluntary groupings of pro-life clergy for the specific purpose of joining the coalition. Each group joining the coalition would have proportionate representation and bear a proportionate responsibility for funding.

The great advantage of this form of organization is that the question of reverence for life is placed before every clergyman in the State in such a way that a <u>decision</u> on the matter is required. This provides an opportunity to educate right from the start. Even if a clergy group turns down the opportunity to join the coalition, the matter will have been on the agenda, and the members of that group will have heard a presentation in favor of joining which will be made from a pro-life point of view.

In the initial stages of building the coalition it might be well for the organizing group to develop a position paper

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which outlines the goals and purposes of the coalition. Throughout the organizational phase people with expertise in the formation of coalitions should be sought for counsel.

Once the coalition has reached a predetermined size, policy decisions would be taken over by the representatives of the clergy groups joining the coalition. Perhaps an initial convention or congress would be called together. The growing group of representatives would determine matters such as a constitution, incorporation, frequency of meetings, goals, and issues to be addressed by the coalition. ¶ Some denominations in some States are not accustomed to joining interdenominational groups of any sort, even though eventually they may adopt a strong pro-life stance. In the long run this will aid the pro-life movement.

B. Association

If the group decides to start a new organization which will be a pro-life clergy association, they should plan an initial organizational meeting for about 30 to 50 persons. (Local conditions might indicate a smaller or larger number.) In preparation for the organizational meeting, the following matters need to be considered:

1. Anticipated size and extent of the pro-life clergy association. Will it be a metropolitan group or a state-wide group?

2. Nominations for the steering committee. Each person nominated should be checked out carefully before the organizational meeting to be certain of his or her willingness to serve if elected.

3. Names of those who will be invited to the organizational meeting.

4. Time and place for organization meeting.

5. Suggestion(s) for a name for the association. Should it be explicitly pro-life, e.g. "Arizona Pro-Life Clergy Association," or should it be a more neutral name, e.g. "Clergy Consultation Service of Nebraska"?

Invitations to the organizational meeting should be extended personally. The most effective way seems to be a personal visit or phone call followed up by a confirming letter and a reminder of the meeting by phone a few days beforehand. There is no substitute for personal peer contacts.

The organizational meeting should start on time and end on schedule. The people invited to the organizational meeting should know how much time they are committing to the event. They should receive a copy of the agenda in advance.

Items for the agenda include the following:

1. Explanation of the proposed organization with emphasis on the need for a clergy group and on what such a group can accomplish within the pro-life movement.

2. Adoption of a name for the organization.

3. Election of a steering committee.

4. Election of a chairman. (This could be postponed, or the steering committee could elect one of its members to be chairman of the organization.)

5. Establishment of priorities for action.

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Possible Activities of A Pro-Life Clergy Group

(whether a coalition or an association)

1. Expansion of Membership (association)

   a. A mailing could be sent out to a wide spectrum of clergy using denominational mailing lists. Such a mailing could include a brief cover letter signed by the steering committee explaining the nature of the organization, some basic information on the issues, and a mail-back card.

   b. The membership can also be expanded through personal contacts. There is no substitute for face-to-face contacts. See Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia H. Hine, People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970) pp. 79-97. Moreover, a clergy association does not have to be large to be effective in certain ways.

2. Educate members of the organization.

   a. Develop a position paper for ratification by the clergy organization and for subsequent distribution to clergy and publicity via the media. (This position paper might well be developed before proceding with expansion of membership. It could be snet out with the invitation to join the new organization.)

   b. Identify and distribute appropriate pro-life information. (It might be necessary to develop new literature appropriate to a given situation.)

   c. Organize workshops for clergy on preaching, education, counseling, etc.

3. Sponsor prayer meetings and symbolic events.

4. Publicize the existence and activities of various pro-life groups and encourage support for such groups from members of the clergy organization and from their congregations.

5. Distribute up-to-date information about a pro-life constitutional amendment and the efforts to pass it in Congress.

6. Develop a speakers' bureau.

7. Develop a newsletter specifically for clergy.

8. Write articles for the religious press.

9. Contact seminaries and Bible colleges to help them work out programs to inform students about life issues and to prepare them for counseling.

10. Set up a pro-life clergy counseling service.

    a. Read Howard Moody's Abortion Counseling and Social Change (Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 1973. $2.95 paper) to find out how clergy were organized to promote abortion. Many of the same techniques can be used in the service of life.

    b. Identify a small group of committed activist clergy who will incorporate "Clergy Consultation Service" in the State. The name is suggested to distinguish the group from the pro-abortion Clergy Counseling Service. The pro-life "Clergy Consultation Service" should be incorporated and request a 501 (c) 3 status from the Internal Revenue Service so that it could be the recipient of tax deductible donations, foundation grants, and State and Federal grants for counseling and family life education.

    c. Develop a counseling manual.

    d. Develop a pilot program. It might be advisable to associate a pro-life clergy counseling service with a pro-life neighborhood health clinic. One of the significant developments in the pro-life movement is the attempt to break the cycle of exploitation of young women in our society. The cycle includes such things as role stereotypes of women as objects of sexual pleasure, promiscuity, venereal disease, out-of-wedlock pregnancies, parental and social pressure for abortion, abortion itself, physical and psychological damage from abortion which can lead to further loss of self-respect, promiscuity, etc., etc. Clergy could work hand-in-hand with dedicated medical personnel, family counselors, and

family life educators in a neighborhood clinic on a volunteer or full-time professional basis.

e. Affiliate "Clergy Consultation Service" with similar groups in other states to form a national group with effective media visibility.

PROPOSED PLAN FOR PRO-LIFE ADS IN STATE BAPTIST PAPERS.

Potential: There are 23 State Baptist papers that go into the homes of the membership of almost every Baptist Church in the respective state. Most average members faithfully read their papers to keep abreast of denominational news. These papers offer a ready-made tool to reach into the member's home and by-pass the hostile or indifferent pastor who will not bring the issue before the congregation.

The Philosophy of the Plan: Recent mail-out efforts to Baptist, Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopalian and Presbyterian pastors in Texas have produced very poor responses. This has served to confirm again a modern phenomenon relative to the Congregational pastor: he is a follower and not a leader. Especially on social issues is it true that he will usually wait to see which direction the congregation is pointing and then he will step out and assume the stance of "a leader of men". The protestant churches have "grass-roots" support for pro-life but this support is neutralized by a failure to energize and mobilize. The apathetic pastor needs to be "bypassed" and his congregation sensitized to the issue. This can be accomplished by the ads in the denominational paper. The ad should be carefully non-vitriolic and convey the idea that the source of the ad is deeply conscious and concerned over the "trauma of an un-wanted pregnancy, etc., etc.,". By writing to the enclosed address the respondent can receive information on the abortion issue which is written by a "fellow Baptist" who has attempted to face and deal honestly with all the problems which are raised. Those who do write in for information can be included in a file of names to be built up into a concerned network of Baptists who can be brought to bear on denominational "pressure points". Pro-life statements can then be adopted and publicized and the N.C.C. inspired pronouncements of the liberal directed agencies neutralized.

Implementation and Cost: A pilot plan can be carried out with a selected number of state papers and the results can then be evaluated as to the wisdom of carrying out the plan in all 23 papers. I recommend the placing of the ad in the following papers because they represent the largest circulations.

STATE	CIRCULATIONS	COLUMN-INCH	6 INCH AD
Alabama	150,000	$16.80	$100.80
Florida	67,505	13.44	80.64
Georgia	170,000	17.07	102.42
Mississippi	130,000	13.02	78.12
Texas	375,000	26.95	161.70
	832,505		$523.77

I will receive a 15% discount because I am a Minister; this brings the total cost to $445.10, or an average of $20.03 per state. This, I believe, will be a highly effective way to reach over ½ million readers.

Respectfully submitted,

Robert Tolbrook

Robert Tolbrook
Inter-Faith Liaison Committee

RT/rd

UTAH RIGHT TO LIFE

P. O. Box 403 • SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH 84110 • (801) 363-6577

November 5, 1973

Mrs. Judith Fink
Executive Consultant,
Inter-Group Liaison Committee
National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
855 Vermont Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15234

Dear Judy:

In recent weeks, we have talked at length about the directions the Inter-Group Liaison Committee might take for the future. As my experience with the L.D.S. (Mormon) community dates several years now, and certain analogies exist between this religious group and other faith beliefs, I felt that some recommendations to your Committee might be in order.

Enclosed, please find a list of recommendations entitled, "Forms of Legitimate Contact for Official Spokesmen of NRLC, Inc.". You are already aware of most of these areas, I am sure.

Also enclosed is a list entitled, "Possible Roles and Diversification of Activities of the Inter-Group Liaison Committee Beyond the NRLC, Inc. Structure". These recommendations concern the establishment of a separate structure for internal mobilization of the various groups you will be contacting. It allows for greater depth and understanding of each congregation and invites the broadest participation of these groups in the pro-life movement. You might present these recommendations to your Committee in order that further dialogue be stimulated.

I firmly believe that the Inter-Group Liaison Committee has vast potential, limited only by the imagination and the openness of NRLC, Inc. itself. If the Committee is allowed a maximum of flexibility and freedom, the base of support for NRLC, Inc. will indeed prosper.

Sincerely,

Dennis A. Cook
Board of Directors (Utah),
National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

DAC:mvp

ENCL:(2)

FORMS OF LEGITIMATE CONTACT

FOR OFFICIAL SPOKESMEN OF NRLC, INC.

A.) AUDIENCE - with preferred and/or high echelon leaders of the religious body.

1.) These sessions tend to be highly formal and tightly structured. They can be most accurately viewed as "planting the seed".

2.) No immediate action should be expected from this contact. Quite contrary to popular opinion, religious heads are not the shapers of organizational policy. Rather, they are shaped by policies. The key advisers and information gatherers are sprinkled below the crust of leadership; from these sources come the policy shifts we will seek to activate.

3.) This formal contact with the religious leaders will produce the unwritten "Ok" stamp to those individuals (not just "anyone" from the organization) who are so honored. This will allow the individuals to make contact with lower-level divisions and the spokesmen and staff of the organization who are now "conscious of" and "accessible" to NRLC, Inc.

4.) In the audience, you are merely preparing the "head" for the movement of the "appendages", which will, hopefully, follow your completion of Section B.

B.) FORMAL & INFORMAL ENCOUNTERS WITHIN THE BODY - via the heads of various agencies, departments, educational concerns and institutions; staff people with influence.

1.) It is common for these internal meetings to be arranged from the top down, via the audience contact. The individuals at these meetings will be the real contacts for NRLC, Inc. to tap.

2.) You will, of course, have to take what they give you. Ideally, however, you should try to meet with: Social Services, Public Relations, Health Services, Education-Internal, Education-External, General Administration, etc., or their equivalent in the organization. You should also bid for meetings with key figures within the universities of the religious group, i.e., presidents, deans, faculty members, student leaders, etc.

3.) If the pro-life story is sold here, it will invariably bubble up to the surface in time.

(OVER)

C.) EDUCATIONAL PRESENTATIONS FOR PUBLIC & CONGREGATIONAL USE - as requested by agencies and spokesmen within the religious body.

1.) If you have "sold" the Section-B leaders & staff, they will invariably request either educational material for their own internal use or a special presentation before a congregationally sponsored program of some type. Therefore, it is very important to have your "educational package" for this group well-defined beforehand.

2.) Although one might assume this area to be in the domain of the NRLC's Education Committee, I believe I would have to take exception. The Education Committee - as a matter of pure pragmatics - will have to develop materials with broad-based, pluralistic approaches. The Inter-Group Liaison Committee, however, should be carefully analyzing and adapting each "educational package" to the target group they will be working with. Just as the audience, formal and informal discussion groups, etc., must be preceeded by the Committee's research, evaluation, and preparation for the target religious body....so too, must the educational component be custom-tailored and refined.

3.) We would like to think that each congregation is going to join and promote our organization....sadly, however, this is simply not the case. The majority (at least in the near future) will not choose to do so. Therefore, we must harvest the second alternative: "closed education within the rank-and-file of the religious body".

4.) If the "educational package" has been previously adapted to the needs of the religious body, they will be far more receptive to the inclusion of these teaching methods "in-house".

D.) ESTABLISHMENT OF INFORMATIONAL CONTACTS FOR NRLC, INC. - within the religious body.

1.) If a religious group is at all sympathetic to NRLC goals, we should establish lines of communication before departure.

2.) Section-B contact groups should be offered an informational link with NRLC, Inc. By this method you will gain inroads toward the development of a long-term pro-life philosophy within the group.

3.) In addition to the NRLC Newspaper, I would suggest the Informational Retrieval Service of Americans United for Life for these contacts.

4.) Some of these people may not buy the whole story the first time around. Long-range informational mailings will firm them up in their beliefs and might take a toll on any "doubting Thomases" within the group.

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POSSIBLE ROLES AND DIVERSIFICATION OF ACTIVITIES OF THE INTER-GROUP LIAISON COMMITTEE BEYOND THE NRLC, INC. STRUCTURE

* Introduction *

The formation of clergy groups by the Inter-Group Liaison Committee is already underway and of obvious advantage to the goals and programs of NRLC, Inc. These ad-hoc groups may meet, discuss, and effectuate the broad-based support our organization requires....perhaps, they may even be able to introduce the pro-life message in their congregations. They will at all times, however, be speaking for themselves alone.

The various forms of legitimate contact that official spokesmen of NRLC, Inc. may make (via Inter-Group Liaison Committee), can produce a few inroads. In the big picture, however, we will probably come up far short of the harvest we would hope to reap in mobilizing congregations in the broad sense.

We will require a third approach - a mobilization from within - to ensure success in our venture. This mobilization can, of course, begin with key ministers brought in by the formation of clergy groups, as well as contacts made within a religious body by NRLC, Inc. spokesmen. Other sources, however, must be tapped if the mobilization, or infiltration if you will, is to be complete.

This internal endeavor must be well planned and researched before initiation. A haphazard attempt could well back-fire in our faces. The preparation must be intensive, low-profile, and completely disassociated from NRLC, Inc. in the official sense. It would probably be best to submerge this activity from the RTL movement entirely.

Such a program would require the constitution of a separate entity; a non-profit organization that would most likely qualify for 501-(c)-3 status. The basic objectives of the structure would be as follows:

A.) THE GATHERING OF INTELLIGENCE WITHIN THE RELIGIOUS BODY

1.) A select group of ministers, theologians, staff workers, etc., of a target congregation would be formed and coordinated by the new structure. They would bear no relation to the clergy groups of NRLC's design. In effect, they would operate behind a "smokescreen"; the actual composition, activities and progress of the group would be known to but a select few in the new structure. The reasons for this should be obvious: a.) The "enemy" would just love to discover a program (under NRLC's auspices) that sought the "infiltration" of a certain religious group. b.) If these intelligence-gathering groups are to function effectively, they must not be neutralized by public knowledge of their membership, programs or existence.

A.) THE GATHERING OF INTELLIGENCE WITHIN THE RELIGIOUS BODY (cont.)

2.) These intelligence groups will be able to give us an "inside" feel of the group on various RTL topics. They will be able to feed us background on various individuals in the religious body and whether or not these people will help, hinder or remain neutral during a pro-life mobilization. They will be in a position to point out individuals who can offer help in a particular area that we might easily overlook.

3.) The intelligence group can offer invaluable assistance in the preparation of a target group's "educational package". In many situations, they may even be able to "sample the market" before NRLC formally offers the program to the religious body as a whole.

4.) Overall, the intelligence group will pinpoint three areas for NRLC, Inc. & its Inter-Group Liaison Committee: a.) How the group is structured, and if in fact, it is capable of responding to the pro-life effort. b.) How the group may be approached, both by NRLC, Inc. and from within the body, to accomplish the mobilization of the target group. c.) Whether or not the group has been effectively mobilized and/or needs more intensive activation.

5.) Naturally, such groups should be composed only of those members who would feel comfortable in a "James Bond" role. Not everyone is cut out to be an investigator.

B.) DEVELOPMENT & PRODUCTION OF LITERATURE FOR DISTRIBUTION BY AD-HOC GROUPS

1.) Many approaches in the education of religious groups will come to the surface which would not be appropriate for NRLC, Inc. to produce or distribute. Through the medium of the new structure, various ad-hoc organizations may be formed to expedite this distribution process.

2.) If we are to defeat the pro-abortionist at his own game, we must learn his lesson well: "Take the eggs out of the basket and spread them throughout the forest". In the last few years, pro-life forces have been running in circles, trying to collect the many and multi-colored "eggs" of the pro-abortion groups. We spend 90% of our time stamping out "brush fires", sidetracking our energies and strengths. It is about time we got smart and emulated the enemy. We can form dozens of ad-hoc groups, promoting hundreds of various papers, policy bulletins and statements against abortion, just as easily as Planned Parenthood, NOW, NARAL and the "gang" have done for years.

3.) These ad-hoc groups may promote subtle pamphlets and papers, or they may be extremely aggressive and outspoken. They will be able to assume the tact to "get in the door", or in some circumstances, they may create the rhetoric to "break the door down". At any rate, their effectiveness is limited only by the imagination.

C.) COORDINATION OF AFFAIRS: INTER-GROUP LIAISON COMMITTEE v. SEPARATE STRUCTURE

1.) The Inter-Group Liaison Committee, already established as a structure of NRLC, Inc., can easily and flexibly assume the formal roles as "official representative" to the various congregations. In certain circumstances, they may wish for certain individuals outside of the Committee to represent NRLC's interests. For legitimate contact purposes, therefore, the Inter-Group Committee should probably remain as constituted.

2.) As regards the separate structure, there might be certain advantages in establishing different people on the Board of Directors. Certainly, those individuals seated in control of the structure must maintain the working policies of the new organization in the strictest of confidence. The programs of the structure, particularly as they relate to the intelligence-gathering groups, will not be matters of common interest....even among the Board Members of NRLC, Inc. Perhaps the best rule of thumb would be: If Jane Doe is actively involved and working with certain intelligence groups of the organization, then Jane Doe should probably be on the Board of Directors of the structure. If this is not the case, Jane Doe should probably have nothing to do with the organization. What Jane Doe doesn't know, won't hurt her or the NRLC, Inc.

3.) The gargantuan task of this structure would probably require a full-time director to coordinate the activities of the intelligence groups, ad-hoc groups, etc. One advantage, however, is that this director would not be required to live in the Washington, D.C. area. This would offer a great deal of latitude to NRLC, Inc. in the physical establishment of the new structure.

ESTABLISHING A PRO-LIFE GROUP ON AN INTER-DENOMINATIONAL THEME

Submitted by Paulette Stander, Chairman, Oklahoma Right to Life
Board of Directors, NRLC

In trying to decide how I could convey my message of the best manner in which to begin prolife work on an inter-denominational basis I have decided that just telling you how I started and why I selected a particular route is probably best.

For three years, (1969-1970-1971) there were liberal abortion bills introduced in the Oklahoma legislature. I had managed to find a small core of very good speakers, and they were carefully selected for diversity in religious backgrounds. Each year when the bill was introduced I called these people and we would gear up for the battle, trudge up to the capitol, testify, get plenty of news coverage and beat the bill. Then we would forget each other's names until the next year.

The Supreme Court decision changed all that. It became necessary to have a very strong movement within our state, and it fell to me to start it. I knew I was beginning prolife work in a state that is even now only 9% Catholic, and which is known as the "Bible Belt" totally foreign to Catholic experience). I was determined that this would not be another Catholic "front group". I need not have worried! In my first year of speaking I was invited into only one Catholic church! The Norans were extremely sensitive about their stand and did not want to impose "Catholic morality" on their Protestant friends. On the other hand, most of my help came from the Protestant clergy. My first attempt to draw them out into the open was through a letter sent to every minister in Oklahoma City. The response was very minimal, however, the quality of the few responses was good. Two Methodist ministers, a Baptist -- and a Conservative Rabbi. In addition, the other people involved in speaking were from a broad base. A handsome young lawyer who is an adoptive parent and excellent speaker and is also a Nazarene appeared. Dr. Vaumin, an OB-GYN physician from Tulsa, always makes reference to his Lutheran background. Senator Lamb always mentions that he is a Southern Baptist, etc. I never bring up the fact that I am a Catholic. This is the basis we started with, and grown from this point in all directions. The point of discussing this is to reiterate that we STARTED on an inter-denominational theme. Even though the workers (lay people) were Catholic, what we showed to the state was a diversified group working for one goal.

Now to the problem of speaking to protestant, Baptist and Jewish groups: It is essential that you have a respect for their and their cultural background. In the case of the more fundamental groups such as Nazarenes, Disciples of Christ, Baptist etc. it is easy for me because I personally appreciate the good Bible-oriented atmosphere they have provided for me to raise my children in. When working with these groups, try to transmit this too, though try not to make reference to your different denomination. One way to do this is, before you go out to speaker, "psyche yourself up" for your talk by dwelling on positive things that you may know about the denomination you are about to dialogue with. This will enable you to speak to them with a real positive

approach. Try not to convey a negative attitude or a feeling of defensiveness— Always assume that the audience is prolife, it will be soon.

Sit down and examine your terminology. Does it smack of Romanism? If so, sit down with a good Protestant friend and ask him to help which terms are highly identifiable. Learn some of the Protestant terms. Some are so simple and yet so foreign to Catholics, such as "I would like to share this with you" or "I have a burden". I know this must sound hysterical to a Protestant, but there are highly Protestant and Baptist phrases to a Catholic ear. Take the time to learn a little background on the various denominations. You may be surprised to learn that Protestants and Baptists and Lutherans have actual seminaries and text books of their own! Learn their basic philosophy of life. Is it social action? Is it missionary-oriented? Are they primarily interested in soul-winning? Are they isolationists?

As for the presentation of the actual talk, it is important to merely be yourself, always keeping uppermost in your mind that you are talking to brothers and sisters, that you have a common origin and a common date with destiny. Simplicity is the key. Don't muddy the water with other issues. If someone tries to sidetrack you, state that the issue at hand is of such urgency that you would rather not get into other areas. Work with another person, a speaking partner, who is not Catholic. Then if you are asked your religion and wish to dodge the question you can put the spotlight on your partner, but if you do get cornered you have two choices. 1., "Screw up"! I happen to be a Catholic but this is not a denominational issue. It is a moral issue, that is why the Right to Life Committee is made up of persons from varying backgrounds such as my partner and I, etc. etc. 2. If you happen to be alone you will have to "wing it". Such an incident occurred to me when I spoke to the Kiwanis Club of Bethany, Okla., a very conservative section of Oklahoma City. Bethany, Okla. is about 85% Nazarene. After I finished speaking a man said he would like to ask the speaker's religion. There was no place to run, so I smiled a big smile, turned my Minnesota accent into an Okie drawl and said "My precious, I believe I am about to become a victim of religious discrimination!" The audience (all men) just came unglued laughing and I never did answer the question. However, I sensed that they were a friendly group for the most part. This same routine has worked for me on various times. But there have been other times when I knew instinctively that it would not work and therefore did not try it. I have to have several responses ready to fit the situation but I have found that in a friendly setting a little humor is just the right touch.

It is important to be aware of these facts; many denominations do not have a clearly defined tradition and doctrine on the prolife issues. Therefore your job is to be clear and direct. You have only so much time to present the story to them, and so may hinge their attitude concerning abortion and the life issue. Do not back your audience into a corner! Think for a moment, if you hold a position on a controversial issue it is usually because you have arrived there after considering several factors which led you to believe that you had found the right answer. Don't expect them to be any less than biblical, or just as time to have less intensity than you. That means they will probably not change their minds instantly. (They might, but don't be surprised and disappointed if they do not). They will want to go home and in private accept the fact that they have made an error in judgment, or that they did not have all the facts. Include such statements as "I know

that I am partially responsible for the wide spread abortion policy of today. I sat around and did nothing for too long'. Acknowledge that because of your inaction many people have made mistakes they may not have made if you had shared the facts earlier. Remember that there may be a woman present who has had an abortion, or a husband who has pressured his wife to have one, a parent who paid for a daughter's abortion, etc. Stress God's gracious love and His forgiveness.

Clergymen may be looking at this issue from the angle of a person who has been directly involved with this on the basis of having counselled a woman to have an abortion. This puts him into an intolerable position — he either has to admit that he was seriously wrong, and thus counselled wrongly, or he must try to justify his position.

Understanding is called for. You must prove not only that you are concerned with the life of this child but that your concern is genuine for the mother. Be on your toes with facts that bear out your statements that abortion is not a long range solution for the woman and may hold immediate dangers. Remember that there is no clear teaching against abortion for these people. They are looking at it in the light of a solution to urgent problems, and here you come along saying "No, it's wrong, you can't do that." In spite of all this, I am convinced that if you present the issues properly and are not abrasive but rather are persuasive that your audience will respond positively.

All individuals have a reluctant to take on something that is pressing, and therein lies your Big Block of Resistance. For pastors to step out of the main stream and into a raging whirlpool is to be courageous. They will draw fire and take flack, they become the center of controversy. Be kind and understand that what you ask at the least point is quiet support but what you really want is that they take up a cross. A minister of the Disciples of Christ told me not to be discouraged -- he said 'Each Sunday I climb into the pulpit thinking that I have a message that will make my listeners accept their cross, and each Monday I experience a sensation of surprise over the fact that they did not."

In conclusion, the most power thing that you can do is to say a prayer as you drive to your meeting. Ask the Holy Spirit to speak through you and to enable you to serve Him well. Be willing to look like a fool for Christ.

FINIS

REACHING NON-CATHOLICS: the Catholic Problem

Report submitted by Mary Ann Henry
Co-ordinator, Ocean County Right to Life Committee
Lakewood, New Jersey

As a Catholic with little experience in dealing with members of other faiths, I have found myself at a distinct and perplexing disadvantage in attempting to contact non-Catholics. Approaches and points that seemed to be quite effective among Catholics tended to lessen the credibility of the Right to Life Movement among non-Catholics. The following report consists of my personal experience via trial and error, the results, and my corresponding personal conclusions. The recommendations herein seem to work, so far, in very specific instances. They are far from proven, as we have had little success in motivating most of the pro-life sympathizers we have found. This paper is as much a plea for ideas and suggestions that have worked for others as it is a delineational sharing of ideas and methods that have apparently worked for us.

Experience in central New Jersey has shown that non-personal or group appeals of any sort -- even of a religious nature -- have had little success. Included in this category are generally directed but individually addressed letters, sample mailings of Newsletters, and our announcements of services (presentations, materials, speakers, etc.) when personal letters with pro-life materials such as the "Life or Death" pamphlet included have failed -- returning a response of about 1%. Such response could generally be summed up: "We agree, and we're glad there is someone out there fighting." (This also holds true for the Catholic clergy, with the difference that those who believe we are a bit fanatic or paranoid return a negative reply. But this is another topic.) Non-Catholics who disagree have never bothered to respond.

Telephone contact, on the other hand, about a specific aspect or activity -- such as a prolife rally -- has been more successful. In Toms River, a residential district of some size, all forty of the various congregations were reached by phone regarding the rally announcement. Virtually every congregations agreed to accept some form of promotion (flyers, posters, announcements in the parish bulletin or from the pulpit) regardless of the official stand of the church. The approach was from the point of view of being fair and unbiased, and of benefiting members of the congregation who personally opposed abortion.

This personal contact also revealed that there were many pastors and ministers who did not agree with pro-abortion stands made by their churches or held by

influential members or even the majority of their church. Yet, they were hesitant because it could effect retention of their pastorship or positions. Many did not even broach the topic among individual members, despite the fact that a small group of pro-lifers could sponsor a Right to Life program and ease the difficult position for the pastor.

The majority of non-Catholics contacted seem to regard abortion as a progressive civil rights issue -- but a civil rights issue from the point of view of the woman only. Even when the point had been convincingly made that there is another human being involved whose civil rights are being ignored, it was difficult to retrain old habits of thinking. Time and persistence seem to be working. Time being the most important -- tempered generously with patience. Unless a non-Catholic has been looking for a way to take a more active approach to his opposition to abortion, he is not ready or prepared to jump on the RTL bandwagon the first time around. Your success can best be measured by the willingness of your prospects to learn more -- not as with many Catholic audiences gauged by the number of new members, donations and petition signatures you obtain.

I cannot overemphasize the virtue of patience and the value of the old saying "accentuate the positive and eliminate the negative"-- little by little. One cannot accept that a non-Catholic will automatically be able to accept everything you know to be fact, not even every argument against abortion immediately. Eventually, given time to re-think and in depth evaluate prolife material available for education, the majority will understand and totally reject abortion, fetal experimentation, and forced sterilization etc. as degradations of human dignity and respect for human life.* Meanwhile, one should emphasize the areas of agreement and use them as a basis upon which to build. Then, logically, one point at a time preferably being brought up by the non-Catholic (after being prodded gently into asking by some particular piece of information you thought he might be interested in), the areas of disagreement can be discussed. Caution should be taken that this be a dialogue (since Catholics are more emotional as a rule) and that the issue remain on an intellectual, not a personal, level.

It should also be apparent in a pro-lifer's mind that many non-Catholics -- particularly the clergy -- have probably been involved in some form of abortion counseling. This aspect of potential guilt must be dealt with, recognized, and assuaged. If the pro-lifer appears condemnatory, he has lost the battle before

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* The issue of contraception/birth control should be avoided like the plague, and totally removed and separated from the RTL issue. It has also been proven futile to avoid the controversy over the ERA as an objective. Here can be a source of friction and distraction to the main issue and central focus -- the humanity of the unborn. This must be accepted before abortion will be rejected.

be ever begun. We have found it best -- regardless of the audience -- to precede every presentation of slides with a statement of intention. To state that it is not our intention to condemn anyone; that we and the RTL movement believe that those who have been involved in abortion for the most part have done so because they did not know the facts we are about to present; that the overwhelming majority of Americans would not support abortion if they knew what abortion really is.

It is also this aspect of participation and guilt that requires time, and a step by step presentation toward new perspectives that include both human beings involved in abortion. One should not lose patience for another person. [illegible] or friendly presentation, but even fellow participants in [illegible] abortion.

Another point we now recommend to all speakers is to make the presentation as factual and simple as possible. While an emotional appeal might motivate a sympathetic Catholic audience, it will turn off a non-Catholic group and have an air of fanaticism. Non-Catholics seem to be most impressed with facts -- logically and clearly presented. This is why we recommend simplicity. Secondary facts, particularly regarding the dangers to the woman's health from abortion and the need for adoptable children (topics received or regarded as highly suspect and barely believable) should be eliminated until a later time. The main thesis (and one must learn to regard one's own presentation as his non-Catholic audience does -- as a concept for evaluation which if it survives critical analysis will be accepted as true) that the unborn are human beings must be underscored. Facts are more effective than opinions since non-Catholics are accustomed to making up their own minds on issues. However, authoritative opinions can be helpful if you use an acceptable authority. Here it is wise to do some homework. Quoting from an opposing theology to back up a pro-life point would not be helpful, since this would be an unconvincing authority.

First things first, however. One must successfully combat the Protestant and Jewish opposition before one can give a slide presentation, and the single most effective means of countering non-Catholics for us has been to point for [illegible] program on abortion and attend them. Should the program prove to be pro-abortion, the pro-lifers are there to ask "embarrassing" questions designed to betray at pro-life and abortion facts. Should the program be pro-life in nature, a spokesman can express support of the group's position while answering the criticisms of our program and appealing for authority and distributing pro-life material to members of other churches for study already available to the audience.

It has been useful to work through ecumenical groups where possible, particularly where a pro-life member is known to us. Whether or not the group wishes to have a pro-life program, the member can make RTL announcements known to the non-Catholic community who might otherwise have no knowledge of any RTL activity. Action from that point on is then up to the group or to the individual members.

Our current strategy -- working with a pro-abortion pastor of an anti-life church began with a personal invitation to a coffee klatch held at the home of a pro-life acquaintance of the pastor. The woman was a new member who had seen our slides at another coffee klatch in her neighborhood. Although she was Catholic, she said she knew two Protestant ministers personally and would invite them both. One happened to be pro-life already (Lutheran Missouri Synod) and had seen the slides, so he declined the invitation. The other pastor attended with his wife and a few church members. Their church's position is that one is not human until one is loved. The evening was a success as far as the presentation of fetal development and facts of abortion were concerned, but no real conversion was made. Since that time, the hostess has been working through close personal pro-life friends of the minister to add information and other pro-life arguments aimed at refuting pro-abortion conclusions already held.

The pro-life Protestant minister mentioned above also epitomizes the need for patience. After speaking with him, and delivering a comprehensive pro-life packet of information and resources, and after having a member of his own parish who is also a RTL member (sent to us by him) request a RTL presentation, he has agreed to speak on abortion. He agreed to schedule the person in January (first he was asked in June). He explained that his sermons are completely scheduled until January. This -- considering the anniversary of the Supreme Court decision and our protest plans for January -- could be quite effective. In the interim, he has co-operated with us in announcing our rally, taking pamphlets, etc.

Of the six or so Protestant ministers originally contacted through an ecumenical meeting, only one has been active. The depth of his involvement has gradually increased and has not needed any prodding -- only knowledge of something to be done. He and his wife are fantastic! This has been our experience generally with non-Catholics -- once you find a non-Catholic pro-lifer, they are worth their weight in gold!

Still other pro-life ministers have preferred to work through their own congregational "pro-life groups" or other ad hoc groups. These we simply keep informed of our activities and problem developments that require more action. I would like

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the coordination of pro-life efforts and action more important than a monopoly of membership by one pro-life group. It is more difficult to coordinate independent small groups, but there have been advantages -- particularly with the local press when I announce our efforts are also supported by a half-dozen other pro-life groups in the area. It impresses them that there are so many of us who are now active.

To be perfectly honest - and the most hopeful aspect in our area -- has been the fact that [redacted] pro-life [redacted] for [redacted]. We had one minister call us immediately upon his return from his church's convention. Until recently, his church had made no stand on abortion. He had a pro-life stand, and was so happy about his church's new pro-life stance against abortion that he called us to tell us about it. His was the second church to take a pro-life stand against abortion that I learned about through previously unknown pastors within the space of one week's time, and the third minister to indicate NLL interest. Their knowledge of our existence had been as the result of pro-life letters to the editor in local papers, and through personal letters.

It should be obvious that to follow all these recommendations is going to take a great deal of time and genuine personal interest and attention to individuals in various stages of pro-life development. But personal attention has seemed to be the key, so where possible, we have attempted to use NLL members who are of the same faith or who know the future pro-lifer personally. This usually results in a well educated and better motivated existing member, and hopefully one or more new NLL members. Where a one-to-one relationship is impossible, the more local the contact (same town), the better has been the response. Again, the personal friendly and optomistic approach has proven to work best.*

Before concluding, most of this paper has dealt with experiences in the Protestant community. Ocean County also has a significant Jewish population and Lakewood counts a [redacted] and several synagogues. Unfortunately, every attempt I have made to contact even the pro-life anti-abortion Orthodox Jews has resulted in silence or no response. The Orthodox community, I have learned, is very concerned about our anti-life society and has on its own backed and voted for political candidates who oppose abortion only. Yet, the community has refused and does not seem to be the least interested in any other pro-life groups as such. They wish to remain separated from such outside contact and influence. Their opposition to abortion, etc., is on moral grounds and is a matter of religion and strictly personal and Jewish Orthodox morality. There appears to be little interest

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* Often pro-life groups [redacted] to receive [redacted] possible responses that we either stop trying or [redacted] this type of letter which does not attract people to our cause. It is [redacted] to expect a good response.

in preventing abortion among non-Jews or outside the Orthodox community. I have not completely accepted this, yet, and I am presently looking for a Jewish representative to act in liaison and co-ordination with the Jewish community.

As for the reception I met in the Jewish community, this seems to be hostile territory -- workable only on an individual level -- as far as abortion is concerned. Euthanasia is another story. Here there is a great deal of interest in favor of a program, particularly if given by a practicing physician and we do have a surgeon who, by the end of April, will be the Chairman of the Committee, or Society, whom...

In speaking, I find I begin by individually naming the various audiences (as the pro-abortionists present it) from my presentation of the pro-life issues. What an error, I found both to avoid even the concept of pinning the label of "fetus" on the product of the abortion (but not the physical ability to identify it); the evaluation of abortion methods to humane standards in treating animals; any attempt to portray the unborn as loving, cuddly and lovable or "feeling" -- being friendly; the unborn as a thinking individual (emphasizing instead the ability to learn and basic brain functioning); and particularly the use of the terms "child" or "baby" when referring to the unborn fetus, always preceded by a confusing argument as to the sanctity of life, the climate or end of life. Perhaps my experiences are not truly representative, and I now feel that I know the Lord is telling me, this the best answer is to let the slides present themselves and to merely accurately describe in any commentary the facts of the abortion issue, using clear, detached medical and scientific terminology.

As for reaching or converting non-Catholic communities, Catholics are going to have to get used to evangelizing and to becoming more aggressive. They will have to make the first, second, and third contact, if necessary, on their own initiative. Pro-lifers have on their very simplest facts and an important one is that many people do not know, and do not want to know. But if we ever hope to save the lives of the unborn -- even with a Human Life Amendment -- we must advance every way, every day, a child to the fact of the small cell and inviolate right to life of every human being, born or unborn, young or old, infirm or imperfect, wanted or unwanted. Every last count a life lost. Hopefully can be found that are effective for every continent, and responsible people must be made available to assist pro-life groups in their work. Whatever form this could well be a revolution to someone not committed to thinking or parts. I pray the Lord's spiritual help in this will say.

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MEDICAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

CHARGE: The Medical Advisory Committee is hereby established for the purpose of reaffirming and defending traditional medical ethics based on the Hippocratic Oath and respect for the santity of life. It is charged with developing an effective forum for reaching physicians in general and in specific medical organizations including societies, medical schools, hospitals and other medical facilities. It is further charged to formulate programs to identify those ethical trends and medical practices which threaten or degrade human life and advise appropriate action against them to the Executive Committee.

APPOINTMENTS: Matthew J. Bulfin, M.D. (Florida);
Carolyn F. Gerster, M.D. (Arizona); Edward G. Kilroy, M.D. (Ohio); Fred E. Mecklenburg, M.D. (Minnesota);
Joseph R. Stanton, M.D. (Massachusetts); and
Mildred F. Jefferson, M.D., Chairman and Liaison to the Executive Committee.

SCOPE: Consultation on any matter requiring medical advice, information or evaluation. Close relationship with Education and Legal Advisory Committees anticipated. Inter-organizational projects with other medical organizations will be identified after completion for strategic reasons.

SUMMARY OF PROGRAMS TO DATE:

1. Serving as steering committee to identify key active pro-life physicians in each state. Propose representation from each state plus renowned pro-life physicians of high visibility who have made no other active commitment.

2. Consideration of medical wording of human life amendment.

3. Response to release of abortifacient F_2 alpha by the Upjohn Company (with Dr. John Willke of the Education Committee). Call for Select Congressional Committee to investigate FDA approval.

4. Media survey to determine most effective physician reach.

5. Defining program objectives of Committee.

PROJECTED BUDGET: (To December 31, 1974)

Print Advertising	
(Medical and general circulation papers)	$50,000.00
Transporation	
Committee Meetings (6)	$10,800.00
Committee Delegate to Medical Conventions	$25,000.00
Telephone	
Conference Calls (10)	$ 2,000.00
General Phone expense	$ 1,200.00
Postage	$ 1,200.00
Clerical Help	$ 5,000.00
Conference Facilities Rental	$ 1,500.00
National Seminar for Pro-Life Physicians	$15,000.00
Total Budget Projection	$111,700.00

The entire budget for the Medical Advisory Committee could be supported by only 2000 yearly - renewable sponsor memberships from the 383, 000 or so physicians in the United States.

STAFF DEVELOPMENT

Staff development is an important part of any program or group of programs which may be adopted to accomplish the long range purpose and immediate objectives of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. The primary staff person will be your Executive Director, but even he must be chosen with some idea of the developing program he is to administer.

The items which follow are a collection of materials relative to the selection of an Executive Director. As I write this, I have on hand the resumes of twenty-eight persons for that position. I have shared them with Marjory Mecklenburg and Ed Golden as fellow members of the Search Committee and I have selected several of them for interview, or rather a pre-interview, to determine their attitudes toward our purpose or objective, and their general suitability as well as their genuine availability. I have completed one such pre-interview and have made preliminary arrangements for two others which I hope to complete in the week remaining before the Board of Directors meeting. I am sorry I cannot share the resumes with you but I have agreed to keep them confidential. They were made available to me through our membership in the American Society of Association Executives.

We must increase the size of the staff. There is a need for additional hands. The program priorities will determine the order in which they are added to the staff but here are a few brief

comments describing s[illegible] positions that need to be filled.

Another state l[illegible]rson with organizational talents is needed to work in [illegible]on with Pat McNamara. This person must be inspirational [illegible] to travel so that we can build and strengthen our st[illegible]zations.

We are greatly [illegible] a Public Relations Director. This position is more fully [illegible] in the report of the Public Relations/Media Commit[illegible] Executive Committee recently authorized the employ[illegible]-time person in this position with the expectation o[illegible] position in the near future.

Another person i[illegible]ist the Executive Director in maintaining liaison[illegible]ss, its various committees and other agencies of [illegible] In fact, it will not be long until several peo[illegible]for this work.

A research staff[illegible]cial, not only to keep up with all that the Gove[illegible]g, or failing to do; but also to do some of the poli[illegible]h that can only be done in Washington and to comp[illegible]rmation along with the local information that you n[illegible].

To coordinate th[illegible]s, your Executive Director requires a capable Assi[illegible]office manager, a business manager for the newspape[illegible]ted bookkeeper, an efficient personal secretary, a[illegible]ent additional secretarial support for the entire profes[illegible]ff. In addition, the Executive

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Director will require frequent access to outside assistance, professional or otherwise, volunteer or for-hire, and he must place great reliance on the adoption of modern methods and the utilization of the most modern office equipment. This is the only way he will be able to compete for the attention of the Congress and match the efforts of other organizations who have budgets soaring into the millions and staffs of fifty or more. You face a minimum requirement of developing a dedicated staff of no less than ten, and probably closer to twenty, people at a cost of $150,000 to $250,000 each year. They must be well paid, provided adequate benefits, pleasant surroundings and reasonable security, all in the context of Washington, D. C., which is much different than most of our home towns.

The following materials relate to the selection of an Executive Director and they include such things as the advertisement which appeared in the January issue of Association Management, the official magazine of the American Society of Association Executives. Also included is a memorandum which I prepared for the Executive Committee, dated November 16, 1973 to which is attached a partial draft of personnel policies. I have been very much concerned about the need for developing personnel policies in a fluctuating, undulating restless organization. I extremely regret that I was unable to complete them. Little

would be required to do so but I have temporarily abandoned the project in favor of more pressing duties. The personnel policies should be completed as soon as possible. My experience, especially during these last few months of tension, demonstrates that it is nearly impossible to locate the staff that we need and to bring them into our employ without being able to answer their most basic needs in terms of benefits and job security. If your priorities favor the establishment of a strong Washington office, then the need for the development of such policies becomes even more urgent.

asae

Executive Employment Services

ASAE EMPLOYMENT SERVICES

ASAE's employment services include an Executive Recruiting and Search Service, an Executive Referral Service, and an Executive Reference Service. These services assist associations in recruiting qualified executive personnel and individual executives in finding employment opportunities.

If your association is searching for an executive, or if you are interested in new association management opportunities, check the appropriate box on the attached mailer or call ASAE for information about how they work to help you.

EXECUTIVE RECRUITING AND SEARCH SERVICE

Exclusively for associations, the ER&S service offers a recruitment and search activity performed by professionals with years of association, personnel, and executive recruiting experience. It provides an objective, efficient, and thorough, approach to executive procurement for associations at minimal cost. With emphasis on finding, investigating, screening, and evaluating candidates, it assists in assessing and selecting the right ones. The service works for the employer only and not as a placement service protecting clients.

Executive recruitment – whether a do-it-yourself or agency technique is used – is expensive. Valuable time lost in administrative type duties, lack of adequate sources of qualified candidates, inexperience in recruiting, screening, and evaluating techniques, expenses incurred in self-recruitment or fees charged by profit oriented agencies, are some of the expense items. Most expensive is the selection of the wrong executive for the position.

The ER&S service will find the man you want through its professional knowledge and to have your executive [illegible] of its nonprofit service organizations.

EXECUTIVE REFERENCE SERVICE

[illegible]

and a cover letter stating just the kind of opportunity that will motivate the executive to consider a change, along with any limitations he may have. This information should be as detailed as possible. This service is strictly confidential and individuals are not disclosed to prospective employers until such permission is obtained from the executive. This service is also a resource for executive recruitment and search assignments.

EXECUTIVE REFERRAL SERVICE

ASAE's Executive Referral Service assists associations seeking executives as well as individuals looking for association position opportunities. Associations having position vacancies are requested to provide job descriptions and specifications for guidance in the referral of appropriate resumes. Resumes of members and non-members currently interested in association employment are referred to associations listing position vacancies. Individuals are registered with the service by completion of a summary information form and providing resume copies for referral.

Executive Referral Service is provided without charge to associations having an ASAE member on its staff, and to ASAE members. A small administrative charge is made to associations not represented by an ASAE member and to individuals not members of ASAE.

The Executive Referral Service function is to assist associations in locating currently available individuals and to help executives find available position openings. It is not the complete professional approach to executive search, recruitment, and selection outlined in the ER&S above.

CLASSIFIED AD SERVICE

ASAE also provides a [illegible]

818102311107

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVES • 1101 16TH STREET, [illegible]

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVES EXECUTIVE SEARCH AND RECRUITMENT SERVICE FOR ASSOCIATIONS

Following is a brief explanation of how the service operates and its costs. It is available only to volunteer non-profit types of associations.

At the outset, we need a position description setting out the duties and responsibilities to be performed as well as pertinent details regarding age, experience, salary range, individual traits and characteristics considered important. We would also like to discuss them with you in detail to insure our complete understanding of the specifications and requirements.

In our search, we first seek quantity. The greater the number of candidates, the better we can select a panel that best meets your requirements. Over the years we have developed through ASAE's Executive Employment Services and other activities invaluable sources of information about individuals with association experience. We use these and other sources in searching for qualified candidates. We usually advertise the position in appropriate coverage media.

A staff team of ASAE executives then evaluates the paper qualifications of candidates. This is to assure an objective assessment and offset any bias or preference of any one staff member.

A tentative panel of candidates representing the best qualified on paper is established from this evaluation. The panel size will vary, depending on the number and quality of applications. Its purpose is to have a workable number of candidates for an initial review by you or your selection committee. Those surviving the committee's review will be checked in depth, references and background information checked, and another evaluation made to select a panel of finalists best qualified for your position. Usually this panel ranges from three to six in size.

Again, we review and analyze the final panel candidates with you and assist in arranging your selection interviews. We will also assist you during your interviews as requested or needed. Your organization will not be disclosed without your approval until final interviews are arranged. The recruiting effort usually takes from 60 to 90 days depending upon the specification requirements and geographic area covered.

The service is provided at out-of-pocket cost plus 10% of the annual salary at which a candidate is hired. A retainer of $500.00 is to be paid when the search is authorized and the balance upon the actual hiring of one of our candidates submitted. In the event that one of our candidates is not hired, your only professional fee cost is the retainer.

In addition, we are to be reimbursed for out-of-pocket expenses covering advertising, long distance phone calls, special mailings and the like. Any travel and sustenance is to be approved by you in advance. Generally out-of-pocket costs range from 2-4% of the annual salary.

ASAE's Search and Recruitment Service offers its clients the combined expertise of experienced association management executives and professional recruiters. A particular advantage is its extensive contacts with association executives through its professional services to the association management profession. Since we have a non-profit objective, there is substantial savings to clients in comparison with commercial recruiting organizations.

We look forward to being of service to you and your association.

POSITION DESCRIPTION FOR ASSOCIATION CHIEF STAFF EXECUTIVE

TITLE: _____ APPROVED BY: _____

REPORTS TO: [1] _____ DATE: _____

BASIC FUNCTION (or SUMMARY)

Serves as chief executive officer, recommends and participates in the formulation of new policies and makes decisions within existing policies as they have been approved by the Board of Directors. Plans, organizes, directs and coordinates the staff, programs and activities of the association (or society) to assure that objectives are attained, plans fulfilled, and member needs met. Maintains effective internal and external relationships. Through management and leadership, achieves economical, productive performance; forward-looking programming and constructive growth of the association.

DUTIES, RESPONSIBILITIES AND AUTHORITY[2]

Within the limits of the constitution and bylaws and policies, the _____(title)_____ is responsible for and has commensurate authority to accomplish the duties set forth below.

