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July 11, 1972

National Right to Life Committee
P.O. Box 9365
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Father McHugh & Mike,

We have shared with you a growing desire to build a more independent, increasingly effective, representative national pro-life organization. It is apparent that many people from other states are also very concerned that this type of organization become a reality soon.

Our conversations with you, with Fred and with Right to Life activists in other states have convinced us that some steps toward independence should be taken at this time. Because we are interested and somewhat experienced in building a Right to Life structure we felt it would be helpful for us to brainstorm and formulate a plan whereby this might be accomplished. We are submitting this plan hoping you will react to it and that we might be further involved in assisting in any way we can to see that our shared dream becomes a reality.

We understand that all the steps for independence cannot be taken at once and that our ideas are in need of discussion and refinement. It is our hope that a meeting of carefully selected, active, effective, pro-life leadership can meet soon to work out details with you.

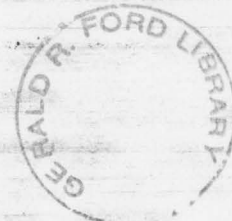
We would be glad to host such a meeting if a central spot were deemed an asset.

Sincerely,

Marjory Mecklenburg

Joseph Lampe

MM:JL/ jml



A TENTATIVE PLAN FOR A NATIONAL PRO-LIFE ORGANIZATION

The following plan for a national pro-life organization is based upon a number of principles: 1. The pro-life movement should have an effective national voice in public policy, 2. this voice should reflect, insofar as possible, the consensus of the various state organizations, 3. the activities of the state organizations should be coordinated, 4. the state organizations should receive information on the national scene, 5. the national pro-life organization should be funded independently, 6. the state pro-life organizations should cooperate in forming a national organization to effectively accomplish these ends while at the same time maintaining freedom of action for the state organizations, 7. the costs of implementing such a national organization should be minimized by effective use of regional organizations, 8. a means should be provided to promote continuity of purpose in the years ahead.

To accomplish these ends, three levels of representative organization are deemed necessary:

A house of delegates which would meet annually;

A council which would meet at various times during the year, depending upon need; and

A smaller executive committee of the council which would meet at frequent intervals to ensure the effective operation of the national office, which would be under the jurisdiction of a full-time director or executive secretary.

The following outline explains the role of the various parts of such a national organization. An organizational diagram is included in this report. In order to present this in a more orderly fashion, the organization will be discussed from the most grass roots level to the most central level.



I. National Regions. The United States will be divided into a number of regions, probably between 6 and 10. Each region will elect a certain number of representatives to the national pro-life council. The regions might be based most easily on approximately equal population, in which case each region would elect the same number of councillors to the council. Alternatively, the regions might be based with geographic and, particularly, transportation considerations in mind, in which case the regions would have representation on the council proportional to the population within the region. Since it is desired that the pro-life council be kept small enough that it can afford to meet at least several times during the year, it is estimated that there would be one councillor for every 10 to 20 million people in the region. At least one well established and active state pro-life group should be included in each region.

Each region will hold a regional convention several months before the national convention in order to prepare resolutions and reports and to elect new councillors.

Representation to the voting body of the regional organization would be from the component states. Each region should be allowed to develop its own organization and its own constitution and bylaws in the same manner as does each state organization; however, the regional organization should be required to hold annual meetings to elect officers and elect councillors to the national council. The manner in which the states are represented at the regional meeting should be left to the component states to work out. Each region should decide upon its own budget and the means to support this budget. It is anticipated that regional budgets will be kept very small. The budget would be mainly to support the regional meeting.

It is not anticipated that the regional organization would have many standing functions. In a sense it would function much like a congressional district political convention within a state. The officers of the regional convention would function as an interim executive committee between annual conventions.

II. National House of Delegates. The national house of delegates will be a grass roots representative body. Each state will be allowed a maximum of one delegate for every one million of state population; however, the actual seating of delegates will be contingent upon the state's financial support of the national organization. Estimating a national budget of \$100,000 annually and a maximal size of about 200 within the house of delegates, each delegate would be supported by a \$500 contribution to the national organization. Although it is anticipated that the house of delegates initially might consist of less than the potential maximal number, it would still allow for partial and, hopefully, increasing support to the national right to life organization over the years. If the contribution per delegate were set at \$1000, a potential national budget of over \$200,000 could be realized. Additional information on funding is contained in section V of this report.

The delegates to the house of delegates will be elected by a coalition of pro-life organizations within each state. This will have the subsidiary benefit of encouraging groups in states with weak overall cooperation, coordination or organization to work together with each other on the national organization. A credentials committee will be appointed to arbitrate any disputes which might arise over who the delegates are from a given state.

The manner of selecting delegates needs to be worked on in some detail, particularly because of the tax complications created by the different tax statuses held by the various organizations. To avoid problems, it would seem reasonable that the state organizations will not themselves send delegates, but that those who are to be members of the house of delegates represent the pro-life people

GERALD R. FORN

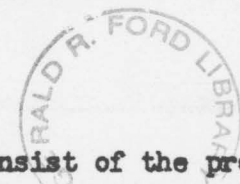
in the state, the only requirement being that they be members in good standing of organizations which have primary aims in support of the national organization. In this way, no state organization with tax deductible status would be jeopardized by one of its members being a delegate to the national organization's house of delegates, because the delegates would represent the people of the state rather than a specific organization.