1. Sees that the Board of Directors, Executive Committee and officers are kept fully informed on the conditions and operations of the association, and on all important factors influencing them. Attends all meetings of the Board of Directors and Executive Committee.

2. Plans, formulates and recommends for the approval of the Board of Directors basic policies and programs which will further the objective of the association.

3. Executes all decisions of the Board of Directors except when other assignment is specifically made by the Board.

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[1] It is recommended that this be the Board of Directors or Executive Committee rather than the chief elected officer.

[2] Some personnel consultants recommend that for each duty or responsibility listed, there be developed a standard for measurement of performance, i.e., membership growth, budget growth, improved public attitude, etc.

4. Developes for purpose of day-to-day administration specific policies, procedures and programs to implement the general policies established by the Board of Directors.

5. Establishes a sound organization structure for the headquarters office.

6. Directs and coordinates all approved programs, projects and major activities of the headquarters staff.

7. Recruits, hires, indoctrinates, trains and motivates association staff personnel. Responsible for all promotions and terminations.

8. Obtains maximum utilization of staff by clearly defining their duties, establishing performance standards, conducting performance reviews and maintaining competitive salary structure.

9. Provides the necessary liaison and staff support to committee chairmen and committees to enable them to properly perform their functions. Sees that committee decisions and recommendations are submitted to the Board of Directors for approval.

10. Executes such contracts and commitments as may be authorized by the Board of Directors or established policies.

11. Promotes interest and active participation in the association's activities on the part of the membership and local/chapter groups, and reports activities of the Board and the association through the communications media of the association.

12. Maintains effective relationships with other organizations, both public and private, and sees that the position of the association and its members is enhanced in accordance with the policies and objectives of the organization.

13. In cooperation with the budget committee and treasurer; developes, recommends and upon approval operates within an annual budget. Insures that all funds, physical assets, and other property of the Society are appropriately safe-guarded and administered. Executes bylaw provisions with respect to an annual C.P.A. audit.

14. Plans, coordinates and conducts a public relations program to enhance public acceptance of the industry/profession.

15. Serves as executive editor of the official magazine, _____, obtaining and editing articles, securing advertising (if appropriate) and providing business management to the magazine.

16. Conducts research and related projects, prepares reports and publishes the results on subjects deemed of importance to the membership.

17. Develops education programs to advance the professional/technical/managerial skills of the membership, operating within budget and program objectives approved by the Board of Directors.

18. Plans, organizes and directs membership promotion and retention program, evaluates results and recommends policies, procedures and action to achieve membership goals. Collects dues and terminates delinquent members.

19. Plans and conducts annual membership meeting and convention, utilizing a membership advisory committee in the development of convention program. Exercises control of convention budget and all convention arrangements to meet financial objectives.

20. Performs a secretarial function for the association/society, maintaining official minutes of Board of Directors and other official meetings of the organization, provides security for all files, legal and historic documents, membership and mailing lists.

21. Is responsible for the planning, promotion and administration of all official meetings of the organization.

22. Plans and executes all communications to the general membership which includes newsletters, general mailings, news releases, etc.

23. Carries out such other general responsibilities as may be delegated by the officers and Board of Directors.

RELATIONSHIPS

a. He is responsible to the _____ for the administration of the headquarters office and for proper interpretation and fulfillment of all his functions, responsibilities and authority, and relationships.

b. He is a member of the Board of Directors and Executive Committee ex-officio, without the right to vote.

c. He serves as staff liaison to all committees and provides liaison between the committees and the Board of Directors.

d. He visits members' plants/offices when feasible and maintains personal contacts with membership to the greatest degree possible.

e. Maintains such relationships with other associations, industry, government, public service organizations, and vendors as are desirable or necessary in the best interests of the association and in conformity with the over-all objectives and policy of the organization.

f. Establishes such relationships as the Board of Directors may specify or as he may deem advisable in the best interests of the association but in conformity with established policy.

NOTES

The above listing of 23 duties will not be applicable to all association executive positions. As a rule all major activities of the association for which the executive has responsibility should be covered with at least a paragraph. Other items which might be included:

Responsibilities for regional offices
Government relations responsibilities
Security of confidential information
Trade show responsibilities
Development of international relations/markets
Standards development
Labor relations
Service as member of specific committees

It is also important that if a committee has specific authority in any area covered by the executive's list of duties, this authority should be set forth.

Some organizations include qualifications in the position description in order to have in one document the information that is so essential to the recruiting, selecting, training and the evaluation of performance of the executive.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVES • 1101 16TH STREET, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

ASAE EXECUTIVE REFERRAL SERVICE

FOR ASSOCIATIONS

Registration Fee:
Associations represented by a member----No Charge
Associations not represented by a member----$25.00

The Executive Referral Service is designed to assist associations in locating qualified individuals for executive staff vacancies as well as to help executives find challenging association positions.

The ASAE office has on file resumes of both members and non-members seeking association positions. These are screened and those whose qualifications seem applicable are referred for consideration. Associations wishing assistance must complete and return the attached job description card.

In addition, classified ads are available through the pages of the ASAE monthly journal, ASSOCIATION MANAGEMENT. This journal has a circulation of more than 4,000 members in the United States and Canada as well as another 600 non-member subscribers. It is the ideal medium for bringing available positions to the attention of association executives at all levels.

One listing of 60 words (10 lines) is included with the non-member registration fee. Wording of the ad is prepared by the registrant. Closing date for copy is the 5th day of the month prior to the month of publication. A box number is assigned and all replies are forwarded promptly.

All material should be mailed to:

Executive Referral Service
American Society of Association Executives
1101 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

TELEPHONE • AREA CODE 202 • 659-3131

executive referral

The rate for placement of a classified ad by an ASAE member is $10, up to 10 lines, average of six words per line; $1 per line thereafter. No advertisement shall be longer than 20 lines. Payment must accompany copy which is due the fifth of the month previous to issue.

Advertisements of nonmembers of ASAE are accepted only when they are a part of the Executive Referral Services program.

Advertisers will be given a box number. Replies will be forwarded promptly.

All correspondence should be addressed to Executive Referral Services, American Society of Association Executives, 1101 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Positions Available

Executive Director. A national organization with the goal of providing protection for human life seeks an Executive Director. The candidate selected will have several years experience as an association chief executive working with a Washington-based organization. Position requires a generalist with demonstrated administrative, member relations, communications, public and government relations achievements. Credentials should also include extensive experience in legislative affairs in both houses of Congress. Organization has offices in Washington with some permanent staff and many programs in operation. Challenging opportunity with salary to mid 30's. Please supply in confidence complete resumes of experience, education, personal and salary histories to Box M-490

Marketing. [illegible] national technical oriented association is seeking an experienced publications marketing executive. Successful background in determining market potential, in planning and creating various types of publications, and in promoting sale at a profit is required. Editorial & production knowledge required but marketing is essential. Excellent salary. Please forward complete resume of personal, experience, and salary histories to Box M-491

Labor Relations Administrator— [illegible] construction industry association monitor and coordinate labor problems, related laws and regulations. Non-legal background acceptable. Labor relations experience helpful. A new position with creative opportunities. Box M-492

Membership Promoter—National association established in 1921 and headquartered in New York City seeks a personable, articulate, and aggressive membergetter. Excellent opportunity for management career. Light travel. Association or marketing experience helpful but not essential. Salary up to 15K plus motivating commission. Please provide complete resume of personal, experience, and salary histories to the Executive Vice President, American Importers Association, 420 Lexington Ave., New York City 10017 or Box M-493

Promotion-Minded Junior Executive—Chicago-based technical society needs junior executive familiar with membership, meetings, and standards promotion. Self-starter with good writing ability assured of a good future. Box M-494

Multiple Management Firm on West Coast [illegible] looking for an association manager who can bring association billing into growing, expanding team operation. Must be aggressive and exceptionally competent. Excellent opportunity for real challenge and income. Write Box M-495

Attorney — Knowledgeable of Hill and agency legislative and administrative practices and procedures. Must be personable, articulate, and have ability to communicate well. Duties will include representation in general areas of environment, energy, consumer, and OSHA issues, as well as some internal corporate matters. Please provide complete resume of personal vital education and experience including salary histories to Box M-495

Executive Secretary. American Society of Clinical Hypnosis. Society membership: physicians, dentists, psychologists. Duties: To acquire and use resources to carry out objectives of society, promote interchange of information, perform administrative duties, including maintaining and operating the home office. Experience: Supervising personnel and office management. Age: 30 to 50. Compensation: $15,000 to $20,000. Box M-497

General Manager, Communications Division. For large national corporation. Must have national level managerial experience directing communications organization. Must have knowledge of field and professional standards, including publishing, media press relations, production, sales, product development, market and opinion research, directing intra-communications programs, maintaining national agency/national broadcasting liaison. Young (32-40), personable, articulate, aggressive, well-organized, strong commitment to value of communications. Box M-498

Positions Wanted

Public Relations Executive, 38, 10 years experience, strong association experience, economic and financial writing background, seeks move into high level PR or executive director position. Top experience in industrial and professional associations. Creative and managerial skills. Excellent knowledge government relations, press relations. Worked all media—newspapers, magazines, radio, TV. Top writer—position papers, speeches, newsletters, promotional literature. Fluent Russian, German. Will relocate. Salary: $20,000-$25,000. Box A-742

Versatile Executive. Public relations, news radio-TV editor national association. Traveling exposition advance man. National convention hotel liaison. Directed field program activities. A former radio network and advertising agency executive. Politically active locally and former president elementary and high school parent organizations. AAF & OSS veteran. Box A-743

Association Management. Several years experience in management position with nonprofit association. Experienced in total membership fulfillment including system design and implementation, membership retention and promotion, convention planning, legislative activity. Developed nationwide liaison and contact program that has become the operation guide for charter organizations. Well suited for public relations and promotional work with ability to communicate effectively with all levels of management. Will travel but will not relocate from Washington, DC area. $15-$18K. Box A-744

Writer, creative. Writes copy for brochures, publicity releases, house organs, press kits, newsletters, flyers, anything. Reasonable, fast. Free lance. Box M-745

Seek Government Relations, congressional liaison or Washington representative position with national association. Executive with excellent management skills and outstanding, broad-based Washington liaison experience at top levels. Strengths include communications, planning, programming, and administration. Knowledge of what it takes to achieve legislative objectives with demonstrated track record. Experience includes military and postal-related activities. Salary commensurate with experience. Box M-746

Association Executive with international and national experience in the electrical and electronics fields seeks challenging position. Have excellent technical, sales, and marketing background. Location and salary open. Box M-747

Government relations / public relations professional with six years Washington experience seeking management or staff

KORN/FERRY & ASSOCIATES

November 7, 1973

Mr. Edward J. Golden
President
National Right To Life Committee, Inc.
4 Willowbrook Lane
Troy, New York 12180

Dear Ed:

Thank you for a most pleasant and informative meeting in Albany on November 5, 1973. I appreciated the opportunity of discussing the role that Korn/Ferry can play in bringing to your organization a fully qualified and effective Executive Director.

The purpose of this letter is to confirm our understanding of your requirements and to propose the method of search and billing of fees and expenses that we would undertake on an assignment to locate this man. I have enclosed a "Pro Forma Position Specification" on this position which I would ask that you study for the purpose of making any necessary additions, deletions, or corrections.

BACKGROUND

The National Right To Life Committee, Inc. came into being in June 1973 during a convention in Detroit, Michigan attended by 38 state delegations, representing the nationwide "Right To Life Movement". It was the intent of this convention to establish a strong nationwide organization, headquartered in Washington, D.C., to fight the proliferation of permissive legislation in the areas of abortion, euthanasia, population control and human medical experimentation. Specifically, the immediate prime objective of the NRLC will be the introduction and passage of a U.S. Constitutional Amendment protecting life at all stages of biological development. Additionally, the NLRC would then work for the necessary ratification of the Amendment by 3/4 of the States.

The NLRC functions under the direction of the Board of Directors and the immediate supervision of the 9 member Executive Committee. It is the immediate task of the Executive Committee to locate, qualify, and hire a full-time, salaried Executive Director with the knowledge, experience, and personal characteristics to achieve the objectives of the NLRC. The Executive Director would operate under the policy guidance of the President of the NRLC, who is also a Director and member of the Executive Committee.

It is anticipated the Executive Director would receive a base salary of $35,000 to $40,000, with a 1 year employment contract. For an outstanding candidate, the Committee would be prepared to execute a 2 year contract.

OUR APPROACH TO SEARCH

Typically, a search adheres to the following cycle:

- During our initial interviews with client executives who have a direct interest in, or relationship with the position to be filled, we develop a position specification which describes the basic responsibilities of the position, its title, compensation, reporting relationships, and the educational background and experience necessary to ensure satisfactory performance in the position to be filled. In addition, we obtain information on the client's organization, history, objectives and any other factors that we would consider to be of importance in conducting an effective search.

- Once we have developed the specifications for the job, we will search the field to locate persons who have closely matching qualifications with those established in the preceding step. Since individuals who have the desired qualities are usually not actively looking for a job, they must be sought out and brought to management's attention. Generally, advertising does not locate acceptable candidates. Accordingly, it is our practice to research comparable companies in the industry and to use a direct approach in locating individuals who meet the established position specifications. This process is designed to yield several qualified candidates who can be compared and evaluated competitively against each other, and possibly against the best possible candidates from within the Company.

- Candidates are then interviewed in depth to obtain a realistic and objective assessment and understanding of their accomplishments, capabilities and potential. The interviewing process also provides insight into their strengths and limitations. In conducting reference checks, it is our practice to speak directly with individuals who are, or have been in positions to evaluate the candidate's performance on the job. We rely, therefore, on the information provided us by these individuals and convey the information to the client without independent verification. We generally conduct a minimum of three reference checks. These references and evaluations are combined to provide frank, objective appraisals of the candidates.

- Once we have evaluated the potential candidates, we present the best qualified individuals to the client for his consideration. Normally, the client follows up the initial meeting with additional interviews to select the individual who best satisfies the needs of the position. The final selection of the individual and the offer of employment are always made by the client. We are prepared to assist, as required, in establishing the terms of employment. In order to avoid duplication of effort, we request that any prospects developed through a client's own efforts are brought to our attention. This allows us to conduct simultaneous evaluations of candidates.

ESTIMATE OF TIME AND COST

As we discussed, we bill on a time and cost basis to a maximum of 25% of the first year compensation for the position. For your planning purposes, we propose that our professional fee shall not exceed $8,750 for the position of Executive Director, National Right To Life Committee, Inc. In addition to our professional charges, there will be reimbursable expenses for such items as long distance telephone, candidate and Korn/Ferry travel, and report services in client support of the engagement. We progress bill every 30 days, with our initial billing to approximate 30% of the maximum fee quote. Generally, an executive search assignment can be completed within 60 to 90 days, however you may rest assured that we shall exert maximum effort to complete this search in the shortest possible time. It is our practice to provide that either party may discontinue an engagement at any time. In the unlikely event that this occurs, you would be charged only to the point of cancellation.

In order for our files to be complete, I would appreciate it greatly if you would sign and return a copy of this letter authorizing us officially to proceed with the assignment under the terms and conditions outlined above.

Ed, I sincerely look forward to working with you on this assignment. Please let me know how I can further assist you in getting approval for this assignment in the shortest possible period of time.

Best regards.

Yours very truly,

KORN/FERRY & ASSOCIATES

John B. Higgins
Senior Associate

JBH:ch
Enclosure (1)

APPROVED BY: _____ Date: _____

KORN/FERRY & ASSOCIATES

CONFIDENTIAL

EXECUTIVE SEARCH

PRO FORMA POSITION SPECIFICATION

TITLE:	Executive Director
ORGANIZATION:	National Right To Life Committee, Inc., Washington, D.C.
REPORTING RELATIONSHIP:	Reports to President, Executive Committee, NRLC, and will have a close working relationship with other Executive Committee members and National Directors.
AGE:	30 to 40 years of age preferred.
RELIGION:	No preference or restriction, however he must possess the strong moral and ethical character that will allow him to make a total commitment to the achievement of NRLC goals.
EDUCATION:	Bachelor's degree
WORK EXPERIENCE:	The successful candidate will be a bright, mature, dynamic person skilled in organization and administration. His skills in coordination should be particularly well developed since the success of his program will involve his ability to work with and relate to others not reporting directly to him. He should be a creative manager with the ability to translate plans into specific programs and then implement a plan of action. He will be thoroughly experienced and familiar with the Washington, D.C. environment, and be able to evidence prior success as an advocate for the cause or program of a national association, industry group, or legislative organization. He must fully understand the functional characteristics and realities of the Federal branches of government: Executive, Legislative, and Judicial.

He must be highly motivated and possess excellent skills in communications and interpersonal relationships. He must be results oriented, and have the ability to inspire confidence in his leadership to his staff.

Specifically, he will have the following responsibilities:

1. Develop and direct his supporting organization, and establish duties and responsibilities for the positions reporting to him.

2. Establish his role as a leader to generate enthusiasm and inspiration on the part of his staff and the nationwide membership.

3. Attend Executive Committee meetings (monthly) as a non-voting participant to inform, counsel, and guide the Committee on progress of the NRLC.

4. Assist in the creation of short and long range plans for the NLRC, and monitor progress toward achievement of the goals in a consistent and regular fashion

5. Be functionally responsible for the Committee's relationships with all Federal agencies.

6. Report regularly to the President and other Executive Committee members his evaluation of current governmental items of activity and proposed programs.

7. Work directly with elected and appointed governmental officials to create an awareness of and achievement of the goals of NRLC.

8. Maintain the necessary memberships and subscriptions to facilitate government contact work.

9. Direct and assist in the establishment of new NRLC groups nationally.

10. Work closely with the National Finance Committee to enhance their programs and develop new sources of funding.

11. Coordinate the activities of the NRLC with other national interest groups who are willing to assist in the achievement of NRLC goals.

12. Develop an organizational structure within the Committee in terms of staff and leadership for proper coverage geographically as well as functionally.

SUMMARY: The Committee requires a candidate of dedication, vision, and high initiative to achieve the unprecedented task of gaining a Constitutional Amendment which will embody the philosophy of NRLC. Key to his success will be his ability to lead and communicate, coupled with his knowledge of the unique functional characteristics of the Federal Government.

COMPENSATION: Base salary $35,000 to $40,000. Medical insurance provided.

JBH:ch
November 7, 1973

National Right To Life Committee, Inc.

1707 H Street NW SUITE 500 Washington, D.C. 20006

OFFICERS

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

M E M O

TO: Executive Committee

FROM: Robert F. Greene, Executive Director

SUBJECT: Partial Draft of Personnel Policies

DATE: November 16, 1973

Attached hereto is a partial draft of the Personnel Policies I discussed with you at the last Executive Committee Meeting. I had hoped to complete them in time for this meeting, but was unable to do so.

I have provided each of the staff with a copy and asked for their comments. I will do the same with the portion yet to be drafted, which relates primarily to termination and grievance procedures. There will also be an appendix containing job descriptions. To the extent that I approve their suggestions, I will incorporate them in a final draft to be presented for your approval as soon as possible.

No formal action by the Executive Committee is required at this time, but I would appreciate your taking the time to study this first draft and I would then like to have the benefit of your comments.

Personnel policies are very important in an organization such as the NRLC. They are essential in the recruiting and retention of quality staff and provide the mechanisms for dealing with a wide range of potential difficulties.

Draft (5 Nov 73)

PERSONNEL POLICIES AND PRACTICES

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

PART I

GENERAL

A. AUTHORITY

This personnel policy manual is an instrument of the Executive Committee of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. and governs the working conditions of all employees and insures the proper and most productive use of the human and material resources which this organization has been entrusted. It all establishes a fair and impartial basis for personnel matters which from time to time may arise.

B. COVERAGE

1. Employees covered by these policies are as follows:

Full time employees who work forty hours a week or more and are paid an annual salary; part time salaried employees who work between ten and thirty-nine hours a week as the job requires and are paid an annual salary; and hourly employees who are paid at a designated rate per number of hours a week.

2. Employees not covered by these policies are as follows:

Temporary employees who fill positions that exist no longer than three consecutive months; temporary employees who fill a position in a program which will terminate within six months. In this case, the person filling such a position will be hired with the understanding that employment will terminate at the end of a designated time.

C. IMPLEMENTATION

It is the general policy of the Executive Committee to delegate to the Executive Director the responsibility and authority to implement and administer these personnel policies. A copy of this manual shall be given to employees and each one shall verify that he has received a copy.

8 1 3 1 0 2 3 1 2 2

All employees shall retain a copy of this manual and all amendments to it. Employees shall carefully note provisions of these policies concerning them and endeavor in good faith to comply with them.

D. AMENDMENT

These personnel policies may be amended by a majority vote of the Executive Committee at any meeting where a quorum is present. Proposed amendments shall be mailed to the Executive Committee at least seven days prior to the date of the meeting. The Executive Director has general responsibility for the personnel policies and shall from time to time review the policies to assure their continuing appropriateness.

E. WORKING CONDITIONS

This organization shall attempt to provide each employee with the equipment and adequate facilities to perform his duties in a reasonable fashion. The employee is expected to adhere to the minimum official workday of eight and one-half hours. Normally, this day begins at 8:30 A. M. and concludes and 5:00 P. M. When specific programs require the normal hours may be amended upon approval by the Executive Director.

PART II

EMPLOYMENT POLICIES

A. EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

The National Right to Life Committee, Inc. is an equal opportunity employer. No person within the organization shall discriminate in hiring practices for any reason regardless of race, color, creed, sex, national origin, marital status, political or religious affiliations. The organization, however, shall not be required to provide employment to any person who will not subscribe to the purposes of the

B. METHODS OF RECRUITMENT

The Executive Director has the responsibility for the employment of staff. In carrying out this responsibility the Executive Director may utilize such resources as he deems appropriate. As a matter of practice, however, notice of vacancies within the organization shall be given to current employees and members of the Executive Committe

C. EXCLUSION FROM EMPLOYMENT

In the case of professional, fiscal and managerial personnel, recent conviction of a serious crime shall be considered as evidence of lack of fitness for the job. In the case of other positions, including clerical and non-professional jobs, criminal records by themselves shall not constitute a basis for disqualification of employment, but in such cases the Executive Director shall require disclosure of any such record by an applicant and shall exercise prudent judgment in relation to the position to be filled. Membership in the Communist Party is inconsistent with the purposes of this organization. Such membership shall be considered valid reason for exclusion from employment.

D. QUALIFICATIONS

The organization is expected to employ only persons who can perform their duties with confidence and integrity. Qualifications for any position with the organization shall be commensurate with the task that such a position requires. It shall not be the practice of this organization to require formal education when relevant experience in the field can legitimately be considered as a substitute.

E. REFERENCES

Each applicant for a position within this organization shall supply at the time of application three references who are not relatives of the applicant or employees of the organization. These references shall be contacted in the course of screening the applicant and responses to

reference inquiries shall be entered into the personnel file of the applicant in the event of his employment.

F. HIRING PROCEDURES

All employees except the Executive Director and his assistant shall be hired in accordance with the following procedures:

1. In filling any position which pays a salary in excess of $12,000 annually the Executive Director shall consult with the Executive Committee. In such instance the Executive Committee may elect to interview such applicants as have been recommended by the Executive Director and then make the final selection.

2. In filling any other position the Executive Director shall select the successful applicant after such consultation with other members of the staff as he deems appropriate.

3. Personnel requirements shall be developed from a staffing memorandum submitted by the Executive Director and approved by the Executive Committee. Such approval by the Executive Committee shall establish staffing objectives within which the Executive Director is to be allowed the greatest possible latitude. The filling of positions prematurely, that is at a time earlier than the staffing objective approved by the Executive Committee, shall be done by the Executive Director on a provisional basis and shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee at its next regular meeting.

G. EMPLOYMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The employment of the Executive Director is the function of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee may establish a search committee charged with the responsibility of securing applications, screening applicants, contacting candidates, evaluating qualifications, and making recommendations to the Executive Committee for selection. Appointment of the Executive Director shall be wholly upon the basis of qualification and demonstrated competence for the position. The

term of employment, the compensation to be received and a description of the tasks to be performed will normally be the subject of a separate written agreement, which shall not be affected by these policies except such provisions as may be expressly incorporated in such agreement.

II. EMPLOYMENT OF THE ASSISTANT TO THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The employment of the Assistant to the Executive Director is the function of the Executive Committee. The Executive Director shall serve in a special capacity and responsibility in securing applications, screening applicants, contacting candidates, evaluating qualifications and making recommendations to the Executive Director shall be wholly upon the basis of qualification and demonstrated competence for the position, provided, however, that no person shall be appointed Assistant to the Executive Director who has not been recommended by the Executive Director. The term of employment, the compensation to be received and a description of the tasks to be performed will normally be the subject of a separate written agreement, which shall not be affected by these policies except such provisions as may be expressly incorporated in such agreement. In the event an Executive Director is appointed the Assistant to the Executive Director shall continue in that capacity throughout the term of his employment contract at which time his employment shall cease unless he is recommended for reappointme as Assistant to the Executive Director or appointment in some other staff position by the Executive Director.

I. PERFORMANCE EVALUATION

A semi-annual written evaluation made employee's immediate supervisor is required to be submitted to the Executive Director and a copy of the evaluation will be made available for the employee to read and sign as having seen same. If the employee determines that the evaluation is not satisfactory he may attach comments to the evaluation. The evaluation should include the following areas: quality and quantity of

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work, knowledge and initiative, aptitude and attention to duty, dependability, judgment, cooperation and personality. The same evaluation form shall be used for all employees. This evaluation shall be used as a basis for continued employment, salary increases, dismissal, motion and references. All evaluations shall be placed in the employee's personnel file and may be used as a source of information for filling requests of future letters of reference and recommendations. Evaluation shall not be quoted verbatim or sent directly as reference material. Each employee is expected to seek an understanding of the general purposes and objectives of the organization and should feel that a periodic evaluation is a measurement of his contribution.

J. PERSONNEL RECORDS

The National Right to Life Committee, Inc. retains for each employee a personnel record containing his application, references, and other information concerning connection with his employment, his job description, evaluations, and other materials relating to his performance. This record is confidential and is therefore available to the employee, the employee's direct supervisor, the staff person charged with maintaining such records, the assistant to the Executive Director and the Executive Director. In addition, a properly ~~examinexx~~ constituted grievance hearing panel considering personnel action in which the personnel record is relevant may also have access to an employee's personnel record.

The material in the personnel record which is adverse to the employee, that is records with admonishment and reprimand are limited in time. Letters of admonishment should be removed and destroyed six months after they have served the purpose for which they were intended. Reprimands should be removed and destroyed after one year.

An employee desiring to see his personnel record should request an appointment with the assistant to the Executive Director. The assistant

confidential reference letters which were obtained in the course of the employee's initial employment. The remaining documents in the employee's personnel record may be reviewed by the employee in the presence of the Assistant to the Executive Director. The employee is not authorized to remove anything from his personnel record.

In addition to the confidential personnel record of each employee, time and attendance records and separate grievance record files are maintained as follows:

1. Leave Record

A leave record shall be maintained on a current monthly basis for each employee. This record shows the accrued and used time counted by the type of leave on a monthly basis. This information is recorded from employee's time sheet.

2. Time and Attendance Record

Each employee shall keep a daily record of his own time which is validated by the immediate supervisor on a ~~sumzix~~ bi-weekly basis. These time sheets are submitted to the Assistant to the Executive Director for payroll verification. Attendance shall also be recorded bi-weekly by the Assistant to the Executive Director.

3. Leave Applications

All leave must be approved in writing by the employee's immediate supervisor, and by the Executive Director or his Assistant.

4. Grievance File

When a grievance goes beyond the level of informal discussion and beyond a complaint level, a grievance file shall be established. This file shall contain:

a. A written grievance by the employee.

b. A summary of proceeding of the hearing.

c. If no hearing was held, a statement of why it was not held.

d. Findings and recommendations of the Grievance Hearing Panel.

e. The documentary evidence considered in resolving the grievance.

f. A statement showing the final disposition of the matter.

Grievance files shall be kept separate from the personnel records and personnally maintained by the Assistant to the Executive Director.

K. DISCIPLINARY ACTION

Disciplinary action may be taken against employee when in the judgment of his supervisor such action is warranted. Discipline shall be commensurate with the problems involved and shall not exceed the limits of this section.

1. Probation - for a period of not more than two months and at the end of the specified time, the supervisor shall remove the employee's probationary status or if no improvement has been made, the supervisor shall recommend to the Executive Director that the employment be terminated. A probationary employee shall have a written explanation of the reason for the disciplinary action and a statement as to what corrective measures he must take.

2. Suspension - for a time not to exceed one pay period. Suspension by a supervisor or by the Executive Director or his Assistant shall relieve an employee immediately of his duties. Employees on suspension shall lose pay but not fringe benefits for the period of suspension. Consultation between the employee, his supervisor, and the Executive Director or his assistant, must occur before an employee is reinstated.

PART III

COMPENSATION

A. MINIMUM WAGE

Employees are to be paid at a rate no lower than the prevailing federal minimum wage.

B. MAXIMUM WAGE

Salaries shall be within the general limitations of the staffing memorandum submitted by the Executive Director and approved by the Executive Committee.

C. SALARY DETERMINATION

No employee shall receive compensation at a rate which is in excess of the salary range for his position as described in the staffing memorandum and approved by the Executive Committee. It is the policy of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. to compensate its employees at or above the average rate of compensation paid in the Washington D. C. area to persons providing substantially comparable services. To determine comparability, the organization will seek to locate comparable jobs in the area and then determine the average wages from a survey from such sources as the United States Department of Labor Statistics.

D. SALARY INCREASES

A promotion of an employee or a change of his title or position which involves a salary increase which when added to the present salary exceeds $12,000 annually must be submitted to the Executive Committee for its approval. A promotion of an employee or change in his title or position which involves a salary increase which when added to his present salary is less than $12,000 annually shall be within the discretion of the Executive Director subject to the provisions of the staffing memorandum which has been approved by the Executive Committee.

Periodic and semi-annual pay increases for employees who perform satisfactorily may be granted when funds are available. In this regard, employees are evaluated as explained in Section I, Part ___. The semi-annual performance evaluation form is a basis for granting such semi-annual raises.

Merit increases are another form of salary increases and shall be awarded to an employee on the basis of high quality performance

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during a preceding evaluating period. This shall be used to encourage employees to make rare contributions toward toward efficiency and economy in the operations. It shall also assist supervisors at all levels to motivate employees to perform continuously under full capacity and to make salaries relate more closely to the competence which the assignments require. Merit increases are in addition to annual increments in salary. No more than two merit increases may be granted in any fifty-two week period.

Exceptional performance increases may be granted for exceptional work from a very well qualified employee. Performance upon which this recommendation is based must be characteristic of the employee's overall high quality performance and should not be based on a single achievement. The recommendation for the increase will be based upon a period of not less than three months. The minimum period will probably be longer for a complex high level position than for a position composed primarily of routine tasks with a short work cycle. No more than one exceptional performance increase may be granted in any fifty-two week period.

E. PROMOTIONS

The number of staff positions in each job classification at any given time shall be determined by the Executive Director after consultation with the staff and shall be fully described in a staffing memorandum to be approved by the Executive Committee. Promotion from one job classification to another is based on the staff member's preparation, ability, qualifications and the capacity to assume the responsibility of the new job classification. Other factors being equal, staff vacancies shall be filled by promotion of staff members.

F. PAY PERIODS

The National Right to Life Committee, Inc. has twenty-six pay periods each year. The following standard payroll deductions will be made from

each employee's paycheck: Federal withholding tax, state tax, if applicable, municipal payroll tax, if applicable, Federal Insurance Compensation Act (Social Security), and any other deductions authorized by the employee.

G. PROBATIONARY PERIOD

Each new employee will be on a probationary period for three months following the date of employment. At the end of that time, he shall be removed from probation. A person on probation as a new employee shall not be entitled to the employee's complaint, grievance and appeal procedure as outlined in Part VII of these policies.

PART IV

EMPLOYEE BENEFITS

A. ANNUAL LEAVE

Accumulation of vacation time for salaried employees begins upon the date of employment. Vacation time for professional, non-professional, clerical and maintenance personnel is computed as follows: Employees with one year service are to be entitled to two weeks vacation. After two or more years' service, each employee shall be entitled to three weeks vacation with pay. Vacation shall be taken at a time that is agreeable to the employee, the employee's supervisor and the Executive Director or his assistant. Vacation shall be granted at the time that will have a minimal effect on the operation of the organization. Vacation shall normally be taken between May 1 and September 30 of each year. Except under extraordinary circumstances, vacations shall be taken during the period following the year in which they are earned. Vacations not taken in the year, due to circumstances beyond the employer's control, will be added to the following year's vacation time. Maximum accrued vacation time shall be thirty working days. Accrued vacation time above thirty working days shall be lost without pay.

B. SICK TIME

The sick leave policy is primarily planned for protecting employees from financial loss during illness. Consequently, unused sick time shall not be payable upon termination of employment or at any other time and may not be used to extend vacations or any other leaves.

An employee starts with four days sick leave. One sick day is earned for each month of service accumulating for each month's service until a maximum of sixty days sick leave is reached. If necessary, additional sick leave may be deducted from accumulated leave earned. Sick leave is never allowed in an amount greater than has been accumulated. Sick leave may not be used for absence other than illness or accidental disability of an employee. Excess sick leave may be deducted from vacation credit or from the pay period in which the absence occurred at the option of the employee. After three consecutive days of absence because of sickness an employee must verify his illness by a statement from a physician. This statement shall be submitted to the employee's supervisor who will then submit it to the Executive Director or his assistant.

C. PERSONAL LEAVE

Leave of absence with pay in the case of death or serious illness of an immediate member of the family shall be allowed for no more than three consecutive days. Any other leave of absence for personal reasons will be planned with and approved by the employee's immediate supervisor and the Executive Director or his assistant and will be charged to compensatory time, vacation, or deducted from the employee's salary.

D. PROFESSIONAL LEAVE

For professional stimulation, continued development on the job and for the development of the organization's programs, attendance at professional meetings, conferences, and institutes is essential. Time for attendance with full salary is granted and budgeted by the Executive

Director. The Executive Director shall decide which meetings and conferences are to be attended and those employees who are to attend.

E. OTHER EXCUSED ABSENCES

Maternity leave, for not more than three calendar months, is available upon application to the Executive Director. This leave is without pay. If such application is filed, the employee will have re-employment rigl in the same or a comparable position and at the same salary level paid prior to the leave. Staff members called for Jury Duty or subpeonaed as a witness shall not be penalized by loss of earning or vacation time. Staff members called to Military Duty are protected under existing Federal and State laws.

F. OVERTIME

Employees of this organization except the Executive Director, his assistant and other employees receiving an annual salary of $12,000 or more, may be paid for overtime work or granted compensatory time in the discretion of the Executive Director.

G. COMPENSATORY TIME

This organization will provide for all employees, including the Executive Director, his assistant and other employees receiving an annual salary of $12,000 or more, leave in the form of compensatory time equal to the amount of overtime performed, however, no person may accumulate more than eighty hour of unused compensatory time. No person may be granted compensatory time and be paid for the same hours of overtime work and at no time may cash payment be made for unused compensatory time. Compensat time may be used for emergencies when sick leave or personal leave has been exhausted and such other times as may be approved by the employee's supervisor and the Executive Director or his assistant.

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H. HOLIDAYS

Holidays granted with pay are all those holidays specified by Federal law as being legal holidays. If for any reason staff members are required work on these days, overtime pay or compensatory time shall be granted in accordance with these policies.

I. FRINGE BENEFITS

This organization pays the full cost of the following fringe benefits:

1. Workman's Compensation Insurance
2. Individual Health & Hospitalization Insurance
3. Unemployment Insurance

The Health Insurance Plan is Blue Cross-Blue Shield; a copy of the benefit plan is available from the Assistant to the Executive Director. An employee may enroll in family coverage under the Health Insurance Plan. In such cases, the employee pays one-half the cost of the premium, which is usually paid by payroll deduction.

Unemployment Insurance is available to those eligible according to State and Federal guidelines.

J. TRAVEL

1. Local Travel

Any employee of this organization who in the course of his work incurs transportation expense shall be reimbursed at actual cost. Where such local travel is by private automobile, the employee shall be reimbursed at the rate of fifteen cents per mile. Payment shall be made on the approval of the employee's supervisor on a statement showing the dates of such travel, the destination and the purpose. Local travel is confined to the District of Columbia and the adjoining counties in Virginia and Maryland. Payment for meals will not normally be reimbursed for local travel unless such meals occur during overtime hours.

2. Non-Local Travel

An employee will be reimbursed for authorized travel outside the

District of Columbia and the adjoining counties of Virginia and Maryland. Such travel must be authorized by the Executive Director or his assistant. If an advance is requested it should be in writing and approved by the Executive Director or his assistant. All travel expenses will reflect the actual cost of transportation, hotels, meals and tips and will require additional verification where they exceed $40.00 per day. Travel expense for travel involving less than twenty-four hours and not including overnight lodging will reflect the actual cost of transportation, meals and tips and will require additional verification where the cost of meals and tips exceeds $10.00 per day. Upon completion of travel, an expense statement should be prepared promptly. All expenses other than meals, tips and transportation by local transit or taxi must be supported by a receipt.

K. MOVING EXPENSES

The organization will pay the actual cost of moving household goods for a person hired to be the Executive Director or assistant to the Executive Director or any other person who is to receive a salary in excess of $12,000 annually and who reside outside the District of Columbia and the adjoining counties of Virginia and Maryland.

PART V

EMPLOYEE CONDUCT

A. SUGGESTIONS

Employees are encouraged to offer suggestions for the improvement of operations. Such suggestions may be written in memorandum form and addressed to the Executive Director. Suggestions made in this manner require the signature of the employee.

B. GIFTS AND GRATUITIES

All employees and members of the employee's immediate family are

prohibited from accepting gifts, money and gratuities:

1. From persons receiving benefits or services under any program financially assisted by this organization;

2. From any person or agency performing services under contract, or

3. From persons who are otherwise in a position to benefit from the actions of any employee.

For the purpose of this section, members of an employee's immediate family shall include any of the following persons; husband, father, mother sister, brother, son, daughter, wife, father-in-law, mother-in-law, sister-in-law, brother-in-law, son-in-law, and daughter-in-law.

C. PUBLIC STATEMENTS

Statements of policy arising from decisions of the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. are issued only by the Chairman of the Board, the President, or the Executive Director. Other employees may not act as spokesman for the Board unless they are duly authorized.

D. BOARD INTERFERENCE

Employees are specifically prohibited from directly or indirectly attempting to influence the internal operations and decision making process of the Executive Committee or the Board of Directors, especially those activities which relate to the employment of agency personnel or any policy from which the employee may have personal gain or any other matter which interferes with the decision making process.

E. OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT

No employee may accept or engage in any gainful employment in addition to his regular employment with this organization without the approval of the Executive Director. This policy shall be construed to mean that outside employment shall in no way hinder or infringe upon full discharge of an employee's duties.

F. RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

The employees of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall have and be protected in the exercise of the right to freely and without fear of penalty or reprise to form, join, or participate in any employee organization of their own choosing or to refrain from such activities.

G. INVOLVEMENT IN DIRECT ACTION

No employee engaged in carrying out the programs of this organization shall in the performance of his duty, plan, participate in, or provide assistance to others in carrying out any form of direct action which is in violation of Federal, State or local law or an outstanding injunction of any Federal, State or local court, nor shall he plan, participate in or provide assistance to others in carrying out any form of direct action which is designed with the intent to involve physical violence, destruction of property, or physical injury to persons. On the contrary, an employ shall affirmatively do what he can to prevent such action and discourage any direct action that is violent in manner or purpose or is calculated to incite civil disorders.

PART VI

TERMINATION

A.

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PROGRAM EVALUATION

The office in Washington has been in operation for a little more than four months but had only a skeleton staff until mid-October. You will appreciate that it has been difficult to locate and employ a proper staff and train them to be effective during this initial start-up period. In addition, the instability of our organization in recent weeks has been characterized as a 75-day siege which tended to sap our will and strength. Morale has been a problem.

In many ways the growth has been so fast as to seem unreal. In terms of income, we have grown from no monthly income to a level in excess of $40,000.00 with increasing expenses to match and all in just a few short months. The rapidly increasing volume of mail, telephone inquiries, conferences and meetings takes its toll on the staff. We seem to operate at crisis level day after day. Even so, there are days when everything appears to be displayed before our eyes in slow motion. Telephone modifications ordered today take a week or more to accomplish. A desk or table needed today may not arrive for a month. A new typewriter ordered today will not be delivered for several months. Prospective staff interviewed today may not be truly available for two or three weeks and not fully oriented and effective for weeks thereafter. Internal procedures are developed, implemented, tested, evaluated and modified time and time again as new people arrive, as more equipment is made available and as the directions of our programs change.

Despite the distractions, we are in a position to evaluate some of the work that has taken place. We have been involved in a number of program elements designed to assist in the assessment of some of the strengths and weaknesses of our organization. At the same time, we have been trying to get a handle on the political situation. We have also had to be concerned about financing and we have, quite naturally, been cognizant of the sources of funding made available to us. When that proved insufficient, we explored and recommended another possible avenue for raising additional funds.

In addition, we have invested some of our time and money in political research from which we are able to make a few observations. We have collected and reviewed much information, some of which was obtained from you by use of questionnaires. Some of our observations are based on what you have reported to us. The following reports are principally

addressed to the financing of the organization and the results of our political research. We have also included an evaluation of each state for your information. They are deserving of careful study and will indicate to you the direction of our future development efforts.

Please feel free to disagree with our observations as they do not represent the official position of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. or its Executive Committee. These reports and evaluations are those of the staff alone and should be considered in that light. Very little of this information has been shared outside the staff and the Executive Committee. It is important that you have it to fulfill your duties as a member of the Board of Directors but you should treat the information as confidential.

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1. THE FUND RAISING OF THE CORPORATION *

Support of the corporation is shared very unequally by the member states. The following eighteen states have provided 80% of NRLC funds during 1973.

State	% of '73 assessment paid	Amount paid - '73	Amount paid - '74
Delaware	100%	$ 702.00	$ 5.00
Illinois	66%	9,712.00	1,510.00
Iowa	166%	5,876.34	270.00
Kansas	82%	2,301.00	30.00
Maine	59%	733.20	385.00
Maryland	62%	3,033.46	255.00
Michigan	241%	26,715.26	485.00
Minnesota	506%	23,548.43	9,370.00
Mississippi	51%	1,404.00	25.00
Nebraska	181%	3,354.00	340.00
New Jersey	80%	7,136.42	470.00
New York	112%	25,470.98	1,060.00
North Dakota	132%	1,016.00	3,010.00
Ohio	136%	18,065.03	2,800.00
Oregon	87%	2,277.60	230.00
Pennsylvania	73%	10,714.12	2,040.00
South Dakota	352%	2,925.36	150.00
Wisconsin	76%	4,191.00	320.00

Two other states deserve mention because of their special efforts to sell advertisements and memberships during the last few months:

Massachusetts	38%	$ 2,727.20	$ 3,545.00
Texas	22%	3,042.20	2,040.00

The directors of these twenty states hold seven of the nine positions on the Executive Committee (Michigan, Minnesota, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas), and their directors are five of the six officers of the corporation -- Pennsylvania, Michigan, Massachusetts, Minnesota and New York. These twenty states have accounted for 87% of the corporation's income to this point. The states represented on the Executive Committee and as officers of the corporation (including Arizona and Kentucky) have accounted for 66% of the corporation's income. The officers and Executive Committee members are not whimsical choices, then, but they represent leadership which has demonstrated both a willingness and an ability to support the NRLC.

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* This report is based on a journal of income from each state kept at the office. The first entry for each state was made on the basis of information provided by the Treasurer as of September 30th. Thereafter the report was kept current on the basis of reports available to the office until November 15, when the day-to-day recordkeeping was transferred from Detroit to Washington, D. C. Several times during the Fall the totals were cross-checked with directors in the weekly telephone sequence.

On the other hand, a great deal of work needs to be done to strengthen the financial capabilities of many states. Fourteen jurisdictions (more than 25% of our members) contributed less than 10% of their assessments: Alabama, Arkansas, District of Columbia, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Nevada, North Carolina, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Vermont, West Virginia, Wyoming. These fourteen states, plus Alaska, Montana, New Hampshire, and New Mexico accounted for 1% of all money received. Arkansas, Hawaii, Idaho, Nevada, South Carolina, Tennessee and Wyoming, contributed nothing for 1973; Alabama, Alaska, District of Columbia, Rhode Island, Vermont, and West Virginia all contributed less than $100.00 each.

Thirteen states have accounted for the remaining 12% of the total income.

State	% of '73 assessment paid	Amount paid '73	Amount paid '74
Arizona	46%	$ 1,015.00	$ 380.00
California	14%	3,497.52	210.00
Colorado	18%	507.00	975.00
Connecticut	12%	452.84	50.00
Florida	18%	1,536.60	260.00
Indiana	26%	1,657.50	186.00
Kentucky	32%	1,287.00	1,130.00
Louisiana	31%	1,402.88	575.00
Missouri	41%	2,403.96	250.00
Oklahoma	26%	826.80	835.00
Utah	43%	563.00	460.00
Virginia	43%	2,472.00	200.00
Washington	27%	1,170.00	155.00

These states should be able to greatly increase their support during 1974, if they are able to benefit from present fund-raising programs and stress the membership drive.

Forty states depended on bracelet sales to raise all or most of the money applied toward their assessment for 1973. Bracelet sales accounted for 63% of total income. Seventeen states followed the suggestion of the Finance Committee and made contributions amounting to 20% of total income. They are:

Arizona
Connecticut
Illinois
Iowa
Louisiana
Maryland
Massachusetts
Michigan
Minnesota
New Jersey
New Mexico
New York
North Dakota
Ohio
Pennsylvania
South Dakota
Utah

The basic fund-raising problems of the corporation can be traced to the recommendations and actions of the Finance Committee at its first meeting in July in Detroit. The Finance Committee has raised almost no funds for the NRLC, and has, further, been counterproductive in its work.

1. Some members of the Finance Committe have been highly critical of the present and the former Executive Committees at their meetings. They have maintained that financial arrangements made by the former committee were incompetent (e.g., The Josten's contract) and profligate, in spending too much money on their own meetings and expenses, the suite of offices rented, etc. They have maintained that the present Executive Committee is inadequate and the Executive Committee members "would not know the difference between a good proposal and a bad one".

2. The Finance Committee has denied the corporation basic sources of funds through direct-mail campaigns, the sale of Christmas cards, and other special projects, as shown in the July 14 report of that Committee, in favor of a plan which makes a direct appeal to the member states for assessments. This decision proved to be an immediate failure. By October it was obvious another source of income had to be found.

3. At the same time that they predicated the support of the corporation upon assessments from the member states, the leadership of the Finance Committee publicly indicated they were going to establish by personal example, and by "persuasion", a policy that no state would support the national unless they agreed with the decision of the Executive Committee.

4. The proposal of the Finance Committee on July 14 was that those states which had shown both a willingness and an ability to pay their full assessment were directed to "hold their money", whereas states which have shown neither willingness nor ability to support national were made the source of hoped-for income. This was during a period of time when the corporation was very badly in need of seed money, and the fact of the money was more important than the source of the money.

5. Some members of the Finance Committee declared on several occasions that it was their policy to budget very conservatively, in approving only expenditures which could be reconciled with actual income figures. It was their further observation that the corporation could only function for a very short period of time on the basis of the relationship between present income and present expenses (August and September). However, it was their stated objective that a top quality Executive Director was the immediate priority of the corporation. They did not provide any plan whereby those funds for the director (and the staff he would immediately require) would be raised. Here the Finance Committee created a classical chicken-and-egg problem for themselves. They expect to hire an Executive Director capable of raising the money they want, but they have provided no method of raising the money to employ him. Fortunately, the puzzle is solved for them because the money has come in without him.

6. It is apparent that the Finance Committee's comprehension of the financial situation of the corporation is defective, (a) from their regular monthly projections -- beginning in July -- that the corporation would go broke in 60 days; (b) from the financial information provided the President for his October 20 letter which estimated only $8,000.00 income for November and projected that the corporation would have a $5,000.00 deficit by November 30 when actual income was $48,111.87; and even after basic expenses of $17,181.43 were paid on the newspaper project, the end-of-the-month balance was $30,681.44; (c) from the verbal report of the Chairman on December 6th that the corporation had received only $58,000.00 income.

When the assessments-contributions proved to be an inadequate source of income, and when the Finance Committee had developed no other sources of income, the drive for memberships was begun by the Executive Committee and the Executive Director. Sale of memberships amounted to 17% of all funds raised during 1973. However, this is 47% of funds raised since November 1st. Suspension of the direct, national memberships drive without a comparable proven fund-raising method immediately in effect will cut monthly income in half and necessitate reduction of the office staff to its "must" level. However, if all the states were to participate in the membership drive, the monthly income would be in excess of $50,000.00. The most satisfactory membership structure would probably have integrated memberships between state organizations and the national. The problems involved in instituting such a system at this time are discussed in a memo by the Executive Director in the Appendix.

The Finance Committee may have further effects on the corporation. Adoption of the first of the three financial proposals from the December 8 informal board meeting would reduce the monthly total corporation expenses to between $7,000.00 -- $9,000.00, or a little more than 50% of the minimum budget proposed by the Finance Committee itself in July. (These figures are on the basis of the November reports.) Another way of saying it is that present program (as of November) would have to be reduced by 60%; or that we would have to have $90,000.00 to $120,000.00 on hand in order to support the present program level.

Several observations:

1. No one would be interested in supporting a national pro-life organization which was reduced to 40% of the NRLC's present capacity.

2. Members of financially hard-pressed local or state organizations will generally be much less disposed to work for support of a national organization which is continually sitting on at least a $60,000.00 to $80,000.00 balance, and demanding $30,000.00 additional funds each month under penalty of reducing program if the income decreases. How many member organizations could carry on the programs they want under such limitations? Here is the difference between a savings institution, where people demand security foremost, and a voluntary organization where action and service are primary considerations. A political party is a better model for NRLC than a bank: when political leaders or organizations begin to accumulate two or three times as much money as they need to do their job, the people have reason to become dubious. Action organizations are task or crisis oriented, and members do not give just to accumulate funds.

3. The proposed restriction on spending is not accompanied by any plan to develop the reserves required.

4. The proposed restriction provides no way of carrying on the work of the corporation while the necessary reserves are being developed.

5. If a new staff were needed, they could no more be employed than the present staff could be retained, because the available funds are too severely curtailed under this proposal.

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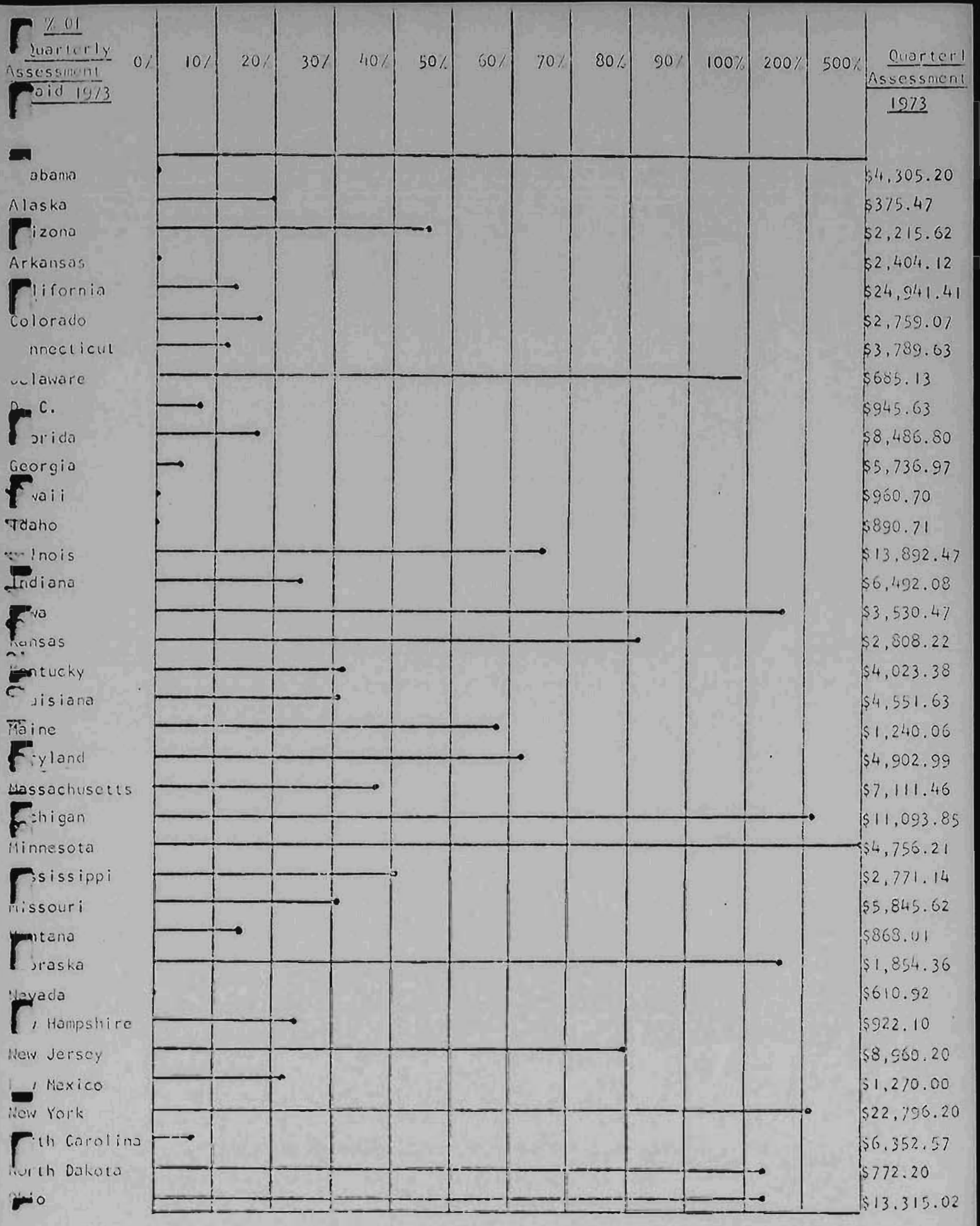
The goal of the several financial resolutions offered at the December 8 meeting is both commendable and essential. The spending of the corporation must be managed and controlled. However, the budgetary system of financial management might be more appropriate than a flat percentage ratio at this time, when the corporation is first beginning to formulate programs, develop priorities, and raise initial funds. A proposed budget for 1974 is found in the appendix.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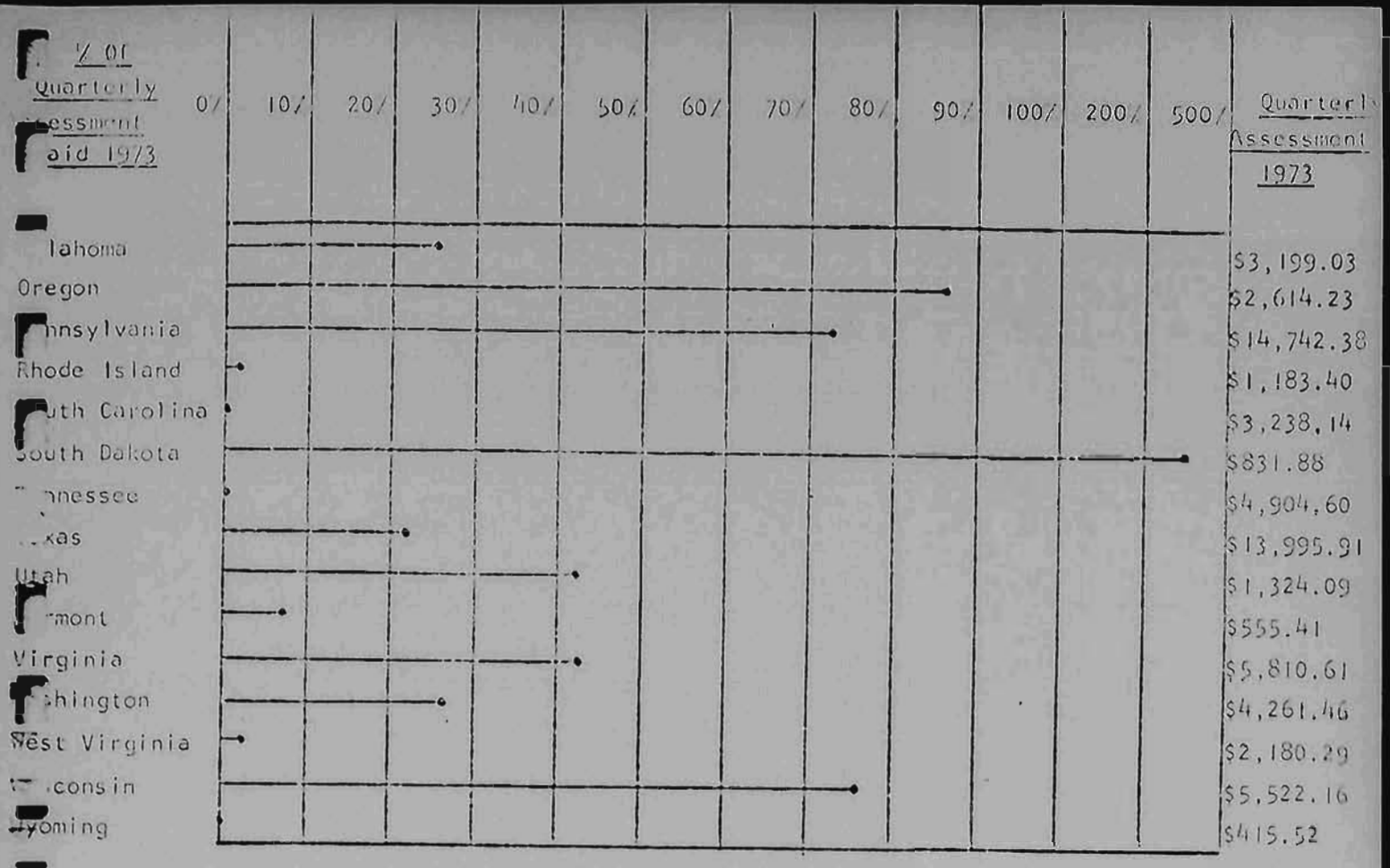
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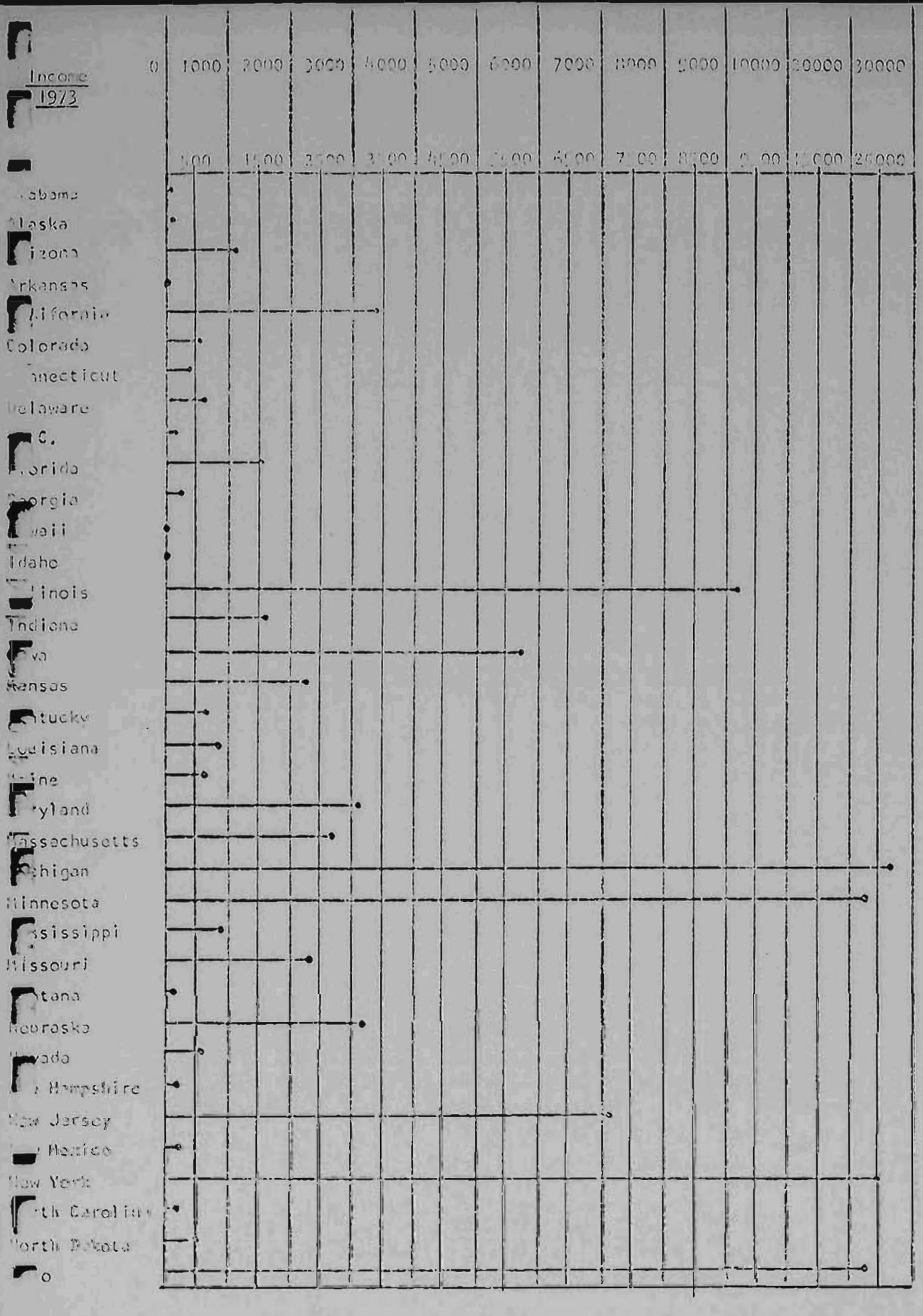
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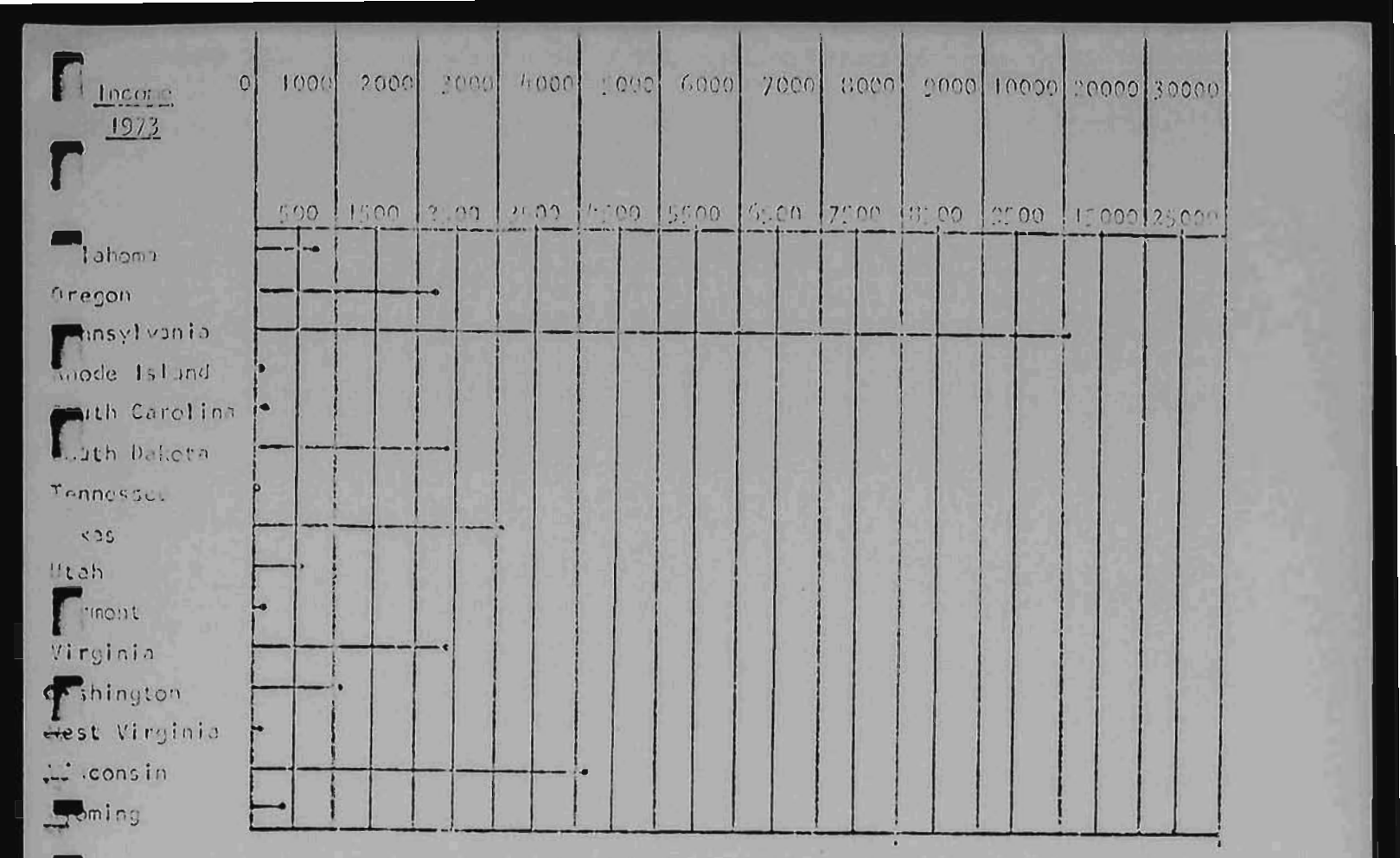
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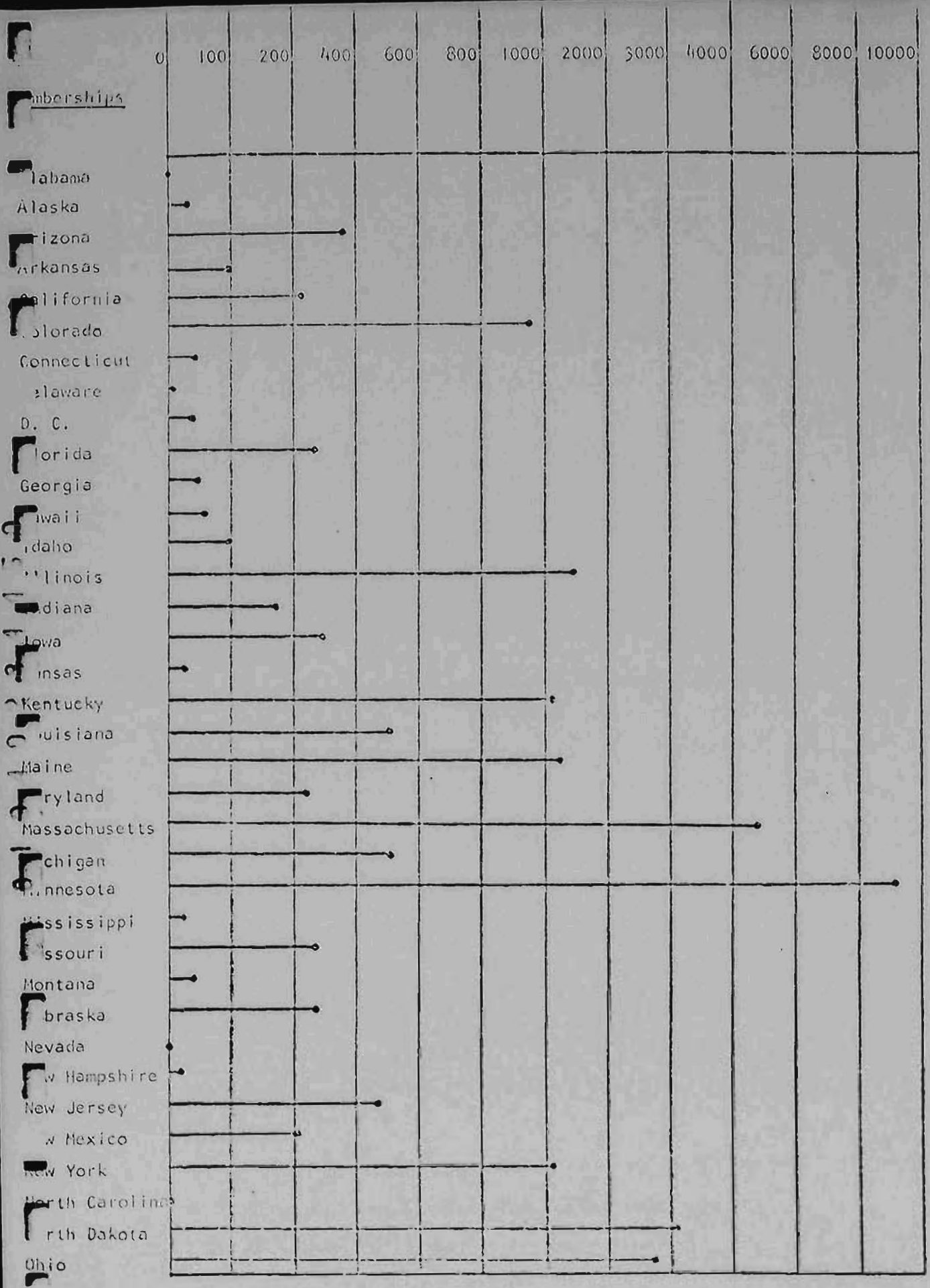
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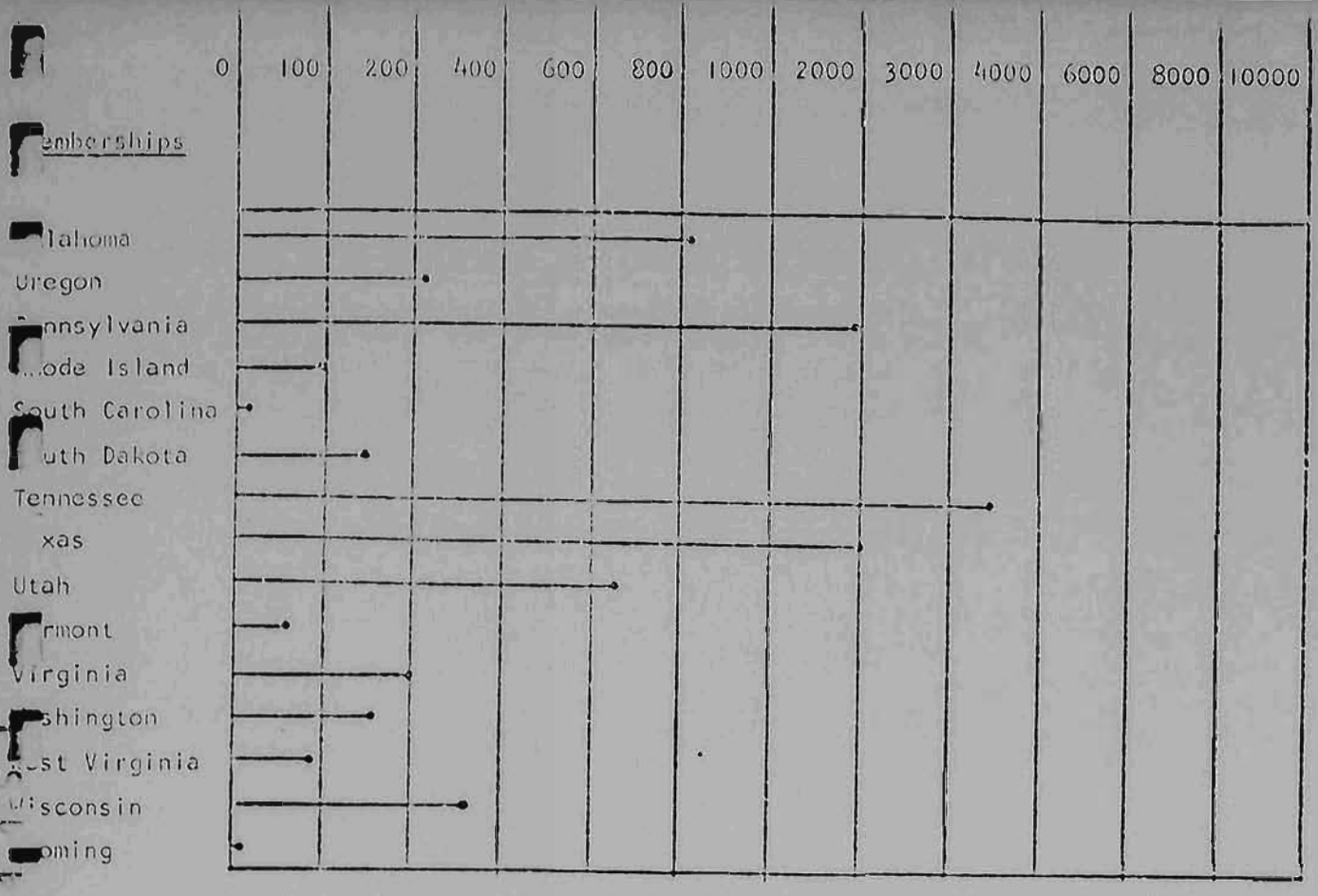
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POLITICAL PLANNING OF THE CORPORATION

We are not what some of us think we are. The basis of any political organization is the ability to "get the job done back home". Some directors are fancifully waiting for the national office to give them a count of how Congress will vote, for instance. Underlying this expectation is an unrealistic evaluation of political life. Politicians take a position for one of two reasons: because of personal conviction, or because it is easier politically to take that position than another. Politicians who have personal convictions on abortion have, for the most part, already assumed their posture. The rest find it easier politically to sit on the fence right now. And it is a fact that right now NRLC is able to do nothing to force them off the fence.

There is a phenomenon in politics called the "rooster syndrome". Every morning the rooster crows when the sun comes up. After a while the rooster begins to think that the sun comes up because he crows. Without him the world is doomed to live in darkness. Politicians are very good at recognizing the difference between the sun and the rooster. Right now they suspect NRLC is mostly rooster. Labor, the Roman Catholic Church or other groups with extended memberships are successful politically because their lobbyists represent hundreds and thousands of (in some cases) determined and disciplined votes back home. In other words, when they talk, you know the sun is coming up. However, sometimes the lobbyist begins to think that Congress was impressed because he handled the case so well. Here lies a chance for real error for NRLC. We little farm folk are liable to be so impressed with the glib talk of the D.C. roosters that we think if we hire one, he'll make the sun come up for us. But the fact is, if the sun isn't coming up, no matter who is crowing in Washington, D.C., no politician has to move a muscle, and most won't.

We believe abortion is wrong, that infanticide and euthanasia are unacceptable to the American people, and that politicians who do not accept pro-life arguments, and do not agree to vote for the human life amendment, will be defeated at the polls. If this is true, then the sun is indeed rising. But if it isn't, then no one need be impressed, and no politicians need come down off the fence if they don't want to.

Right now NRLC is unable to make any impression on Congress at all. Take the Senate, for instance. In spite of all the Congressional Contact forms mailed out, appeals to our members to write letters to their representatives, telephone conversations with directors, etc., fifty-five senators have been able to avoid declaring their position on abortion. Seventeen senators have been able to maintain by letter, or other written or verbal communication, that they are still undecided about abortion. These seventy-two senators are the clearest indication of the pro-life atmosphere in that house. It is merely academic that eight are pro-abortion, and the rest pro-life, either states rights or human life or unclear in their own minds what is the best pro-life strategy.

In the House of Representatives we are not much better off. All our efforts have accounted for about one hundred and ninety of the Representatives, with contacts and letters identifying forty human life, sixty-three generally pro-life, thirty-six states rights, twenty-nine pro-abortion, and twenty-three undecided. However, many of these positions may be 'cosmetic'. That is, the member may mouth a pro-life position without actually jumping off the fence in support of it. He may even write a letter to Edwards or Rogers and send a copy to a constituent. However, in Washington, if someone recommends you for a job by letter, it's floss. If he calls someone for you or introduces you to one personally, then you're getting a real recommendation. So far, Right-To-Life is getting a lot of floss in the House.

The ability to command such respect that an elected official must answer your inquiry is not very different from the capability to make that official change his mind to conform to the organization's position. And the latter capability is not very different from the ability to elect or defeat candidates at the voting booth. When our organizations get to the point that 80% of the politicians filing for office in a state answer a questionnaire about abortion, then we will be to the point where most of those answering the questionnaires will be pro-life. Right now the fault is not that the office is not able to give you a count of how Congress will vote on the human life amendment, but that you are not able to give the office anything to count.

Why is this? First, because many of our leaders are very naive, and easily distracted by statements that "the national is having trouble", and that's why we're not making the progress we should, and we need a Washington rooster to bring the sun up for us. But this is just a distraction from the second and principal problem: right now our organization does not have sufficient backbone. That's the directors we're talking about. They can't get the work done! After four months of mailings and telephone calls we have Congressional Contact forms on only eight of the one hundred Senators and forty of the four hundred and thirty-five Representatives. We were asked to get ready for hearings in the Senate in November -- everyone wants hearings! -- but only seventeen states could come up with any witnesses. We were asked for names for letterhead, and we got eighty-one names from five states -- fifty-six from Maine! Who is going to believe we are a national movement to be reckoned with when our letterhead shows that 70% of our strength is in Maine! Only sixteen states returned the States Appraisal form and twenty-nine states returned a States Organization questionnaire for their principal state organization. Many states have participated in only a token way in the newspaper project.

Through no fault of our own we will probably have two days of hearings in February before Birch Bayh's committee in the Senate. The January 22nd event and the hearings will provide us with a chance to open our case with Congress. If things begin to move in the Senate, we may get some real, as opposed to cosmetic, movement toward hearings in the House. Prior action in the Senate is usually worth forty to fifty votes in the House. But Congress will only go as far as we push them, and we'll have to hold a lot tighter ranks, with fewer excuses and less distraction, than we've had, to push them very far. The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, then, becomes the principal arena for our effort on the Hill this winter.

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The Senate Judiciary Committee is made up of 16 senators, who average 14 plus years experience in their present offices. Their political shrewness and survival instincts should not be questioned. These men are not going to deal with an issue as controversial as the abortion issue unless it is demanded that they do so.

The committee is made up of the following senators:

Senator James Eastland - (Democrat - Mississippi)

Senator Eastland, chairman of the senate judiciary committee, is a co-sponsor of the Buckley amendment. His pro-life vote is not in question. As Chairman of the parent committee over the Constitutional amendment sub-committee Eastland has a certain amount of influence with Bayh and the other members of the sub-committee. He can be expected to push for the Buckley amendment, and support the conscience clause.

Senator John McClellan - (Democrat - Arkansas)

Senator McClellan, 77 years old and not up for re-election until 1978, is very much his own man. A staunch conservative, he has stated that he is uncommitted on the issue. He has and will support the conscience clause. His leanings toward states rights indicates that he will look more favorably toward the states rights amendment than to the national amendment. No amount of pressure can be reasonably expected to force him to take a stand or alter a position once taken. He should not be ignored but a concerted effort is not going to be productive unless it is very well planned and aimed specifically at him. The possible tie-in between abortion and euthanasia may offer a feasible line of argument to pursue with him.

Senator Samuel Ervin - (Democrat - North Carolina)

Senator Ervin has stated that he is personally pro-life and that he feels the abortion issue is a matter that should be left to the states. Ervin's influence and power, significally increased by the Watergate hearing, have again leaped with his announcement of retirement. Without thoughts of re-election in the back of his mind, Ervin can be expected to compromise less and fight even harder for his own convictions. As a pro-life ally he can be expected to be invaluable in any hearing. Although he is loath to temper with the Constitution, a minimal amount of well channelled, organized pressure could convince him to vote for a states rights amendment. Proper contact with Ervin could make him a pro-life activist. His concern for counteracting the moral decay of our society would allow him to proffer the pro-life banner, on a states rights argument level. He will not consider the national amendment unless he is totally convinced that the states rights amendment won't have a broad enough base of support, and once he begins to consider the national amendment, he will have to be convinced that such regulatory powers belong in the national government, which will be difficult to do.

Senator Phillip Hart - (Democrat - Michigan)

Senator Hart states that he is personally pro-life, but that he is undecided with regards to the wisdo of legislating these views. The Senator has the reputation of being a reasonable liberal. He can be expected to support the conscience clause and if enough constituent pressure is exerted he will support the states rights amendment. He will not support the national amendment.

Senator Edward Kennedy - (Democrat - Massachusetts)

Senator Kennedy has openly stated that he is personally pro-life, but he contends that his regard for personal rights and liberties will not allow him to actively question the wisdom of the Court's ruling. As a national political figure, the Senator cannot be expected to change this stance and risk alienating any group that might help launch a presidential campaign. The abortion issue holds such a risk; Kennedy should be expected to take the safest position possible. He can be expected to give qualified verbal suppor for a pro-life mentality and active support for the individual conscience clause. He should be expected to vote against the national amendment, but, if the states rights amendment gathers significant support, an effort to win his support would be merited. The states rights amendment is far less threatening and he could verbally justify supporting it. (N.B. There is some difference of opinion among the staff about how Kennedy might vote.)

Senator Birch Bayh - (Democrat - Indiana)

Senator Bayh is chairman of the constitutional amendments sub-committee, where the constitutional amendments presently sit. Although the Senator has agreed to hold hearing on the amendments, it must be anticipated that he will delay and hamper the hearings as much as possible. He is up for re-election this year and can not allow any major controversy to come up and jeopardize his re-election. If Bayh is to have a chance at the 1976 democratic presidential nomination, he must have a solid victory in 1974. The less controversy raised during any hearings before his subcommittee the better for Bayh. He will not want to have to take any hard line stands. On a vote he should be counted agair the amendments. He will vote for the conscience clause. Bayh, as a national political figure, will not be succeptible to local pressure. Since his aim is toward national office he must run the risk of alienating some local votes to maintain a national base.

Senator Quentin N. Burdick - (Democrat - North Dakota)

Senator Burdick took an anti-abortion stand in 1970 and has not changed that positio He will support either amendment and the conscience clause.

Senator Robert Byrd - (Democrat - West Virginia)

Senator Byrd, the senate Majority Whip, has refused to take a position. He is likely to remain silent on the issue until votes are actually cast. The Senator is an untraconservative and is responsible, as majority whip, for the scheduling of floor debates and bringing bills to the Senate floor. These duties make it unlikely that he would wish to speak out on any issue as controversial as this one. He will support the conscience clause, and will lean toward the states rights amendment, but his vote will only come if he is sure that the amendment will pass.

Senator John Tunney - (Democrat - California)

Senator Tunney is personally pro-life and argues that the abortion issue should be left up to the states. His vote on the states rights amendment and the individual conscience clause can be counted on. He will probably hesitate on announcing, prior to any vote, support for the national amendment. But if the states rights amendment looks untenable, he can be persuaded to support the national amendment by constant constituent pressure.

Senator Roman Hruska - (Republican - Nebraska)

Senator Hruska is a staunch pro-life supporter. He can be counted on to vote for the conscience clause and the constitutional amendments. He can be relied on as a pro-life advocate and as a monitor of the progress of any judiciary committee proceedings regarding the abortion issue.

Senator Hiram Fong -(Republican - Hawaii)

Senator Fong has said that he is undecided on the abortion issue. He will probably try to maintain this position since he realistically can expect little or no pressure from his pro-abortion oriented constituency. The senator has never enjoyed a sizable re-election victory margin, and although he is not up for re-election this year, it is unrealistic to expect him to fuel any possible opponents fire by commenting on an issue which he can safely avoid.

Hawaii has such strong pro-abortion leanings that the state and its congressional delegation should be written off. The best that can be hoped for is that Senator Fong remain publically un-committed. He will support the conscience clause.

Senator Hugh Scott - (Republican - Pennsylvania)

Senator Scott, the senate minority leader, has stated that he feels the abortion issue should be left up to the states. This position is about as much as can be expected from him because of his position in the Republican party and because of his political support base. The Senator's main support comes from a coalition of Liberals, Blacks, and Jews, and is such that it is difficult for him to speak out on this issue without doing himself some political harm. He can be expected to support the states rights amendment and the conscience clause. He will not support the national amendment.

Senator Strom Thurmond - (Republican - South Carolina)

Senator Thurmond has indicated that he is personally pro-life and that he feels that the abortion issue belongs in the states and not in Washington. The Senator is a staunch conservative and states rightist. His vote is assured on the conscience clause and the states rights amendment. But the Senator is realistic, and the explosiveness of the issue may cause him to accept stalling tactics to delay any hearings until after the November elections.

Senator Marlow Cook - (Republican - Kentucky)

Senator Cook has actively remained uncommitted on the abortion issue, calling for sub-committee hearings and even offering to chair them. Up for re-election this year, the Senator can be expected to keep silent on the issue unless it is opened by his opposition. He can be counted on to vote for the individual conscience clause and should be considered pro-life as indicated by his unwillingness to lose the issue with the court ruling. Senator Cook can be expected to respond to c[illegible]stituent concern.

Senator Charles Mc C. Mathias, Jr. - (Republican - Maryland)

Senator Mathias has tried to remain uncommitted on the issue but he is definitely leaning to[illegible] a pro-life position. He has called for hearings on the amendments and can be expected to lend vocal support to the conscience clause and the states rights amendment. His support for the national amendment is still tenative, but he can be won over by a properly organized effort coming from his constituents.

Senator Edward Gurney - (Republican - Florida)

Senator Gurney, a staunch conservative, is personally pro-life and contends that the abortion issue should be decided by the states. He is up for re-election this year. As an incumbent he should expect a slight advantage but because of a possible connection between his office and illegal campaign funds for the 1972 presidential campaign he may

be in serious political trouble. Gurney's vote can be depended upon now, but as the elections approach, unless he can be assured that his pro-life views are not liabilities, he may be forced to re-evaluate his position. The Senator has been in Congress since 1962 and knows how to survive. The pro-abortion/women's lib pressure probably will not affect his vote but they can affect how actively he supports the amendments.

It is realistic to expect hospitable hearings on our amendments in the Senate committee this winter. However, it is unrealistic to expect the same progress with the House Judiciary Committee.

The House Judiciary Committee is made up of 37 Congressmen and is chaired by Congressman Peter Rodino (Dem.-N.J.). The pro-life amendments have been referred to Judiciary Subcommittee #4 (Bankruptcy and Civil Rights Oversight). This subcommittee is chaired by Congressman Don Edwards (Dem.-Calif.) and is made up of Edwards, Jerome Waldie (Dem.-Calif.), Paul Sarbanes (Dem.-Md.), Robert Drinan (Dem.-Mass.), Charles Rangel (Dem.-N.Y.), Robert McClory (Rep.-Ill.), Charles Wiggins (Rep.-Calif.), M.Caldwell Butler (Rep.-Va.) and Trent Lott (Rep.-Miss.). Edwards and McClory are in their 6th terms as U.S. Representatives, Waldie his 5th, Wiggins his 4th and the remaining subcommittee members are in their 1st and 2nd term.

Because of the overall lack of seniority of the subcommittee and its size compared with that of the parent committee, this subcommittee wields very little power. Nor does anyone in the subcommittee have any real political clout of his own. Within the scheme of the House it is virtually insignificant. This is not to say that it can't successfully lead the way to enacting legislation without tremendous support from outside its ranks.

Congressman Edwards, as chairman of the subcommittee, has virtual control of it. He has expressed the opinion that the abortion issue is moot, and just one of many issues with a small, but vocal, group of people interested in further legislation on the subject. It is for this reason that he claims he cannot justify spending the time necessary to have hearings on the proposed amendments. He further states that if he were to give in to these "small" pressure groups, the pro-life amendments would have to wait their turn behind several other proposed amendments, most notably the anti-busing amendments.

Edwards, supported by Waldie, Drinan and Rangel, argues that the Supreme Court's Roe vs Wade decision has decided the issue and that further rehashing of it would just be a waste of time. Edwards has resisted constituent pressure and there is very little hope of changing his position prior to the November elections.

The members of the subcommittee do not form a cohesive body, which can be treated as a unit. Because of Edwards' overwhelming power over the subcommittee, the most effective way to treat it is to ignore it, for the time being, as a committee, and attempt to effect its members individually. However, it must be remembered that all the subcommittee members are up for re-election and since many of them are relatively new Congressmen, the committee is likely to undergo drastic changes after the elections.

Even without changes in the committee, as a result of the November elections, the subcommittee would likely be forced into action should the Senate start to take positive steps toward passing pro-life legislation. Under this type of pressure Edwards will be forced into recognizing the significance of the issue and into holding hearings before his subcommittee.

So far we have done quite well in relating to crises, as witness the Helms amendment and the Conference Committee. Also, some interesting peripheral legislation has been voted in the House. But it would be a mistake to consider these as indications of our strength, in terms of the human life amendment. Examples of several important House votes are recorded in TABLE I at the end of this report. We might want to "pick one plum" in the House this session. Such an exercise, or drill, should be seen as preparation for important work to establish relationships with individual Representatives. The vehicle would be an amendment offered by Congresswoman Margaret Heckler. A report on this is also to be found at the end of this section, in TABLE II.

However, when push comes to shove, it all comes down to the November elections. If it is true, as I think it is, that our member organizations cannot support a hard-bitten legislative campaign even to gain hearings in the House at this time, then we must continue to follow a reactive role in Congress, establish a record of evidence in the Senate, and build a pro-life Congress at the voting booths in the fall. A realistic sequence of events for this effort is to be found in the numbered priorities in the Introduction of this report, especially priorities 2, 3, and 5. If we are able to build strong state and local organizations, liaison with other groups to broaden our base, educate our voters and workers, etc. we will have sufficient strength to move Congress. This strength will become apparent if we are able to "control" the 1974 elections, to some significant degree. If we are too weak to effect the 1974 elections, then we must do the same building and preparation for the 1976 elections.

Our preparation for the 1974 elections began in December with a telephone sequence to the directors, and with the design of the basic research project and hiring of staff help. The report being developed now is a preliminary analysis of incumbents' prospects for re-election in 1974 in order to distinguish those incumbents who face an actual challenge as an initial indication of who is vulnerable to special-interest constituency pressure. At this stage it does not make much difference to the project whether the incumbent is pro-abortion, pro-life, or undecided. If he is "safe" he need not respond to constituency pressure in the same way he would if he were "vulnerable". The vulnerable politician may be defeated if he is pro-abortion, may have to join us if he is undecided, and may need to be protected if pro-life. The first step in our project is to determine who is vulnerable; the second is to assess our local strength in terms of each of the vulnerable candidates. Finally, we expect to draw up a preliminary nation-wide plan for the 1974 elections, to be ready by the beginning of March. This projection is predicated on the assumption that the staff will be spared from any more organizational crises and revolutions. I cannot stress enough how costly and time consuming the disruptions of the last three months have been.

The methodology of the study is to first make a tally of each House and Senate seat with the following information: number of terms of incumbency, and winning percentage of votes in last election, and whether the last election brought a change of party. Further information to be standardized will be such demographic characteristics as percentage of Roman Catholics in constituency, median income of voters, median age, percentage of population in white collar, blue collar, and service and farm occupations, urban, suburban and non-metropolitan, etc. But the selection procedure is going at the beginning, so that further research will tend to concentrate at each step on those who have been shown most vulnerable at the previous stage. We have no criteria of how we are trying to reach -- such as five men in the Senate and fifty in the House, for instance. We are trying to isolate the optimum cases on which to concentrate.

Analysis of data available in Washington will at each stage be correlated with what we can learn from state and local people. Here is where our telephone capabilities come into play, so that what we can learn from the Congressional Quarterly reports, for instance, may be compared not only with state and local opinion polls, but with the local and state assessment of the incumbent's position and their ability to effect his campaig and his election.

Report by Warren Schaller and Irvin Foste

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TABLE 1

Several Sample Pieces of Legislation in the House:

113. HR 7724. Biomedical Research. Roncallo (R N.Y.) amendment to bar specifically federal sponsorship of research on live human fetuses. Adopted 3[illegible]-9: R 151-2; D 1[illegible]-7 (HD 1[illegible]-4; SD [illegible]-1), May 31, 1973. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

185(T). HR 7824. Legal Services Corporation. Hogan (R Md.) amendment, as amended (see vote 186(T), above), to prohibit poverty lawyers from helping women procure a therpeutic abortion or to force a hospital or doctor to participate in an abortion if doing so was against their policy or convictions. Adopted by recorded teller vote 301-[illegible]: R 152-10; D 149-[illegible] (HD 87-[illegible]; SD 62-6), June 21, 1973. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

187(T). HR 8510. National Science Foundation Authorization, Fiscal 1974. Roncallo (R N.Y.) amendment to prohibit the National Science Foundation from funding research on live human fetuses. Adopted by recorded teller vote 288-73: R 151-10; D 137-63 (HD 85-48; SD 52-15), June 22, 1973. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

Key
Y Record vote for (yea)
+ Paired for
/ Announced for
N Record vote against (nay)
X Paired against
- Announced against
? Not voting, voted "present" or did not announce
T Recorded teller vote

DEMOCRATS
Republicans

		107T	113	104T
Alabama				
1	Edwards	Y	Y	Y
2	Dickinson	Y	?	Y
3	NICHOLS	Y	Y	Y
4	BEVILL	Y	Y	Y
5	JONES	N	Y	Y
6	Buchanan	Y	Y	Y
7	FLOWERS	N	Y	Y
Alaska				
AL	Young	Y	Y	Y
Arizona				
1	Rhodes	Y	Y	Y
2	UDALL	Y	?	Y
3	Steiger	Y	Y	Y
4	Conlan	Y	Y	Y
Arkansas				
1	ALEXANDER	Y	Y	Y
2	MILLS	Y	Y	?
3	Hammerschmidt	?	Y	?
4	THORNTON	N	Y	Y
California				
1	Clausen	?	Y	?
2	JOHNSON	?	Y	?
3	MOSS	N	Y	?
4	LEGGETT	?	?	?
5	BURTON	N	N	N
6	Mailliard	Y	Y	Y
7	DELLUMS	N	N	N
8	STARK	N	N	N
9	EDWARDS	N	Y	N
10	Gubser	Y	?	?
11	RYAN	?	Y	Y
12	Talcott	Y	Y	Y
13	Teague	Y	Y	Y
14	WIEDIE	?	Y	?
15	McFALL	Y	Y	Y
16	SISK	Y	Y	N
17	McCloskey	N	Y	N
18	Mathias	Y	Y	?

		107T	113	104T
California (Cont.)				
19	HOLIFIELD	N	Y	N
20	Hoorhead	Y	Y	Y
21	HAWKINS	N	Y	N
22	CORMAN	N	Y	N
23	Clawson	?	Y	?
24	Rousselot	Y	Y	Y
25	Wiggins	?	Y	Y
26	REES	N	Y	N
27	Goldwater	Y	?	Y
28	Bell	N	Y	N
29	DANIELSON	?	Y	?
30	ROYBAL	N	Y	N
31	WILSON	N	Y	Y
32	Hosmer	Y	Y	Y
33	Pettis	Y	Y	Y
34	HAWKINS	N	Y	N
35	ANDERSON	?	Y	N
36	Ketchum	Y	?	Y
37	BURKE	N	?	N
38	BROWN	N	Y	N
39	Hinshaw	?	Y	?
40	Wilson	Y	Y	Y
41	VAN DEERLIN	N	Y	N
42	Burgener	Y	Y	Y
43	Veysey	Y	Y	Y
Colorado				
1	SCHROEDER	N	N	N
2	Brotzman	Y	Y	Y
3	EVANS	N	Y	N
4	Johnson	Y	Y	Y
5	Armstrong	Y	Y	Y
Connecticut				
1	COTTER	Y	Y	Y
2	Steele	Y	Y	Y
3	GIAIMO	N	Y	Y
4	McKinney	?	Y	?
5	Sarasin	Y	Y	Y
6	GRASSO	Y	Y	Y
Delaware				
AL	DuPont	Y	Y	N

		187T	113	184T
Florida				
1	SIKES	?	Y	Y
2	FUQUA	?	?	Y
3	BENNETT	Y	Y	Y
4	CHAPPELL	Y	Y	Y
5	GUNTER	Y	Y	Y
6	Young	Y	Y	Y
7	GIBBONS	Y	Y	Y
8	HALEY	N	Y	Y
9	Frey	Y	Y	Y
10	Chiles	?	Y	?
11	ROGERS	Y	Y	Y
12	Burke	Y	Y	Y
13	LEHMAN	N	Y	Y
14	PEPPER	Y	Y	Y
15	FASCELL	N	Y	N
Georgia				
1	GINN	Y	Y	Y
2	MATHIS	?	Y	?
3	BRINKLEY	Y	Y	Y
4	Blackburn	Y	?	Y
5	YOUNG	N	Y	N
6	FLYNT	?	?	?
7	DAVIS	Y	?	Y
8	STUCKEY	Y	Y	N
9	LANDRUM	?	?	?
10	STEPHENS	Y	Y	Y
Hawaii				
1	MATSUNAGA	N	Y	N
2	MINK	N	Y	N
Idaho				
1	Symms	Y	Y	Y
2	Hansen	Y	Y	?
Illinois				
1	METCALFE	?	Y	?
2	MURPHY	Y	Y	Y
3	Hanrahan	Y	Y	Y
4	Derwinski	Y	Y	Y
5	KLUCZYNSKI	Y	Y	Y
6	Collier	Y	Y	Y
7	VANIK	Y		N
8	ROSTENKOWSKI	Y	Y	Y
9	YATES	N	Y	N
10	Young	Y	Y	Y
11	ANNUNZIO	Y	?	Y
12	Crane	Y	?	Y
13	McClory	?	Y	Y
14	Erlenborn	?	Y	?
15	Grotberg	Y	Y	Y
16	Anderson	Y	Y	Y
17	O'Brien	Y	Y	Y

		187T	113	184T
Illinois (Cont.)				
18	Michel	Y	Y	Y
19	Railsback	?	Y	Y
20	Findley	N	Y	N
21	Madigan	Y	Y	Y
22	SIMON	Y	Y	Y
23	PRICE	Y	?	Y
24	GRAY	?	Y	Y
Indiana				
1	P. LEGGETT	Y	?	Y
2	Landgrebe	Y	Y	Y
3	BRADEMAS	Y	Y	N
4	ROUSH	Y	Y	Y
5	Hillis	Y	Y	?
6	Fraser	Y	?	?
7	Myers	Y	Y	Y
8	Zion	Y	Y	Y
9	HAMILTON	Y	Y	Y
10	Dennis	N	Y	Y
11	Rudnut	Y	Y	?
Iowa				
1	MEZVINSKY	Y	Y	N
2	CULVER	?	Y	N
3	Gross	Y	Y	Y
4	SMITH	Y	Y	Y
5	Scherle	Y	Y	Y
6	Mayne	Y	Y	Y
Kansas				
1	Sebelius	Y	Y	Y
2	ROY	Y	?	Y
3	Winn	Y	?	Y
4	Shriver	Y	Y	Y
5	Skubitz	Y	Y	Y
Kentucky				
1	STUBBLEFIELD	?	Y	?
2	HATCHER	Y	Y	Y
3	MAZZOLI	Y	Y	Y
4	Snyder	Y	Y	Y
5	Carter	Y	?	Y
6	BRECKINRIDGE	N	Y	Y
7	PERKINS	Y	Y	Y
Louisiana				
1	LIVINGST	Y	?	-
2	BOGGS	Y	Y	Y
3	Treen	Y	Y	Y
4	WAGGONNER	Y	Y	Y
5	PASSMAN	Y	Y	Y
6	JENKINS	Y	?	?
7	BREAUX	?	Y	?
8	LONG, G.	Y	Y	Y

8 1 2 2 3 4 1 5 2

	187T	113	184T
Maine			
1 KYROS	Y	Y	Y
2 Cohen	Y	Y	Y
Maryland			
1 VACANCY			
2 LONG	Y	Y	Y
3 SARBANES	Y	Y	Y
4 Holt	Y	Y	Y
5 Hogan	Y	Y	Y
6 BYRON	Y	Y	Y
7 MITCHELL	N	Y	N
8 Gude	Y	Y	Y
Massachusetts			
1 Conte	Y	Y	Y
2 BOLAND	Y	Y	Y
3 DONOHUE	Y	Y	Y
4 DRINAN	Y	Y	N
5 Cronin	?	?	?
6 HARRINGTON	N	Y	N
7 MACDONALD	Y	Y	Y
8 O'NEILL	Y	?	Y
9 MOAKLEY	Y	Y	Y
10 Heckler	Y	?	Y
11 BURKE	Y	Y	Y
12 STUDDS	Y	Y	Y
Michigan			
1 CONYERS	?	Y	N
2 Esch	Y	?	Y
3 Brown	N	Y	N
4 Hutchinson	Y	Y	Y
5 Ford	Y	Y	Y
6 Chamberlain	?	?	?
7 RIEGLE	Y	Y	?
8 Harvey	Y	?	?
9 Vander Jagt	Y	Y	?
10 Cederberg	Y	Y	Y
11 Ruppe	?	Y	Y
12 O'HARA	Y	Y	Y
13 DIGGS	N	?	?
14 NEDZI	?	Y	Y
15 FORD	N	Y	Y
16 DINGELL	Y	?	?
17 GRIFFITHS	N	Y	?
18 Huber	Y	Y	Y
19 Broomfield	?	Y	?
Minnesota			
1 Quie	?	Y	Y
2 Nelsen	Y	Y	Y
3 Frenzel	?	Y	N
4 KARTH	Y	Y	Y

	187T	113	184T
Minnesota (Cont.)			
5 FRASER	N	?	N
6 Zwach	Y	Y	Y
7 BERGLAND	Y	Y	Y
8 BLATNIK	?	?	Y
Mississippi			
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y
4 Cochran	?	Y	Y
5 Lott	Y	Y	Y
Missouri			
1 CLAY	N	Y	N
2 SYMINGTON	N	Y	N
3 SULLIVAN	Y	?	Y
4 RANDALL	Y	?	Y
5 BOLLING	N	Y	N
6 LITTEN	Y	Y	Y
7 Taylor	Y	Y	Y
8 ICHORD	Y	?	Y
9 HUNGATE	N	Y	Y
10 BURLISON	Y	Y	Y
Montana			
1 Shoup	Y	Y	Y
2 MELCHER	Y	Y	Y
Nebraska			
1 Thone	Y	Y	Y
2 McCollister	Y	Y	Y
3 Martin	?	?	Y
Nevada			
AL Towell	?	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE			
1 Wyman	?	Y	Y
2 Cleveland	Y	Y	Y
New Jersey			
1 Hunt	Y	?	Y
2 Sandman	?	?	?
3 ROUSH	Y	Y	N
4 THOMPSON	?	?	?
5 Frelinghuysen	Y	Y	Y
6 Forsythe	Y	Y	Y
7 Minish	?	Y	?
8 ROE	Y	Y	Y
9 HELSTOSKI	Y	Y	Y
10 RODINO	Y	Y	Y
11 MINISH	Y	Y	Y

		187T	113	184T
New Jersey (Cont.)				
12	Rinaldo	Y	Y	Y
13	Maraziti	Y	Y	Y
14	DANIELS	Y	Y	Y
15	PATTEN	Y	Y	Y
New Mexico				
1	Lujan	?	Y	?
2	RUNNELLS	?	Y	Y
New York				
1	PIKE	Y	Y	Y
2	Grover	Y	Y	Y
3	Roncallo	Y	Y	Y
4	Lent	Y	Y	?
5	Wydler	Y	Y	Y
6	WOLFF	N	Y	Y
7	ADDABBO	Y	Y	Y
8	ROSENTHAL	N	Y	N
9	DELANEY	Y	Y	Y
10	BIAGGI	Y	?	Y
11	BRASCO	Y	Y	Y
12	CHISHOLM	N	Y	N
13	PODELL	N	Y	N
14	ROONEY	?	?	?
15	CAREY	Y	Y	?
16	HOLTZMAN	N	N	N
17	MURPHY	?	?	Y
18	KOCH	Y	Y	N
19	RANGEL	N	Y	N
20	ABZUG	N	N	N
21	BADILLO	?	?	?
22	BINGHAM	N	Y	N
23	Peyser	Y	Y	?
24	REID	?	Y	?
25	Fish	Y	Y	Y
26	Gilman	?	Y	Y
27	Robison	Y	Y	N
28	STRATTON	Y	?	Y
29	King	Y	Y	?
30	McEwen	Y	Y	Y
31	Mitchell	Y	Y	Y
32	HANLEY	Y	Y	Y
33	Walsh	Y	Y	Y
34	Horton	Y	Y	Y
35	Conable	Y	Y	Y
36	Smith	N	Y	Y
37	DULSKI	Y	Y	Y
38	Kemp	Y	Y	Y
39	Hastings	N	Y	Y

		187T	113	184T
North Carolina				
1	JONES	Y	?	Y
2	FOUNTAIN	Y	Y	Y
3	HENDERSON	Y	Y	Y
4	ANDREWS	Y	Y	Y
5	Mizell	Y	Y	Y
6	PREYER	?	Y	Y
7	ROSE	Y	Y	Y
8	Ruth	Y	Y	Y
9	Martin	Y	Y	Y
10	Broyhill	Y	Y	Y
11	Taylor	Y	Y	Y
North Dakota				
AL	Andreus	Y	Y	Y
Ohio				
1	Keating	Y	?	Y
2	Clancy	Y	Y	Y
3	Whalen	Y	Y	Y
4	Guyer	Y	Y	Y
5	Latta	Y	Y	Y
6	Harsha	Y	Y	Y
7	Brown	?	Y	Y
8	Powell	Y	?	Y
9	ASHLEY	N	Y	N
10	Miller	Y	Y	Y
11	Stanton	Y	Y	Y
12	Devine	Y	Y	Y
13	Kosher	N	Y	N
14	SEIBERLING	Y	Y	N
15	Wylie	Y	Y	Y
16	Regula	Y	?	Y
17	Ashbrook	?	?	?
18	HAYS	?	Y	Y
19	CARNEY	?	?	?
20	STANTON	Y	Y	Y
21	STOKES	N	?	N
22	VANIK	Y	Y	Y
23	Minshall	Y	?	?
Oklahoma				
1	JONES	N	Y	Y
2	McSPADDEN	Y	Y	Y
3	ALBERT	?		?
4	STEED	N	Y	Y
5	JARMAN	Y	Y	Y
6	Camp	Y	?	Y
Oregon				
1	Wyatt	Y	Y	Y
2	ULLMAN	Y	Y	Y
3	GREEN	Y	Y	Y
4	Dellenback	N	N	N

9 1 7 4 2 3 1 1 5 4

		187T	113	184T
Pennsylvania				
1	BARRETT	Y	Y	?
2	NIX	Y	Y	N
3	GREEN	Y	Y	Y
4	EILBERG	Y	Y	Y
5	Ware	Y	Y	Y
6	YATRON	Y	Y	Y
7	Williams	Y	Y	Y
8	Nester	Y	Y	Y
9	Shuster	Y	Y	Y
10	McDade	Y	Y	Y
11	FLOOD	Y	Y	Y
12	Saylor	?	Y	Y
13	Coughlin	Y	?	Y
14	MOORHEAD	Y	Y	Y
15	ROONEY	?	Y	?
16	Eshleman	Y	Y	Y
17	Schneebeli	Y	Y	Y
18	Heinz	Y	Y	Y
19	Goodling	Y	Y	Y
20	GAYDOS	Y	Y	Y
21	DENT	?	Y	Y
22	MORGAN	?	Y	Y
23	Johnson	Y	Y	Y
24	VIGORITE	Y	Y	Y
25	CLARK	Y	Y	Y
Rhode Island				
1	ST GERMAIN	Y	Y	Y
2	TIERNAN	Y	Y	Y
South Carolina				
1	DAVIS	?	Y	?
2	Spence	Y	?	Y
3	DORN	?	Y	?
4	MANN	N	Y	Y
5	GETTYS	Y	Y	Y
6	Young	Y	Y	Y
South Dakota				
1	DENHOLM	Y	Y	Y
2	Abdnor	Y	Y	Y
Tennessee				
1	Quillen	Y	Y	?
2	Duncan	Y	Y	Y
3	Baker	Y	Y	Y
4	EVINS	?	?	Y
5	FULTON	Y	Y	?
6	Beard	Y	?	Y
7	JONES	Y	Y	Y
8	Kuykendall	Y	Y	Y

		187T	113	184T
Texas				
1	PATMAN	?	Y	?
2	WILSON	Y	?	Y
3	Collins	Y	Y	Y
4	ROBERTS	Y	Y	Y
5	Steelman	Y	?	Y
6	TEAGUE	?	?	?
7	Archer	Y	Y	Y
8	ECKHARDT	N	N	N
9	BROOKS	Y	Y	Y
10	PICKLE	N	Y	Y
11	POAGE	Y	Y	Y
12	WRIGHT	?	Y	Y
13	Price	Y	Y	Y
14	YOUNG	Y	Y	Y
15	DE LA GARZA	Y	?	Y
16	WHITE	Y	?	Y
17	BURLESON	Y	Y	Y
18	JORDAN	N	Y	N
19	MAHON	Y	Y	Y
20	GONZALEZ	?	Y	?
21	FISHER	?	?	?
22	CASEY	Y	Y	Y
23	KAZEN	?	Y	?
24	MILFORD	N	?	N
Utah				
1	McKAY	N	Y	Y
2	OWENS	N	?	Y
Vermont				
AL	Mallary	N	N	N
Virginia				
1	DOWNING	Y	Y	Y
2	Whitehurst	?	Y	?
3	SATTERFIELD	Y	Y	Y
4	Daniel, R.W.	Y	Y	Y
5	DANIEL, W.C.	Y	Y	Y
6	Butler	Y	Y	Y
7	Robinson	Y	Y	Y
8	Parris	Y	?	Y
9	Wampler	Y	Y	Y
10	Broyhill	?	Y	Y
Washington				
1	Pritchard	Y	Y	Y
2	MEEDS	N	Y	N
3	HANSEN	?	Y	Y
4	McCORMACK	N	?	N
5	FOLEY	Y	Y	N
6	HICKS	N	Y	Y
7	ADAMS	Y	?	N

	1871	113	1861
West Virginia			
1 [illegible]	Y	?	Y
2 STAGGERS	?	Y	?
3 SLACK	Y	Y	Y
4 MECHLEN	Y	Y	Y
Wisconsin			
1 [illegible]	Y	Y	Y
2 [illegible]	N	Y	N
3 Thompson	?	Y	?
4 [illegible]	Y	Y	Y
5 [illegible]	N	Y	N
6 Steiger	Y	Y	Y
7 OBEY	Y	Y	N
8 Froehlich	Y	Y	Y
9 Davis	Y	Y	Y
Wyoming			
1 RONCALIO	?	Y	?

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TABLE II

On March 15, Congresswoman Margaret Heckler introduced H.R. 5708, a bill which would establish the conscience clause as accepted policy in all federally-supported hospitals. Other similar bills have been introduced by Congressmen Wm. Steiger, Silvio Conte, John Murphy, Joseph Karth, Elwood Hillis, Harold Froehlich and Robert Roe. The Heckler bill had 52 co-sponsors as of December 19th. The eight bills carry a total of 60 sponsors/co-sponsors. The Conscious Clause bills offer the NRLC the opportunity to get a piece of significant legislation on the books and to align itself with the civil libertarians in the pro-abortion camp who are not willing to give blind obedience to the pro-abortion rhetoric.

The NRLC should make an effort to guarantee that ALL members of the House are aware of this bill and our interest in it. This could be done in less than a month. Through an organized letter writing campaign, special effort should be given those Congressmen who have pro-abortion stands and also claim to be civil libertarians. A special effort must be made to explain to these people that the issue of present concern is the conscience clause, and no other. Since several pro-abortion groups have specifically spoken out against the conscience clause, it can be expected that any Congressman supporting the conscience clause will be attacked for doing so. This makes it even more important that NRLC not pressure these people on the pro-life issue. The secondary aim of these letter-writing campaigns should be to establish a working relationship between the NRLC and these people. We must undo the woman's lib publicity regarding NRLC and try to cause the pro-abortion forces to assail those who have previously supported them. After each Congressman has been made aware of the importance of the issue (goal -- 300 plus letters in 30-day period), the emphasis should be turned on getting hearings from the Rogers subcommittee. The same type of letter-writing campaign should be started with the members of the committee, specifically asking for hearings. During this period it is imperative that expert witnesses be contacted and commitments received. During this letter campaign, try to align with many diversified organizations/groups, particularly medical and civil liberty groups. At the time that hearings are scheduled in the House there should be an attempt to bring the Senate into line and have Senate hearings.

The conscience clause offers the NRLC an opportunity to:

1. Get a piece of constructive legislation passed;

2. Establish good relations with some Congressmen previously unapproachable;

3. Force the pro-abortion activists to either concede the issue or attack their previous supporters;

4. Get some strong anti-abortion testimony into hearing records;

5. Establish contacts with civil liberty-oriented organizations which have previously been our opponents and to establish a working relationship with the medically-oriented lobby groups.

The key to the success of this bill is the number of co-sponsors on the Heckler bill. With 60 of the 435 members of the House of Representatives as co-sponsors, the bill should meet very little resistance. Senator Church has introduced a similiar bill in the Senate. Thus far the Senate has been favorable to conscience clause amendments to relevant legislation. The previous votes on conscience clauses as amendments have been favorable, usually unanimous. With this type of record, it is apparent that there is enough support to pass it, if the issue can be brought forth. Some pro-abortion groups are against the bills. The sooner we push for them the sooner we will have an opportunity to alienate some of their present allies.

Following is a list of the present co-sponsors of the Heckler bill:

Bill Archer	(Texas)	John McCollister	(Nebraska)
James Burke	(Massachusetts)	K. Gunn McKay	(Utah)
J. Herbert Burke	(Florida)	Wiley Mayne	(Iowa)
Edward Boland	(Massachusetts)	Joe Moakley	(Massachusetts)
Wm. S. Broomfield	(Michigan)	Patsy Mink	(Hawaii)
Don Clausen	(California)	Lucien Nedzi	(Michigan)
Shirley Chisholm	(New York)	David R. Obey	(Wisconsin)
Paul Cronin	(Massachusetts)	George O'Brien	(Illinois)
James Delaney	(New York)	Thomas P. O'Neill	(Massachusetts)
Edward Derwinski	(Illinois)	Walter Powell	(Ohio)
Marvin Esch	(Michigan)	Joel Pritchard	(Washington)
Edwin Forsythe	(New Jersey)	Albert Quie	(Minnesota)
Bill Frenzel	(Minnesota)	John Rhodes	(Arizona)
Ella Grasso	(Connecticut)	Matthew Rinaldo	(New Jersey)
Gilbert Gude	(Maryland)	Angelo Roncallo	(New York)
Bill Gunter	(Florida)	Wm. R. Roy	(Kansas)
Robert Hanrahan	(Illinois)	B.F. Sisk	(California)
Orval Hansen	(Idaho)	J. Wm. Stanton	(Ohio)
Henry Helstoski	(New Jersey)	Gerry Studds	(Massachusetts)
Chet Holifield	(California)	Leonor K. Sullivan	(Missouri)
Marjorie Holt	(Maryland)	G. Wm. Whitehurst	(Virginia)
James J. Howard	(New Jersey)	John Zwach	(Minnesota)
Robert Huber	(Michigan)		
Wm. H. Hudnut III	(Indiana)		
Barbara Jordan	(Texas)		
Wm. A. Ketchum	(California)		
Dan Kuykendall	(Tennessee)		
Maneul Lujan	(New Mexico)		
Edward Madigan	(Illinois)		
Romano Mazzoli	(Kentucky)		

The following Congressmen, non-sponsors of the conscience clause bills, should be singled out and a special effort should be made to establish good relations with them.

Paul Rogers	(Florida)	Jerome Waldie	(California)
David Satterfield	(Virginia)	Charles E. Wiggins	(California)
Peter Kyros	(Maine)	Charles Whalen	(Ohio)
Richardson Preyer	(North Carolina)	Trent Lott	(Mississippi)
Wm. R. Roy	(Kansas)	Louis C. Wyman	(New Hampshire)
James Symington	(Missouri)	Charles Rangel	(New York)
Ancher Nelson	(Minnesota)	Edith Green	(Oregon)
James Hastings	(New York)	Paul Sarbanes	(Maryland)
M. Caldwell Butler	(Virginia)	Robert McClory	(Illinois)
Mark Andrews	(North Dakota)		

TABLE III

	State Organization		State Appraisal	Congressional Contact Form				Preparation for Hearing		Memorial Request		Response to State
	State RTL	Other Groups		Senate #	rec'd	House #	rec'd	Witnesses	Letter head	Full Legis	One House	
abama	0	0	-	(2)	0	(2)	0	0	0	-	-	0
Alaska	1	0	x	(2)	0	(1)	0	3	0	-	-	1,000
izona	0	1	-	(2)	0	(4)	3	8	0	-	-	5,000
rkansas	0	0	-	(2)	0	(4)	0	0	0	-	-	2,000
lifornia	0	2	x	(2)	1	(43)	2	0	0	-	-	15,000
lorado	0	0	-	(2)	0	(5)	0	0	0	-	-	11,000
nnecticut	1	1	-	(2)	0	(6)	0	3	0	-	-	15,000
laware	1	0	-	(2)	0	(1)*	0	0	0	x		0
. C.	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	-	-	1,000
rida	1	4	x	(2)	2	(15)	15	6	8	-	-	4,550
Georgia	0	0	-	(2)	1	(10)	0	0	0	-	-	0
waii	0	0	-	(2)	0	(2)	0	0	0	-	-	50
aho	1	0	-	(2)	0	(2)	0	0	0	x		3,000
inois	1	3	x	(2)	0	(24)	2	9	8	x		37,000
diana	1	2	x	(2)	0	(11)	0	11	0	x		1,500
wa	0	0	x	(2)	0	(6)	0	8	0	-	-	8,000
nsas	1	1	x	(2)	0	(5)	0	1	0	-	-	2,000
ntucky	1	0	-	(2)	0	(7)	0	8	0	approved by committee/3		15,000
isiana	1	5	-	(2)	0	(8)	0	2	0	x		0
ine	1	1	x	(2)	0	(2)	0	6	56	x		5,000
yland	1	1	-	(2)	0	(8)	0	0	0	x		10,000
ssachusetts	0	1	-	(2)	0	(20)	0	0	0	-	-	40,000
higan	1	5	-	(2)	0	(19)	0	2	0	-	x	60,500
nesota	1	2	-	(2)	0	(8)	2	1	0	x		23,000
sissippi	0	0	-	(2)	0	(5)	0	0	0	-	-	0
souri	0	0	-	(2)	0	(10)	0	0	0	-	x	0
ntana	1	0	-	(2)	0	(2)	0	0	0	-	x	5,800
raska	1	0	x	(2)	0	(3)	0	1	0	x		10,000
vada	0	0	-	(2)	0	(1)	0	1	0	-	-	200
Hampshire	0	0	-	(2)	0	(2)	0	1	1	-	-	300
w Jersey	1	0	-	(2)	0	(15)	0	0	0	x		10,000
Mexico	1	0	-	(2)	0	(2)	1	0	0	-	-	5,000
York	1	12	-	(2)	0	(39)	2	0	0	-	-	100,000
th Carolina	0	0	-	(2)	0	(11)	0	0	0	-	-	12
th Dakota	1	0	x	(2)	0	(1)	0	1	0	x		50,000
io	1	3	-	( )	0	(23)	2	3	1	-	-	30,000
										at large		

	State Organization		State Appraisal	Congressional Contact Form				Preparation for Hearing		Personal Request		Prepared to Start
	State RIL	Other Groups		Senate #	rec'd	House #	rec'd	Wit- nesses	Letter head	Full legis	One house	
Oklahoma	1	1	x	(2)	0	(6)	0	7	0	x		15,000
Oregon	1	0	x	(2)	0	(4)	0	6	8	-	-	6,300
Pennsylvania	1	8	x	(2)	0	(25)	1	0	0	-	-	87,940
South Carolina	0	0	-	(2)	0	(6)	0	0	0	-	-	0
South Dakota	1	1	x	(2)	1	(2)	2	0	0	x		10,000
Tennessee	0	0	-	(2)	0	(8)	0	0	0	-	-	150
Texas	1	2	-	(2)	0	(24)	0	0	0	-	-	50,000
Utah	1	0	-	(2)	0	(2)	0	0	0	x		20,000
Vermont	0	1	x	(2)	0	(1)	0	0	0	-	-	2,000
Virginia	1	1	x	(2)	2	(10)	5	0	0	-	-	1,000
Washington	0	0	-	(2)	0	(7)	1	0	0	-	-	11,000
West Virginia	0	1	-	(2)	0	(4)	0	0	0	-	x	25,000
Wisconsin	1	0	-	(2)	0	(9)	0	0	0	-	x	5,000
Wyoming	1	0	-	(2)	0	(1)	0	0	0	-	-	0
Rhode Island	0	0	-	(2)	0	(2)	0	0	0	-	-	1100

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State Evaluation Sheet

State: Alabama

Director: Marie Gentle

Telephone Contact: home

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	$ 4,305.20
	Bracelets	39.00
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	39.00
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	00.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	0
	Listed	0
	2) States Appraisal	0
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	0
	Number of Senators 2	0
	Number of Congressmen 7	0
	4) Mary Beliveau	0
	Number to Testify	0
	Number for Letterhead	0
Newspapers:	Total Number Received by State	0

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Arizona

Director: Dr Carolyn Gerster

Telephone Contact: Sassie

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		$ 2,215.62
	Bracelets	998.40
	Contributions	16.60
	Total	$ 1,015.62
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	380.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		✓
	Listed	1
2) States Appraisal		0
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		✓
Number of Senators 2		0
Number of Congressmen 4		3
4) Mary Bellveau		✓
Number to Testify		8
Number for letterhead		0
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		5,000

3/13/73 - 7?

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Alaska

Director: Maureen Christensen

Telephone Contact: Source

Received by 12/31/73

Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973 * 375.47

Bracelets 78.00

Contributions

Total $ 78.00

As applied to First Quarter 1974

Memberships 310.00

Questionnaires: 1) States Organization ✓

Listed 1

2) States Appraisal ✓

3) Congressional Contact Sheets 0

Number of Senators 2 0

Number of Congressmen 1 (at large) 0

4) Mary Bellivaeu ✓

Number to Testify 3

Number for Letterhead 0

Newsletters: Total Number Received by State 1,000

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Arkansas

Director: Mr. A. Jack Reynolds

Telephone Contact: Jo Anne

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	$2,404.12
	Bracelets	00.00
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	00.00
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	$100.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	0
	Listed	0
	2) States Appraisal	0
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	0
	Number of Senators 2	0
	Number of Congressmen 4	0
	4) Mary Bolivaeu	✓
	Number to Testify	1
	Number for Letterhead	0
Newspapers:	Total Number Received by State	2,000

State Evaluation Sheet

State: California

Director: Robert Sassone

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	$22,941.41
	Bracelets	3,497.52
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	3,497.52
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	210.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	✓
	Listed	2
	2) States Appraisal	✓
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	✓
	Number of Senators 2	1
	Number of Congressmen 43	2
	4) Many Believed	0
	Number to Testify	0
	Number for Letterhead	0
Ballots:	Total Ballots Received by State	15,000

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Colorado

Director: Mary Rita Urbish

Telephone Contact: source

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	$ 2,759.07
	Bracelets	507.00
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	507.00
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	975.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	0
	Listed	0
	2) States Appraisal	0
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	0
	Number of Senators 2	0
	Number of Congressmen 5	0
	4) Mary Bellveau	0
	Number to Testify	0
	Number for Letterhead	0
Newspapers:	Total Number Received by State	11,000

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State Evaluation Sheet

State: Connecticut

Director: Andrew O'Keefe

Telephone Contact: Mary Pat Bouler

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	6 3,784.63
	Bracelets	450.84
	Contributions	2.00
	Total	452.84
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	50.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	✓
	Listed	2
	2) States Appraisal	0
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	0
	Number of Senators 2	0
	Number of Congressmen 6	0
	4) Mary Beliveau	✓
	Number to Testify	3
	Number for Letterhead	0
Newspapers:	Total Number Received by State	15,000

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Delaware

Director: William Fleming

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	$ 685.13
	Bracelets	702.00
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	702.00
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	5.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	✓
	Listed	1
	2) States Appraisal	0
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	0
	Number of Senators 2	0
	Number of Congressmen 1 (at large)	0
	4) Mary Bellicau	0
	Number to Testify	0
	Number for Letterhead	0
Newspapers:	Total Number Received by State	0

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State Evaluation Sheet

State: D. C.

Director: Nellie Gray

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	$ 945.00
	Bracelets	78.00
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	78.00
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	40.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	0
	Listed	0
	2) States Appraisal	0
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	0
	Number of Senators —	—
	Number of Congressmen —	—
	4) Mary Beliveau	0
	Number to Testify	0
	Number for Letterhead	0
Newspapers:	Total Number Received by State	1,000

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Florida

Director: Dr. Applebaum

Telephone Contact: Beverly Horton

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		$ 8,486.80
	Bracelets	1,536.60
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	1,536.00
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	260.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		✓
	Listed	5
2) States Appraisal		✓
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		✓
Number of Senators 2		2
Number of Congressman 15		15
4) Mary Beliveau		✓
Number to Testify		6
Number for Letterhead		8
Responses: Total Number Received by State		4550

8104220120

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Georgia

Director: Jay Bowmore

Telephone Contact: same

Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973 — Received by 12/31/73 — $ 5736.97

Bracelets — 273.00

Contributions — 00.00

Total — 273.00

As applied to First Quarter 1974

Memberships — 50.00

Questionnaires:

1) States Organization — 0

Listed — 0

2) States Appraisal — 0

3) Congressional Contact Sheets — 0

Number of Senators 2 — 1

Number of Congressmen 10 — 1

4) Mary Delivered — 0

Number to Testify — 0

Number for Letterhead — 0

Newspapers: Total Number Received by State — 0

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Hawaii

Director: J. J. Bosgra

Telephone Contact: Robert Pearson

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		960.70
	Bracelets	00.00
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	00.00
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	60.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		0
	Listed	0
2) States Appraisal		0
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		0
Number of Senators 2		0
Number of Congressmen 2		0
4) Mary Beliveau		0
Number to Testify		0
Number for Letterhead		0
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		50

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Idaho

Director: Dr. Peterson

Telephone Contact: Sonya

		Received by 12/31/73
Figures:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	$ 890.71
	Bracelets	00.00
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	00.00
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	100.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	✓
	Listed	1
	2) States Appraisal	0
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	0
	Number of Senators 2	0
	Number of Congressmen 2	0
	4) Barry Goldwater	0
	Number to Testify	0
	Number for Letterhead	0
Newspapers:	Total Number Received by State	3,000

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Illinois

Director: Patricia Kelley

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		$ 13,892.47
	Bracelets	9,137.70
	Contributions	75.00
	Total	9,212.70
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	1,510.00

Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		✓
	Listed	4
2) States Appraisal		✓
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		✓
	Number of Senators 2	0
	Number of Congressmen 24	2
4) Mary Bellveau		✓
	Number to Testify	9
	Number for Letterhead	8
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		37,000

3 1 7 7 3 1 3 4

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Indiana

Director: Mary Hunt

Telephone Contact: some

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	$6,492.08
	Bracelets	1,657.50
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	1,657.50
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	185.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	✓
	Listed	3
	2) States Appraisal	✓
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	0
	Number of Senators 2	0
	Number of Congressmen 11	0
	4) Mary Bellman	✓
	Number to Testify	11
	Number for Letterhead	0
Newspapers:	Total Number Received by State	1500

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Iowa

Director: Carolyn Thompson

Telephone Contact: Same

		Received by 12/31/73
Listings:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	$3,530.47
	Bracelets	5,874.34
	Contributions	2.00
	Total	5,876.34
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	270.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	✓
	Listed	0
	2) States Appraisal	✓
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	0
	Number of Senators 2	0
	Number of Congressmen 6	0
	4) Mary Deliveau	✓
	Number to Testify	8
	Number for Letterhead	0
Newspapers:	Total Number Received by State	8,000

8 1 0 4 1 3 3 1 3 5

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Kansas

Director: Pat Goodson

Telephone Contact: [illegible]

Received by 12/31/73

Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973 — $2,808.22

Bracelets — 2,301.00

Contributions — 00.00

Total — 2,301.00

As applied to First Quarter 1974

Memberships — 30.00

Questionnaires: 1) States Organization — ✓

Listed — 2

2) States Appraisal — 0

3) Congressional Contact Sheets — 0

Number of Senators 2 — 0

Number of Congressmen 5 — 0

4) Mary Beliveau — ✓

Number to Testify — 1

Number for Letterhead — 0

Newspapers: Total Number Received by State — 2,000

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Kentucky

Director: Robert Greene

Telephone Contact: Flora Montgomery

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	$ 4,023.38
	Bracelets	1,287.00
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	1,287.00
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	1130.00
Questionnaire:	1) States Organization	✓
	Listed	1
	2) States Appraisal	0
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	0
	Number of Senators 2	0
	Number of Congressmen 7	0
	4) Mary Bellwood	8
	Number to Testify	0
	Number for Letterhead	0
Mailgrams:	Total Mailgrams Received by State	15,000

8 1 1 2 2 1 1 2 2

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Louisiana

Director: Gerald J. Martiney

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		$4,551.63
	Bracelets	230.88
	Contributions	1,172.00
	Total	1402.88
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	575.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		✓
	Listed	6
2) States Appraisal		0
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		0
Number of Senators 2		0
Number of Congressmen 8		0
4) Mary Bolivcau		✓
Number to Testify		0
Number for Letterhead		2
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		5,000

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Maine

Director: Mary Beliveau

Telephone Contact: Same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		$ 1,240.06
	Bracelets	733.20
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	733.20
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Membership	385.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		✓
	Listed	2
2) States Appraisal		✓
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		0
Number of Senators 2		0
Number of Congressmen 2		0
4) Mary Beliveau		✓
Number to Testify		6
Number for Letterhead		56
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		5,000

8117117100

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Maryland

Director: Dr. Callitor

Telephone Contact: Sowers

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	$ 4,902.99
	Bracelets	2,028.00
	Contributions	1,005.46
	Total	3,033.46
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	255.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	✓
	Listed	2
	2) States Appraisal	0
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	0
	Number of Senators 2	0
	Number of Congressmen 8	0
	4) Mary Bellinsau	0
	Number to Testify	0
	Number for Letterhead	0
Newspapers:	Total Number Received by State	10,000

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Massachusetts

Director: Dr. Mildred Jefferson

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	$ 7,111.41
	Bracelets	2,527.20
	Contributions	200.00
	Total	2,727.20
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	3,545.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	✓
	Listed	1
	2) States Appraisal	0
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	0
	Number of Senators 2	0
	Number of Congressmen 20	0
	4) Mary Sullivan	0
	Number to Testify	0
	Number for Letterhead	0
Newspapers:	Total Number Received by State	40,000

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State Evaluation Sheet

State: Michigan

Director: Gloria Klein

Telephone Contact: same

Received by 12/31/73

Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973 — $11,093.85

Bracelets — 22,984.26

Contributions — 3,731.00

Total — 26,715.26

As applied to First Quarter 1974

Memberships — 485.00

Questionnaires: 1) States Organization — ✓

Listed — 6

2) States Appraisal — 0

3) Congressional Contact Sheets — ✓

Number of Senators 2 — 0

Number of Congressmen 19 — 1

4) Mary Beliveau — ✓

Number to Testify — 7

Number for Letterhead — 0

Newspapers: Total Number Received by State — 60,500

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Minnesota

Director: Marjorie Mecklenburg

Telephone Contact: Same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		4,756.21
	Bracelets	13,842.56
	Contributions	10,105.87
	Total	23,948.43
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	9,370.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		✓
	Listed	3
2) States Appraisal		0
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		✓
Number of Senators 2		0
Number of Congressmen 8		2
4) Mary Beliveau		✓
Number to Testify		1
Number for Letterhead		0
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		23,000

8117123114

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Mississippi

Director: _____

Telephone Contact: _____

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		$2,771.14
	Bracelets	1,404.00
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	2,771.14
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	25.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		0
	Listed	0
2) States Appraisal		0
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		0
Number of Senators 2		0
Number of Congressmen 5		0
4) Mary Beliveau		0
Number to Testify		0
Number for Letterhead		0
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		0

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Missouri

Director: Frances Frech

Telephone Contact: _____

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		$ 5,845.12
	Bracelets	2,403.91
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	2,403.91
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	250.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Orgenization		0
	Listed	0
2) States Appraisal		0
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		0
Number of Senators 2		0
Number of Congressmen 10		0
4) Mary Beliveau		0
Number to Testify		0
Number for Letterhead		0
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		0

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State Evaluation Sheet

State: Montana

Director: Frances Kuntz

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	$ 868.01
	Bracelets	124.80
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	124.80
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	50.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	✓
	Listed	1
	2) States Appraisal	0
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	0
	Number of Senators 2	0
	Number of Congressmen 2	0
	4) Mary Dolivcau	0
	Number to Testify	0
	Number for Letterhead	0
Newspapers:	Total Number Received by State	5,800

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Nebraska

Director: Dorothy Shald

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		$ 1,854.36
	Bracelets	3,354.00
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	3,354.00
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	340.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		✓
	Listed	1
2) States Appraisal		✓
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		0
Number of Senators 2		0
Number of Congressmen 3		0
4) Mary Beliveau		✓
Number to Testify		1
Number for Letterhead		0
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		10,000

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Nevada

Director: Pat Glenn

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	$ 610.92
	Bracelets	00.00
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	00.00
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	00.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	0
	Listed	0
	2) States Appraisal	0
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	0
	Number of Senators 2	0
	Number of Congressmen 1 (at large)	0
	4) Mary Beliveau	✓
	Number to Testify	1
	Number for Letterhead	0
Newspapers:	Total Number Received by State	200

State Evaluation Sheet

State: New Hampshire

Director: Mr. Joseph Acorace

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		# 922.10
	Bracelets	234.00
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	234.00
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	25.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		0
	Listed	0
2) States Appraisal		0
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		0
Number of Senators 2		0
Number of Congressmen 2		0
4) Mary Beliveau		✓
Number to Testify		1
Number for Letterhead		1
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		300

811122813

State Evaluation Sheet

State: New Jersey

Director: James Feeney

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	$ 8960.20
	Bracelets	6133.92
	Contributions	1002.50
	Total	7136.42
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	470.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	✓
	Listed	1
	2) States Appraisal	0
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	0
	Number of Senators 2	0
	Number of Congressmen 15	0
	4) Mary Deliveau	0
	Number to Testify	0
	Number for Letterhead	0
Newspapers:	Total Number Received by State	10,000

State Evaluation Sheet

State: New Mexico

Director: William P. Moloney

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		$ 1,270.00
	Bracelets	280.80
	Contributions	2.00
	Total	282.80
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	205.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		✓
	Listed	1
2) States Appraisal		0
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		✓
Number of Senators 2		0
Number of Congressmen 2		1
4) Mary Beliveau		0
Number to Testify		0
Number for Letterhead		0
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		5,000

8/1/73 2nd Qtr

State Evaluation Sheet

State: New York

Director: Edword Golden

Telephone Contact: Rita Burke

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	$22,796.20
	Bracelets	7,339.48
	Contributions	18,470.98
	Total	22,796.20
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	1,060.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	✓
	Listed	13
	2) States Appraisal	0
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	✓
	Number of Senators 2	0
	Number of Congressmen 39	2
	4) Mary Beliveau	0
	Number to Testify	0
	Number for Letterhead	0
Newspapers:	Total Number Received by State	100,000

State Evaluation Sheet

State: North Carolina

Director: Emma O'Steen

Telephone Contact: Some

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		#6,352.57
	Bracelets	351.00
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	6,352.57
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	0
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		0
	Listed	0
2) States Appraisal		0
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		0
Number of Senators 2		0
Number of Congressmen 11		0
4) Mary Beliveau		0
Number to Testify		0
Number for Letterhead		0
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		12

8102120304

State Evaluation Sheet

State: North Dakota

Director: Dr. Al Fortman

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	$ 722.20
	Bracelets	1,014.00
	Contributions	2.00
	Total	1,016.00
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	3,010.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	✓
	Listed	0
	2) States Appraisal	✓
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	0
	Number of Senators 2	0
	Number of Congressmen 1 (at large)	0
	4) Mary Beliveau	0
	Number to Testify	0
	Number for Letterhead	0
Newspapers:	Total Number Received by State	50,000

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Ohio

Director: John C. Willke

Telephone Contact: Mrs. Willke

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		$13,315.02
	Bracelets	13,607.68
	Contributions	4,457.35
	Total	18,065.03
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	2,800.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		✓
	Listed	5
2) States Appraisal		0
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		✓
Number of Senators 2		0
Number of Congressmen 23		2
4) Mary Peliveau		0
Number to Testify		0
Number for Letterhead		0
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		70,000

8120120126

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Oklahoma

Director: Paulette Standefer

Telephone Contact: same

Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973 — Received by 12/31/73 — $3,199.03

Bracelets — 821.80

Contributions — 00.00

Total — 821.80

As applied to First Quarter 1974

Memberships — 835.00

Questionnaires: 1) States Organization — ✓

Listed — 2

2) States Appraisal — ✓

3) Congressional Contact Sheets — 0

Number of Senators 2 — 0

Number of Congressmen 6 — 0

4) Mary Beliveau — ✓

Number to Testify — 7

Number for Letterhead — 0

Newspapers: Total Number Received by State — 15,000

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Oregon

Director: Dr. Donald Manion

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		$2,614.23
	Bracelets	2,277.60
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	2,277.60
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	230.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		✓
	Listed	1
2) States Appraisal		✓
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		0
Number of Senators 2		0
Number of Congressmen 4		0
4) Mary Beliveau		✓
Number to Testify		6
Number for Letterhead		8
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		4,300

81747

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Pennsylvania

Director: Judy Fink

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		$14,742.38
	Bracelets	8,856.12
	Contributions	1,858.00
	Total	10,714.12
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	2,040.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		✓
	Listed	1
2) States Appraisal		✓
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		✓
Number of Senators 2		1
Number of Congressmen 25		1
4) Mary Beliveau		0
Number to Testify		0
Number for Letterhead		0
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		87,940

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Rhode Island

Director: Robert Bergeron

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	$ 1,183.40
	Bracelets	23.00
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	23.00
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	100.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	0
	Listed	0
	2) States Appraisal	0
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	0
	Number of Senators 2	0
	Number of Congressmen 2	0
	4) Mary Beliveau	0
	Number to Testify	0
	Number for Letterhead	0
Newspapers:	Total Number Received by State	100

State Evaluation Sheet

State: South Cardina

Director: _____

Telephone Contact: _____

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	$ 3,238.14
	Bracelets	00.00
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	00.00
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	10.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	0
	Listed	0
	2) States Appraisal	0
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	0
	Number of Senators 2	0
	Number of Congressmen 6	0
	4) Mary Balivcac	0
	Number to Testify	0
	Number for Letterhead	0
Newspapers:	Total Number Received by State	0

State Evaluation Sheet

State: South Dakota

Director: Ruth Farrar

Telephone Contact: Same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	$ 831.88
	Bracelets	2,584.00
	Contributions	341.36
	Total	2,925.36
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	150.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	✓
	Listed	2
	2) States Appraisal	✓
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	✓
	Number of Senators 2	1
	Number of Congressmen 2	2
	4) Mary Beliveau	0
	Number to Testify	0
	Number for Letterhead	0
Newspapers:	Total Number Received by State	10,000

RIC 12/31/73

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Tennessee

Director: Gerald J. Cardin

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		4,904.60
	Bracelets	00.00
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	00.00
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	00.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		0
	Listed	0
2) States Appraisal		0
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		0
Number of Senators 2		0
Number of Congressmen 8		0
4) Mary Beliveau		0
Number to Testify		0
Number for Letterhead		0
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		150

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Texas

Director: Professor J. Witherspoon

Telephone Contact: some

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		$13,995.91
	Bracelets	3,042.20
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	3,042.20
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	2,040.00

Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		✓
	Listed	3
2) States Appraisal		0
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		0
Number of Senators 2		0
Number of Congressmen 24		0
4) Mary Boliveau		0
Number to Testify		0
Number for Letterhead		0

Newspapers: Total Number Received by State 50,000

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Utah

Director: Dennis Cook

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		$1,324.09
	Bracelets	320.00
	Contributions	173.00
	Total	563.00
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	460.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		✓
	Listed	1
2) States Appraisal		0
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		0
Number of Senators 2		0
Number of Congressmen 2		0
4) Mary Bellicau		0
Number to Testify		0
Number for Letterhead		0
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		20,000

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Vermont

Director: Kitty Morrissey

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances:	Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973	555.41
	Bracelets	39.00
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	00.00
	As applied to First Quarter 1974	
	Memberships	55.00
Questionnaires:	1) States Organization	✓
	Listed	1
	2) States Appraisal	✓
	3) Congressional Contact Sheets	0
	Number of Senators 2	0
	Number of Congressmen 1 (at large)	0
	4) Mary Deliveau	0
	Number to Testify	0
	Number for Letterhead	0
Newspapers:	Total Number Received by State	≈2,000

RIN 2215

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Virginia

Director: Anne Morrey

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		$ 5,910.61
	Bracelets	2,472.00
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	2,472.00
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	200.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		✓
	Listed	2
2) States Appraisal		✓
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		✓
Number of Senators 2		2
Number of Congressmen 10		5
4) Mary Beliveau		0
Number to Testify		0
Number for Letterhead		0
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		1,000

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Washington

Director: Ken Vanderhoef

Telephone Contact: Same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		$ 4,261.46
	Bracelets	1,170.00
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	1,170.00
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	155.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		0
	Listed	0
2) States Appraisal		0
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		✓
Number of Senators 2		0
Number of Congressmen 7		1
4) Mary Beliveau		0
Number to Testify		0
Number for Letterhead		0
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		11,000

8 1 0 2 2 3 1 3

State Evaluation Sheet

State: West Virginia

Director: James Mauck

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		$ 2,180.29
	Bracelets	48.75
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	48.75
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	95.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		✓
	Listed	0
2) States Appraisal		0
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		0
Number of Senators 2		0
Number of Congressmen 4		0
4) Mary Beliveau		0
Number to Testify		0
Number for Letterhead		0
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		25,000

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Wisconsin

Director: Mimi Bruce

Telephone Contact: same

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		$ 5,522.16
	Bracelets	4,191.90
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	4,191.90
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	320.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		✓
	Listed	1
2) States Appraisal		0
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		0
Number of Senators 2		0
Number of Congressmen 9		0
4) Mary Beliveau		0
Number to Testify		0
Number for Letterhead		0
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		5,000

State Evaluation Sheet

State: Wyoming

Director: _____

Telephone Contact: _____

		Received by 12/31/73
Finances: Fourth Quarterly Assessment 1973		$ 415.52
	Bracelets	00.00
	Contributions	00.00
	Total	415.52
As applied to First Quarter 1974		
	Memberships	5.00
Questionnaires: 1) States Organization		✓
	Listed	1
2) States Appraisal		0
3) Congressional Contact Sheets		0
Number of Senators 2		0
Number of Congressmen 1 (at large)		0
4) Mary Beliveau		0
Number to Testify		0
Number for Letterhead		0
Newspapers: Total Number Received by State		0

BYLAWS

THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, Inc.

ARTICLE I

OFFICE

The principal office of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be at Washington, D.C. The Corporation may have such other office or offices, within or without the District of Columbia, as the Board of Directors may determine or as the affairs of the Corporation may require, from time to time.

ARTICLE II

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. GENERAL POWERS. The affairs of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be managed by its Board of Directors. Directors need not be residents of the District of Columbia, but must reside in the state they represent. Each director shall cast one vote.

2. NUMBER AND TENURE. The number of directors shall not be less than three (3), nor more than sixty-one (61). Each director shall hold office until the next annual meeting or until his successor shall have been elected.

3. ELECTION OF DIRECTORS. One director shall be elected by each state of the United States and the District of Columbia. The time, place and manner of electing the director shall be prescribed by each state and the District of Columbia. The Executive Committee will have the authority to nominate additional at-large members to the Board of Directors, these members to be elected by a majority vote of the elected representatives who shall constitute the Board of Directors. The number of these additional at-large directors shall not exceed a number equal to twenty percentum (20%) of those elected representatives.

4. CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE. Any dispute as to state representation shall be resolved by a Credentials Committee, which Committee shall be appointed by the Executive Committee in 1973 and by the Board of Directors thereafter. All state representatives shall be elected and the Executive Committee notified as to their election no later than ten (10) days prior to the opening day of each annual convention of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. so as to allow sufficient time for the presentation of challenges to such representatives, and the resolution of such challenges by the Credentials Committee. The Credentials Committee shall hold a hearing on any dispute as to representation and determine, by majority vote, the rightful holder, if any, of the directorship. The decision of the Credentials Committee may be appealed to the Board of Directors.

5. RESIGNATION OF DIRECTOR. A director may resign at any time from the Board of Directors by giving written notice to the Chairman of the Board of Directors. Such resignation shall be effective on the date designated in such notice, or if no date is designated, then upon receipt by the Chairman. Unless otherwise stipulated, acceptance of such resignation shall not be necessary for it to be effective.

6. REMOVAL OF DIRECTORS. By a vote of two-thirds (2/3) of the directors any director who is judged as unwilling or unable to fulfill his or her duties may be removed at any meeting of the Board of Directors upon the written initiative of at least six (6) directors presented to the Chairman. The proposed removal shall be stated in the notice to be given for such meeting.

7. VACANCIES. Any vacancy occurring in the Board of Directors shall be filled by the jurisdiction which such director represented. Vacancies occurring among at-large directors shall be filled by the Executive Committee with the advice and consent of the Board of Directors. A Director elected to fill a vacancy shall be elected for the unexpired term of his or her predecessor in office.

8. COMPENSATION. Directors as such shall not receive any compensation for their services; but nothing contained herein shall be construed to preclude any director from serving the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. in any other capacity and receiving compensation therefor.

9. MEETINGS. (a) The annual meeting of the Board of Directors shall be held without other notice than this bylaw during the second or third quarter of each calender year at such time and place as is decided upon by the Board of Directors; and the meeting at which these bylaws are adopted shall be considered the first annual meeting of the Board of Directors. The Board of Directors may provide by resolution for the time and place, either within or without the District of Columbia, for the holding of additional regular meetings for which no other notice need be given. (b) Special meetings of the Board of Directors shall be called by the Chairman of the Board of Directors at the request of a number of the directors equal to at least twenty-five percentum (25%) of the full Board of Directors. Notice of any special meeting of the Board of Directors shall be given at least twenty (20) days prior to the meeting by written notice delivered personally or sent by mail or telegram to each Director at the address shown for such director in the records of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. If mailed, such notice shall be deemed to be delivered when deposited in the United States mail in a sealed envelope so addressed, with postage prepaid thereon. If notice be given by telegram, such notice shall be deemed to be delivered when the telegram is delivered to the telegraph company. The attendance of a director at any meeting shall constitute a waiver of notice of such meeting. Neither the business to be transacted, nor the purpose of, any regular or special meeting of the Board of Directors need be specified in the notice of such meeting unless specifically required by law or by these bylaws.

10. QUORUM. A majority of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting of the Board of Directors.

11. INFORMAL ACTION BY DIRECTORS. Any action required by law to be taken at a meeting of the Board of Directors may be taken without a meeting if a consent in writing, setting forth the action so taken, shall be signed by a majority of the directors.

12. PROXY VOTES. A director may vote by proxy executed in writing. No person may exercise more than three (3) proxies. The presence of a director at a meeting revokes his or her proxy.

13. VOTE BY MAIL AND TELEPHONE. A vote to be taken by the Board of Directors on any matter may be conducted by mail, telephone, or other electronic device.

14. COMMITTEES. The Board of Directors may, from time to time, appoint committees to perform functions designated by the Board. Minutes shall be kept of the meetings of all such committees.

15. CUMULATIVE VOTING BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. In all elections for the Executive Committee and/or the Presidency of the National Right to Life Committee, each director shall be entitled to cast one vote for each position open and cumulative voting shall not be allowed.

ARTICLE III

OFFICERS

1. The officers of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be a president, one or more vice-presidents (the number thereof to be determined by the Board of Directors), a secretary, a treasurer, and such other officers as may be elected in accordance with the provisions of this Article.

2. THE PRESIDENT. The President shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at the regular annual meeting of the National Right to Life Committee. The Board of Directors shall appoint a nominating committee which committee shall nominate candidates for this office. Candidates may also be proposed by any director provided at least five (5) other directors concur in such nomination. The candidate receiving the most votes for this office shall be the winner unless he or she has not received the affirmative votes of a majority of those directors voting. If no candidate receives a majority of the votes cast by those voting, then the two highest candidates shall run in a run-off election. The President may be removed from office by the Board of Directors by a two-thirds (2/3) vote whenever, in its judgment, the best interests of the National Right to Life Committee would be served thereby.

A vacancy in the office of the Presidency shall be filled by the Board of Directors for the unexpired portion of the term.

3. OTHER OFFICERS. All other officers shall be elected by the Executive Committee, subject to ratification by the Board of Directors.

4. NECESSITY FOR MEMBERSHIP OF OFFICERS ON BOARD OF DIRECTORS. No officer of the National Right to Life Committee need be a member of the Board of Directors.

5. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

(a) THE PRESIDENT. The President shall be the chief operating officer and shall be responsible for the day-to-day operation of the National Right to Life Committee and shall also perform such other duties assigned by the Board of Directors.

(b) THE VICE PRESIDENT. The Vice President shall assist the President in the performance of his or her duties, and shall perform those duties in the absence or inability of the President.

(c) THE SECRETARY. The Secretary shall keep the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors in one or more books provided for that purpose; shall see that all notices are duly given in accordance with the provisions of these bylaws or as required by law; shall be custodian of the records of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.; shall keep a register of the postal addresses of each director of the Committee and, in general, shall perform all of the duties incident to the office of Secretary and such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors. The Secretary, with the approval of the Executive Committee, may assign such duties to another.

(d) THE TREASURER. The Treasurer shall have charge and custody of, and be responsible for, all funds and assets of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. He or she shall receive and give receipt for money payable to the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. from any sources, and SHALL DEPOSIT ALL SUCH MONEY IN THE NAME OR AND TO THE CREDIT OF THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INCORPORATED, in such banks and other depositories as shall be selected by the Executive Committee. He or she shall, in general, perform all of the duties incident to the office of Treasurer, including the maintenance of complete and accurate books and records of account, and such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors. Such duties may, with the approval of the Executive Committee, be assigned to another.

(e) EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. There shall be an Executive Director who shall serve at the pleasure of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE IV

MEMBERS

The members of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be divided into two (2) classes:

1. DIRECTORS. A Director is a duly elected member of the Board of Directors who is then serving in office as a director; and a director shall have the right to vote on the management and affairs of the National Right to Life Committee as provided for in these bylaws.

2. ASSOCIATE MEMBERS. An associate member is any individual, partnership, trust, firm or corporation, who or which shall pay an annual dues to be set by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE V

CHECKS AND DEPOSITS OF FUNDS

All checks, drafts or orders for the payment of money, notes or other evidences of indebtedness issued in the name of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be signed by such officer or officers, agent or agents and in such manner as shall be determined from time to time by the Executive Committee. All funds of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall be deposited TO THE CREDIT OF THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC. in such banks or other depositories as shall be determined from time to time by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI

CORPORATE SEAL

The corporate seal shall be a metallic seal and shall be kept in the possession of the Secretary.

ARTICLE VII

AMENDMENTS TO THE BYLAWS

These bylaws may be altered, amended or repealed, or new bylaws may be adopted by a vote of two-thirds (2/3) of the Directors present at any regular meeting or at any special meeting called for that purpose; provided, however, that at least ten (10) days notice must be given of the intention to alter, amend or repeal or adopt new bylaws at such meeting, prior to such meeting.

ARTICLE VIII

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. The Executive Committee of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. shall consist of nine (9) members. The President of the National Right to Life Committee shall serve as an ex officio, and voting, member of the Executive Committee. The remaining eight (8) members of the Executive Committee shall be members of the Board of Directors at the time of their election and shall be elected by the Board of Directors from nominees submitted by the Nominating Committee which shall be appointed by the Board of Directors. Candidates may also be proposed by any Director provided at least five (5) other directors concur in such nomination.

2. In elections to the Executive Committee each member of the Board of Directors shall have eight (8) votes and may use all or part of these votes; but cumulative voting shall not be permitted and no single board member may cast more than one (1) vote for any nominee: provided, however, that a board member shall exercise any proxies in the same manner.

3. At the 1973 National Right to Life Convention, those four (4) members of the Executive Committee who shall receive the highest number of votes shall serve for a term of two (2) years. The remaining members shall serve for a term of one (1) year. Thereafter, all elections to the Executive Committee shall be for a term of two (2) years.

4. Vacancies on the Executive Committee, with the exception of a vacancy occurring in the office of the presidency, shall be filled by the Executive Committee for a term to run until the next annual convention.

5. The Executive Committee shall be responsible for the specific management of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. and such other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors.

6. CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall preside at the first annual meeting of the Board of Directors until the Board of Directors shall elect its own Chairman. The Chairman of the Board of Directors shall perform all duties incident to the office and such other duties as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

7. VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. In the absence of the Chairman, or in the event of his or her inability or refusal to act, the Vice Chairman, who shall be elected by the Board of Directors, shall perform the duties of the Chairman and, when so acting, shall have all the powers of, and be subject to all of the restrictions on, the Chairman. The Vice Chairman shall also perform such other duties as may be assigned from time to time by the Board of Directors.

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE CONFERENCE CALL

June 19, 1973, 9:15 P.M. E.D.T.

Participants: Edward Golden, President; Marjorie Mecklenburg, Chairman of the Board; Judith Fink, Secretary; Gloria Klein, Treasurer; John Willke, M.D.; Professor Joseph Witherspoon; Michael Taylor; Robert Greene, Esq; Albert Fortman, M.D.

Marjorie Mecklenburg raised the question of whether the expenses incurred by Executive Committee members at the Convention in Detroit would be covered by NRLC (in specific reference to those persons who were seated on the now-defunct first Executive Committee). Edward Golden stated that any carry-over expenses would be paid for by NRLC.

Gloria Klein reported that the Josten Jewelry Company has forwarded a check for $15,300 to her, and that she sent the check to Michael Taylor to be deposited in the current Washington, D. C. bank account set aside for NRLC expenses. This figure represents total profit for NRLC through a period ending two weeks before this date. Another $26,000 is expected to be paid by Jostens to NRLC within one more month.

Marjorie Mecklenburg reported that the Josten Jewelry Company has temporarily halted bracelet production in order to re-assess realistic future projections for production requirements. It is estimated that, within the next year, 700,000 bracelet orders will be placed.

She also stated that Mr. Doug Dahl of the National Youth Pro-Life Coalition is now handling the NYPLC part of the bracelet project, and that the NYPLC is unhappy with the current arrangement negotiated in the signed contract with Josten's. Judy Fink inquired into the nature of the complaint, and Mrs. Mecklenburg stated that the NYPLC would like to re-negotiate the fiscal arrangements in order to receive 45¢ of the price of each bracelet sold instead of the current 22¢.

Following discussion, Professor Witherspoon suggested that Mr. Golden appoint a small Committee to re-process the problem. He stated that the Executive Committee should not be used as a reconciliation agency. (Subsequent to the phone call, Marjorie Mecklenburg, Gloria Klein and Professor Witherspoon were so appointed).

The names of Mr. Ed Decker, Rev. Warren Schaffer, and Mr. Richard Eaton were proposed for interviews for staff positions. These persons will be invited to meet with the Executive Committee on June 23, 1973 for interview purposes. The name of a woman, presently residing in Colorado, who was formerly personal secretary to R. Sargent Shriver was also proposed as a candidate for a secretarial position.

A discussion of the agenda for the coming meeting; a report from the Secretary; and a report from Gloria Klein concerning the Convention wrap-up concluded the business of the Conference Call.

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

O'Hare International Towers Hotel

Chicago, Illinois
June 22, 23, 1973

Present: Edward Golden, President; Marjorie Mecklenburg, Chairman of the Board; Judith Fink, Secretary; Gloria Klein, Treasurer; John Willke, M.D.; Professor Joseph Witherspoon; Albert Fortman, M.D.; Robert Greene, Esq.; Michael Taylor

Also present Friday June 22; Rev. Warren Schaller

Friday, June 22, 1973, 9:00 p.m.

A discussion concerning whether officers of the Corporation not elected to the Executive Committee should attend the Committee meetings took place. Concenses was that the Vice President and the Vice Chairman of the Board should be invited to attend meetings, but that their presence was not mandated.

MOTION by Marjorie Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Judith Fink, that for the future record that the Chairman of the Board, Vice Chairman of the Board and the First Vice President of the Corporation be extended a standing invitation to attend Executive Committee meetings, and that travel expenses for these persons would be paid by NRLC.

CARRIED 8-1.

MOTION by Albert Fortman, SECONDED by Marjorie Mecklenburg, that any Director of the National Right to Life Committee, by prior arrangement with the President of the Corporation, may attend an Executive Committee meeting, the expense to be born by that Director personally or by his or her state.

CARRIED unanimously.

The Executive Committee requested that the Secretary mail agendas for future conference calls and meetings to the Committee in advance, whenever possible.

A discussion of who is the proper person to speak as "press officer" for NRLC, especially on matters relating to the business of the Executive Committee ensued. Prof. Witherspoon recommended that if a policy statement from NRLC is made it should be issued by either the President or the Chairman of the Board.

The Secretary stated that she would submit all minutes of both Board and Executive Committee meetings to the Executive Committee for approval before mailing them to the Board of Directors.

MOTION by Prof. Joseph Witherspoon, that, in terms of the issuance of official policy statements for NRLC that this should be the prerogative of the President, or of any member of the Executive Committee so authorized.

MOTION WITHDRAWN following discussion. Prof. Witherspoon then recommended the establishment of a Policy Committee to further explore the matter of who should issue statements, how policy would be enacted, etc.

MOTION by Albert Fortman, SECONDED by Prof. Witherspoon, that Marjorie Mecklenburg be elected Vice Chairman of the Executive Committee.

CARRIED unanimously.

MOTION by Robert Green, SECONDED by Gloria Klein that the Secretary of the Corporation serve as Secretary of the Executive Committee, with Judith Fink to serve in that capacity.

CARRIED unanimously.

The setting of a schedule of Executive Committee meetings proceeded as follows:

July 20, 21; August 17, 18; September 14, 15;

October 19, 20; November 16, 17; December 7, 8; January 18, 19;

February 15, 16; March 15, 16; April 19, 20; May 17, 18

The following dates for Conference Calls were set (10 days prior to each meeting):

July 9; August 6; September 10; October 8; November 5;

November 26

The relationship of an Executive Director to staff personnel and the Executive Committee was explored, with the concept that the Executive Director took direction from the Executive Committee, implemented matters through his staff, and fed back his and the staff's work and ideas to Executive Committee for approval generally agreed upon.

The ordering of the priorities for the work of the Executive Committee was discussed. Richard Taylor suggested that the pragmatic need of fundraising stood first, with activity/strategy surrounding a Constitutional Amendment, strengthening of state organizations, preparing for the fall legislative session, setting policy approaches for dealing with states' problems, and developing public education programs following.

Marjorie Mecklenburg reported that Americans United for Life, a 501-C3 group is working on an information retrieval service to develop informational and educational materials for right to life groups such as movies, books, organizational manuals, etc. Prof. Witherspoon asked that NRLC be furnished with a precis of AUL's accomplishments, structure, goals, statement of purpose, and other pertinent data.

A general discussion of C3 groups and how they relate to the activities of NRLC followed.

How to involve groups with "pluralistic" interests in the pro-life central theme was explored. Prof. Witherspoon suggested that a "cabinet of organizations" could be formed to weld together diverse groups which agreed on anti-abortion ideology.

The need for a national publication for NRLC was seen to be paramount, and considerable discussion took place regarding how this could be accomplished. No conclusion was reached, but consensus was firm that quick future action should be taken on the matter.

Robert Greene discussed his written report regarding Committee Structure. The Executive Committee felt that the Committee concept was badly needed, but was undecided on the best manner to begin to establish these Committees. The matter was left pending further discussion.

Prof. Witherspoon again strongly urged the establishment of a Policy Committee.

Judith Fink informed the Executive Committee that she felt that the role of the Secretary of the Corporation should be more than just one of minutes taking, and that she felt that the Secretary stood in a unique position to have an overview of the full activities of the Corporation as it developed; that keeping accurate records was vital to the smooth functioning of the Corporation; and that she requested a certain amount of autonomy in developing the Secretary's role as the work of the Corporation and Executive Committee progressed.

Saturday, June 23, 1973, 9:00 a.m.

The first half-hour of the meeting was devoted to developing a format for the interviews of the individuals who were presenting themselves to the Executive Committee as candidates for the position of Executive Director.

The following persons then each were granted at least one hour for interview:

Michael Cotton, Director of Research and Demonstration
Division of the National Council on the Aging

Rev. Warren Schaller, rector, St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Minneapolis, Minn.
(presently employed on a per-diem basis by NRLC)

John Barbert, Director, Minnesota Catholic Conference

A decision was not reached to select any of these persons as Executive Director. The Executive Committee decided to meet again in Chicago the next weekend, June 29, 30, to continue the discussion on both the matters of the foregoing evening and the selection of a Director and possibly other staff personnel.

The meeting was adjourned by the President.

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NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

O'Hare International Towers Hotel

Chicago, Illinois
June 29, 30, 1973

Present: Edward Golden, President; Marjory Mecklenburg, Chairman of the Board; Judith Fink, Secretary; Gloria Klein, Treasurer; Robert Greene; Prof. Joseph Witherspoon; Michael Taylor

Absent: John Willke, M.D. and Albert Fortman, M.D.

Friday, June 29, 1973, 8:30 p.m.

MOTION by Robert Greene and SECONDED by Marjory Mecklenburg that the minutes of the Executive Committee meeting of June 22-23, 1973 be approved as submitted by the Secretary.

CARRIED unanimously

A discussion of the format in which the official corporate minutes would be distributed to the Board of Directors then took place. The Executive Committee chose to distribute these in a more lengthy narrative style, rather than a perfunctory listing of motions. Prof. Witherspoon advised that the first function of minutes is to develop discussion among those who receive them, and that detailed minutes convey information that will facilitate the reception of help and advice from the recipients.

AGENDA for June 29:
* Discussion of distribution of Resolution #3.
* Discussion of [illegible]
* Establish [illegible]
[illegible]
* Discussion of [illegible] in Congress on [illegible]
* Action on setting [illegible] Washington, D.C. office.

AGENDA for June 30:
* Discussion of mailing procedures to membership and [illegible].
* Presentation [illegible] concerning [illegible]
[illegible]
* Other [illegible]
* Establishment of [illegible] for letters

Edward Golden reported that Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi has signed on as a co-sponsor of the Buckley Human Life Amendment.

Mr. Golden discussed the fact that an individual has distributed to the members of the United States Congress a version of Resolution #3 that does not reflect the official amended wording of this Resolution, and that he did so without any authorization from the Executive Committee to begin this distribution. This person produced, on his own initiative, a "dummy" letterhead purporting to be that of the National Right to Life Committee, wrote a press release giving statements in this press release attributed to the NRLC that were not official statements of the NRLC, and did so without informing Mr. Golden or any other member of the Executive Committee either of the contents of the press release or that he planned to distribute Resolution #3 at this time.

Judith Fink reported that the person had telephoned her on June 21, 1973, requesting a list of the Board of Directors addresses and also a list of the delegates attending the National Convention. It was at this time that she first became aware of the unauthorized distribution. She requested him to not distribute any more copies of Resolution #3 until the Executive Committee authorized such distribution, and pointed out that the version of the Resolution that he had sent to Congress contained several errors in wording. The person agreed to suspend distribution pending word from the Executive Committee, Mrs. Fink stated.

The CONSENSUS of the Executive Committee, following discussion, was that the man under discussion had acted inappropriately by initiating such unauthorized action, and that Mr. Golden would write to him informing him that further distribution of Resolution #3 would be handled by the Executive Committee. The Resolution clearly states that the Secretary of the Corporation is responsible for such distribution.

The Executive Committee of NRLC wishes to have it clearly understood that no organization or individual may issue press releases or other mailed information under the letterhead of the National Right to Life Committee without authorization from the President of the NRLC.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR CANDIDATE DISCUSSION

No formal vote has been taken by the Executive Committee at this time to hire any one individual as Executive Director.

Discussion on the matter centered around how definitive must the NRLC program be before an executive be hired; how will the Exec. Comm. and Executive Director related to the various states -- in an authoritative or consultative manner; and how developed must the budget and job description be before further discussions take place regarding the Executive Directorship.

EXPENSE REMUNERATION FOR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS

The Exec. Comm. members are and will be incurring expenses for travel, lodging and food, telephone calls, and in some cases child care.

It was agreed that an expense form would be developed by the Treasurer for the submission of such legitimate expenses.

MOTION by Robert Greene, SECONDED by Joseph Witherspoon that during the interim

period before staff is hired for the Washington office that expenses be submitted to the Treasurer for remuneration, the actual handling of the transaction to be done by Michael Taylor.

CARRIED unanimously.

HIRING OF STAFF FOR WASHINGTON OFFICE

Rev. Warren Schaller was hired by the former Executive Committee to perform duties directed by them on a per diem basis. Rev. Schaller has offered his services to the NAC as a staff member to operate out of the Washington, D.C. office, with the job description to be drawn by the Executive Committee.

A discussion of whether a future Executive Director would wish to hire all his or her own staff, or whether the Executive Committee should retain the prerogative for selection of staff persons took place. It was pointed out by several members that it might be weeks or months before an Executive Director is hired and that there is an immediate and critical need for staffing of the office by a person that could act as an interim activities coordinator and as an assistant for the more active members of the Executive Committee (or for all the Committee members as needed).

Mrs. Fink stated that she felt that Rev. Schaller's abilities had not been made use of to the fullest during the time he was available on a per diem basis, that he had been willing to spend more time and perform more duties than he had been directed to do, and that she had found the work he had performed for her to be extremely valuable. She pointed out that, at present, there was no secretary or any other means for her to perform her duties as Secretary of the Corporation except to undertake all the work herself. She is at present doing her own typing, preparing and duplicating mailings without assistance, attempting to do all together the huge bulk of work that has emerged from the Convention pertaining to Secretarial duties and implement same without assistance; and is grossly overburdened. All her work is at present being done from her home.

Rev. Schaller's salary requirements were discussed. Marjory Heckenburg pointed out that he will leave an established parish (he is an Episcopal minister) to take a staff post and has certain needs that persons who have been employed by industry or who are in other professional positions already enjoy. Considerable discussion of the salary range for an administrative assistant in Washington, D.C. ensued, with Robert Hayes, Gloria Klein and Judith Fink being appointed to meet and confer in person with Rev. Schaller his requirements and negotiate a satisfactory salary that would start with the approval of the Executive Committee.

MOVED by Marjorie Heckenburg, SECONDED by Judith Fink that Rev. Warren Schaller be hired as a staff member to serve at the pleasure of the Executive Committee, with a waiver of a one-year contract, with compensation and duties to be negotiated.

CARRIED 6-1.

Marjorie Mecklenburg raised the question of when the Executive Committee would hire a secretary for the Washington office. No decision was reached, pending the finalization of Rev. Scheller's contract, and a review of the budget.

DISCUSSION OF COMMITTEE STRUCTURE

Edward Colden informed the Exec. Com. that he would prefer not to be an active member of any Committee, but rather an ex officio/at member of all standing committees.

He informed the Exec. Com. that he had asked Prof. Joseph Witherspoon to be the Chairman of a Public Policy Committee.

Marjorie Mecklenburg raised the question of how are Chairmen of Committees to be appointed. It was decided by CONSENSUS that any further Committee Chairman appointments would be held within the bounds of the entire Executive Committee.

Robert Greene suggested that as many Committee chairmen who stood outside the Executive Committee be chosen as possible.

It was agreed, following further discussion that members of the Executive Committee would, whenever possible, be appointed as [illegible] assignees to standing committees, with the Chairmen of these committees to be chosen by the entire standing Committee. The Executive Committee Consultant would be voting member of the standing Committee and could, if the Committee chose, become Chairman of the standing committee.

A lengthy discussion concerning the alignment, priority, and duties of each standing Committee resulted in the following listing of Committees to be duly constituted as the Executive Committee saw fit:

1. Public Policy Committee
2. Finance Committee
3. States' Organization Committee
4. States' Program Committee
   (to have a subcommittee for Congressional Liaison)
5. Legal Advisory Committee
6. Public Relations/Media Committee
7. Education Committee
8. Intergroup Liaison Committee
9. Information Committee
10. Medical Advisory Committee
11. Convention Committee.

Saturday, June 30, 1973, 9:00 a.m.

Present: Edward Colden, President; Marjorie Mecklenburg, Chairman of the Board; Judith Fink, Secretary; Gloria Klein, Treasurer; Robert Greene, Michael Taylor, Albert Fortman, M.D.; Prof. Joseph Witherspoon; Mildred Jefferson, M.D.

Absent: John Willke, M.D.

The first order of business was a lengthy discussion of the possible pro-abortion strategy of initiating action on the "States Rights" Amendment currently in the House of Representatives.

Michael Taylor presented his views on the subject, concurring with the thought that for the pro-abortion backers to do so would be entirely possible. He advised that NRLC take the matter under consideration, but not react in a panic button manner; rather, it would be feasible to advise the membership of the potential danger and encourage them to contact their Representatives immediately to let Congress know that prolife sentiment favors a Human Life Amendment.

He specifically suggested a mailing to Congress, stating our views on States' Rights vs. Human Life Amendments, and suggested an informative mailing to the NRLC mailing list, with the various states then taking the responsibility for continuing grassroots local response.

Prof. Witherspoon advised that, in his opinion, our position should center on a statement that "prolife is a positive affirmative action for the unborn child". He also emphasized that there may, if we fail in our efforts to prevent the enactment of a States' Rights Amendment, come a time when we will have to swallow a "bitter pill" and reassess whether or not we will have to then back something we don't really want but have to accept as a fallback. He cautioned that we should not box ourselves out of a fallback position.

The Executive Committee re-affirmed their support for Resolution #3.

MOTION by Marjorie Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Judith Fink that the NRLC reaffirm the Resolution #3 Human Life Amendment position, and that the office be instructed to distribute this Resolution to the Congress, to a comprehensive list of religious jurisdictions, and to the NRLC mailing list, together with appropriate background material.

CARRIED unanimously.

PUBLICATIONS

Discussion of development of prolife mailing lists beyond that of the present NRLC list ensued with the direction that, as soon as the Washington office is staffed, "classification" mailing lists be developed and put on addressograph plates or tapes. Michael Taylor was instructed to use the present list on hand, rather than continue to send out mailings on the old obsolete letterhead.

Robert Greene suggested that states be asked to compile their own lists for inclusion into the NWLC master list.

MOTION by Marjorie Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Robert Greene that staff be asked to develop a comprehensive mailing list by categories.

CARRIED unanimously.

STERILIZATION & CHRISTMAS ISSUES; GIRL SCOUTS PROGRAM

The question was raised that NWLC should speak to the above-mentioned issues, but that no mechanism was yet set up for the issuance of press releases through a PR Committee. Points discussed were who would write a press release in the interim, and who on the Executive Committee should make statements for the organization.

Edward Golden suggested that any statement on the Alabama sterilization issue be held off pending action from the Policy Committee.

Judith Fink urged that the NWLC act now to speak out opposing the "euthanasia committee" concept and forced sterilization because of the timeliness of the issues, and the fact that the antiliners were getting a large amount of national press without any rebuttal from us.

Marjorie Mecklenburg stated that if the Executive Committee will not act on any matter unless guidelines are developed under the Public Policy Committee, then this should be made clear to all interested parties. She suggested that a rapid-action mechanism be developed as soon as possible.

Robert Greene emphasized that he wants the Public Policy Committee to speak to these issues before action is taken by way of public statement.

Edward Golden requested that the Public Policy Committee address itself as quickly as possible to these issues.

MOTION by Marjorie Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Gloria Klein that the Public Policy Committee be asked to consider the euthanasia and forced sterilization issues as early priority items.

CARRIED unanimously.

Judith Fink reported on new developments that have resulted from investigations in several parts of the country into the Girl Scout "To Be A Woman" merit badge. She said that not only is the badge now to be a nationwide reality, according to a recent Seventeen article in the [illegible] Evening Post [illegible], but that [illegible] Central-ELCA publishing house [illegible] text will [illegible] Bulletin, as a project, with printed materials already in the hands of the Scouts and their leaders. She urged that NWLC respond

quickly to address itself to this concern.

MOTION by Joseph Witherspoon, SECONDED by Albert Fortmen that the staff ascertain the definite policy of the Girl Scout program, that it provide an analysis, and provide this information to an appropriate committee and that this committee report back a recommendation for NRLC action.

CARRIED unanimously.

OEO - Mr. Robert Marshall

Marjorie Mecklenburg reported that Mr. Robert Marshall is looking for a strong constituency response on his ideas for OEO regulation changes that would inhibit OEO funds from being used for abortion and sterilization activities.

Michael Taylor suggested that Mr. Marshall should discuss his approaches with Committee members further, to clarify his goals. Robert Greene suggested that grassroots people should be encouraged to contact their own Community Action Programs already funded by OEO to urge that they implement prolife ideas.

MOTION by Robert Greene, SECONDED by Marjorie Mecklenburg to refer the OEO matter to the Information Committee, when it is constituted, for action.

CARRIED unanimously.

INSTITUTION OF STANDING COMMITTEES

Discussion of the institution of standing committees centered around developing (a) the rationale, (b) a written charge, (c) suggested members, (d) time limitations for reporting and (e) funding of committee expenditures.

A lengthy and vigorous discussion then took place concerning which Committees should receive priority, and how much latitude they would have.

Prof. Witherspoon stated that his Public Policy Committee should meet weekly, and he would like at least three people coming together from the entire committee weekly to deal with these matters of evaluation, research and synthesis.

He suggested appointing a temporary chairman to develop tasks and work up a task force. He suggested the names of the persons he would like to see on the Public Policy Committee. They are himself, Prof. Walter Trinkaus, Larry Washburn, Esq., Edward Becker, Esq., and Andre Hellegers, M.D.

Marjorie Mecklenburg asked for inclusion on the Public Policy Committee of people that are practicists as well as theoreticians - in other words, "movement builders" -- people that understand the dynamics of the movement. She expressed concern that over-caution could paralyze the action of the NRLC.

She suggested that a Research and Data Committee, if it were constituted, could have input into the Public Policy Committee. She pointed out that, at present, no staff at all was available to assist in the work of any Committee, and asked that Prof. Witherspoon be authorized to hire staff in Texas on a part-time basis to assist the Public Policy Committee's work.

Gloria Klein concurred with Mrs Mecklenburg in urging that a person with rank and file experience be placed on the Committee. Judy Fink pointed out that no woman had been considered for a voting position on this Committee, that all the members-to-be were male Roman Catholics, and that she urged that Protestants and Jews be considered as additional members.

In answer to a question concerning how would the Policy Committee put out information for a response, Albert Gerken replied that he felt that the most immediate response should be from the staff; the next most immediate response from the President, and the third response from the Executive Committee members.

Further discussion led Prof. Witherspoon to state that one part of the Committee, as he saw it, were theoreticians and another part were able to put out responses for on-going dialogue.

MOTION by Albert Gerken, SECONDED by Robert Gerken that a Public Policy Committee be appointed to implement its charge (which see on Committee listing); that Prof. Witherspoon serve as temporary chairman, and that the Policy Committee present its initial report one week prior to the Executive Committee meeting of August 17-18, 1973; that the Policy Committee reports its budgetary needs to the Executive Committee and prepare its own work program.

CARRIED 6-2. The dissenters, Mecklenburg and Fink, wish it stated for the record that they object to the makeup and constitution of the Committee in that no woman and no Protestant or Jew is at this time seated.

A Finance Committee was instituted (see standing Committee list) to implement its charges to explore the avenues that money can be raised for the complete funding of the NRLC and its varying programs, and to raise these monies.

The following were seen to be first topics for evaluation:

Assessment of states

Membership dues

Circle of Life bracelet sales

Bequests

A States' Organization Committee was instituted (see standing Committee List) to develop strong right to life organizations in each of the several states and the District of Columbia.

A States Program Committee was instituted (see standing Committee list) to conduct research concerning the existing programs in the various states, with an analysis of their effectiveness, and with the charge to develop new programs for the purpose of political and social persuasion.

A Public Relations/Media Committee was instituted (see standing Committee list) to form the public image of NRLC, to create a progressive and healthy relationship with all types of media, and to develop the concept of a broad based newspaper as the official organ of NRLC.

THE ABOVE FOUR COMMITTEES WILL BE FULLY FUNDED INITIALLY BY NRLC IN REGARD TO TRAVEL EXPENSES AND OTHER SECRETARY NEEDS.

An Education Committee was instituted (see standing Committee list) to establish the guidelines and provide the necessary resource materials for education the American public, at various age levels. The endeavor shall encompass both institutional and non-institutional areas.

An Interfaith Liaison Committee was instituted (see standing Committee list) to foster increased cooperative relationships with organizations throughout the United States, both religious and secular, that will contribute to the development of a broad-based foundation for the National Right to Life Committee in keeping with the stated purposes and goals of the NRLC.

A Legal Advisory Committee was instituted (see standing Committee list) to review, analyze and report court decisions, legislative acts, and administrative regulations as they related to the protection of human life; to establish a resource library of appropriate publications and other legal materials; and to publish a law review to provide the legal profession with a scholarly appraisal of legal developments in the protection of human life.

A Medical Advisory Committee was instituted, with Mildred Jefferson M.D. to act as Consultant, and Fred Mecklenburg M.D. to assist in its organization. The specific charge is yet to be developed.

Action on the Information Committee and the Fundraising Committee was tabled until the next full executive committee meeting on July 20-21, 1973.

THE ABOVE COMMITTEES WILL BE INITIALLY FUNDED FOR TRAVEL AND OTHER LEGITIMATE EXPENSES AS SUCH AS THE SECRETARY NEEDS FOR MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS OF NRLC ARE MET.

Gloria Klein, Treasurer, reported that the Boston Jewelry Company has informed her that there is a sum of $15,778.75 due them in sales that are 45 days overdue.

She informed the Committee that NRLC will be liable for unpaid accounts.

Prof. Witherspoon moved and it was that an ad hoc committee immediately address the problems and be given the authority to collect the overdue accounts.

MOTION by Joseph Witherspoon, SECONDED by Gloria Klein that Marjorie Mecklenburg and Gloria Klein together retain John Markert, Esq., or if Mr. Markert is unavailable another attorney of their choice, to work out the problem of the overdue "Circle of Life" bills.

The Meeting was adjourned.

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PUBLIC POLICY COMMITTEE June 29, 30, 1973

CHARGE: The Public Policy Committee is hereby established for the purpose of developing recommendations relative to the organizational positions on public policy, bearing upon the protection of human life, for the consideration of the Executive Committee.

MOVED: by Albert Fortman, SECONDED by Robert Greene, that a Public Policy Committee be appointed with Prof. Joseph Witherspoon to serve as temporary chairman; that the said Policy Committee present its initial report one week prior to the Executive Committee meeting of August 17-18, 1973; that the Policy Committee report its budgetary needs to the Executive Committee, and prepare its own work program.

CARRIED: 6-2

The following persons were appointed to the Public Policy Committee:

Prof. Joseph Witherspoon (temporary chairman, Executive Committee Consultant); Prof. Walter Trinkaus; Larry Washburn, Esq.; Edward Becker, Esq.; Andre Hellegers, M.D.; and Roy Scarpato.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

CHARGE: The Finance Committee is established to determine the avenues in which money can be raised for the complete funding of the National Right to Life Committee and its varying programs, and upon the acceptance by the Executive Committee of these programs, the Finance Committee will be charged with raising these monies.

The Finance Committee will also act in an advisory capacity to the Executive Committee of NRLC on budgetary preparation and control.

MOVED: by Albert Fortman, SECONDED by Marjorie Reichenbach that a Finance Committee be established, with Dennis Klein, Treasurer of NRLC to act as Executive Committee Coordinator and with J. Robert Bergeron, Sandra Simmons, Edward Sivak, and Kenneth Vanderhoef, Esq. to act as members; that the Finance Committee have responsibilities with the approval of the Executive Committee to obtain grants ; to report to the Executive Committee one week prior to the Executive Committee meeting of August 17-18, 1973; that the Finance Committee establish its own budget.

CARRIED: Unanimously

STATES ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE June 29, 30, 1973

CHARGE: The States' Organization Committee shall be charged with the development of strong state and local Right to Life organizations in each of the several states and the District of Columbia. The Committee shall act in an advisory capacity to the Executive Committee on matters of organization. It shall prepare an appropriate organizational manual.

MOVED: by Judy Fink, seconded by Gloria Klein, that a States Organization Committee be established to carry out the above charge; that Mitchell Taylor be named Executive Committee Consultant; that Jane Dolderer, Mildred Lotebe, Jane Arnold, and Joe Lane be appointed as members; that the Committee have reasonable latitude to add additional members; that the Committee prepare a report to submit to the Executive Committee one week before the August 17-18, 1973 Executive Committee meeting; that the States Organization Committee establish its own budget.

CARRIED: Unanimously

STATES PROGRAM COMMITTEE

CHARGE: The States' Program Committee is charged with implementing research concerning the existing programs in the various states, with an analysis of their effectiveness; and with the development of new programs for the purpose of political and social persuasion.

MOVED: by Judy Fink, seconded by Albert Fortson, that a States' Program Committee established to carry out the above charge; that Marjorie Mecklenburg be named Executive Committee Consultant; that Mary Bellveau, Lucille Dolphino, Marie Gerrie, Mary Ellen Ulrich, Patricia Kelly, and Carolyn Thompson be appointed as members; that the States Program Committee prepare a report to submit to the Executive Committee one week before the August 17-18, Executive Committee meeting; that the States Program Committee establish its own budget.

CARRIED Unanimously.

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PUBLIC RELATIONS/MEDIA COMMITTEE June 29, 30, 1973

CHARGE: The Public Relations/Media Committee shall be charged with the formation of the public image of the National Right to Life Committee; with the creation of a progressive and healthy relationship with all types of media; and with developing the concept of a broad based newspaper as the official organ of the National Right to Life Committee.

MOVED: by Gloria Klein, SECONDED by Judy Fink that the Public Relations/Media Committee be established to implement the above charge; that Albert Fortman, M.D. be named Executive Committee Consultant; that Maury Sheridan be named as the Assistant Consultant to the Public Relations/Media Com.; the the PR/Media Committee prepare their initial report and submit it to the Executive Committee one week before the August 17-18, 1973 meeting of the Executive Committee; that the PR/Media Committee prepare its own budget; that Alice Hartle, Maury Sheridan, Gerry Ghighlieri, Kathy Martin, Dexter Duggan, Bruce Zaeffel and Robert Winn Esq. be named to act as members.

CARRIED: unanimously

EDUCATION COMMITTEE

CHARGE: The Education Committee shall be charged with establishing the guidelines and providing the nexessary resource materials for educating the American public about the prolife issues, for various age levels. The endeavor shall encompass both institutional and non-institutional areas.

MOVED: by Judy Fink, SECONDED by Marjorie Mecklenburg that an Education Committee be established to implement the above charge; that John Willke, M.D. be named as Executive Committee Consultant to the Education Committee; that the Education Committee prepare its initial report for submission to the Executiv Committee one week before the September 14-15 meeting of the Executive Committee; and that Rev. Edwin Palmer, Robert Sassone, Sr. Margaret Carney, O.S.F., Mary Schmit, John Middleton and Joseph Stanton be named as members of the Committee.

CARRIED Unanimously

LEGAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE June 29, 30, 1973

CHARGE: The Legal Advisory Committee is charged with the review, analysis and reporting of court decisions, legislative acts, and administrative regulations as they relate to the protection of human life; with the establishment of a resource library of appropriate publications and other legal materials; and with the publication of a law review to provide the legal profession with a scholarly appraisal of legal developments in the protection of human life.

MOVED: by Prof. Joseph Witherspoon, SECONDED by Albert Fortman that a Legal Advisory Committee be established within the National Right to Life Committee to implement the above charge; that Robert Greene, Esq. be named as members of the Legal Advisory Committee; Martin McKernan, Jr., Judge James Ryan, George Devlin, Prof. James Smith, Dennis Horan, Robert Byrn, Nellie Gray, Robert Brake, and John Delhay; and that the Legal Advisory Committee submit its initial report to the Executive Committee one week before the Sept. 14-15 1973 meeting of the Executive Committee.

CARRIED unanimously

INTERGROUP LIAISON COMMITTEE

CHARGE: The Intergroup Liaison Committee is charged with the fostering of informed and productive relationships with organizations throughout the United States, both religious and secular, that will contribute to the development of a broad-based foundation for the National Right to Life Committee in keeping with the states purposes and goals of the NRLC.

MOVED: by Marjorie Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Gloria Klein that an Intergroup Liaison Committee be established to implement the above charge; that Judith Fink be named as Executive Committee consultant; that the said Committee be given reasonable latitude to expand its members as needed; that an initial report be submitted to the Executive Committee one week before its September 14-15, 1973 meeting; that the following persons be named as initial members; Rev. Rod Fink, Rev. Dwayne Summers; Rev. Robert Holbrook, Jean Garton and Rev. William Hunt.

CARRIED: unanimously.

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MEDICAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

CHARGE: The Medical Advisory Committee is hereby established for the purpose of reaffirming and defending traditional medical ethics based on the Hippocratic Oath and respect for the sanctity of life. It is charged with developing an effective forum for reaching physicians in general and in specific medical organizations including societies, medical schools, hospitals and other medical facilities. It is further charged to formulate programs to identify those ethical trends and medical practices which threaten or degrade human life and advise appropriate action against them to the Executive Committee.

MOVED: by Judy Fink, SECONDED by Robert Greene that a Medical Advisory Committee be established to carry out the above charge; that Mildred F. Jefferson, M.D. be named as the Consultant to the Medical Advisory Committee; that the Committee be given reasonable latitutde to expand its members with the approval of the Executive Committee; that a report be submitted to the Executive Committee one week before its Sept. 14-15, 1973 meeting; that the following persons are appointed to the Medical Advisory Committee;

Fred E. Mecklenburg, M.D.; Carolyn F. Gerster, M.D.; Joseph R. Stanton, M.D.; Edward G. Kilroy, M.D.; Matthew J. Dulfin, M.D.

CARRIED unanimously.

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE CONFERENCE CALL

July 5, 1973, 10:00 P.M. E.D.T.

Present: Edward Golden, President; Judy Fink, Robert Greene, Gloria Klein, Marjory Mecklenburg, Michael Tyalor, Prof. Joseph Witherspoon, Albert Fortman, M.D., Mildred Jefferson, M.D.

Absent: John Willke, M.D.

Robert Greene reported that the ad hoc Compensation Committee had met via conference call four times within the past week. The Committee had found it difficult to discuss a salary figure without a clear job description having been formulated.

Discussion concerning the job description of the position to be filled by Rev. Warren Schaller ensued, with the conclusion reached that Rev. Schaller should be asked to enter into the discussion regarding staff positions vis a vis job description.

The matter of the composition of the Public Policy Committee was the next point of business. Judy Fink requested that consideration be given to seating members of the Protestant and Jewish faiths. Marjory Mecklenburg asked for clarification of the role of the Public Policy Committee in its relationship to the Executive Committee. Prof. Witherspoon stated that he saw the Public Policy Committee as a recommendatory body.

The discussion turned to the Girl Scouts of the USA's "To Be a Woman" badge program. An informal vote was taken as to whether the NRLC should take an active role in involvment opposing the program at this time. There were 3 yeses (Mecklenburg, Fink, Klein) and 5 noes. Gloria Klein suggested that a letter from the three women on the Executive Committee, all of whom are either Girl Scout Leaders or have daughters in the Scouting program, could seek to clarify the intent of the National Girl Scout office. It was agreed by consensus that a letter signed by the three women would be sent to the Girl Scout headquarters seeking such clarification.

Nellie Gray, Esq. is preparing a booth for the Convention of the American Bar Association in Washington, D. C., for the first week of August, and has asked for assistance from NRLC.

Another Conference Call is to be held on July 9, 1973, as regularly scheduled.

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NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE CONFERENCE CALL

July 9, 1973, 10:00 P.M. E.D.T.

Present: Edward Golden, President; Judy Fink; Marjory Mecklenburg; Robert Greene; Albert Fortman, M.D.; Prof. Joseph Witherspoon; Michael Taylor

Absent: John Willke, M.D.; Gloria Klein

Edward Golden opened the meeting by reading a letter he had sent to Rev. Warren Schaller, in re matters concerning Rev. Schaller's employment and job description.

A clarification was asked for by Dr. Fortman concerning what commitment, if any, the NRLC had made to any other Executive Director candidate in relation to employment by NRLC. Mr. Golden responded that no definite commitment had been made.

Marjory Mecklenburg asked if all Executive Committee members had received a copy of a telegram mailed to the Committee from Rev. Schaller. Since a few had not received their copies as yet, Mr. Golden read the telegram.

Discussion ensued regarding job description for Rev. Warren Schaller, with the following motion introduced:

MOTION by Marjory Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Albert Fortman, that the NRLC employ Rev. Warren Schaller as interim or acting Executive Director at $25,000 per annum plus health insurance for a six month period, at the end of which time one of the following options shall be mutually agreed upon:

(a) Reappointment as interim or acting Director, for another specified period of time.

(b) Appointment as Executive Director.

(c) Appointment to the position of assistant Director, if another person were available and desired for the position of Executive Director.

(d) Appointment to another salaried staff position, (equivalent salary) in Washington office.

Unless Rev. Schaller would be dismissed for incompetence, this contract for employment by the National Right to Life Committee of Rev. Warren Schaller to serve in one of the above capacities shall extend through the calendar year 1974.

Robert Greene spoke to the motion in the form of a report from the Compensation Committee. He stated that pursuant to the motion at last meeting of the Executive Committee to offer Rev. Schaller a staff position with NRLC, that the Compensation Committee recommended that Rev. Schaller be offered a one year contract, at the salary of $19,500 plus a health insurance package, life insurance coverage equivalent to his present policy, and compensation for the actual cost of moving his family to Washington, D. C. The salary could be re-negotiated upwards, but not downward, when the top Executive Director would be hired. The Compensation Committee left the job description unspecified.

More discussion on the motion centered around job description and outline and Rev. Schaller's memos concerning same.

Marjory Mecklenburg stated that the Executive Committee has voted regarding Rev. Schaller. Mr. Golden advised that he had informed Rev. Schaller that he would be hired for a "position of undetermined capacity" only. Further discussion concerned how specifically should the position offered Rev. Schaller be defined.

Edward Golden advised that he would contact Rev. Schaller to determine if he will accept employment in keeping with the report of the Compensation Committee.

Judy Fink advised that Rev. Schaller had asked that his name be withdrawn as a candidate for employment on the 10th of July, if no decision had been reached that was mutually agreeable to all concerned.

Nellie Gray's request for assistance from the NRLC for the ABA Convention booth brought forth the following response:

MOTION by Marjory Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Judy Fink, that the NRLC fund the cost of the Convention booth literature at a sum not to exceed $750.00.

CARRIED unanimously.

The question was raised whether an Executive Committee member is legally empowered by the bylaws of the Corporation to issue a proxy within the Executive Committee to another member if unable to attend a meeting.

Judy Fink asked for an opinion from the lawyers present; they felt that it was legal to do so. Further discussion pro and con took place.

MOTION by Marjory Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Albert Fortman, that an Executive Committee member be empowered to issue a proxy within the Executive Committee to another member if unable to attend a meeting.

AMENDMENT to the motion offered by Judy Fink, SECONDED by Marjory Mecklenburg that proxies be offered within Executive Committee on an interim basis until further policy is developed.

CARRIED 6-1.

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE CONFERENCE CALL

July 10, 1973, 10:30 P.M. E.D.T.

Present: Edward Golden, President; Judy Fink; Marjory Mecklenburg; Prof. Joseph Witherspoon; Gloria Klein; Michael Taylor; Robert Greene

Absent: John Willke

Mrs. Mecklenburg placed the motion of the previous evening (which had not been voted upon) regarding the employment of Warren Schaller on the floor.

Michael Taylor stated that he would prefer to see several viable motions available to the Executive Committee at this time, and read the following in the context of speaking to the motion on the floor: "that an office manager plus at least one secretary be hired on a per diem basis until Labor Day 1973, with duties to include setting up the office, handling mail and telephone, fulfilling tasks assigned by the Executive Committee and specifically those assigned by the President."

Marjory Mecklenburg stated that she wished it placed on the record that all other Executive Director applicants interviewed had asked for a salary considerable in excess of the $25,000 that Rev. Schaller has asked that he needs in order to accept employment by NRLC.

Further discussion on the motion concerned whether a "six month clause" should be included, and the question of how specific the job description should be was re-opened.

Michael Taylor introduced the following as a substitute motion to the motion already on the floor:

MOTION by Michael Taylor, SECONDED by Gloria Klein, that an office manager, plus at least one secretary be hired on a per diem basis until Labor Day, 1973 with the following specific job functions:

(a) set up the office

(b) answer mail and telephone and assist the Secretary of the Corporation

(c) perform specific tasks prescribed by Executive Committee

(d) in day to day matters not covered by Executive Committee charge, office manager would communicate with and be answerable to the President

In response to a question concerning whether Mr. Taylor had any person in mind for this office manager position, he stated that several individuals capable of such work could be contacted and specifically mentioned Mr. Joseph Lampe, Rev. Schaller, and others.

A motion to amend the substitute motion was offered by Albert Fortman to the effect that Joseph Lampe be approached to be the office manager under the terms stated in Michael Taylor's substitute motion and that following hiring of the Executive Director that Mr. Lampe be retained on an equivalent level as a permanent staff person. There was no second, and the motion to amend was withdrawn.

Further vigorous discussion centered around whether there was some manner of prejudice against any pro-life individual who was involved in activities within the Minnesota pro-life structure. Several persons on the Committee confirmed that they were fully aware of animosity toward Minnesota, but hoped it could be overcome.

VOTE WAS TAKEN ON THE SUBSTITUTE MOTION INTRODUCED BY MICHAEL TAYLOR.

Roll Call Vote: Greene, Witherspoon, Taylor (YES): Fortman, Fink, Golden, Mecklenburg, Klein (NO)

DEFEATED 3-5.

MOTION by Albert Fortman, SECONDED by Marjory Mecklenburg that, the National Right to Life Committee employ Mr. John Markert as Executive Director, at a salary of $45,000 per annum.

SUBSTITUTE MOTION by Michael Taylor, SECONDED by Robert Greene, that the motion be postponed as inopportune, since a full consideration of John Markert's candidacy as Director has not been entertained at this time.

Discussion on the substitute motion clarified the point that a "yes" vote meant indefinite postponement of the main motion.

Roll Call Vote on substitute motion: Albert Fortman, Marjory Mecklenburg (NO); July Fink, Edward Golden, Robert Greene, Gloria Klein, Prof. Witherspoon, Michael Taylor (YES)

SUBSTITUTE MOTION CARRIED 6-2.

MOTION by Robert Greene, SECONDED by Michael Taylor that the President appoint a Committee to hire a secretary for the office and that the Committee have full authority to establish both the salary and the job duties of the secretary.

Roll Call Vote: Fortman, (NO): Fink, Greene, Witherspoon, Taylor, Golden, Mecklenburg, Klein (YES).

CARRIED 7-1.

Further conversation centered around the possibility of philosophical differences existing on the Executive Committee regarding the manner in which its various members saw its proper function. It was agreed that the August 17, 18 meeting would be expanded to include the date of the 19th in order to further explore this possibility, and to reach agreement as to manner of functioning of the Committee.

Prof. Witherspoon suggested that Marjory Mecklenburg and Albert Fortman prepare a paper outlining the basic philosophy that they felt the NRLC should have, and any other persons who wished to circulate such a paper should feel free to do so.

A motion was then introduced:

MOTION by Prof. Joseph Witherspoon, SECONDED by Marjory Mecklenburg, that the Compensation Committee's recommendations be changed to recommend a salary of $25,000 plus health insurance, and to define the job offered Rev. Schaller as "interim Executive Director", with the proviso that as part of the interim Executive Director clause that the Executive Committee would be free at any time to offer a position as top Executive Director to any person that the Committee would wish to hire.

Roll Call Vote: Michael Taylor, Gloria Klein (NO); Albert Fortman, Judy Fink, Edward Golden, Marjory Mecklenburg, Prof. Joseph Witherspoon (YES).

CARRIED 5-2. Robert Greene had, before introduction of this motion, been carried away from the meeting by other business.

MOTION by Marjory Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Albert Fortman that approved minutes of conference calls also be sent to Board of Directors.

CARRIED unanimously.

Edward Golden appointed Gloria Klein, Michael Taylor, and Judy Fink to serve on the Secretarial Hiring Committee.

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

O'Hare International Towers Hotel

Chicago, Illinois
July 20, 21, 1973

Friday July 20, 1973

The meeting convened at 8:45 p.m.

Present: Edward Golden, Gloria Klein, John Willke, M.D., Judy Fink, Michael Taylor, Marjorie Mecklenburg.

The proxy for Albert Fortmen was held by Mecklenburg; proxy for Joseph Witherspoon was held by Edward Golden.

Also present was J. Robert M. Bergeron, Chairman, Finance Committee of NRLC

The meeting was opened by Edward Golden, President. The minutes of the previous meeting were approved.

The names of William Hogan and William Cox were added to the roster of the Education Committee, and Joseph Stanton was removed. Rosetta Ferguson will be contacted to serve as a special consultant to the Committee for contact with the black community.

Mr. Robert Bergeron then presented the report of the Finance Committee. Discussion following the report included proper procedure for collecting delinquent accounts for "Circle of Life" bracelets, financing of the work of the respective NRLC Committees, and means of fund-raising. Mr. Golden will send a letter to the various State Directors outlining the need for funds for NRLC. The complete Finance Committee report will be mailed to each State Director.

The need for securing hearings in Congress relative to the various bills submitted calling for a Constitutional Amendment was discussed with the Executive Committee by Michael Taylor. The NRLC should press for such hearings to be held this fall, he recommended.

Saturday July 21, 1973

The meeting re-convened at 9:00 a.m.

The Girl Scouts of the U.S.A. "To Be a Woman" badge program was discussed at length. A press release will be prepared by the Executive Committee, and released in Washington to the wire services and the Board of Directors.

Michael Taylor requested that states with current mailing lists send copies to him, for updating of the national mailings.

A "rapid-action" mechanism for the issuing of press releases was discussed. The procedures of such a rapid action mechanism should include a clear policy which covers the selection of appropriate "clearance" persons, and which establishes a review of the content and tone of press releases.

Michael Taylor initiated a discussion of his present role with NRLC vis a vis his former role as Executive Secretary. He made a proposal that the Executive Committee, for an interim period, give him a line of authority to construct political programs for NRLC as a transition procedure.

Upon MOTION by John Willke, SECONDED by Gloria Klein, it was proposed that Michael Taylor be hired Research and Political Consultant for NRLC on an interim basis; that he continue the informational mailings to the pro-life organizations, with the power, in the transition, to formulate political programs in consultation with the Executive Committee, in the name of NRLC Inc; and that NRLC Inc. assume the cost of such informational mailings.

CARRIED 8-0, with proxies exercised.

Upon MOTION by Marjorie Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Judy Fink, it was proposed that the old NRLC be reimbursed by NRLC Inc. for printing and postage and all other mailing expenses outstanding as of this date; and that NRLC Inc. formally request in the subsequent newsletters that the $25 subscription cost for the year 1973 for such informational mailings be paid to NRLC Inc.

CARRIED 8-0, with proxies exercised.

Upon MOTION by John Willke, SECONDED by Judy Fink, it was proposed that NRLC Inc. declare August 24 and 25 National Right to Life Garage Sale Weekend, with the proceeds to go to the NRLC to be used to fund the work of the NRLC, these funds to be credited to each state to help defray their support of the national office.

CARRIED 8-0, with proxies exercised.

The meeting closed with a discussion of the role of Executive Director, centering upon the continued search for the head Executive person.

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

CONFERENCE CALL

Tuesday, August 7, 1973

1. Bracelet project

It was agreed that we will give Jostens the go ahead on a sales promotion in the fall. Gloria Klein moved and Judy Fink seconded that bracelet sales profits for N.R.L.C. be credited toward state assessments. This action was tabled until the August 17th Executive Directors' meeting.

2. There was some discussion of a Protestant tie-in to the Catholic Respect for Life week in October. However, it was decided that because literature was already printed, it would be best to leave it a Catholic venture.

3. Calendare for 1973-74.

November ------ Hearings and Lobbying (Washington, D. C.)
December ------ Semi annual Board of Directors' meeting
January ------- Demonstrations to call attention to January 22. (Memorial services in churches?)
February ------ Kick-off for fund raising, Marjorie Mecklenburg suggested that we think about a telethon on national level
March --------- Activities directed towards state legislatures and alternatives and expansion of our image.
April --------- Intense lobbying in Washington.... Hearings.
May ---------- Repeat of April. Perhaps a special activity on Mother's Day.
June ---------- National convention

4. Judy Fink reported that a segment of the Inter-Group committee would be meeting in New Jersey this week and asked for a full funding to support a committee meeting in the fall.

5. Tennessee reported the naming of their new Director -- Gerald F. Carden, Esq. Arkansas' new director is A. Jack Reynolds.

6. Discussion of the "Maude" show problem. It was decided that Ed Golden would send a night letter to all sponsors who have ever sponsored the "Maude" series.

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

O'Hare International Towers Hotel

Chicago, Illinois
August 17, 18, 19, 1973

Present: Edward Golden, Marjory Mecklenburg, Michael Taylor, Prof. Joseph Witherspoon, Albert Fortman M.D., Gloria Klein, Robert Greene Esq., Judith Fink, John Willke M.D., Rev. Warren Schaller (interim Executive Director).

Friday, August 17, 1973, 8:30 p.m.

Upon invitation from Edward Golden, President, Msgr. James T. McHugh, Director, Family Life Bureau, U.S. Catholic Conference, discussed the work of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. with the members of the Executive Committee. Msgr. McHugh informed the Committee of plans for pro-life work being drawn up which will be implemented by the U.S. Catholic Conference. It was informally agreed that communication will continue to be kept open between the NRLC and the USCC, with opportunity for dialogue as needed.

Saturday, August 18, 1973, 10:00 a.m.

Present: Edward Golden, Marjory Mecklenburg, Michael Taylor, Prof. Joseph Witherspoon, Albert Fortman M.D., Gloria Klein, Robert Greene Esq., Judith Fink, John Willke M.D., Rev. Warren Schaller (interim Executive Director).

The minutes of the previous meeting were approved. Discussion concerning minutes format took place, with the concept of comprehensive minutes once again put forth as desired by the Committee.

Dr. Fortman introduced Mr. Ted Smith, a public relations specialist. Mr. Smith presented an overview of the problems and potentialities surrounding the publication of a pro-life newspaper, stressing the financial aspects and the benefits accruing to NRLC should such a newspaper be published.

Mr. Smith advised that a circulation of 100,000 was almost essential if the venture were to produce the necessary funds for corporate use. The basic cost of 10¢ per issue, in a quantity of 100,000 run, would be the "break point". Postage for the newspaper at nonprofit rate 3rd class could range from 1.7¢ to as low as .3¢ if a certain IRS class can be achieved for postal ratings.

A discussion of compiling the necessary 100,000 names from available pro-life mailing lists; the task of staffing, editing, and writing the newspaper; the selection of a printing house; editorial policy; insert sheet policy; mailing list distribution procedure, etc. resulted in a

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MOTION by John Willke, SECONDED by Prof. Witherspoon, that NRLC proceed immediately and vigorously in the direction of publishing a national newspaper.

CARRIED unanimously.

MOTION by John Willke, SECONDED by Marjory Mecklenburg, that the first issue of the newsletter be distributed as broadly as possible through all channels of distribution open to it.

CARRIED unanimously.

MOTION by John Willke, SECONDED by Marjory Mecklenburg, to delegate to the chairman of the public relations committee the task of selecting the publisher and the location of publication, and to secure the staff to produce the first issue of the newspaper.

CARRIED unanimously.

Ed Golden reported on the progress made to date in opening and staffing the Washington, D. C. office. Furniture and office equipment are purchased and installed, including equipment for document duplication, which has been obtained on a rental basis.

A secretary has been employed, to be salaried at $7,500 yearly, and a job description has been written for her. Her name is Diane Ward, and she is at this date working for the Corporation. The telephone number for the Washington office is (202) 872-0324. The secretary has been instructed to make no press statements of any kind.

A job description for Rev. Warren Schaller, the interim Director, was reviewed. Rev. Schaller and Ed Golden have conferred several times regarding the initial thrust of the office activities, and have mapped a careful and extensive format of ground-breaking activity for Rev. Schaller to enact.

Mr. Golden affirmed his intention to back Rev. Schaller's association with NRLC to the fullest, and pledged his assistance in any way possible. Rev. Schaller will refrain from press releases or conferences until a later date, at Mr. Golden's request.

Major directives to Rev. Schaller will be funneled through Mr. Golden. However, Rev. Schaller can be approached directly by the Executive Committee people regarding the work of their respective Committees.

Rev. Schaller stated that it was his clear understanding that he was to issue no unauthorized press releases, but could issue those authorized by the proper Executive Committee persons. Also, he was to make no unauthorized contacts to Congressional figures but could do so if authorized.

The Executive Committee by consensus informed Judy Fink that she could now mail out the minutes of the previous meetings and Conference calls held to date. It was reported by Gloria Klein that the full transcript of the Board of Directors meeting would cost over $1,000 and she urged that the minutes of the meeting be prepared without it, stating that if there was a question that arose regarding any part of the meeting that a partial transcript could be obtained. This was agreed to by concensus.

Ed Golden reported on the continuing search for an Executive Director, stating that he had contacted several employment agencies. Professor Witherspoon re-opened the question of hiring a previously interviewed individual, namely, Michael Batten. Following discussion, the Committee by concensus agreed that Mr. Batten should be contacted and further explorations made regarding possible employment as Executive Director. A telephone contact was made, and Mr. Batten will send a letter stating definitive points regarding his availability, and other matters of concern to him, to the Executive Committee immediately.

Gloria Klein presented a Finance Committee Report. Such a report will be submitted monthly. On this date, the balance on hand was approximately $49,000. A full listing of outstanding bills was not available, although Mrs. Klein reviewed many with the Committee. It was decided by concensus that the Treasurer will invest all but $5,000 in a savings account for the purpose of drawing interest. Those persons empowered to sign checks for the Corporation (Gloria Klein and Michael Taylor or Edward Golden and Judy Fink) will be bonded for $100,000. All Executive Committee members are now presently bonded for $25,000. A request was made for as careful record keeping of expenses incurred in NRLC work as can be made. By concensus it was agreed that Executive Committee members could spend up to $25.00 on a single purchase for necessary working materials or other legitimate expenses without first receiving approval from the President.

MOTION by Albert Fortman, SECONDED by Marjory Mecklenburg, that credit card numbers be issued for Executive Committee members and Rev. Warren Schaller for telephone expenses.

CARRIED unanimously.

The sum of $200.00 will be set aside for petty cash for the Washington, D. C. office.

The question of the assessment for each state arose in regard to the 78¢ from the sale of each Circle of Life bracelet which goes to NRLC.

MOTION by Gloria Klein, SECONDED by Robert Greene, that the 78¢ profit from the sale of the Circle of Life Bracelets sold in each state be credited to that state's assessment for NRLC.

CARRIED unanimously.

Gloria Klein reported that she has informed the States in her Finance Committee report that proceeds from the garage sale would be split 50-50 with the organization holding the sale.

MOTION by John Willke, SECONDED by Judy Fink to approve the policy set by Gloria Klein that a 50-50 split of the profits from the garage sale be allowed.

CARRIED unanimously.

Robert Greene presented the Legal Advisory Committee report by summarizing a memorandum he has sent to the Legal Advisory Committee members. He reported that Prof. Robert Byrn, Prof. David Louisell, and Prof. James Smith cannot serve on the Committee at this time. He requested funding for a Legal Advisory Committee meeting.

MOTION by John Willke, SECONDED by Judy Fink, to fund a Legal Advisory Committee meeting, each attorney to incur his own expenses for the moment, to be reimbursed by NRLC within 60 days following the meeting.

CARRIED unanimously.

Professor Witherspoon reported on the work of the Public Policy Committee. He reviewed in depth with the Executive Committee a working paper he has drawn up regarding the complexities of the language in the Hogan and Buckley Amendments. He asked that the Working paper be presented to other pro-life attorneys for review and comment, and to stimulate dialogue.

Prof. Witherspoon discussed euthanasia's coverage in the Buckley Amendment. Several questions were raised regarding the effect of the amendment on true negative euthanasia. No definitive answers are possible at this time, Prof. Witherspoon stated, and stressed that careful study by the Public Policy Committee is necessary for this aspect of the euthanasia problem. He put forth the opinion that Congress could enact a law dealing definitively with euthanasia in every aspect under Section V of the 14th Amendment.

The question of the effect of the Buckley Amendment and Hogan Amendment on the potential prohibition of the IUD and other possibly anti-nidatory agents arose. The Committee discussed this matter in detail, and John Willke, M.D. offered to do a study regarding the effect the enactment of a Human Life Amendment would have on the legal prohibition of the IUD, the contraceptive pill, DES, and prostaglandin therapy. Dr. Willke will present the study in the form of a paper to be submitted to the Public Policy Committee for its use.

Michael Taylor reported that the State's Organization Committee had held a conference call and that there had been an exchange of memoranda. The Committee is researching current state action, and a questionnaire is in preparation to send to each state. He reported that organizations are mushrooming in every state. The responsibility for reaction to the questionnaire will be from the state Directors, who will investigate their own state for the detailed answers, but that the mailing of the questionnaire will go to a

broad range of organizations in each state. Identification of key contact persons and cross-indexing of contacts will be done.

The assembling of organizational teams to travel and assist states in their structural work was discussed. The purpose would be solely to develop effective organizations. No specific method has yet been developed for the progress of this work. Some persons with special expertise in organizational work and group motivation could be sent by NRLC to state conventions and workshops, if invited to attend for the purpose of assisting and offering advice.

The Executive Committee members were urged by Mr. Taylor to attempt to attend as many pro-life conventions, workshops, and other gatherings as possible, in any manner they could. Funding for travel at this time is a problem, and he suggested that they offer to present a talk or lead a workshop in return for travel expenses.

The regionalization concept, of each state fitting into a larger region for the purpose of improving communication was explored. Mr. Taylor emphasized the importance of identifying Congressional Districts and organizing within those districts.

Dealing effectively with Congress and learning political processes was defined as a primary goal for state effectiveness by Mr. Taylor. He also posed questions regarding membership criteria, and organizational image.

He discussed the compiling of a state's organizational manual, and stated that several good manuals existed already and were available for use as a foundation.

Discussion of the Organization Committee report centered around the concept of a flexible, loose type of organization vs. one that is tightly structured and controlled. Means of affiliation, qualification for affiliation, and types of membership were discussed. Prof. Witherspoon suggested that we work toward two types of memberships: a full C4 membership, and an affiliate membership that a C3 group should join with no danger of losing their IRS status.

Dr. Willke proposed the drawing up of a broad charter to which organizations wishing affiliation with NRLC could subscribe. Prof. Witherspoon stated that support of NRLC from affiliate groups should include both financial commitment and active involvement.

MOTION by Marjory Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Prof. Witherspoon that $75 be authorized for a membership in the American Society of Association Executives.

CARRIED unanimously.

A procedural question arose regarding the need for the existence of a States Organization Committee and a States Program Committee. Whether there was a certain amount of dove-tailing of activities was questioned. Communication between the two Chairmen was discussed. It was felt that the work of both the States Organization and States Program Committee were in many ways complementary, and that both would benefit by a closer association and awareness of the activities of each.

Marjory Mecklenburg reported on the progress of the States Program Committee. All proposed members have accepted membership, and Pat Goodson of Kansas has been added to the original group. The States Program Committee has prepared and sent a mailing outlining action for contacting legislators while they are in August recess, and including a questionnaire and other pertinent data. Each Committee member has a specific task to perform and is actively working.

The States Program Committee plans to divide up into several subcommittees to cover 1) office assistance; 2) research regarding the pro-life sentiments of state Governors; 3) research regarding pro-life sentiments of state legislators; 4) developing a kit for distribution to political activists to teach political effectiveness and assist in implementing same; 5) preparation of a manual for volunteer lobbyists' use.

Marjory Mecklenburg stated that she felt it was essential that both the States Organization and States Program Committees exist as separate entities, but that the political realm should influence the organizational structure.

Robert Greene said that teaching effectiveness and generating response are two different functions, and that he felt that a three-step process, 1) An Organization Committee to develop troop strength; 2) An Executive Committee Policy Program; and 3) the States Program Committee to develop programs to implement the policies was the most effective approach to take.

Dr. Fortman felt that mailings from any Committee to the Board of Directors must first come through the office structure, with proper approval. Professor Witherspoon stated that in his opinion the mailing of the States Program Committee usurped the prerogatives of the president, and took on the function of operating for the Corporation. He said that in his opinion the mailing had been conducted with too much autonomy, that a program for a state must first be identified and the Executive Committee then make a decision for that state before the program is submitted for implementation.

An extended discussion of the responsibilities of Committees, their relationship to each other and to the Executive Committee, the President, and the full Board of Directors then took place. Concerns centered around the possibility of individual Committees enacting policy before approval by the Executive Committee if procedures were not firmly established for mailing of directive-type information. Vigorous give-and-take discussion pointed up some Executive Committee members' concern that too tight a distinction between discisions of major policy and matters of day-to-day work was being drawn, countered by other Committee members feeling that unless each Committee submitted its work to the Executive Committee and, in some cases, to the Public Policy Committee for approval or review that decisions would be made and work implemented that was unauthorized by the full Committee.

It was pointed out that all Committees should be subjected to the same set of disciplines, and that if mailings must be authorized by the Executive Committee that all Committees should abide by the directive.

Mrs. Mecklenburg asked for a clarification from Michael Taylor as to what he wants the States Program Committee to do in the political sphere. She felt that communication from him regarding precise proposals and suggestions would be helpful.

Ed Golden asked that Michael Taylor and Marjory Mecklenburg compile outlines of the broad sketch for political action that their respective Committees are working up, and contact each other for comparison within the next few weeks.

Dr. Willke suggested prefacing full length Committee reports with a cover sheet that presents a synopsis of the context. He asked the Chairman to more closely "stop-watch" the meetings and limit verbosity, if required.

Dr. Willke then presented the report of the Education Committee. The members of his Committee are primarily specialists in their respective fields, and he has added William Cox, who will serve as Chairman, to coordinate the various specialties. A meeting has not yet been held, and he requested that the Committee be funded for a Conference Call, and be given authority to schedule a full meeting during the month of September.

Ed Golden requested the Education Committee to review available educational materials, compile a library of same, and prepare a listing of available pro-life resources including such items as bumper stickers, billboards, pamphlets, etc.

MOTION by Albert Fortman, SECONDED by Judy Fink, that the Conference Call and meeting of the Education Committee be financed by NRLC.

CARRIED unanimously.

Judy Fink reported regarding the Intergroup Liaison Committee. She has held a meeting, at no cost to NRLC, with two other Committee members to begin to review the Committee's charge and to develop initial steps for identifying procedures necessary to begin the work needed to broaden the R to L base. She stated that the central goal was to turn those groups that were now passive sympathizers into active participants. There is at present no groundwork laid for trying to gather the many-faceted pro-life movement into one unified group, but suggested that studying the methods used by other social movements that have led to successful action would be helpful. She told the Committee that the goal of the Intergroup Committee, though specific in semantics, was of necessity amorphous at this time but felt that specific early projects, such as encouraging church denominations to produce their own pro-life literature for use in their own communications; establishing friendly contacts with key individuals; and exploring ways to further ecumenical relationships where possible should be initial steps. She asked for funding for a full Committee meeting in September, and for several

proposed trips for individual Committee members to meet with highly placed Synodical or Denomination officials who have already given their invitation for such meetings, as well as staff backup on research work.

Prof. Witherspoon stated that he felt that the basic question was "How does one energize and galvanize groups into social action programs" and encouraged the concept of studying the development of a model program to do so for the pro-life movement.

MOTION by Robert Greene, SECONDED by John Willke that between now and the November Executive Committee meeting $2000 be allocated to produce a program report for the Intergroup Liaison Committee.

CARRIED unanimously.

Ed Golden asked that each Committee prepare an initial budget, and keep close track of expenses.

Marjory Mecklenburg pointed out that the States Program Committee had not received funding, and asked how it could be expected to work without funds, especially if other Committees are being funded.

Gloria Klein expressed concern that the Finance Committee had made certain recommendations, and that the Executive Committee had usurped and overruled its recommendations. Robert Greene rebutted, saying that the Finance Committee's function was to raise funds and that the Executive Committee was to decide how the money was to be spent. Marjory Mecklenburg said that the Finance Committee's recommendations must be coincident with new developments in the work of NRLC.

MOTION by Robert Greene, SECONDED by Albert Fortman, to revise the budget to include the funding of ALL Committees.

CARRIED 7-1.

Gloria Klein reported that she, as Treasurer, had received many proposals from groups or persons who wished NRLC to sell their pro-life product, and split the profits from such sale with them. She pointed out that a firm policy should be established regarding this matter, in order to prevent accusations of favoritism that might arise.

MOTION by Robert Greene, SECONDED by Albert Fortman, that the policy of NRLC be that any fundraising venture submitted to NRLC must be given freely with no expectation of remuneration to the party recommending it.

CARRIED unanimously.

The Denver organization has prepared a memo, requesting that the June NRLC convention be held in Colorado. A review of the proposal was made, with discussion concerning the proper city for June Convention in light of possible political action in Washington regarding the Constitutional Amendment.

MOTION by Robert Greene, SECONDED by Judy Fink, that the NRLC accept the proposal to hold the annual Convention in Denver, Colorado in June 1974.

DEFEATED 5-2.

MOTION by Gloria Klein, SECONDED by John Willke that the annual Convention be held in Washington, D.C., the date to be set in the immediate future; and that the weekend immediately preceding the January 22, 1974 anniversary of the Supreme Court Decision that an open Board of Directors meeting be held in Denver, with a concurrent information and education seminar to be held.

CARRIED 6-1.

The meeting was adjourned.

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE INC.

CONFERENCE CALL — Sept. 10, 1973 10:00 PM E.D.T.

Present: Edward Golden, Judith Fink, Albert Fortman M.D., Robert Greene, Gloria Klein, Michael Taylor, John Willke M.D., Prof. Joseph Witherspoon, Marjorie Mecklenburg, Mildred F. Jefferson M.D., Rev. Warren Schaller.

The discussion began with a review of the outlined agenda for the Executive Committee meeting to be held in Chicago on Sept. 14 and 15.

The Finance and State Programs Committees are prepared to present a report. Ed Golden reported that the mid-year convention in Denver was not firmed up due to negotiations for space still under way. There are three sites in Washington D.C. available for the June convention.

Rev. Warren Schaller, interim Executive Director, will report relative to the office operation in Washington D.C. A memo discussing several attitudes prevalent in leadership circles in NRLC regarding organizational philosophy previously prepared and submitted to the Executive Committee by Marjorie Mecklenburg will be presented for dialogue.

Ed Golden reported that Michael Batten, candidate for the position of Executive Director, will come to Chicago on Sunday at 11:00 AM to present his views on the role of the Executive Director. Therefore, Mr. Golden requested that the Executive Committee change the meeting schedule from Friday evening and Saturday to Saturday evening and Sunday. He stated that the discussion on Michael Batten's candidacy will be of severe consequence to NRLC and therefore has asked several persons outside the Executive Committee to attend the presentation to serve as reactors and advisors. Those persons invited are Andre Hellegers, M.D., Walter Trinkaus, Pastor Rod Fink, Larry Washburn, Dennis Horan, Herbert Ratner M.D., Edward Becker, and J. Robert M. Bergeron.

An extended discussion concerning the invitation of advisors resulted in the Executive Committee by consensus advising Mr. Golden that they did not feel that this was a regular procedure inasmuch as the Committee is not directly responsible to the invited advisors. Mr. Golden agreed to withdraw the invitation. Prof. Witherspoon advised that the idea of a panel of advisors was not in itself an unacceptable idea but the selection process and the rationale for invitation should be developed carefully. Rev. Schaller commented that advisors in specialized areas of expertise such as major fundraising or lobbying would be useful.

Robert Greene stated that he felt Mr. Batten should be interviewed earlier than 11:00 Sunday in order to allow adequate time for deliberation. Judy Fink asked the Committee to consider meeting Friday evening, Saturday and Sunday due not only to the pressing workload but because of time to be taken up by presentations from Mr. Batten and from Mr. Bergeron of the Finance Committee. Robert Greene asked for an open frank discussion on Executive Committee functions and philosophical differences of organizational management concepts, which Prof. Witherspoon informally seconded.

Albert Fortman urged that Michael Batten be prepared to frankly discuss at the presentation his opinion concerning the continued employment of Rev. Warren Schaller. Judy Fink asked if Mr. Batten had been asked to speak informally

in advance of the Executive Committee meeting with Rev. Schaller, and if so what was his response. Mr. Golden advised that he had been requested to do so, and had refused. Mr. Batten has stated that if hired he would insist upon reviewing the employment of Rev. Warren Schaller and either lowering his job description to a more mundane level with a commensurate salary decrease, asking the Executive Committee to "buy out" Rev. Schaller's contract and dismiss him from active service, or he would not consider the position of Executive Director if it were offered to him.

Vigorous discussion on this matter of Mr. Batten's stipulation regarding Rev. Schaller produced the opinion from several Committee members that Mr. Batten must be more flexible regarding previous decisions made by the Executive Committee than such a stipulation would indicate.

Mr. Golden then agreed to hold the Executive Committee meeting for the full Friday evening, Saturday and Sunday format, and to ask Mr. Batten to come in Saturday evening in order to allow ample time for discussion following his presentation.

Albert Fortman requested that the Committee have a period of adjournment following the interview before reassembling to begin formal negotiation.

Mr. Golden advised the Executive Committee that he wished to discuss at the meeting a conversation he had had with Rev. Schaller relative to Rev. Schaller stating that he wished to be able to function as Executive Director, and that if this could not come about he feared a split in the movement.

Marjorie Mecklenburg asked for an explanation from Rev. Schaller concerning this. Rev. Schaller stated that he was speaking to Mr. Golden in an employer-employee relationship and had not expected that this private conversation would be brought before the Executive Committee. He said that he had asked Mr. Golden to allow him to serve as Executive Director for an interim term or a full year, as he felt that he was not able to perform the functions that he should and could perform as interim Executive Director in light of the job description under which he was now functioning. He had said that if this did not come about that a serious phase of malcontent could arise within the Executive Committee and ultimately within the Board of Directors.

Mildred Jefferson stated that the matter of a potential split in NRLC should not be on the list of options, regardless of the problem currently being worked through

Jack Willke pointed out that if Michael Batten is accepted and hired by the Executive Committee that a real question existed of how Mr. Batten and Rev. Schaller would inter-relate, and that he felt strongly that Mr. Batten should come to Chicago prepared to tell the Executive Committee whether he will or will not hire Rev. Schaller and if so in what capacity. Dr. Jefferson reinforced this remark, Albert Fortman said that he felt that Mr. Batten must make an overture to Rev. Schaller. Discussion on this point centered around the feeling that the Executive Committee members were concerned that Mr. Batten must be willing to be flexible and not over-rigid in his approach to NRLC organizational affairs.

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John Willke said that he felt that Rev. Schaller, since he was already an employee of NRLC, should be permitted to inform the Executive Committee how he himself felt about working with Michael Batten. Mr. Golden said that Rev. Schaller should have no comment or say in the matter.

Robert Greene stated that the Executive Committee could not extend Mr. Batten the option to accept or reject Rev. Schaller, since the decision to hire Rev. Schaller had already been made. Albert Fortman said that, in his opinion, if Michael Batten will not talk to Warren Schaller in advance of the presentation he saw no point in interviewing him.

Prof. Witherspoon said that he felt that the Committee needed more time to talk to Mr. Batten to get to know him better but that he hoped to see more flexibility than had come forth so far. He said that we, the Executive Committee are going to continue to have a hand in the hiring of the staff and Mr. Batten should be able to see this and recognize it as a prerogative of the Committee.

Marjory Mecklenburg said that she had no objection to Michael Batten coming in for a presentation, in that it could potentially shed light on the philosophical differences extant on the Executive Committee vis a vis political action style. She asked if it would be possible to bring in another type of lobbyist who is also an expert that could discuss ways that NRLC could be politically effective using another lobbying model. Mr. Golden said that since the Executive Committee had previously rejected any outsiders being brought in that he would not be in favor of this.

Marjory Mecklenburg offered to prepare an abstract of various lobbying models. She said that Rev. Schaller could assist in the preparation. Mr. Golden refused to permit Rev. Schaller to prepare the models.

Prof. Witherspoon suggested that carefully selected advisors can be of a positive good, that the best argumentation comes from the experts in their fields. Albert Fortman recommended that Ed. Golden and Marj Mecklenburg confer and select several lobbyists for future presentations to the Executive Committee in re political action style. Further discussion produced the consensus that the Committee requested Mr. Golden and Mrs. Mecklenburg to work together to select these lobbyists for consultory purposes.

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

O'Hare International Towers
Chicago, Illinois

September 14, 15, 16, 1973

Present: Edward Golden, Judith Fink, Marjory Mecklenburg, Albert Fortman, Prof. Joseph Witherspoon, Michael Taylor, John Willke, Robert Greene, Gloria Klein. Also present was Mildred F. Jefferson, Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors.

The first order of business was to accept the minutes of the previous conference call as read, and of the previous Executive Committee meeting as written.

MOTION by Marjory Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Edward Golden, to accept the minutes of the previous conference call as read.

CARRIED unanimously.

MOTION by Marjory Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Joseph Witherspoon, to accept the minutes of the previous Executive Committee meeting as written.

CARRIED unanimously.

The Executive Committee approved the mailing of the previous minutes of all Executive Committee meetings and conference calls to the Board of Directors.

No previous agenda having been submitted by the President, the Executive Committee agreed on the following matters for the weekend:

Friday: Office Report from the Rev. Warren Schaller
Discussion of January and June conventions
Organizational models

Saturday AM: Presentation by Thomas Bendorf on lobbying
Discussion of Finances of NRLC
Public Relations/Media

Saturday PM: Executive Committee's Working Relationships & Internal Structure
Proposed Interview with Catholic Conference Directors
Interview for position of Executive Director with Michael Batten

Saturday PM: Discussion of Michael Batten's presentation

Sunday: States Programs Committee report
Intergroup Liaison Committee report
Membership fee schedule analysis

During the discussion accompanying the setting of the agenda, Rev. Schaller reported that Thomas Galardi is at the moment in Chicago in the O'Hare Towers attending a meeting of the Roman Catholic fundraisers organization. Mr. Galardi had previously

made a proposal to the Executive Committee regarding direct mail solicitation, and had indicated that he would be available if called to talk to the Committee regarding other funding proposals. Mr. George Holloway, Director of the National Catholic Development Council, and Rev. Schaller have had a meeting and Mr. Holloway is willin to meet with the Executive Committee.

Gloria Klein, in response to a question from Prof. Witherspoon, indicated that she was unsure whether Mr. Colardi had previously talked with the Finance Committee.

Ed Golden reported that the state of Colorado is unable to host the January convention due to a conflict in hotel bookings with the Cattleman's Association.

Marjory Mecklenburg asked for a discussion on philosophy vis a vis organization models before people are interviewed for staff positions. She also expressed concer that the Committee should review certain indications that the U.S. Catholic Conference should receive direct input from the NRLC executives regarding program development, and that dialogue could facilitate better understanding.

Prof. Witherspoon reported that the memorandum he has circulated regarding changes in wording on the Buckley Human Life Amendment has elicited response. A review and synthesis of the recommendations will be made after additional time has been alloted for reaction.

Office report of Rev. Warren Schaller.

Rev. Schaller distributed a memorandum outlining the action taken by himself in the Washington office to date. He stated that he has not yet received a final copy of job description for himself which Ed Golden had previously discussed with him.

He said that is monitoring the returns from the States Programs Committee questionnaires, and that these are being collected from several states. He asked Michael Taylor if it would be possible to receive for NRLC's use the files on other previously-held Right to Life conventions (Barrett College, Macalester College, and the Detroit convention) and Michael Taylor agreed to do so.

A review by the Executive Committee of the memorandum took place, item by item. The questionnaires from the various Committees currently being distributed to the various states were considered a first priority item for response by state directors.

An "In-House" newsletter was recommended by Rev. Schaller as necessary to increase communication with core pro-life leaders as well as the Board of Directors.

MOTION by Robert Greene, SECONDED by Judy Fink that an "In-House" memorandum/newsletter be implemented by Rev. Schaller.

CARRIED unanimously.

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A chart showing a proposed scheme for projected working relationships between the staff and the various Committees was reviewed by Rev. Schaller. Michael Taylor advised that before decisions regarding these schemes were made that a "war plan" must be first developed. He emphasized that program planning is of primary importance.

Rev. Schaller stated that he felt that office management and structure must be stable to allow implementation of any program, and that there was a strong need to discuss the matter.

Judy Fink requested that consideration be given to allowing the Committee chairmen and consultants enough latitude to function without being bound by restraining "check-points", while still working as part of the NRLC team and ultimately accountable for his or her actions.

Discussion on this concern brought forth the feeling that some committee activities will need to be more centralized in terms of their direction than others, while other committee functions are or should be almost completely autonomous, depending upon the nature of the work at hand.

Robert Greene then presented his own "War Plan" to the Executive Committee, which consisted of a 10 point program. Extensive discussion took place regarding definition of each point.

Edward Golden presented a listing of objectives to the Executive Committee, followed by discussion. He stated that the manner in which we go about fulfilling his planned objectives coincided with the listing of the plan of action of Robert Greene. Hearings in Congress on a Human Life Amendment were judged to be a high priority item. Marjory Mecklenburg urged setting the education of pro-life groups for political action as also high priority. Judy Fink commented that she felt that a large bloc of people were not yet ready for political action, and still were at the level of need for basic education on pro-life issues.

John Willke stressed that an awareness of alternatives to abortion is a necessary component for any plan of action.

MOTION by Marjory Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Albert Fortman that the Executive Committee accept Robert Greene's plan of action as the basic scheme for a program for NRLC.

CARRIED 8 ayes 1 abstention (Taylor)

Saturday AM: All present as on Friday evening.

Guest: Mr. Thomas Bendorf.

Mr. Bendorf, who is a lobbyist for the American Trail Lawyers Association with 15 years experience in Washington, D. C. then met with the Committee to outline his ideas regarding effective grassroots lobbying. In summation, his remarks pointed out that:

* effective lobbying is done by a person who knows what resources are aviable and how to bring them to bear at the right time.

* grassroots pressure is more effective than professional lobbying efforts on social issues.

* legislators' self-interest is the active productive interest in the folks at home.

* the large corporate conglomerate pressures are becoming less effective.

* greatest strength for our movement should be felt at the home-front level, then abstracted and orchestrated in D.C.

* one important strength is to use organized religion as a power base.

* the Washington NRLC office should be capable of tracking and carrying grassroots messages to legislators.

* crash grassroots programs of intense pressure should be used only when vital in order not to exhaust the field workers.

* small lobbying teams are better than a larger less cohesive group.

Mr. Bendorf offered to volunteer his time, as he is able, to assist the NRLC in its lobbying efforts. He also offered his suggestions regarding the role an Executive Director should take, pointing out that in his opinion the Executive Director must win the cooperation of the people with whom he works, and not force such cooperation. He recommended that an Executive Director for NRLC must truly enjoy working with volunteers, and must know how to help his lower staff work effectively rather than bottle them up (which would bring on conflict.)

A long and involved discussion followed Mr. Bendorf's presentation. It centered around the organizational philosophy regarding the role of the Executive Director. Mildred Jefferson stated that it was vital for the effective functioning of NRLC that it be independent, with no direct line of influence being exerted on anyone in the employ of NRLC or by an Executive Director through anyone on the Committee by any outside dominating factor.

Further discussion on this point brought forth comments concerning diffusion of authority lines, emphasizing that the organization still ultimately was responsible for key decisions and the Executive Director must be an implementor of these decisions by virtue of his or her administrative ability.

Robert Greene stated that organizations evolve in a time process, and do not get created overnight. The Executive Committee must function in many different areas to create vitality, and the relationship of an Executive Director to the Committees must be considered. A major question was whether the hired staff is expected to do a Herculean task alone or whether the staff helps the Committees to implement that Committee's work. What the Executive Committee chose ultimately as the method of implementation should be tailored to the program being implemented.

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Judy Fink advised that the concept of what dynamics underlie a social movement must be evaluated as well as organizational structure concepts. She felt that there is a need to define and clarify the structure of a social/civil rights movement as it relates to the emerging pro-life movement, along with the development of organizational models.

The extensive discussion seemed to be pointing toward a forming consensus that a flexible, low profile Executive Director was needed, but that the Director should be a person who can assume a high profile at the proper time.

Michael Taylor suggested that an Executive Director would need to employ both a political consultant and a field coordinator. Mildred Jefferson stated that NRLC's activities were not limited to political action, and staff personnel should also be employed to oversee educational, legal, and other types of activities.

Prof. Witherspoon summarized the discussion by noting that there were still two views existing on the Executive Committee regarding the role of an Executive Director, and that a middle ground would possibly need to be sought. He asked that a decision be withheld pending examination of more proposals and models.

MOTION by Robert Greene, SECONDED by Albert Fortman to hold the NRLC Convention in Washington, D. C. on June 7,8, and 9, 1974.

CARRIED unanimously.

MOTION by Albert Fortman, SECONDED by Joseph Witherspoon to hold a convention in Washington, D. C. on or about January 19 and 20 concurrent with a Board of Directors meeting.

CARRIED unanimously.

A Convention Committee consisting of Nellie Gray, Anne Lawler, Diane Fagelman, and Jean Garton was appointed.

MOTION by Joseph Witherspoon, SECONDED by John Willke that Nellie Gray be made Chairman of the Convention Committee

CARRIED unanimously.

Albert Fortman then presented a lengthy proposal regarding the publishing of a monthly newspaper for NRLC. The Webb Publishing House in St. Paul has agreed to print the paper, and Alice Hartle, current editor of the MCCL newsletter, has agree to become newspaper editor. An assistant, to be paid on an hourly basis, has been found to help her. The date of November 1 was projected as a publication target.

He cautioned that this newspaper venture was the first test of state support, and should be begun knowing that dependence on organized groups was necessary for it's success. 100,000 subscriptions was the "golden" number, which would bring the cost to 10¢ per issue. Subscription price was recommended to be $3 per year. The proposed editorial staff was in the process of reaching out to professional pro-life journalists for advice. The suggested title was "National Right to Life News" and the format was explained, with a dummy paper displayed. Each Committee would have a Sept. 30 deadline for stories to reach the editor for inclusion in the newspaper. Promotional schemes were explored. Dr. Fortman noted that the editor suggested the title "Human Life Advocate" rather than "Right to Life News". State newsletters could be distributed inside the newspaper, or a page could be given over to the news of an individual state once the "pilot issue" was published.

MOTION by John Willke, SECONDED by Joseph Witherspoon to accept the Fortman proposal in toto per the publishing of a newspaper for NRLC.

An amendment changing the circulation figure from 500,000 to 1,000,000 for the pilot issue was accepted by the mover; the Executive Committee will make available to the PR/MEDIA committee $14,000 for publishing and printing expenses.

CARRIED unanimously.

Michael Batten, an official with the National Council on Aging, then presented his presentation regarding the role of an Executive Director. Mr. Batten, who was a candidate for the position, discussed his current role with the National Council on the Aging and projected his ideas for enlarging the base of support for the pro-life movement. He emphasized the need for a cadre of lobbyists working within defined perimeters to concentrate efforts, and elaborated on his philosophy of carefully controlled and highly knowledgeable efforts made to accomplish the task at hand.

He was questioned by the Executive Committee extensively, and answered questions with further comments regarding his current perceptions of the NRLC organizational structure and how he would work to make it more effective.

Following his presentation, the Executive Committee recessed for dinner.

Upon return, John Willke opened the discussion further of the basic concept of how the Washington office should be run. The question of whether both a strong Washington office and strong state organizations were possible to achieve simultaneously brought forth a

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MOTION by Marjory Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Gloria Klein that NRLC vest strength in the various states and that our interest be well represented in Washington.

no vote taken. motion withdrawn.

Very extensive discussion resumed on the question of whether an Executive Director should expect his Executive Committee to be policy making only, or whether the Executive Committee would have specific functions and also would make policy in a centralized fashion.

Edward Golden spoke to the issue, stating that he was concerned that we were failing to make progress and that he was going to call for a Board of Directors meeting. He asked for the immediate resignation of the Rev. Warren Schaller as interim Executive Director, stating that he felt that the question revolved around the hiring of Rev. Schaller. Mr. Golden asked for adjournment of the Executive Committee.

Professor Witherspoon, on a point of order, asked for no adjournment and requested Mr. Golden to listen to a proposal for accommodation.

Prof. Witherspoon then presented his suggestions for what he called "the hungry man model" of seeking effective staff direction. He said that staff can, and frequently does, come from Boards or Executive Committees and that it was not necessary for a movement to have an outside Executive Director. He proposed that Robert Greene be hired as Executive Director, stating that Mr. Greene has been approached by him on the matter the previous evening. He noted that Mr. Greene has an overview of internal problems extant within the Executive Committee, was a person of top ability, and that he saw Mr. Greene as serving NARLC for between one and two years as Executive Director, during which time he could make the committee system work coupled with DC action.

Speaking further, he said that Mr. Greene is a tenacious man who can face up to anybody, who will speak his mind and will make people listen, as well as bring us creative and imaginative ideas. He felt that Mr. Greene has a better feel for movement politics and background than did Mr. Batten. In addition, there is a need in the Washington office for a lawyer.

Prof. Witherspoon said that he does not see Rev. Schaller's employment as a mistake, but rather was a wise move made for good reasons. He summarized his remarks by stating that he does not see us leaving the weekend meeting without a decision made on an Executive Director.

Albert Fortson noted that the Executive Committee was weary, and stated that while he excused the remarks of Ed Golden on that account that he found it untenable that Mr. Golden would seemingly not work with the majority of the Committee, and that he has prevented Rev. Schaller from working by restricting his freedom of action to a marked degree.

Ed Golded asked Warren Schaller to clarify remarks made to him in a private conversation concerning a fear that continued controversy might split the movement. Vigorous discussion between several committee members underscored that there was resentment regarding remarks made to various persons.

Mrs. Hecklenburg then said that we must get past personal attacks, regardless of our past experiences, and begin to work as a team rather than individually.

Robert Greene then stated that he would accept a proposal made by the Executive Committee, if he could truly help out a difficult situation. He put forth two conditions that must be met before he would take on the position, however: 1) he must remain a member of the Executive Committee, and 2) he must remain President of Kentucky Right to Life.

He said that he would not want to sign a contract, thus being placed in a position where he is dependent on the whim of the Executive Committee, and would work on a retainer basis only.

MOTION by John Willke, SECONDED by Joseph Witherspoon to adjourn the meeting

CARRIED unanimously.

Sunday AM:

Edward Golden requested Rev. Warren Schaller not to attend the meeting, due to the sensitivity of the discussion.

The remainder of the morning was spent in a presentation by Robert Greene, lengthy and involved in nature, regarding his ideas for staffing the Washington office and moving ahead with program planning. He viewed the staff of any organization as supportive to those who are charged with responsibility for decision making and implementing. He saw his candidacy as an accommodation to our problem, and emphasized that he did not want to bring about dissension by accepting the role of Executive Director.

The presentation, and its following discussion led to the

MOTION by Albert Fortman, M.D. SECONDED by Marjory Mecklenburg that NRLC retain Robert Greene as Executive Director, and that his retainer shall be a monthly fee of $3,000 plus expenses; and that the Rev. Warren Schaller shall serve as the Assistant to the Executive Director.

CARRIED 7 ayes - 2 abstentions (Klein and Greene).

Ed Golden expressed the opinion that he was not pleased with the accommodation but that he would not hinder it. He stated that he would neither go to the Board of Directors nor start another organization. He expressed "gravest reservations" but said he would not prejudge the move.

Albert Fortman noted that if the present concept being implemented fails to work another model can be sought.

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Gloria Klein spoke against the present accommodation, felt that is was too weak a structure, and said that more expertise than was being made available was needed in Washington. She asked if the question of hiring an Executive Director at some further date were still open. Mr. Greene replied that if in the future a person should be found who met all the qualifications and who was acceptable to the Executive Committee that he would be willing to stay on as general counsel if desired. Mrs. Klein also objected to Robert Greene remaining on the Executive Committee while serving as Executive Director.

Sunday PM

The afternoon was given over to reports from the States Programs, Finance Committee and the Intergroup Liaison Committee. A discussion of seeming overlap of goals on the States Organization Committee with the States Program Committee brought the

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MOTION by Joseph Witherspoon, SECONDED by Robert Greene that the concept of dealing with the structure of state organization at the program organization level be transferred to the State Programs Committee.

CARRIED unanimously.

Gloria Klein reported that the Finance Committee had held a conference call, which discussion resulted in the Finance Committee deciding that NRLC was not yet saleable. The as yet undefined goals and programs were a factor in this decision. In order to raise money, more specific recommendations were needed.

Robert Greene advised that in his opinion the Finance Committee must come up with recommendations for funding in concrete aspects, and reported that he would speak with the Chairman of the Finance Committee, J. Robert M. Bergeron.

Rev. Schaller recommended that the Finance Committee bring George Holloway into their inner circle and seek his recommendations.

Albert Fortman asked if it were feasible to change the December meeting of the Executive Committee from Chicago to Washington, D. C. for the purpose of seeking a dialogue with the U.S. Catholic Conference Directors at their regular meeting.

Mr. Golden advised that it would be wise to inform the U.S. Catholic Conference that NRLC was receptive to an invitation to meet with us.

Robert Greene stated that protocol required us to go directly to the Catholic Conference Directors themselves and through no other office of the U.S. Catholic Conference.

THE MEETING WAS ADJOURNED

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE CONFERENCE CALL

October 11, 1973
10:00 P.M. - EDT

Present: Edward Golden, Judith Fink, Gloria Klein, Robert Greene, Marjory Mecklenburg, Albert Fortman, Prof. Joseph Witherspoon.

Absent: Michael Taylor, John Willke. Proxy for John Willke held by Joseph Witherspoon. No Proxy for Michael Taylor.

Also present was Mildred Jefferson, vice chairman of the Board.

Agenda: Executive Committee minutes distribution
Legal Advisory Committee Report
Membership dues schedule
Rev. Warren Schaller vis a vis Intergroup Liaison Committee
Finances of the Corporation
Setting of Agenda for Executive Committee Meeting

Robert Greene reported that he had consulted with a trusted Washington advisor, who felt that the minutes of the Executive Committee meetings should not be circulated as widely as through the Board of Directors. The basic question centered around a concern as to whether the minutes could possibly fall into the wrong hands and be used in a manner detrimental to the interests of NRLC.

Discussion on the question revealed that a number of Directors were demanding copies of the minutes, and that concern was expressed that the Executive Committee's actions were not well understood. It was agreed that if, in the future, an Executive Committee member wished to change a vote for the record that a notation of a change in vote would be made, and a

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MOTION by Marjory Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Albert Fortman to circulate minutes of Executive Committee meetings and conference calls to Directors with a "confidential" notation attached to each page and a cover letter prepared

CARRIED 7-1. Klein no.

The charge of the Legal Advisory Committee was re-stated by Robert Greene, with the following points emphasized:

1. The Committee would undertake an analysis of the wording of a Human Life Amendment.

2. The Committee would develop model legislation on restricting abortion legislation, including memorializations, and would monitor litigation.

3. The Committee would establish a Legal Defense Fund with a 501-C3 tax status to engage in litigation.

4. The Committee would work in an advisory capacity to the Executive Committee as needed.

5. The Committee would recruit & identify pro-life lawyers throughout the country.

MOTION by Robert Greene, SECONDED by Marjory Mecklenburg, that the Executive Committee accept the revised charges of the Legal Advisory Committee.

CARRIED 7-1. Golden no.

Edward Golden stated that the Public Policy Committee had assumed the responsibility for evaluating the Constitutional Amendment, and that he felt that the Legal Advisory Committee would usurp the Public Policy Committee's responsibility. Discussion on this matter brought forth the opinion from Prof. Witherspoon that he felt that there was a hard core of agreement on the Public Policy Committee but some problem existed as to how to coordinate the policy-making function with the work of the Legal Committee. He felt that the proposal to allow the Legal Advisory Committee to also address itself to the Constitutional Amendment was in order and appropriate. Ultimately, whatever the Public Policy Committee decided would have to be expressed in legal terms and the Legal Advisory Committee should have a say in structuring the language.

Robert Greene said that he wanted the Public Policy Committee to retain its multi-disciplinary approach, and that he would surrender his role as Executive Committee Consultant to the Legal Advisory Committee to Prof. Joseph Witherspoon.

Prof. Witherspoon rejected the idea of replacing Robert Greene, and further discussion resulted in a

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MOTION by Albert Fortman, SECONDED by Marjory Mecklenburg that Prof. Joseph Witherspoon become the Executive Committee-Co-Consultant to the Legal Advisory Committee.

CARRIED unanimously.

Edward Golden raised the question of whether section 3 of the revised Legal Advisory Committee charge should include recommendations to the Executive Committee regarding the feasibility of calling for a Constitutional Convention.

MOTION by Marjory Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Judy Fink that the Legal Advisory Committee' revised charge include in section 3 the phrase "study the advisability of calling a Constitutional Convention."

CARRIED unanimously.

Robert Greene presented his proposal for a membership/dues schedule, which had been previously mailed to the Executive Committee. He recommended that the word membership be changed to "enrollment".

Edward Golden objected to a discussion of the membership schedule at this time, stating that he had not had ample time to study the matter. Other Committee members expressed the wish to continue the discussion. Gloria Klein suggested that the individual enrollment fee should be $5 instead of $10. Judy Fink pointed out that no family membership was included and suggested a figure should be agreed upon between the individual and the sustaining member fee for such families as would wish to enroll as a unit. Ed Golden requested for the second time as President of the Corporation, that a vote not be taken. Dr. Fortman noted the urgency of the decision because of the nearness of the publication date of the paper.

MOTION by Robert Greene, SECONDED by Marjory Mecklenburg to adopt the membership program presented in the memorandum detailing such a plan mailed previously to the Executive Committee, as amended to make enrollment schedule $5 individual and $10 family, $25 sustaining, $50 patron, and $100 sponsor.

CARRIED 6-1-1. Golden no, Klein abstention.

Discussion on the motion centered around: the incorporation of a newsletter subscription into the membership; states assessments unreliable as a dependable funding source; need for immediate membership drive to provide money for the "pilot issue" of the newspaper, and need for increasing memberships each month for financial base for organization; whether national membership requests would conflict with state and local funding efforts; definition of membership base in regard to whether local groups or individuals constitute major constituency; vital need for the newspaper as visible sign of NRLC's existence; need for the general funding of the organization to be separate from the ability of any one state to withhold funds in an extortionary manner.

Edward Golden pointed out that NRLC must solve not only the newspaper problem but a continuing expense problem. Robert Greene felt that both matters were equally important, and tied into each other. Marjory Mecklenburg proposed that NRLC solicit sponsor and patron memberships immediately and publish a listing of those received in the "pilot issue" as well as taking an advertisement in a religious-based newspaper such as "Our Sunday Visitor" for memberships.

It was clarified that the motion would not release states from fulfilling their quotas.

Following the vote, Edward Golden stated that he was disgusted that a vote had been taken since he had requested that no vote be asked for. He said that he intended to call a board meeting, that he felt the action taken was fiscally irresponsible, and expressed his intention to hang up and not continue the call.

Marjory Mecklenburg asked Mr. Golden what alternate proposals he could present to the Committee. Mr. Golden replied that he had none.

Mr. Golden at this point withdrew from the discussion and terminated his part in the conference call.

A call for a quorum count determined that the other participants were all still on the telephone line.

Further discussion for the evening established, first, Marjory Mecklenburg as Chairman of the Board assuming the role of Chairman of the Conference Call meeting. The Committee then debated at length how to acquire the necessary $20,000 for the "pilot issue" of the newspaper, and how to proceed, in the face of difficulties with the internal operation of the Executive Committee, with a positive and creative program that would be self-supporting.

Judy Fink suggested that the plan to solicit sponsor and patron memberships be adopted as an emergency measure, and the Committee agreed by consensus to do this at once, requesting each State Director to canvass his or her state for such individuals and groups as would be willing to donate $50 or $100 over the budget expenses.

Robert Greene said that the newspaper could also solicit advertising at the rate of a full page at $1,000, ½ page at $500 and ¼ page at $250.

A return on the early membership and sponsor schemes would be necessary by November 7, at which time the paper would be ready for printing.

The Committee agreed that the combination of membership appeals, an ad in "Our Sunday Visitor" and other papers, and immediate preparation and distribution of a membership drive kit should be undertaken at once.

Robert Greene reported that three staff people had been hired for the Washington office. Pat McNamara is the Board of Directors telephone contact, Claire McCormick has been hired as secretary, and Irvin Foster is to be a researcher.

MOTION by Albert Fortman, SECONDED by Marjory Mecklenburg to table the agenda item of the use of Rev. Warren Schaller for the Intergroup Liaison Committee.

CARRIED unanimously.

Prof. Witherspoon suggested that a small Steering Committee of the Executive Committee be appointed to work out and make recommendations concerning the problem residing within the Executive Committee as typified by the disruption on the conference call.

MOTION by Albert Fortman, SECONDED by Prof. Witherspoon that Marjory Mecklenburg and Robert Greene be appointed as the Steering Committee of the Executive Committee.

CARRIED unanimously.

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE CONFERENCE CALL

October 15, 1973

Present: Edward Golden, Judith Fink, Gloria Klein, Robert Greene, Marjory Mecklenburg, Albert Fortman, Prof. Joseph Witherspoon, Michael Taylor.

Absent: John Willke.

Also Present was Mildred Jefferson, vice chairman of the Board.

The call was mostly concerned with an in-depth discussion of the funding problems of National Right to Life. Robert Greene reported on the work being done at the Washington office to expedite the out-front funding for the newspaper. Committee members reported early results, which looked encouraging, from their own attempts to solicit patron and sponsor memberships.

Judy Fink reported regarding her meeting with Rev. David Noebel, project director of Americans Against Abortion. The Tulsa-based project has mailed out 500,000 pieces of direct mail regarding the Supreme Court decision, and is continuing to mail out 50,000 pieces each week. She asked that a direct mail proposal that had come before the Executive Committee in June be reviewed again. Michael Taylor cautioned that direct mail has intricacies that must be taken into consideration before involving an organization such as NRLC.

No motions were made at the conference call meeting. An agenda for the Executive Committee meeting will be prepared and mailed to each member by Robert Greene.

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

O'Hare International Towers Hotel

Chicago, Illinois
October 26-27, 1973

MINUTES

Friday, October 26, 1973 9:00 PM

Present: Edward Golden, John Willke, M.D., Michael Taylor, Gloria Klein, Marjory Mecklenburg, Robert Greene, Albert Fortman, M.D., Judith Fink

Absent: Joseph Witherspoon (no proxy)

Also present: Mildred F. Jefferson, M.D., Kenneth Van Derhoef

The minutes of the previous meeting and conference call were read and additions and deletions requested. The minutes were approved as corrected.

MOTION by Albert Fortman, SECONDED by Marjory Mecklenburg to approve the minutes as read and corrected.

CARRIED 7-0-1 (Abstention - Taylor)

Robert Greene presented a written agenda (which see attached). Following discussion a

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MOTION by Marjory Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Judy Fink was made to accept the agenda as amended.

CARRIED 8-0

The Executive Committee then discussed the development of a policy for admitting Directors. Edward Golden proposed four criteria for acceptance as Representatives with no vote until such representatives could be properly seated at a Board meeting:

1. Representative title in the interim.
2. Corporate resolution asking for statement of purpose of sponsoring organization.
3. Corporate resolution determining that the name of the individual is accurate and authentic.
4. Corporate resolution that the Representative be made a full Director at the subsequent meeting of the Board.

MOTION by John Willke, SECONDED by Albert Fortman to accept the above proposal as criteria by which NRLC will recognize new State Directors.

CARRIED 7-1 (No - Taylor) Mr. Taylor advised that he opposed the motion because it was, in his opinion, an act of setting policy.

The names of Gerald Martinez of Louisiana and Kitty Morrissey of Vermont were advanced as replacements for Directors of those states, replacing Redfield E. Bryan, M.D. and Cyrus Brewster.

The Executive Committee recommended that a formal letter of resignation be sent from the resigning Director, to be followed by a letter stating the identity of the new Director.

Report from the Executive Director on the Membership Drive

Robert Greene reviewed action already taken by the Executive Committee that had been accepted for implementation regarding the solicitation of early memberships.

Mr. Greene reported that a direct mail campaign is under study. He advised the Executive Committee of the methods by which such a campaign can be controlled and safety assured. At present, the highest priority for financial expenditure is the NRLC newspaper, and substantial amounts of money are needed to begin a direct mail campaign. The matter will be held under advisement, and further study continued.

A financial report detailing funds received during the first week of the membership drive was presented by Mr. Greene. Albert Fortman, Mildred Jefferson, and Judy Fink reported that their states had succeeded in eliciting sponsor memberships in four-figure amounts.

A proposal to place an advertisement in a weekly newspaper with wide circulation to solicit memberships was informally tabled.

Dr. Fortman reviewed the financial projections based on 100,000 newspaper subscriptions, and stressed the importance of wide distribution of the newspaper with cooperation from all states.

The Executive Committee agreed that large donors to NRLC who have contributed patron and sponsor membership amounts within the past few months would be counted as current contributors, and urged to continue to support NRLC as their means permit.

Report of Robert Greene on Staff Development

Mr. Greene reported that three staff persons have been employed in the past month; Pat McNamara for telephone liaison work, Claire McCormack as a private secretary to himself; and Irvin Foster as a researcher. The salaries, resumes and other pertinent details of the employment of these persons were reviewed.

Mr. Greene noted that some states are still not releasing funds to NRLC that are being held pending resolution, to those states' satisfaction, of complaints. Washington state, Kansas, South Dakota, and Wisconsin were specifically mentioned as withholding monies.

Discussion regarding the real or potential use of seemingly extortionary tactics to make the disapproval of a state's Director felt pointed up the precise reason why NRLC must develop funding sources not entirely dependent on state and local organizational funding, if solvency is to be assured.

Noting that many Directors had asked if NRLC was preparing to endorse any one Human Life Amendment, Mr. Greene stated that the work of the researcher, Irvin Foster, will be to develop a background for the plans being developed for the enactment of an Amendment.

Accounting procedures were reviewed for the handling of checks and membership forms, with the procedure allowing for feedback of names of members to each state.

Mr. Greene recommended, in view of the increasing intricacy of the financial operation, that a consolidation of financial transactions be made and that all such transactions come from the Washington office. He recommended that a bookkeeper be hired in the near future.

A program, comprehensive in scope, for the development of personnel policies is being developed.

Mr. Greene reported that his Assistant, Rev. Warren Schaller, is totally cooperative and thoroughly dedicated and hard working. He serves as "chief of staff", managing the workload and workflow. He works well with volunteers. Mr. Greene stated that Rev. Schaller is developing as an administrator, in re fine points of management.

The meeting was adjourned.

Saturday, October 27. 9:00 AM

The meeting commenced with a discussion for the development of a program for observance of January 22, 1974's anniversary of the Supreme Court Abortion Decision. A number of states are developing individualized programs already which are tailored to their needs. These were reviewed by the Executive Committee. Extensive discussion resulted in a

MOTION by Marjory Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Judy Fink that

1. NRLC coordinate all such efforts through the office in Washington, if possible.

2. An exploration of several ways to have meaningful Washington, D. C. activity for the observance be explored.

3. NRLC support the Philadelphia dinner scheduled for January 22, and extend an official invitation to Sen. James Buckley and Rep. Lawrence Hogan to speak at the dinner.

4. That NRLC offer suggestions and ideas to states, and encourage them to hold their own demonstrations and other activities.

CARRIED 8-0

Marjory Mecklenburg and Judy Fink were asked by Mr. Greene to work directly with him on developing and implementing the above motion.

Report of the Intergroup Liaison Committee

Judy Fink reported that the Intergroup Liaison Committee had held a conference call the preceding week. Minutes of the earlier meeting of the Intergroup Committee having been previously mailed to the Executive Committee, these were not reviewed extensively. Reports of the attempts to promote the formation of Clergy Prolife Councils had been given by several ILC members on the call; summarized, these attempts have brought about the initial meetings of seed groups of clergy in Oklahoma and Minnesota, the development of an organizational model and recommendations for formation and action by clergy groups, the participation of the ILC in the formation of Clergy for Life in Missouri, and the advance planning for several more clergy groups in selected target states as soon as feasible.

The all-Protestant venture, Americans Against Abortion, has been contacted and dialogue is continuously under way.

Interviews with at least two top ranking officials of Protestantism and the Orthodox Church are forthcoming.

The development of specialized literature for use in churches by congregational bodies and by clergy has begun. There is a need for funds to be made available for the literature development.

A compilation of a file of names of prolife clergy, of all religious bodies, is being made. Communication with ranking clergyman, with the Evangelical Press Association, with editors of evangelical periodicals, and with social concerns committees is taking place.

The National Council of Churches Abortion Task Force study paper has been reviewed, a critique is being prepared by the Rev. Warren Schaller, and various strategies of dealing with the paper are under discussion.

Exploratory ways to involve clergy who otherwise have been hesitant to become prolife activists have focused on the desire of these clergy to be better prepared when involved in pastoral counseling with women who have unwanted or problem pregnancies. When funds become available, clergy will be involved in a program of training for prolife counseling for problem pregnancies. Involved clergy would include all religious bodies interested.

Development of the program plan report mandated by the Executive Committee is proceeding and such report will be forthcoming around the end of November.

The Intergroup Liaison Committee has recommended that a 501-C3 tax status be sought, in order to seek out available foundation monies to fund its educational ventures and seminars.

MOTION by Marjory Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Gloria Klein that Martin McKernan, Jr., Esq. be made special legal counsel to the Intergroup Liaison Committee, pending approval of the Chairman of the Legal Advisory Committee.

CARRIED 7-0-1 (Abstention - Taylor)

MOTION by Marjory Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Albert Fortman to commend Judy Fink and the Intergroup Liaison Committee on the work they have done to date.

CARRIED 7-0-1 (Abstention - Fink)

John Willke reported that he had visited with the three top leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. The audience had brought forth a positive response from the Mormon leadership. The LDS Church is planning to prepare an educational packet on the abortion issue for their international membership's use, using, in part, materials provided by Dr. Willke. Dr. Willke noted that the Mormons, while separatist in activity, will be high-profile within their own membership, and will be visible nationally.

Kenneth Van Derhoef then discussed with the Committee his concerns in regard to NRLC activities. He reviewed historically NRLC, Inc's development from January 1973 to the present date, and commented extensively on events as he saw them in process.

The nature of the presentation by Mr. Van Derhoef was critical of the work of the Executive Committee, and was specific in criticism of certain individuals on the Committee.

Very extensive and vigorous discussion took place in dialogue with Mr. Van Derhoef from the Executive Committee following his presentation.

(For security reasons, the pertinent details of the presentation by Mr. Van Derhoef and the ensuing discussion are deleted from the minutes.)

Those persons who felt themselves to be personally attacked in the presentation presented rebuttals.

Following a brisk give-and-take interchange, the meeting was adjourned.

Saturday 1:00 PM

The meeting reconvened with a report from the Education Committee.

Dr. Willke reported that a conference call had been held by the Education Committee. The Education Committee had decided to delay meeting in person until there was enough groundwork laid to make the meeting fiscally feasible. Minutes of the Conference Call have been submitted. No action at the present time is necessary.

Robert Greene noted that it will be necessary to do some re-shuffling of assignments on several of the standing Committees, and he will prepare a plan to bring about the change in assignments.

Gloria Klein presented a verbal Treasurer's Report. She noted that the figure given in the financial statement sent out by Edward Golden summarizing bracelet sales did not reflect the money as yet outstanding.

Robert Greene stated that his projected financial figures, based on up-to-date calculations, indicated that the financial picture is not as grave as Mr. Golden's financial memo would indicate. He presented figures to support his statement.

(Secretary's note: No figures are included in this written set of minutes, due to need for security.)

Mr. Greene noted that the data on expenditures was accurate, but felt that the projection of receipts was inaccurate on Mr. Golden's statement.

A policy for sending out financial statements of the corporation should be formulated, Mr. Greene said. Discussion on this matter led to a

MOTION by Marjory Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Judy Fink that

1. All financial statements will be approved by the Executive Committee.

2. All statements will go out with an explanatory cover letter by an authorized person requesting the confidentiality of such statements.

CARRIED 7-0-1 (Abstention - Taylor)

Discussion with the Executive Committee then centered on the projected fiscal picture put forth by Robert Greene, with the projections for income based on memberships, bracelet sales, and possible advertisements.

Discussion of the method by which state Directors can be apprised of the financial picture of NRLC brought forth a

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MOTION by Albert Fortman, SECONDED by Gloria Klein that at each Executive Committee meeting a financial report be approved, and that the Executive Committee then report to the Board of Directors regarding the financial picture. Such reports must be issued quarterly, and oftener if judged necessary.

CARRIED 8-0

Robert Greene reported that Circle of Life will communicate to the NRLC office weekly regarding bracelet sales, including accounts received and delinquent accounts.

Circle of Life is not shipping bracelets to any group with an outstanding delinquent account.

MOTION by Albert Fortman, SECONDED by Marjory Mecklenburg that the accounting functions of NRLC will be consolidated in the Washington office.

CARRIED 8-0

Gloria Klein requested that Mr. Ed Siwik of the Finance Committee set up the bookkeeping procedures in conjunction with Robert Greene, and also requested that a file be kept in her office for her own information as Treasurer.

MOTION by Robert Greene, SECONDED by Marjory Mecklenburg, to establish two separate accounts, one to be a General Fund and one to be an Operating Fund. The General Fund will require two (2) signatures on checks.

> Amendment to the motion introduced by Edward Golden, seconded by Albert Fortman that one name only be placed on operating fund checks, and at this time that the name be that of Robert Greene.
>
> Amendment carried 5-2, No's - Mecklenburg & Greene

MAIN MOTION CARRIED 8-0

Marjory Mecklenburg, asking for a point of personal privilege, expressed the wish to introduce a motion asking that the Executive Committee move to express support for Robert Greene and the NRLC staff.

John Willke, stating that he had listened to both sides of the controversial discussion of the morning and had lengthy informal conferences with parties on each side of the issue, felt that "neither side could win or the movement survive", and felt that a compromise was not merely in order but quite workable, introduced the following resolutions, which were voted upon by roll call vote:

I. We reaffirm strong support for the publication of the proposed National Right to Life Committee newspaper.

CARRIED 7-1-1	Aye	No	Abstention
	Mecklenburg	Taylor	Klein
	Fink		
	Fortman		
	Greene		
	Willke		
	Golden		
	Witherspoon (vote telephoned to Secretary following the meeting)		

II. We wish to state our approval and support of Mr. Robert Greene's performance to date as Executive Director. Furthermore, we affirm our confidence in and support of his continuing in that capacity, at least until the forthcoming meeting of the Board of Directors scheduled for January 18, 1974.

CARRIED 7-1-1	Aye	No	Abstention
	Mecklenburg Fink Fortman Willke Golden Klein Witherspoon	Taylor	Greene

III. We support calling a full meeting of the Board of Directors at as soon a time as can be arranged.

DEFEATED 2-7	Aye	No
	Golden Taylor	Mecklenburg Fink Fortman Greene Willke Klein Witherspoon

IV. We wish to strongly re-state that the search for a permanent Executive Director continue to be pursued with vigor, understanding that an essential qualification for the position be the possession of top-level expertise in the Washington scene and on Capitol Hill.

CARRIED 6-3	Aye	No
	Witherspoon Fortman Golden Taylor Willke Klein	Mecklenburg Greene Fink

Note: The persons voting in the negative wish to clarify their intent, pointing out that the "No" vote was not against the pursuit of a permanent Executive Director, but rather that the language of the second phrase of the resolution is too restrictive, and that it does not take into consideration other attributes which a permanent Executive Director must possess and enumerate those attributes.

V. We wish to clearly state to all members of prolife organizations in the United States that we, the Executive Committee of the National Right to Life Committee, vigorously support a Human Life Amendment of the type introduced Mr. Buckley and Mr. Hogan. We definitely oppose the type introduced by Mr. Whitehurst. We are fully aware of certain problems arising out of the different

wording of the proposed amendments. Both Mr. Buckley and Mr. Hogan have made it clear there is no essential difference in what they are trying to accomplish.

It is unlikely that the exact present wording of either amendment will survive committee action unchanged. Let us settle on what we actually want from the amendment. We fully intend to protect all human life from fertilization (by whatever language) until natural death. Then let us allow our constitutional lawyers to settle on the most exact and foolproof wording.

MOTION to table the resolution introduced by Robert Greene, SECONDED by Michael Taylor.

Aye	No
Fink	Golden
Greene	Willke
Fortman	
Mecklenburg	
Taylor	
Klein	

MOTION tabled 6-2

MOTION by Albert Fortman, SECONDED by Gloria Klein that a search committee be formed to make an immediate search for a permanent Executive Director.

Aye
Fink
Greene
Fortman
Klein
Willke
Taylor
Golden

(Mecklenburg had left the meeting to catch an airplane by the time this vote was taken.)

CARRIED 7-0

MOTION by Edward Golden, SECONDED by Albert Fortman that Marjory Mecklenburg, Robert Greene and Edward Golden constitute the Search Committee.

CARRIED unanimously.

The Committee discussed a proposal by the Ohio Right to Life Society to memorialize Marjorie Welch, a dedicated Ohioan recently deceased, leaving three small children, by calling the "pilot issue" of the newspaper "The Marjorie Welch Memorial Edition". Ohio Right To Life had offered to donate $500 to the newspaper if this were done.

Determining that to do so would establish a policy that could be self-perpetuating and might apply to many other types of situations, the Committee agreed to, instead, write a suitable article about Mrs. Welch in the newspaper.

In regard to the use of the computerized NRLC mailing list, the Executive Committee determined by consensus that Right To Life groups may use appropriate portions of the list after review of the request for such use by the Executive Director.

MOTION by John Willke, SECONDED by Judy Fink that Pennsylvanians for Human Life, Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, Cincinnati Right To Life, and the U.S. Catholic Conference be given the entire mailing list back, in light of the fact that these organizations had contributed the names for the NRLC mailing list.

CARRIED 4-1-1 (No - Greene) (Taylor abstained)

Discussion regarding a letter from Robert Sassone, Esq. to the Executive Committee, requesting that the staff mail copies of the letter to the Board of Directors, resulted in the consensus decision that an error in the letter relating to the figure given for the salary of the newspaper editor be corrected, and that Mr. Sassone be requested to mail the lengthy letter to the Directors, using his own office facilities.

A discussion of a complaint from the Josten Jewelry Company relating to copyright infringement on the Circle of Life -- Alpha-Omega design was resolved with the decision that NRLC will not interfere in the matter, and that the advice of the corporation is for the Josten Jewelry Company to write directly to the alleged infringers, New York State Right to Life.

A request for a detailed resume of each Executive Committeeman's background from John Grady, M.D. of Belle Glade, Florida, was declined.

MOTION by Albert Fortman, SECONDED by Gloria Klein to pass the following resolution:

> RESOLVED, that National Right Tc Life Committee, Inc. hereby consents to the incorporation under and by virtue of the laws of the District of Columbia of a corporation having the name
>
> D.C. Right To Life Committee
>
> FURTHER RESOLVED, that the President and Secretary of this corporation be and they hereby are authorized and directed to make and execute a certificate under the corporate seal of this company and file the same with the Superintendent of Corporations for the District of Columbia.

CARRIED unanimously.

THE MEETING WAS ADJOURNED

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MINUTES

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

O'Hare International Towers Hotel
Chicago, Illinois
November 16, 17, 1973

FRIDAY, November 16, 1973 9:00 PM

Present: Edward Golden, John Willke M.D., Michael Taylor, Marjorie Mecklenburg, Judith Fink, Albert Fortman M.D., Robert Greene

Absent: Gloria Klein (proxy given to Edward Golden)
Prof. Joseph Witherspoon (proxy given to John Willke)

Present by invitation: Dennis Horan, Esq.

Edward Golden opened the meeting by leading the Executive Committee in prayer.

Judy Fink presented a second draft of the minutes of the previous Executive Committee meeting (the first draft having been mailed to the Committee previously). Explaining that the difficulty of preparing the detailed minutes with the inclusion of points of argument that the Executive Committee had decided upon as the selected model was becoming acute, she opened a discussion of three possible models of minutes for the Committee's reconsideration. Following discussion, the Committee agreed by consensus to accept a shorter version of minutes than it had previously desired. Marjorie Mecklenburg and Albert Fortman stated for the record that they preferred the Board of Directors to continue to receive very complete and detailed minutes, as they felt that the Board needed both the proceedings and the points of argument to be informed.

UPON MOTION by Marjory Mecklenburg, SECOND by John Willke M.D., the Executive Committee approved the second draft of the minutes as amended.

CARRIED 8-0-1 (abstention Taylor).

A report from the Public Relations/Media Committee was presented by Albert Fortman, M.D. Dr. Fortman reported that he wished to commend all those who had assisted in the production of the pilot issue of the newspaper, and in particular Alice Hartle, the Editor. 23 requests for advertising space for the second issue have been received, a second class mailing permit has been applied for, and Dr. Fortman stated that he expects the second issue of the newspaper to be self-sufficient.

Individual states should be encouraged to put their own newsletters into the NRLC paper, as a stuffer, if they so desire.

MOTION by Marjory Mecklenburg, SECOND by Robert Greene to commend Albert Fortman and the Public Relations/Media Committee for the work done on the newspaper.

CARRIED 7-0-2 (abstentions Taylor and Fortman)

A discussion of the agenda for the meeting resulted in the addition of two items, and a

MOTION by Judy Fink, SECOND by Robert Greene to accept the agenda as amended.

CARRIED 9-0

Dr. Willke then reported on the continuing investigation into the research and production of prostaglandins for abortifacient use by the Upjohn Pharmaceutical Company. An extended discussion of the matter brought forth the

MOTION by Marjory Mecklenburg, SECOND by Judy Fink to refer the question of the NRLC position on prostaglandins to the Medical Advisory Committee for review, and for John Willke M.D. to be brought into the deliberations as a consultant.

CARRIED 9-0

Dennis Horan, Esq., Chairman of the Legal Advisory Committee reviewed the written report which he had previously presented, and commented in detail on the salient points contained therein. Main matters presented included a discussion of the semantics of a Human Life Amendment, and the sequence to be followed to produce one single acceptable Amendment for introduction with combined sponsorship.

Mr. Horan reviewed the four priorities of his report, recommending that the Executive Committee recognize the need for the establishment of a Legal Defense group to facilitate litigation. Judy Fink requested that the Legal Advisory Committee membership be expanded to include a broader representation of the prolife movement, and Mr. Horan accepted the request.

THE MEETING WAS ADJOURNED.

SATURDAY, November 17, 1973 9:30 AM

Present: Edward Golden, John Willke M.D., Michael Taylor, Marjorie Mecklenburg, Judith Fink, Albert Fortman M.D., Robert Greene, Mildred Jefferson M.D.

Absent: Gloria Klein (proxy given to Edward Golden)
Prof. Joseph Witherspoon (proxy given to John Willke M.D.)

The Executive Committee discussed the desirability of obtaining liability insurance for malpractice suits, individual and corporate liability, and referred the matter to the staff for further development and concrete proposal.

The Executive Committee then reviewed the status of the presentation of its program to the Catholic Conference Directors at their semi-annual meeting in Washington, D.C. on November 2-3, 1973. President Edward Golden had been invited to appear and discuss the emerging programs of the NMLC. Several Committee members expressed the desire to share in the discussion. Fr. Wilke suggested that the forthcoming Executive Committee meeting date be changed to coincide with the Catholic Conference Directors meeting and presented a

MOTION by John Wilke, SECOND by Marjory Mecklenburg to suggest to the Catholic Conference Directors that the entire Executive Committee appear before them as a panel at their December 3, 1973 meeting.

CARRIED 6-2-1. Rees Golden and Klein, abstention Taylor

MOTION by John Wilke, SECOND by Marjory Mecklenburg to change the date of the forthcoming Executive Committee meeting to a time coinciding with the meeting of the Catholic Conference Directors, and to hold the meeting in Washington D.C.

CARRIED 6-3. Rees Golden, Klein and Taylor.

MOTION by John Wilke, SECOND by Marjory Mecklenburg to authorize Robert Greene to set up an informal luncheon meeting with the Catholic Conference Directors.

CARRIED 6-2-1. Rees Golden and Klein, abstention Taylor

A report from Korn/Ferry Associates, solicited by Edward Golden of the Executive Director Search Committee, was presented. A review of the cost of the executive search proposal and the criteria desired to present to Korn/Ferry to assist the search and further delineate the type of individual desired and the job description then ensued. A consensus agreement not to enter into a contract with Korn/Ferry at this time was reached, and a

MOTION by Albert Fortman, SECOND by Judy Fink to refer the Korn/Ferry executive search proposal to the Search Committee appointed at the last Executive Committee meeting.

CARRIED 9-0.

The matter of the alleged 25% of the Board of Directors requesting a special meeting of the Board was taken up. Edward Golden stated that he had initiated the gathering of requests. It was pointed out, and stated for the record, that Judy Fink, John Willke, Albert Fortman, Marjory Mecklenburg and Robert Greene were critical of the manner in which Mr. Golden had polled a portion of the Board of Directors, asking them by night letter to send in a request for a meeting to him. Noting that Mr. Golden had not sent his night letter to all the Directors a

MOTION by Judy Fink, SECOND by Albert Fortman requested Edward Golden to send a copy of the night letter that he had sent, signed as President of the Corporation, to selected Directors asking for a meeting call, to the Secretary of the Corporation, along with a list of the persons to which the night letter had been sent, for inclusion in the Corporate records.

CARRIED 6-3. Noes Taylor, Klein, Golden.

Robert Greene then reviewed the record of the meeting calls which had been received, pointing out that some of the calls stated a specific date desired, and that it was unclear (since some of the call-ees had subsequently withdrawn their requests) whether a 25% call existed at this hour for a meeting. To meet the bylaw requirements of 20 days notice, the Executive Committee would have to decide whether there was indeed sufficient calls for a Board meeting on December 8. It was unclear during the discussion whether the Committee understood the intent of the calls. Some call-ees wanted both a meeting in December and January, some wanted only one in December, and at least one wanted only a meeting in January. Extensive discussion of the intent of the call-ees and doubt on the part of some Executive Committee members that a 25% call consistent with the bylaw requirements existed at this time resulted in a

MOTION by John Willke, SECOND by Albert Fortman that the Executive Committee recommend and request a January 19-20, 1974 Board Meeting be held in Washington, D.C. as previously planned, and that the request be sent to all members of the Board, and that the replies be sent to the Chairman of the Board, as it is felt that an interim meeting would address itself to policy matters only, and the January meeting is crucial to present a progress report, plans for the future, and to be a lobbying presence in Washington D.C. on a crucial date.

CARRIED 7-1. No,Taylor.

Pointing out that there now existed two meeting calls, the discussion continued with Robert Greene stating that the crux of the problem lay in the fact that only some of the Directors had notice of the request to call a meeting and an opportunity to choose a meeting date. Edward Golden stated that he felt that the bylaws were the final binding arbiter, not the wishes of a majority. The prime reason for meeting in December, Mr. Golden said, was to elicit a clear cut consensus in the form of a resolution concerning what criteria should govern the selection of an Executive Director for NILC, and to present a factual report of where the Corporation stood in its progress toward a Ferman Life Amendment.

Mr. Golden (I n stated) that he at this time, in light of the confusion over the meeting dates, personally contact the call-ees and ask them to withdraw their call. He said that he would also tell them that there was concerted effort on the part of some Executive Committee members to avoid a December meeting. Judy Fink rebutted this charge, and informed Mr. Golden that if he made such a statement that it would be necessary for her to send a memorandum refuting the charge, since there was no such intention of avoidance.

A suggestion to poll the Board of Directors as to their choice of meeting dates came from John Willke, and was supported by a

MOTION by John Willke, SECOND by Albert Portman that the entire Board of Directors be notified immediately of the preceding motion; that the Board of Directors be notified of the Executive Committee's request for a January board meeting and be polled on acceptance or rejection; in the same communique that all members of the Board be polled as to whether or not to have a Board meeting in December; and to take note that the Executive Committee has set a tentative date for Sunday, December 16th in Chicago for a Board Meeting if one is called by 25% of the Directors; this communique to be sent immediately and responses requested by telegram to the Chairman of the Board, who shall then notify the Board of whichever or both meetings that are to be called.

CARRIED 8-1. No, Taylor

Mr. Golden left the meeting at this juncture to catch an airplane, leaving his and Gloria Klein's proxies with Michael Taylor.

Robert Greene noted that a Credentials Committee for any upcoming Board Meeting must be constituted. The names of Prof. Robert Byrn, Robert Brake, Esq., Roy Scarpato, Michael McCabe Esq., and Mary Carpenter Bruce were suggested as members.

MOTION by Judy Fink, SECOND by Albert Portman that the above persons be contacted and requested to serve on the Credentials Committee.

CARRIED 9-0.

Robert Greene presented the report of the Executive Director, putting forth a financial statement for the month of October, and the financial projections for November. The lengthy report included a review of the staff work, the notation of the resignation of Claire McCormack, and a partial draft of personnel policies. Budgetary considerations were reviewed.

Judy Fink reported briefly on the work of the Intergroup Liaison Committee. Stating that the Committee's program had moved into its second phase and that a top executive of a major religious denomination had asked

to meet with the Intergroup Committee, she requested such a meeting.

MOTION by John Willke, SECOND by Albert Fortman that the Intergroup Liaison Committee be authorized for the funding for one meeting during November.

CARRIED 9-0.

Mildred Jefferson, M.D. presented a sample budget for the Medical Advisory Committee, and deferred a full report until a later date.

John Willke, M.D. noted that the Education Committee wanted to meet in early December, that funding for such a meeting had been previously approved by the Executive Committee and requested the approval at this time for such a meeting. Approval was given by consensus.

Robert Greene requested the Executive Committee consultants to the standing Committees to prepare a full report of their Committee's activities for inclusion in a proposed book/report which would include an overview of the comprehensive programs currently underway.

Stating that going through Committees to establish priorities for programs is a controversial point, Michael Taylor spoke against the cost of the proposed Committee meetings. Robert Greene noted that the Committees are establishing priorities only within themselves, and that the priorities of each Committee in reference to each other will be ordered by the full Executive Committee.

Dr. Fortman reported that the Public Relations/Media Committee was functioning to his satisfaction, and said that no meeting of the PR Committee was necessary at this time.

A discussion of the Finance Committee centered around the concern that that Committee had not and is not raising money within itself for NRLC. It was felt by some Executive Committee members that re-developing the charge for the Finance Committee, and reconstituting its members, would help to alleviate the situation.

An extended discussion of the Legal Advisory Committee's recommended priorities and work program proposals brought forth a

MOTION by John Willke, SECOND by Albert Fortman that Priority #1 of the Legal Advisory Committee's report (i.e., the formulation of a unifying Human Life Amendment by January 20) and Priority #2 (i.e., the establishment of a subcommittee to complete a work program to coordinate and supervise the study of related human life issues and to draft model prolife legislation) be initiated with the sum of $3,000 allocated immediately, and a progress report presented at each of the next two Executive Committee meetings.

CARRIED 9-0.

John Willke at this point in the meeting gave his proxy to Albert Fortman.

Marjorie Mecklenburg reported on the States Programs Committee programs. She stated that it would be necessary to meet with a sub-committee of the Programs Committee to prepare a comprehensive report. The Executive Committee agreed to this proposal, and authorized Mrs. Mecklenburg to so proceed.

THE MEETING WAS ADJOURNED.

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MINUTES

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.

CONFERENCE CALL

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

November 26, 1973

Present: Robert Greene, Gloria Klein, Albert Fortman M.D., Judith Fink, Edward Golden, Marjorie Mecklenburg, Prof. Joseph Witherspoon

Absent: John Willke, M.D., Michael Taylor

Agenda: 1. NYRLC-Circle of Life new jewelry promotion

2. Catholic Conference Directors meeting

3. Poll of Board of Directors in re Board Meeting

4. Shift of date of Executive Committee meeting

1. Robert Greene reported that Circle of Life has developed, in conjunction with the National Youth Prolife Coalition, new jewelry in the form of a charm, a bracelet, a lapel pin/tie tack, and a necklace pendant. The NYPLC has proposed that their organization sell the pendant, retaining 100% of the proceeds, and that 100% of the proceeds of other items produced by Circle of Life (exclusive of the Circle of Life bracelet) be retained by the National Right to Life Committee.

Following discussion the Executive Committee approved by consensus of the above proposal, and referred the matter to staff for further information on cost figures and design.

2. A review of the former decision by the Executive Committee to contact the Catholic Conference Directors in regard to a presentation of the NR&C program as a panel was given by Robert Greene. He reported that a luncheon for the Directors was not feasible due to agenda changes on their program. Marjorie Mecklenburg reported that in conversations with some of the Catholic Conference Directors, it had been relayed to her that an invitation to speak had come to the President of NR&C as a protocol matter and that this did not preclude the President including other persons in the presentation.

Lengthy and vigorous discussion of the advisability of one person only making a presentation on NR&C and its current status to the Catholic Conference Directors then ensued.

MOTION by Marjorie Mecklenburg, SECOND by Judy Fink that the Executive Committee request Edward Golden to contact Msgr. Cheehan of the U.S. Catholic Conference, and request that the Executive Committee participate in the presentation to the Catholic Conference Directors.

THE MOTION: Roll Call vote: Fortman - abstention; Fink, Greene, Mecklenburg yes; Golden, Witherspoon, Klein no.

MOTION by Marjorie Mecklenburg, SECOND by Judy Fink that a copy of the invitation extended to the NCCC for the Catholic Conference Directors meeting be made part of the record of the Corporation.

Discussion on the motion brought forth the statement by Edward Golden that the invitation to speak had been extended to him by telephone from Msgr. Sheehan, and that no written invitation had been received.

MOTION WITHDRAWN.

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3. Robert Greene reported that 20 calls, as of this date, existed for holding a Board of Directors meeting on the 19-20th of January, 3 calls had been received for the date of Dec. 16th, and 11 calls for Dec. 8th.

These 11 persons have stated that they will waive their notice of the meeting.

Discussion of the legality of waiver of notice pointed out the fact that such a procedure would be illegal because the other 31 Directors had not waived notice. It is required by law that all Directors must waive notice.

A problem existed in regard to the proper manner of response to the meeting calls. January 19-20 would be legal and proper in correspondence to the bylaws, Dec. 16 was out due to lack of enough callers, and there was no legal way to hold a Board meeting on Dec. 8 unless each and every Director waived notice.

Edward Golden stated that upon his return from the previous Executive Committee meeting he was approached by several meeting-call petitioners in regard to a special meeting call. Mr. Golden had then sought the counsel of Prof. Witherspoon in regard to proper manner of waiver, and at that time Prof. Witherspoon had advised him concerning waiver.

In response to a question from Albert Fortson regarding the right of any director to waive another directors notice, Prof. Witherspoon clarified that the only way a formal meeting can be held on Dec. 8 is by universal waiver. All persons entitled to notice must exercise their right of waiver. He further advised that an informal meeting can be held, but no action can be taken that would be considered binding.

Prof. Witherspoon also advised that motion that the Chairman may issue a meeting call, under certain circumstances, but that this was not done.

Judy Fink stated that some directors, but not all, were notified of the request for a meeting call by the Golden mimeo letter, and some had been notified of the meeting call to request a meeting call, but in neither case had all directors been notified at one time of a request for a meeting call.

Gloria Klein, leaving the meeting to catch an airplane, gave her proxy to Edward Golden at this point.

Noting for the record that, at this date, Mr. Golden had not responded to the previous motion passed by the Executive Committee requesting him to file a copy of the night letter and the list of recipients with the Secretary for inclusion in the Corporate records, she requested that he state the names of the persons telephoned.

Mr. Golden did so state. The persons telephoned, and requested to place a meeting call are: Edward Golden, Mary Carpenter Bruce, Robert E. Berggren, Gloria Klein, Michael Taylor, William Moloney, Prof. Joseph Witherspoon, William Colliton M.D., James Feeney, Randy Engel, L. Smith Van Derloof, Kitty Morrissey, Robert Sassone, Nellie Gray, Martin Heberman Jr., Patricia Goodson, Jay Dawson, William Fleming, James Finch. Frances Frech and Marie Gentle had been contacted by others for the same purpose.

A discussion of the time that must elapse before the Chairman of the Corporation issues a call for a Board meeting ensued. It was noted that the bylaws state nothing in regard to any fixed time period in which a call must be given, such time being regarded as "any reasonable period".

Prof. Witherspoon advised that another person can call a meeting if the Chairman does not (construing the bylaws to make this assumption) but that it would take a majority of the Directors to do so. (A majority of the members of a Board of Directors can do this by writing under corporate law). Following such a written call of a majority of the Directors, there would still be a 20 days notice period, which all Directors must waive in writing if such waiver is desired.

Vigorous discussion followed the clarification of waiver, meeting call time requirement, and ability of another than the chairman to call a meeting. The substance of the discussion centered on the concern of some Executive Committee members that a minority of the Board of Directors had been contacted by a minority of the Executive Committee without due regard to the rights of the majority of the Directors to receive equal contact and equal opportunity to react.

The Search Committee for an Executive Director has not met. In response to queries regarding the reason for no meeting, it was pointed out that Mr. Golden chaired the Search Committee and the responsibility was his to call such a meeting.

Discussion turned to the proposed informal meeting with the Directors for the 5th of Dec. The Executive Committee members acknowledged that it was important and valuable to discuss and dialogue points of contention with any Director who wished to do so. Objection to holding such dialogue on the 5th centered around the fact that a majority of the Directors would be given very short notice of such a meeting, while others would have had longer time to prepare, and that an irregular meeting such as the one proposed was an attempt to flout the intent of the bylaws. Those favoring the informal meeting on the 5th of Dec. did so stating they were responding to requests from at least 22 Directors to hold such a meeting for the purpose of airing complaints and clearing the air.

MOTION by Edward Golden, SECOND by Prof. Joseph Witherspoon that the Executive Committee meet in Chicago on the 7th and 8th of December for the regular meeting, and talk with those Board members who come in for an informal meeting on the 8th of December.

MOTION CARRIED 5-1-1. Mecklenburg no, Fink abstention.

Robert Greene was requested to send out a notice of the informal meeting at the request of the Secretary, inviting the Directors to attend the Executive Committee meeting on Dec. 8 for the purpose of dialogue.

Albert Fortman requested a report on the progress of the Search Committee be presented at the Executive Committee meeting, and also requested a report on the selection of a National Membership Chairman.

Robert Greene reported that the Knights of Columbus had requested that an extra number of the pilot issue of the newspaper be run for their distribution. He also noted that, due to a decision to save shipping costs, that papers ordered in large quantities had been trucked to their destination in "pallets" (large boxes of loose papers). This had, in some cases, led to a substantial delay in getting papers unloaded.

THE MEETING WAS ADJOURNED

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DRAFT

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[illegible]

[illegible]

O'Hare International Tower Hotel
Chicago, Illinois December 7-8, 1973

Friday, Dec. 7, 197[illegible] 9:00 A.M.

Present: Edward Golden, Mabel Taylor, Gloria Hicks, Albert Fortman M.D., Marjorie Mecklenburg, John Willis L.L., Robert Greene, Prof. Joseph Wilkerson, Judith Fink, Mrs. Mildred P. Jefferson, M.D., and Carolyn Gentry, L.L.

Also present and observing as invited by the Secretary: Patricia Goodson, William Gellhorn M.D., [illegible], Joseph Lashof, Mary Carpenter Bryan, Nellie Gray, Jay Roman, Lucille Lufkins, Mary Rita Kroish, Rev. Warren Schaller, Mrs. McNeil.

Edward Golden opened the meeting with the Lord's Prayer. The presence of the observers was noted and a welcome extended.

MOTION by Albert Fortman, SECOND by Joseph Wilkerson that the minutes of the Executive Committee meeting of November 16, 1973 be accepted as written.

CARRIED 8-0-1. Taylor abstention.

MOTION by Marjorie Mecklenburg, SECOND by Albert Fortman that the minutes of the conference call of the Executive Committee of November 20, 1973 be accepted with one addition.

CARRIED 8-0-1. Taylor abstention.

The agenda, as submitted by Robert Greene, was discussed and several additions requested by Executive Committee members.

MOTION by Judith Fink, SECOND by Albert Fortman to adopt the agenda as amended.

CARRIED 9-0.

Gloria Hicks, Executive Committee Consultant to the Finance Committee, presented a verbal report. A discussion of the interpretation of receipts, to provide a distinction between those monies received for the 1973 convention and for the 1974 convention, followed. It was decided that the matter in which the convention profit is to be spent is a matter of final decision and

[illegible]

[illegible] by Robert Greene, SECOND by Albert Fortran, to employ an accounting firm in Washington, D.C. to perform an audit of the financial records of the corporation.

[illegible] received by the power to continue the chosen auditing firm on a month-to-month basis.

[illegible] 9-0

The discussion of the manner of accounting for the newspaper copies received continued following the passage of the above motion. Albert Fortran clarified that the intention is to include extra money over and above the subscription rate cost of the newspaper in a given monthly payment and was included in the proposal adopted by the Executive Committee previously in session.

Mr. Fortran also noted that in order to qualify for a second class postage rate, that a basic subscription rate must be designated.

Edward Golden requested a small sub-committee re-evaluate the membership proposal previously accepted. Robert Greene and Albert Fortran volunteered to serve on this sub-committee.

MOTION by Robert Greene, SECOND by Albert Fortran to approve the Finance Committee's report.

CARRIED 9-0.

MOTION by Robert Greene, SECOND by Judy Fink to schedule the next Executive Committee meeting for January 4th, 1974.

CARRIED 9-0.

Edward Golden then reported to the Executive Committee regarding his presentation to the meeting of the Catholic Conference Directors. Marjorie Hecklerburg, Albert Fortran, Judith Fink, Robert Greene, and John Tilly extended congratulations to Mr. Golden for the excellence of his presentation.

Robert Greene reported concerning a dinner hosted by National Right to Life Committee for 17 Catholic Conference Directors, stating that the atmosphere was cordial and hopefully rewarding in terms of future dialogue and relationships.

The draft of a letter written by Mr. Greene in his capacity as Executive Director to Msgr. James [illegible], Director of the Family Life Bureau of the United States Catholic Conference was reviewed. Extensive discussion regarding the feasibility of sending the letter [illegible] since, as well as the matter of extending an invitation to Msgr. Lally to [illegible] with the Executive Committee.

[illegible] by Albert Fortran, SECOND by Judy Fink to request Msgr. James [illegible] Lally to [illegible] with the Executive Committee on January 4, 1974 in Cincinnati, Ohio.

[illegible] 9-0.

The matter of selecting a health insurance plan for the staff was reviewed by Robert Greene.

MOTION by Albert Fortman, SECOND by Edward Golden to executive a binder on health insurance on the following Monday.

CARRIED 9-0

MOTION by John Willke, SECOND by Edward Golden that the staff proceed to finalize the insurance program.

CARRIED 9-0

Regarding the continued search for a permanent Executive Director, Robert Greene reported that he has placed an advertisement in the magazine *American Society of Association Executives*. One resume has been received, and Mr. Greene plans to interview the applicant. This resume was submitted by the Executive Employee Search Corporation.

Edward Golden reported that he has made no further contacts outside of the Korn/Ferry proposal solicitation. Marjorie Mecklenburg stated that she has informally contacted an individual, and is working on charts of organizational structure.

MOTION by John Willke, SECOND by Gloria Klein that Robert Greene be authorized to collect resumes submitted and present them to the Executive Committee.

CARRIED 9-0

John Willke advised that he had been contacted by Rev. Paul Marx with the suggestion that NRLC invite Phyllis Bowman of England and Herr Ernst of West Germany to the Board Meeting and Convention in June, 1974, as our guests, and that they be invited to speak at the Convention.

The discussion of an agreeable and constructive format for the Saturday morning Executive Committee meeting then ensued. Robert Greene noted that the Directors present were here to state their concerns, that the Executive Committee wished to hear these concerns, and that it would be best to avoid a format that would allow the meeting to degenerate into senseless and unstructured dialogue.

He suggested a format in which the Executive Committee would invite the Directors to advance the Committee as they arose, either through a spokesman or individually, and to structure the time to allow the presentations to continue without interruption. After the directors' presentations were concluded the Executive Committee would then go into executive session to determine who would respond and in what manner. A response as agreed upon response would be given and then the Executive Committee would adjourn, at which time individual Committee members could dialogue with individual directors.

Mr. Greene noted that the previous motion limiting the Board members was to

an Executive Committee meeting. In response to a question from Michael Taylor regarding whether a person holding a Board member's proxy would be eligible to attend, Robert Greene and Prof. Witherspoon stated that in their opinions proxies would be allowed, but only for the purpose of noting the presence of the proxy holder since only Executive Committee members were eligible to vote at an Executive Committee meeting.

Robert Greene also noted the need for security, and informed the Committee that the September 1 dates have fallen into the hands of an anti-life person. He stated that if the Executive Committee meetings are not limited to known persons then no degree of security is present.

Vigorous and confused discussion followed. Michael Taylor, noting that some attending Directors were under the impression that there was to be a legal Board meeting on Saturday, made motion for allowing a then-and-forth exchange of views. He expressed the opinion that the Executive Committee could not decide the rules under which the Saturday meeting was to be structured.

Prof. Witherspoon noted for the record that the Saturday meeting could in no way be a legal Board meeting.

The manner in which the meeting would be structured was determined by a

MOTION by Marjorie Mecklenburg, SECONDED by Robert Greene that the morning session, until 12 noon, be divided equally in time among the Directors who wish to speak; that the Executive Committee then recess for discussion, record in majority and minority reports (if need be), and adjourn, with individual dialogue occurring outside the formal Executive Committee meeting.

Amendment accepted by the mover to place the remaining agenda of the Executive Committee as the first order of business.

Amendment accepted by the mover for the recess to be from 12 noon until 2 P.M.

CARRIED 6-2-1. No, Taylor and Klein. Abstention, Golden.

MOTION by John Hilbe. SECONDED by Marjory Mecklenburg that only duly certified board members be admitted to the meeting, or such persons authorized to replace a board member via proxy: a written proxy, this proxy to be solely for the purpose of admission to the meeting.

CARRIED 9-0.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE THEN RECESSED.

Saturday, December 8, 1973 9:30 AM

Present: Prof. Joseph Witherspoon, Marjorie Mecklenburg, Robert Greene, John Willke, Michael Taylor, Albert Portman, Gloria Klein, Judith Fink.

In the absence of the President, Edward Golden, Marjorie Mecklenburg, Chairman of the Board, opened the meeting.

The following persons were presented and noted by the Secretary at 9:30 AM: William Colliton M.D., Kate Morin, Carolyn Carter M.D., Mildred Jefferson M.D., Rev. Warren Schaller (asst. to the Executive Director), Gerald Thompson, Gerald Martineau, Anne Dempsey, Andrew Bierbe. The following persons arrived at approximately 9:45 AM, at which time President Edward Golden returned the chair: Edward Golden, Mary Ann Urbish, Robert Brown, Jr. Robert M. Perrone, Lucille Petitline for Wendy Angel, James Feeney, Joseph Bonee, Martin Dallaman Jr., Judge James Lynn for Bernard Nathan, Kenneth VanDorhout for himself and Maureen Christensen, Jay Bowen, Catherine Golden for Kitty Morrissey.

Secretary's note: As the day progressed, more persons arrived. A complete listing follows the minutes of the Executive Committee meeting, and can be found at the beginning of the minutes of the informal meeting of the Board of Directors.

John Willke presented a report on his visit to Jamaica, during which time he had addressed the Jamaica Right to Life Committee. He stated that the official statement of persons of Jamaica Right to Life allowed the abortion when two licensed physicians agreed for purposes of life or health of the mother, and that the organization had presented a petition to the Jamaican parliament that the present law on abortion was too restrictive and should be loosened. He noted that Jamaica Right to Life is partially funded by a religious group for educational purposes, and that it is headed by a Jesuit Roman Catholic priest.

Dr. Willke recommended that this group be prohibited from using the name 'Right to Life', since it is a copyrighted name, and also suggested that the group be advised that a change in its official position should be initiated.

MOTION by John Willke, SECOND by Albert Portman to apply for an international copyright on the name 'Right to Life'.

CARRIED 9-0.

MOTION by Albert Portman, SECOND by Judith Fink to refer the Convention Committee to the matter of the invitation of Phyllis Bowman and Barr Smoot, and to encourage them to handle the invitation.

CARRIED 9-0.

The question of appropriate action regarding the Ogden Company's Japanese sales of products [illegible] was discussed, and resulted in a

MOTION by Albert Portman, SECOND by Marjorie Mecklenburg that the National Right to Life Committee [illegible] in the matter. Dr. Willke will be invited to participate in the call.

CARRIED 9-0.

Judy Fink reported that discussions had taken place with executives of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod regarding their participation in broad-scale educational prolife programs. The discussions had resulted in the Lutheran Church-MS requesting the Intergroup Liaison Committee to formulate a proposal to be presented to the appropriate Committees of the church early in January for approval. She requested funding for the necessary meeting to formulate the proposal.

MOTION by Marjory Mecklenburg, SECOND by Albert Fortman, to fund the Intergroup Liaison Committee to bring together the necessary persons for a meeting to draw up a proposal for the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod's prolife educational program.

UNANIMOUS C-C.

Edward Golden requested Judy Fink to read the motions of the previous evening regarding the format for the meeting of today. Kenneth VanderHoof asked for a reading of the names of the persons present in the room. They were noted by the Secretary, and, with proxies, 37 persons were present at the time.

Mr. VanderHoof then called for the Executive Committee meeting to be ruled a legal Board meeting.

Marjorie Mecklenburg responded that this is not legally possible, due to lack of prior 20 days notice and lack of a universal waiver of notice.

Mr. VanderHoof asked that a call be taken to see who in attendance is considering this to be a legal board meeting.

Prof. Witherspoon responded that this is an Executive Committee meeting held as previously scheduled, and cannot legally be a Board Meeting.

Nellie Gray spoke as a Board member not initially interested in the call, but disturbed by the way she saw the roll call taken to bring the meeting about. She expressed disapproval of the letter of November 20 written by Marjory Mecklenburg and Robert Greene calling for a poll of the Directors to determine which date consistent with the bylaws was desired.

Robert Greene, calling for a point of order, and then upon being ignored by the Chair calling for a point of privilege, reiterated that this was an Executive Committee meeting. The Chair recognized Nellie Gray, and she continued to speak.

Following her presentation, Marjory Mecklenburg noted that the developing format was not what had been agreed upon by the Executive Committee and presented an explanation of why no board meeting call was made. For the record, her remarks were as follows:

Mrs. Mecklenburg had been in Washington D.C. on Nov. 14 and 15. Upon arriving home on the evening of Dec. 15, she was given a letter sent to her from Edward Golden containing 13 requests for a Board meeting, and a letter from Frances Frech. The cover letter from Edward Golden stated that he requested that the Board meeting calls be changed from Dec. 1 to Dec. 8; the dates in the enclosed call letters were for Dec. 1.

by separate cover a letter from Carolyn Gercier requesting that a Board meeting be held had also arrived, plus letters from Frances Drech and Pat Goodson, and also a letter from William Fleming asking for a meeting on Dec. 1.

Mailgrams cancelling requests for dates from 1st to the 8th began arriving at this time.

The deadline for sending formal legal notice for a Board meeting on Dec. 8 was [illegible], October 1 at [illegible].

An Executive Committee meeting was held on November 16 and 17 in Chicago, at which time the question regarding requested dates was discussed extensively. At this time, there were 11 recorded calls for a meeting on Dec. 8. Some of the calls for a meeting were withdrawn following telephone contact intended to clarify the desire of the Director regarding preferred date.

Noting that it is the prerogative of the Chairman of the Board to act regarding the time and place of a Board meeting, Mrs. Mecklenburg stated that in the interest of informing all the Directors and to solicit their intention and reactions, (since there were some Board members who had not been contacted by Mr. Golden and those persons he had requested to act for him) it was her decision to send the letter requesting a poll of the Directors to the full Board.

J. Robert F. Bergeron questioned Mrs. Mecklenburg's action in contacting some of the Directors who had requested a call. She stated that some had contacted her and expressed marked confusion and the calls were an attempt to clarify the matter.

Edward Golden, stating that he was the person who had been behind the action responsible for bringing the Directors together who were present, stated for the record the following:

He had sent a memorandum to all the Directors on Sept. 30 in response to the previous memorandum from Marjory Mecklenburg in which he had set forth the financial picture of NAD as it had been presented to him. At this time, some Directors expressed the desire for a meeting to him and he advised them as to the proper procedure. He had tallied 13 or 14 requests to Marjory Mecklenburg. She hoped that she would respond as requested. He stated that he accepted partial blame for the confusion regarding dates and noted that he had told the Executive Committee that he would contact the persons calling for a meeting to withdraw their requests but that his offer had been overruled by the Executive Committee.

He stated that he was unsure at this time as to whether this can be construed as a legal Board meeting, but wants a chance for the Directors to be able to speak.

[illegible] Mr. Golden. [illegible]

...ding regarding [illegible] the this meeting. The roll then [illegible] that representatives from Colorado, Illinois, Massachusetts, South Dakota, and Texas agreed in full with the motion; representatives from Arizona, Iowa, Kentucky, Minnesota, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and Virginia abstained, and representatives from Alabama, Alaska, California, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Georgia, Kansas, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon (by proxy), Rhode Island, Vermont (by proxy), Washington, Wisconsin, voted by proxy, Lawrence and Taylor disagreed with the motion.

The disenfranchised [illegible] of the [illegible] directors who had not received notice and were not at the meeting [illegible] by several present.

MOTION by Prof. Witherspoon, SECOND by Marjory Mecklenburg that the Executive Committee consider [illegible] to have carried them, and that decision be made publicly regarding response to the aforementioned poll.

CARRIED 9-0.

Continued disruption of the Executive Committee meeting resulted in a

MOTION by Joseph Witherspoon, SECOND by Michael Taylor that the meeting of the Executive Committee be adjourned.

CARRIED 7-2. No, Fortman and Wilke.

Marjory Mecklenburg told the assemblage that the Executive Committee has a right to, and should be allowed to, prevent the meeting upon which it had been working to the Board of Directors before binding decisions are made.

Kenneth VanWieren asked for a further restatement of whether the meeting was an Executive Committee session or a board meeting, and Prof. Witherspoon stated that this was an informal meeting only.

AT THIS POINT, THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING WAS ADJOURNED.

THE FOLLOWING PERSONS WERE PRESENT AT THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE INC., ON SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1973:

Edward Golden
Prof. Joseph Witherspoon
Robert Greaw
Marjory Mecklenburg
John Willke M.D.
Michael Taylor
Albert Fortman M.D.
Gloria Klein
Judith Fink

Rev. Warren Schaller

William Colliton, M.D.
Ruth Marin
Carolyn Gerster M.D.
Mildred Jefferson M.D.
Carolyn Thomsen
Gerald Martinez
Anne Murray
Andrew O'Rourke
Mary Lita Urbish
Robert Curran
J. [illegible] M. [illegible]
Lucille Buffalino, proxy for Judy Engel
James Feeny
Joseph Scarpaci
Martin McGrath Jr.
Judge James Lynn, proxy for Donald Manion
Kenneth Van Berkeef
Kenneth Vanberkeef, proxy for Maureen Christensen
Jay Bowman
Catherine Golden, proxy for Kitty Morrissey
Frances Frech
Mrs. McCall, proxy for William Maloney
Nellie Gray
Patricia Kelley
Mary Carpenter Bayce
James Doherty, proxy for William Fleming
Michael Taylor
Michael Taylor, proxy for Marie Gentle
Patricia Gradson
Paulette Mandefer

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE

M E M O

TO: EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

FROM: BOB GREENE

SUBJECT: FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATION

DATE: JUNE 16, 1973

In the climate of haste and utter exhaustion with which we ended our deliberations in Detroit last Sunday, there was no opportunity to reflect upon the overall working structure of the National Right to Life Committee or the development of a work program for the committee to follow. I do not know what amount of planning has taken place by the earlier executive committees but since I have no specific assignment of responsibility at the present time I have decided to give some consideration to the development of a functional organization and a planning process which would result in a suitable work program for the committee.

I believe a committee structure should be built to deal with a number of tasks. These committees should be drawn from the best talent available nationwide and they should be given very broad charges which would permit them an opportunity to develop their own realistic appraisal of what needs to be done, the time table in which these matters can be realistically accomplished and a tentative budget for the accomplishment of these items, together with some indications of the cash flow or a scheduling of expenditures. It would then become the duty of the executive committee to review the work programs of the functional committees and their budgets and to achieve the necessary coordination between the functional committees that is necessary to produce within a relatively short time a work program for the entire national organization.

These are my first impressions on the matter and are by no means offered as a final solution, but I feel that we must make a beginning and they may serve a useful purpose in initiating discussion of each of the functional areas which I have identified. It is entirely possible that I have overlooked certain functions for which there should also be committees organized, some of the functional areas that I have identified could be better defined, and I am sure all of the members of the executive committee will have programs and isolated ideas to present which must be considered. What I am offering is not meant to be a working document but simply the result of my having given some thought to the functional organization of the committee as opposed to the corporate structure with which we have been more intimately concerned these past few weeks.

The functional structure that I am going to propose would require the organization of ten functional committees as follows:

1. Finance Committee;
2. Legal Advisory Committee;
3. Public Relations Committee;
4. Education Committee;
5. Personnel and Office Management Committee;
6. Congressional Liaison Committee;
7. Committee for Liaison With Other Pro-Life Organizations;
8. Information Committee;
9. Convention Committee; and
10. Committee on State and Local Organization

A formal charge should be developed for each of these committees in the broadest possible language. Listed below are some of the elements which should be included in the charges to the committees:

Finance Committee--This committee will be charged with fund raising and with the development of an overall budget. Its initial activities will necessarily be concerned with fund raising. The overall budget will depend in part on the approved budgets of the other nine functional committees, upon a thorough analysis and review by the finance committee and further review and analysis by the executive committee. When the executive director comes on board, he should also have some input into the development of the overall budget. The budget for the period 1973-1974 should be developed in great detail and some ongoing planning and consideration should be given for the 1974-1975 budget. All of the committees must adopt an attitude of looking as far into the future as possible to project realistic time estimates for the accomplishment of interim goals and objectives and to permit the finance committee to work realistically on the fund raising problems.

Legal Advisory Committee--The legal advisory committee should continue in its present role except that the chairman of that committee should attempt to achieve closer communication with the members and the members should be encouraged to submit copies of decisions of lower courts, reviews and analyses of decisions peculiar to their jurisdiction. The committee should develop a vehicle in which to record the results of its work and provide a forum for the publication of legal writings related to the development of the law as it relates to the protection of human life. I am thinking of a document in the nature of a law review which could be dissiminated widely, not only among the lawyer members of the committee and the state and national organizations, but also among law schools and the legal departments of government agencies so that they might be made aware of legal developments in this field. This committee needs to accumulate in one place all information concerning legislative efforts in the field of protecting human life. It is necessary that we deal not only with the national Congress, but with the legislatures of the several states and with the administrative regulations of various governmental agencies. This material should be monitored constantly, it should be carefully indexed and classified for research purposes and facilities should be available to distribute copies of significant items to those who have made inquiry or should be concerned with legislative affairs, particularly on the state level. There was a flurry of activity in the state legislatures following the Supreme Court Decision in January and this activity must continue if the National Right to Life Committee is to have any impact on the passage of appropriate state legislation. The committee must be prepared to provide interested parties with the best information that is available from the accumulated experience of the other states.

Public Relations Committee--The public relations committee would have the broad duty to coordinate the entire public relations effort of the committee and to review and comment on public relations aspects of the work of other committees. It should be charged with developing a newsletter

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designed to receive the broadest circulation, not only among the members of local, state and national pro-life organizations, but to schools and libraries and as a resource document to other media, both public and organizational. The public relations committee should develop sub-committees to handle various portions of this broad task, not only for dealing with the newsletter but also with all branches of the news media. Included in the overall task of public relations are our relationships, in a broad sense, with local, state and national governments, particularly those agencies of the state and national government that are involved in the funding or delivery of social services. They must be made continuously aware of the objectives of the National Right to Life Committee.

Education Committee--We have always looked upon the education of the public concerning the right to life of every individual as a primary goal. While we must educate the public on a number of concerns, we have already acquired expertise in instructions on fetal development and abortion techniques and these educational efforts should now be coordinated nationally. New techniques should be explored and evaluated. A resource library should be developed and the best of our experience should be produced in kit form to be distributed to pro-life workers across the nation. This committee should be also charged with exploring our relationship with both public and private educational institutions with some focus on state and federal agencies that are involved in the funding of these activities.

Personnel and Office Management Committee--Much of the immediate concern of the executive committee is necessarily directed to the establishment of our national offices in Washington and the selection of appropriate staff personnel to operate these facilities. On a long range basis, however, it would be inappropriate to require too much of the executive committee's time in these matters at the expense of other broader responsibilities which will require the full attention of the executive committee. As the work of the National Right to Life Committee will probably continue for several years, there will always be the problem of administering an office and attending to the problems of personnel. The office will more than likely continue to grow and the size of the staff will continue to increase. It will be necessary to develop policies and to functionally re-organize the staff from time to time to better accomplish those tasks which are to be performed in the national office. This committee should be charged, first of all, to the initial search for appropriate staff including the executive director. They should perhaps be given hiring authority for positions below a certain level and they should have the responsibility to make recommendations to the executive committee on the selection of personnel in the highest echelons of the staff. In cooperation with the executive director, this committee should develop various policies and procedures which will insure the efficient and orderly administration of the affairs of the National Right to Life Committee to include the use of automatic data processing for recording memberships and developing mailing lists with the capability of selected mailings on both a regular and an irregular schedule.

Congressional Liaison Committee--The importance of this committee is, in my view, distorted at the present time due to the excitement over the introduction of the human life amendments in the Congress. The work of this committee must not be confused with the work of a paid lobbyist. On the other hand, a paid lobbyist must be given direction and must have a group with which to consult on the tactics and strategy of dealing with such a diverse group as the Congress. I realize that there is much importance attached to making progress in this area very quickly, but realistically, there is a great deal of investigative work which must be accomplished before any serious effort can be made to influence the elected representatives of the people. The Congressional Liaison Committee should concentrate on developing

information on the members of Congress as it is presently seated and on candidates in coming elections for those offices. It should accumulate essentially the same information on key staff members of these elected officials and should develop for each of them, both the elected official and the staff member, the known relationships with other elected officials, with constituents and with persons living within the area of the nation's capital, with a view towards attempting to influence selected persons whenever necessary to achieve favorable action in the Congress. While we often are inclined to think of this work as being performed essentially in the nation's capital, much of it is performed in the home territory of the elected official or his key staff members and emphasis placed upon the right constituent levers which must be operated to achieve the desired results.

Committee for Liaison With Other Pro-Life Organizations--While the National Right to Life Committee is perhaps the most visible and hopefully the most active and responsible, and truly the best of everything in national organization, we must not forget that there are other organizations of national importance or of major regional importance with which we must be able to coordinate our activities so that we do not work at cross purposes and do not get in each others way. If the National Right to Life Committee would take the initiative in these matters it may be that it will emerge as the one, strong, unified voice of all pro-life people in the United States. Perhaps that is an impossible dream, but in any event it is necessary that we know what they are doing and that they have the same information about us. Accordingly, liaison should be established at the national, state and local level so that we are in a position to monitor their activities and take them into account in the execution of our own work programs. A lack of unity in the efforts of pro-life groups is often capitalized on by those organizations which are opposed to the pro-life movement and by the news media which we conceive to be biased against the movement. This again, reinforces my recommendation that we establish and maintain active liaison with all significant pro-life groups across the country.

Information Committee--There could be a better name for the information committee. I conceive it to be a group concerned with surveillance. It is necessary that we have alert individuals working together from one end of the country to the other to monitor state and federal programs for abuses against human life. Our system of government is so large and so complex that it is possible for a high federal official to make a statement of policy that is favorable to the position of the National Right to Life Committee while in fact other agencies of the government, sometimes geographically removed, far-flung operations of the same agency, are engaged in activities totally contradictory to such policy statements and to the purposes and principles of the National Right to Life Committee. The recent statement of a high public official in Washington to the effect that there shall be no experimentation on the aborted fetus does not mean that such experiments are not being accomplished in another agency or in the same agency some distance removed from the official making the statement. We must attempt to monitor all of these activities at every facility so that we may call attention to the abuses. In addition, it is necessary that we exercise some surveillance over the activities of those organizations that are opposed to the purposes of the National Right to Life Committee. While the battleground metaphors may be inappropriate and "intelligence about the enemy" may be an overdramatization, the struggle is, at the very least, a contest between opposing forces and we must be able to scout the opposition. It should be then, the broad function of the information committee to provide information on all of these matters, not only to the executive committee, but to the entire organization by contribution to the newsletter, by special mailings where appropriate, by reference to the public relations committee for the preparation of releases to the news media and/or a variety of other purposes best delineated by that committee after it has studied the problem.

Convention Committee--While we have just experienced an excellent convention in Detroit where our friends from Michigan were our excellent hosts, we have seen the size of the convention more than triple as compared to 1972. It is conceivable that we must plan a convention for four or five thousand in 1974 and perhaps twice that many in 1975. We are already late to begin planning for 1974, and when you are talking about convention facilities for eight or ten thousand, we are almost late to begin planning for 1975. As congressional efforts become more heated, as we continue to grow and develop better state organizations and many additional local organizations, we can expect greater numbers of people to be interested in attending these conventions. Planning an educational meeting for a few hundred people while simultaneously accommodating an organizational meeting for a sixty-one member board of directors is not an easy task, but when you expand the attendance into the thousands, you must also expand the planning activity that goes into such a convention. This committee could be immediately structured into two sub-committees. One to plan the 1974 convention and one to immediately begin planning the 1975 convention. While much of the execution of these plans will fall upon the host state, to insure good attendance and obtain nationwide support for our efforts there must be input into this planning from all across the nation.

Committee on State and Local Organization--I personally believe this committee may be the most important. In my opinion, the efforts to pass a human life amendment, not only through the national Congress but more importantly through the legislatures of thirty-eight states will only be brought about by a ground swell of public opinion. Ground swells can be produced, in part, by achieving good relationships with the media. They can also be achieved, in part, by efforts in education. We will also influence a number of people, important people, with our efforts to reform state laws and to comment on court decisions. The ground swell will be increased by the efforts of our liaison committees and can be amplified by working with other groups in concert, but in my opinion, it will never reach the tidal wave proportions that are necessary to bring about constitutional change until we have organized legions of workers right down to the precinct level. We must immediately undertake to build a strong state organization in every state. We must seek to resolve the problems of some states that have competing organizations and we must develop an extension program from these state organizations to the local level so that it will be impossible to travel to any city or town in America without coming in contact with a dedicated group of pro-life workers who are organized and mobilized to provide that necessary persuasion of friends and neighbors, fellow workers, church members, club members and others to send people to the Congress and to the state legislatures who are concerned about human life and dedicated to the proposition that the constitution must be amended to protect human life.

It is unrealistic to think that each member of the executive committee is going to be able to keep abreast of all that is taking place in each of these ten functional areas in which I have recommended the establishment of committees. Neither is it realistic to assume that we will be able to have meetings where we can have time to sit down and listen to detailed committee reports from each of these committee chairmen. Much of the committee reporting will have to be done in the form of written documents prepared with the assistance of the executive director and the staff of the National Right to Life Committee and even then the volume of reading and analysing all of the reports may well exceed the capabilities of any group of men. So, it is my recommendation that we establish certain areas of responsibility for committee functions. I feel certain that many members of the executive committee should be the chairmen of one of these functional committees. We must learn to use all of our available resources to the maximum extent. There are a large number of people who can be selected to serve as chairmen. We have not only

the remainder of the Board of Directors, who must be involved in this functional committee structure, but we have a number of people outside the board of directors who, because of their expertise in a given area, may be able to assume the responsibility of chairman of one of these committees. But a member of the executive committee must take the responsibility to work with one or two committee chairmen, and, if possible, attend at least some of their meetings, to thoroughly digest the reports of the committee and be familiar with them and to be prepared to pass that information on to the executive committee by way of summarization and enlightened comment, so that the executive committee will have the benefit of the work of these functional committees in guiding the affairs of the National Right to Life Committee.

It is my further recommendation that we circulate among the board of directors a working paper naming and giving the charge of the various functional committees which the executive committee will seek to organize and asking the members of the board of directors to respond as to their first, second and third choices of committee assignment and whether or not they would serve as chairman of a committee. We should also ask the directors to recommend and nominate for membership on each functional committee a top person in their state who has already agreed to serve on the committee if he is asked to do so. We should further ask the members of the board of directors to furnish biographical information on each such nominee for a committee assignment. This information would best be obtained in the form of a questionnaire. Armed with this information, the executive committee should select a chairman for each of the ten functional committees and should further determine which member of the executive committee will be responsible for coordinating the affairs of each functional committee. While I do not know every one on the committee, intimately, I do have an impression of their interests and abilities and I am going to take the liberty of suggesting the following assignments.

I am most interested in the affairs of state and local organizations as you may have guessed from reading these comments. In addition, I would be willing to share with Margie the responsibility for organizing and reporting on the Congressional Liaison Committee. My legal training and limited political experience would be helpful here and I believe that the work of these two committees is related, particularly as it applies to constituent levers and the people to pull them. I believe Margie has made appearances on the hill, she has some national identity with this movement, she is a person of great personal warmth and charm and with her new title as chairman of the board of directors she should be very effective in this role.

I see Mike Taylor as looking after Public Relations and sharing with Judy Fink the shepherding of the Personnel and Office Management Committee.

Prof. Witherspoon, with his credentials and university affiliation, and the ease with which he moves in the academic community and the legal fraternity is ideally suited to look after the formation of the Legal Advisory Committee. In any event, he knows all about the publication of law reviews, he knows how to encourage participation among lawyers and law students, and he knows how to evaluate legislation. He would be familiar with problems of indexing and the retrieval of this kind of material. He is, in fact, a scholar and would lend a very scholarly approach to these activities.

Charlie Wehr, if I have my facts straight, was instrumental in raising a lot of money in Indiana. Since he is newly elected treasurer of the National Right to Life Committee, it would seem appropriate and necessary that he look after and work very closely with the Finance Committee.

Dr. Willke has achieved national recognition for his writing and his speaking in the pro-life movement. He is an educator in every sense of the word and dedicated to the proposition that through education on these matters we will bring about political change. I believe Dr. Willke should look after the Education Committee.

Margie moves with ease among pro-life workers of every stripe and she is already well-known to those pro-life organizers who are outside the National Right to Life Committee. I think she should look after the Committee for Liaison With Other Pro-Life Organizations.

Dr. Fortman is an obvious leader who has played an important role in bringing about the democratization of the National Right to Life Committee. I think he could inspire a convention committee to plan for a truly great convention in 1974 and an even greater one in 1975. He was obviously involved in the very successful referendum opposition in his home state which demonstrates his ability to produce unity and it takes these great qualities to get people in one end of the country excited about going to a convention in the other end. You have to be able to offer them something that is worth their while. I think he would also be able to supervise the establishment of the information committee and help them obtain a working organization to supply us with information about what the government is doing and what the opposing forces are doing.

Under this system Ed's job is simple, all he has to do is keep the rest of us workin . Once we have agreed on our areas of interest or areas of responsibility, the executive committee member concerned should sit down with the appropriate committee chairman selected by the executive committee and agree upon the size of the committee. Jointly, they should review the nominations sent in by the members of the board of directors and select the very best people in the county that have been recommended for work on these committees. The executive committee member and the committee chairman should work out a schedule for their first committee meeting. The executive committee member should attend that first committee meeting to interpret the charge to the committee and the committee chairman should take action to produce a work program for the committee which will carry out the charge of the executive committee. Each committee should also develop a proposed budget and the executive committee member concerned and the committee chairman should agree upon a date when the completed work program and proposed budget can be submitted to the executive committee. The proposed budgets of the functional committees should be reviewed by the Finance Committee. The executive committee should then meet on a schedule which will accommodate the systematic review and analysis of each of the work programs of the functional committees and their budgets. It can be anticipated that parts of them may have to be returned for further study. The executive committee may make minor changes in the work programs themselves. It will be necessary to exercise some very stringent controls over the budgets, but the executive committee should agree upon a time when it will publish in bound form the approved work programs and budgets of each of the functional committees for distribution to the board of directors and other interested members. The work programs should be prepared in such a way that there are reporting dates to the executive committee for each of them. I have already mentioned the matter of cash flow charts, the finance committee will concern itself with a system of financial planning and budgeting which will similarly have reporting dates or phase lines by which all of the expenditures and fund raising activities can be coordinated and accommodated into one comprehensive financial management system.

I realize that by doing this I have probably raised more questions than I have answered. I have profited greatly from the counsel of you,

but I am afraid that we will get involved in that kind of crisis response which is often substituted for sound planning and management practices in organizations such as this. Political organizations particularly, it seems, live in an environment of accommodating to emergencies and constantly shifting priorities. This is primarily brought about by their temporary nature or sudden death characteristics on election day. We are in one sense fortunate that our struggle will last longer and we shall survive several election days. In our haste to respond to the well-intentioned demands of our own constituency, let's take time to carefully plan, adequately fund, and then brilliantly execute a comprehensive and integrated program of activities that by its abundance of these qualities is guaranteed success.

National Right to Life Committee, Inc.

[illegible] Suite 500 Washington, D.C. 20006

October 9, 1973

OFFICERS

[illegible]

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

M E M O

TO: Executive Committee

FROM: Robert F. Greene, Executive Director

SUBJECT: Membership as it relates to the newspaper and other anticipated expenses.

I have been studying several proposals relating to membership. Several of them include a subscription to the newspaper, while others recommend that the newspaper subscription should be separate from the concept of membership.

This matter sounded in several committees. I have correspondence from Al on behalf of the Public Relations/Media Committee; I have had conversations with Bob Bergeron, Chairman of the Finance Committee; I have discussed this general subject area with Dennis Horan, Chairman of the Legal Advisory Committee and I attempted to bring Marge and Mike Taylor together for a meeting yesterday, for the matter certainly sounds in both of their committees. Unfortunately, Mike chose not to attend. I did spend most of yesterday working on this with Marge who was in Washington, D. C. on MCCL vs. IRS business.

I have considered using membership as an incentive to encourage an acceptable [illegible] of organizational structure in the states, setting aside some part of the dues to be returned to state or local organizations, or both, upon meeting certain objective standards. These proposals were ultimately rejected in favor of a direct membership in NRLC, preserving to the state and local organizations the possibility of parallel dues structures. The advantages of including the newspaper

subscription as a benefit of membership, in view of the financial condition of NRLC, were there it to far outweigh the advantages of having a separate subscription rate. The Public Relations/Media Committee should be asked to develop a policy which would allow each state a limited number of free, or very low cost, subscriptions for mailing to Congress, Legislators and other non-members who could benefit from the newspaper.

As a result of this study I am recommending to you the following annual dues structure for NRLC:

Students and Senior Citizens Membership--$5.00
Individual Membership--$10.00
Sustaining Membership--$25.00
Patrons Membership--$50.00
Sponsors Membership--$100.00

All members would receive the newspaper as a benefit of membership. Sustaining, Patron and Sponsor members would also receive the Greene Sheet. All amounts received would be credited against 1974 state quotas (assessments).

In addition, I recommend to you the implementation of a membership drive consisting of at least the following elements.

1. An appeal for memberships in the next Greene Sheet which would enclose a copy of an application and encourage local reproduction of the form.

2. Advertisement in a national publication such as "Our Sunday Visitor" with the ad format containing a membership application.

3. The immediate preparation and distribution of a membership drive kit to the Greene Sheet mailing list containing several suggestions for a local membership drive, such as:

   a. advertisements in local papers at local RTL expense;

   b. press releases to be released by local RTL's which include information on how to become a member;

   c. [illegible] of locally prepared application forms [illegible]

d. direct appeals to the mailing list of local RTL's, and

e. still others yet to be developed.

The initial cost of the newspaper is approximately $20,000. The cost of each succeeding monthly issue will not exceed $10,000. Based on an assumed average membership of $10.00, it would require the enrollment of only 3,000 members to offset the cost of the first or trial issue of the newspaper and only 1,000 additional enrollments each month thereafter for twelve months to meet the cost of the succeeding issues. Projected costs beyond twelve months would be covered by annual renewal of the membership. The entire newspaper effort would only require the annual enrollment of 15,000 members from our national constituency. This appears to me to be an obtainable goal. Obviously, the trial issue of the newspaper and succeeding monthly issues must promote enrollment in NRLC. An enrollment of 60,000 by December, 1974, is certainly possible which would provide $600,000 less the cost of publishing the newspaper. This should not exceed $240,000 leaving operating funds of $360,000. Bracelet sales which could safely be projected at present levels would provide an additional $200,000 or a total of $560,000. This is not sufficient in my mind, but it is way ahead of our present level of funding and should be enlarged by the development of additional fund raising programs. Direct mail, which has already been advanced by some, could be a suitable vehicle to further enlarge the enrollment of members. In addition, some future funding requirements could be met by the establishment of 501 (c) (3) organizations to handle certain areas such as litigation, education, counseling and some research. These would have their own fund raising mechanisms after an initial "seeding" by NRLC.

I am sure that this plan is not without fault. Very few are, but I believe this plan has some obvious advantages, which I have enumerated as follows:

1. It will permit the publication of the trial issue of the newspaper before Thanksgiving.

2. It will permit continued publication each month thereafter of a high quality newspaper.

3. It will leverage funds from states who are making little or no effort to meet their established quota.

4. It will provide another mechanism in addition to bracelet sales for states to meet their established quota.

5. It will provide NRLC with a growing, current mailing list.

6. It will provide an ongoing mechanism for NRLC funding as new members are enrolled and old members renew.

7. It will produce a feeling of belonging among members and responsibility to their participation as activists in the RTL movement.

Some of the disadvantages are:

1. The project must be undertaken very quickly.

2. It will cost $2,000 or more to implement the membership drive with advertising as recommended.

3. It will require increased staff in Washington. At least one additional staff person will have to be employed and some equipment will have to be purchased.

4. It will require the use of some NRLC operating funds for the newspaper until memberships are received.

5. November and December is a bad time to have a membership drive because of holiday spending.

6. It competes with state and local RTL organizations by imposing a parallel dues structure.

7. Some few states have exhibited a lack of confidence in our ability to provide national leadership and may successfully boycott any membership drive in their state.

8. It does not directly assist states in becoming better organized.

I am advised by Ed that we have on hand only enough funds to operate at the present level until about November 12. Projected sales for November and December will amount to approximately $20,000, but an additional $20,000 or more will be needed to sustain operations through 1973. This money must be in sight before proceeding with the newspaper.

I have confidence that a membership drive begun immediately will produce the enrollment of 3,000 required to offset the cost of the newspaper and within the October-November time frame. December should produce an

additional 1,000 or more enrollments to insure publication of the January issue. The newspaper promotion of memberships should increase the enrollment rate in early 1974 to provide the necessary operating funds. Other programs may have to be delayed based on a constant monitoring of the cash flow.

Because of this need to monitor the cash flow and our financial affairs in general, I also recommend immediate consolidation of our financial activities at the NAUC office in Washington with the understanding that an additional staff person and some equipment will be required. This staff person would also be able to handle the membership drive for a limited time.

I will ask for favorable action on these recommendations on the next conference call on Thursday, October 11, 1973, and I am prepared to implement the initial stages of these programs immediately. Please call me if you have any questions or further suggestions.

JOHN H. McGINLEY, C.P.A. (1927-1965)
LEO F. McGINLEY, C.P.A.
WILLIAM P. ROCHE, C.P.A.
WHITFIELD E. MALLORY, C.P.A.
MEMBERS OF AMERICAN INSTITUTE
OF CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

McGINLEY, ROCHE & MALLORY

CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

VAN NESS CENTRE
4301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

January 10, 1974

Board of Directors
National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
1200 15th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

Gentlemen:

We have examined the balance sheet of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. as of November 15, 1973, and the related statement of income and net worth for a six and one-half months period then ended. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such test of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances. It was impracticable for us to extend our examination of contributions and memberships received from the general public beyond accounting for amounts so recorded.

In our opinion, the accompanying balance sheet and statement of income and net worth present fairly the financial position of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. at November 15, 1973, and the results of its operations for the six and one-half months then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

Respectfully submitted,

McGINLEY, ROCHE & MALLORY

Certified Public Accountants

EXHIBIT "A"

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
BALANCE SHEET
NOVEMBER 15, 1973

ASSETS

Current			
Cash (Note 1)			
General Fund	$24,345.52		
Operating Fund	17,900.00		
Petty Cash	105.09	$42,350.61	
Accounts Receivable			
Advance	123.45		
Bracelet Sales	10,891.59	11,015.04	
Prepaids			
Insurance	403.09		
Rent	493.78		
Retainer	3,000.00	3,896.87	
Total Current Assets			$57,262.52
Fixed			
Furniture, Fixtures and Equipment		3,987.07	
Less: Accumulated Depreciation		104.79	
Total Fixed Assets			3,882.28
TOTAL ASSETS			$61,144.80

LIABILITIES AND NET WORTH

Current Liabilities			
Accounts Payable		$12,663.43	
Payroll Tax Withheld		1,364.79	
Accruals			
Salaries	$ 2,293.93		
Payroll Taxes	800.50	3,094.43	
Total Current Liabilities			$17,122.65
Net Worth			
Balance November 15, 1973 - Transferred from Exhibit "B"			44,022.15
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET WORTH			$61,144.80

The accompanying notes are an integral part of these statements.

EXHIBIT "B"

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
STATEMENT OF INCOME AND NET WORTH
FOR THE SIX AND ONE-HALF MONTH PERIOD ENDED NOVEMBER 15, 1973

Income:			
Memberships		$21,721.31	
Contributions		38,460.81	$ 60,182.12
Other			
Commissions - Bracelet Sales		86,233.26	
Interest		237.10	
Miscellaneous		482.75	86,953.11
Gross Income			147,135.23
Deduct:			
Expenses			
Salaries	$11,402.60		
Employee Benefits	321.24		
Payroll Taxes	1,003.95	12,727.79	
Professional Services, Retainers and Part-time Help		10,598.50	
Committees Expenses			
Executive		16,318.10	
Other		7,437.82	
Newspaper		12,328.54	
Convention Fees, Exhibits and Related Costs		905.25	
Depreciation		104.79	
Dues, Subscriptions and Publications		655.27	
Insurance		89.91	
Moving		2,197.27	
Miscellaneous		903.49	
Office Supplies, Expenses and Rentals		4,930.90	
Postage and Printing		3,867.62	
Rent		6,462.08	
Telephone		20,136.94	
Travel and Related Expenses		3,448.81	103,113.08
Excess of Income over Expenses for the Six and One-Half Months ended November 15, 1973, and Net Worth at that Date - Transferred to Exhibit "A"			$ 44,022.15

The accompanying notes are an integral part of these statements.

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.
NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS
NOVEMBER 15, 1973

NOTE 1:

A summary of significant accounting policies follows:

Method of Accounting - Assets, liabilities, income and expenses are recognized on the accrual basis of accounting.

Depreciation - Depreciation of fixed assets is computed on the straight-line method at rates calculated to recover the cost of the applicable assets over their estimated useful lives.

JOHN B. McGINLEY, C.P.A. (1927-1955)
LEO P. McGINLEY, C.P.A.
WILLIAM P. ROCHE, C.P.A.
WHITFIELD E. MALLORY, C.P.A.
MEMBERS OF AMERICAN INSTITUTE
OF CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

McGINLEY, ROCHE & MALLORY

CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

VAN NESS CENTRE
4301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

January 10, 1974

Board of Directors
National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
1200 15th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

Gentlemen:

The accompanying balance sheet of the National Right to Life Committee, Inc. as of December 31, 1973, and the related statement of income and net worth for the eight month period then ended were not audited by us and, accordingly, we do not express an opinion on them.

Respectfully submitted,

McGINLEY, ROCHE & MALLORY

McGinley, Roche & Mallory
Certified Public Accountants

EXHIBIT "A"

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
BALANCE SHEET (UNAUDITED)
DECEMBER 31, 1973

ASSETS

Current			
Cash (Note 1)			
General Fund	$43,679.04		
Operating Fund	469.22		
Petty Cash	19.83	$44,168.09	
Accounts Receivable			
Advances	623.45		
Bracelet Sales	9,295.74	9,919.19	
Prepaids			
Insurance	364.53		
Retainer	1,500.00	1,864.53	
Total Current Assets			$55,951.81
Fixed			
Furniture, Fixtures and Equipment		3,987.07	
Less: Accumulated Depreciation		148.72	
Total Fixed Assets			3,838.35
TOTAL ASSETS			$59,790.16

LIABILITIES AND NET WORTH

Current Liabilities			
Accounts Payable		$25,800.52	
Payroll Tax Withheld		3,264.64	
Accruals			
Salaries	$ 185.26		
Payroll Taxes	1,188.02	1,373.28	
Total Current Liabilities			$30,438.44
Net Worth			
Balance December 31, 1973 -			
Transferred from Exhibit "B"			29,351.72
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET WORTH			$59,790.16

The accompanying notes are an integral part of this statement.

EXHIBIT "B"

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
STATEMENT OF INCOME AND NET WORTH (UNAUDITED)
FOR THE EIGHT MONTH PERIOD ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1973

	Period Ended November 15, 1973 (Per Audit)	Period November 16, 1973 to December 31, 1973	Period Ended December 31, 1973
Income			
Memberships	$ 21,721.31	$14,662.00	$ 36,383.31
Contributions	38,460.81	654.75	39,115.56
	60,182.12	15,316.75	75,498.87
Other			
Commissions - Bracelet Sales	86,233.26	20,187.32	106,420.58
Interest	237.10	-	237.10
Miscellaneous	482.75	690.07	1,172.82
	86,953.11	20,877.39	107,830.50
Gross Income	147,135.23	36,194.14	183,329.37
Deduct:			
Expenses			
Salaries	11,402.60	5,865.28	17,267.88
Employee Benefits	321.24	-	321.24
Payroll Taxes	1,003.95	387.52	1,391.47
	12,727.79	6,252.80	18,980.59
Professional Services, Retainers and Part-time Help	10,598.50	6,970.21	17,568.71
Committee Expenses			
Executive	16,318.10	3,154.46	19,472.56
Other	7,437.82	1,203.13	8,640.95
Newspaper	12,328.54	15,948.23	28,276.77
Convention Fees, Exhibits and Related Costs	905.25	-	905.25
Depreciation	104.79	43.93	148.72
Dues, Subscriptions and Publications	655.27	508.23	1,163.50
Insurance	89.91	138.56	228.47
Moving	2,197.27	-	2,197.27
Miscellaneous	903.49	248.21	1,151.70
Office Supplies, Expenses and Rentals	4,930.90	1,477.33	6,408.23
Postage and Printing	3,867.62	4,271.33	8,138.95
Rent	6,462.08	1,556.34	8,018.42
Telephone	20,136.94	6,881.03	27,017.97
Travel and Related Expenses	3,448.81	2,210.78	5,659.59
	103,113.08	50,864.57	153,977.65
	$ 44,022.15	($14,670.43)	
Excess of Income over Expenses and Net Worth at December 31, 1973 - Transferred to Exhibit "A"			$ 29,351.72

Note: ( ) denotes deficit.

The accompanying notes are an integral part of this statement.

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.
NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS
DECEMBER 31, 1973

NOTE 1:

A summary of significant accounting policies follows:

Method of Accounting - Assets, liabilities, income and expenses are recognized on the accrual basis of accounting.

Depreciation - Depreciation of fixed assets is computed on the straight-line method at rates calculated to recover the cost of the applicable assets over their estimated useful lives.

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR THE CALENDAR YEAR 1974

Salaries (See Note 1)	$ 202,000		
Employee Benefits	4,000		
Payroll Taxes	16,000		
		$ 222,000	
Professional Services, Retainers and Part-Time Help		50,000	
Committee Expenses: Executive		36,000	
Other		60,000	
Newspaper (See Note 2)		72,000	
Convention, Fees, Exhibits and Related Costs		6,000	
Depreciation		1,200	
Dues, Subscriptions and Publications		2,400	
Insurance		1,200	
Miscellaneous		12,000	
Office Supplies, Expenses and Rentals		18,000	
Postage and Printing		18,000	
Rent		12,000	
Telephone		48,000	
Travel and Related Expenses		24,000	
	Total		$ 582,800
Contingency			18,000
	Total		$ 600,000

Note 1 Salaries are projected on the basis of 17 employees, consisting of:

Executive Director
Assistant to Executive Director
Public Relations Director
Governmental Relations Director
Director of State Liaison Activities
Assistant Director of State Liaison Activities
Office Manager
Bookkeeper
Executive Secretary
Other Secretaries -- 3
Research Assistants -- 2
Newspaper Editor
Assistant Editor
Newspaper Business Manager (Part-Time)

Note 2 This budget estimate is based upon the production and mailing of approximately 100,000 newspapers each month for 12 months.

STATE DIRECTORS (KEEP THIS LIST FOR FUTURE REFERENCE)

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(301) 779-8475 home

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

THIS IS THE BEGINNING OF MUR # 958

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WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
April 21, 1980

In the Matter of	)	
	)	MUR 958
National Right to Life Committee, Inc.	)	
	)	

INTERIM INVESTIGATIVE REPORT # 1

The Office of General Counsel circulated a General Counsel's Brief recommending no probable cause to the Commission on April 20, 1981. The brief was also mailed to the respondent, National Right to Life Committee, Inc. As soon as the respondent replies or the time for the respondent to reply has expired we will submit a General Counsel's Report to the Commission.

23 April 1981
Date

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

8201050673

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

END OF ADDITIONAL MATERIAL FOR CLOSED MUR 958.

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