To avoid this and other problems inherent in formal affiliation, a tactic similar to that used by the tax deductible Association for the Study of Abortion would be used in reverse. The ASA publishes in its newsletter a (pro-abortion only) list of state "Organizations Interested in Abortion". The national pro-life organization would also publish such a list, including (pro-life only) tax deductible organizations "interested in abortion".

The house of delegates will meet annually to elect a president, vice president, secretary-treasurer, and speaker of the house of delegates. It will also ratify the regional councillors and will be empowered to form special reference committees during its session to consider resolutions submitted by the states and the regions. The house of delegates will have no standing committees, but can instruct the speaker of the house and the council to set up standing committees.

The annual meeting of the house of delegates will be held in conjunction with the annual National Right to Life Convention. Attendance and participation at the convention will, as at present, be open to all comers, but only seated delegates will be able to vote on policy matters and other business considered by the house of delegates.

III. The Pro-Life Council. The pro-life council will consist of the president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, and speaker of the house elected by the house of delegates, and councillors from each region elected by the regional conventions



and ratified by the house of delegates. Emphasis should be placed on electing councilors who are active in state right to life organizations in policy and operational roles.

In order to assure continuity, it is anticipated that the councilor term of office will be for a period of three years, with the terms staggered. Should a councilor resign, then the region from which he came would be required to appoint or elect a new councilor to complete the term of office.

The council will carry out the organizational policies and will be responsible to the house of delegates. The council will be required to submit a report to the house of delegates annually.

The council will elect from among its members an executive committee which will meet frequently and guide the executive director in his duties and responsibilities at the national office. In lieu of always travelling to Washington, consideration should at times be given to convening the executive committee by means of long distance conference calls.

In order to save money for the pro-life movement by minimizing travel, it is hoped that the standing committees which the council might establish will be more or less regionally based. It might even be possible to delegate to a particular state the responsibility for a particular function.

IV. Declaration of Purpose. It is essential in establishing such an organization that a national pro-life declaration of purpose be formulated, and that all voting members (officers, councilors, delegates) agree to this declaration of purpose. The declaration of purpose should not be so narrow as to exclude those who may be involved in more than anti-abortion activities, or so broad as to allow within the organization those who might be to our long term detriment. It is necessary that the declaration of purpose be one with which both conservatives and liberals can live, if not feel entirely comfortable with. We believe that considerable thought will have to be given to the wording.

The voting members should belong to state organizations whose basic and primary purpose corresponds to that of the national organization. However, the state organization may be basically educational (tax deductible) or political (not tax deductible). Tax status will not be a qualifying characteristic for organizations to which voting members belong.

V. Funding the National Organization. Funding of the National Right to Life Committee is presently from several sources, including, but not limited to, private donations, and fees for services such as the Newsletter, sale of materials, and the \$25 weekly informational and strategy mailings. This income will continue under the proposed plan, but income from donations will have to be increased enormously. Donations generated within each state will activate that state's voting membership in the house of delegates.

These donations will have to come from individuals and groups within the states. Motivation for states to raise the money will come from several sources, among them being the possibility of creating a larger, more visible, more effective and more independent national organization, and the knowledge that having an effective voice in this organization will require contributing to its support so that the states' delegates could be seated at the national convention.

States should be free to raise money for the national organization in any way they wish: donations from right to life organization budgets, appeals to their membership, donations from other individuals, direct mail to selected lists, etc. Guidelines and procedures for such fund raising will have to be developed for all to follow, however, to avoid duplication of effort and to present a consistent message to the public.

Hopefully, the national executive committee and staff will also attempt to raise money via direct mail, advertising, etc. Establishment of a tax deductible educational fund under IRS Code Section 501(c)(3) might facilitate this. Care should be taken, of course, not to overlap functions and activities of organizations such as Americans United for Life.



Under the proposed organizational scheme a bookkeeping system would have to be established at the national office which would enable contributions from each state to be totaled separately. If the national organization anticipates doing computerized direct mail it should be possible to easily program most of the necessary bookkeeping into such a system.

VI. Sequence of Implementing this Proposal. The chart on the next page is a schematic representation of the structure and relationships of the elements of the proposed national organization. The numbers in circles represent the most probable sequence in which the various elements could be activated.

A small meeting of key right to life people from around the country should be convened within the next six weeks (and preferably sooner) to discuss this and other plans for creating a national organizational structure. The creation of a united front in presenting such a plan to those in the right to life movement is as essential to its ultimate success as is the content of the plan itself.

VII. Grandfather Clause. In order to assure a successful, orderly transition period a scheme must be worked out for continued involvement and participation of all present National Right to Life Committee personnel and resources. What this might entail is largely unknown to the authors of this report, and will have to be negotiated.

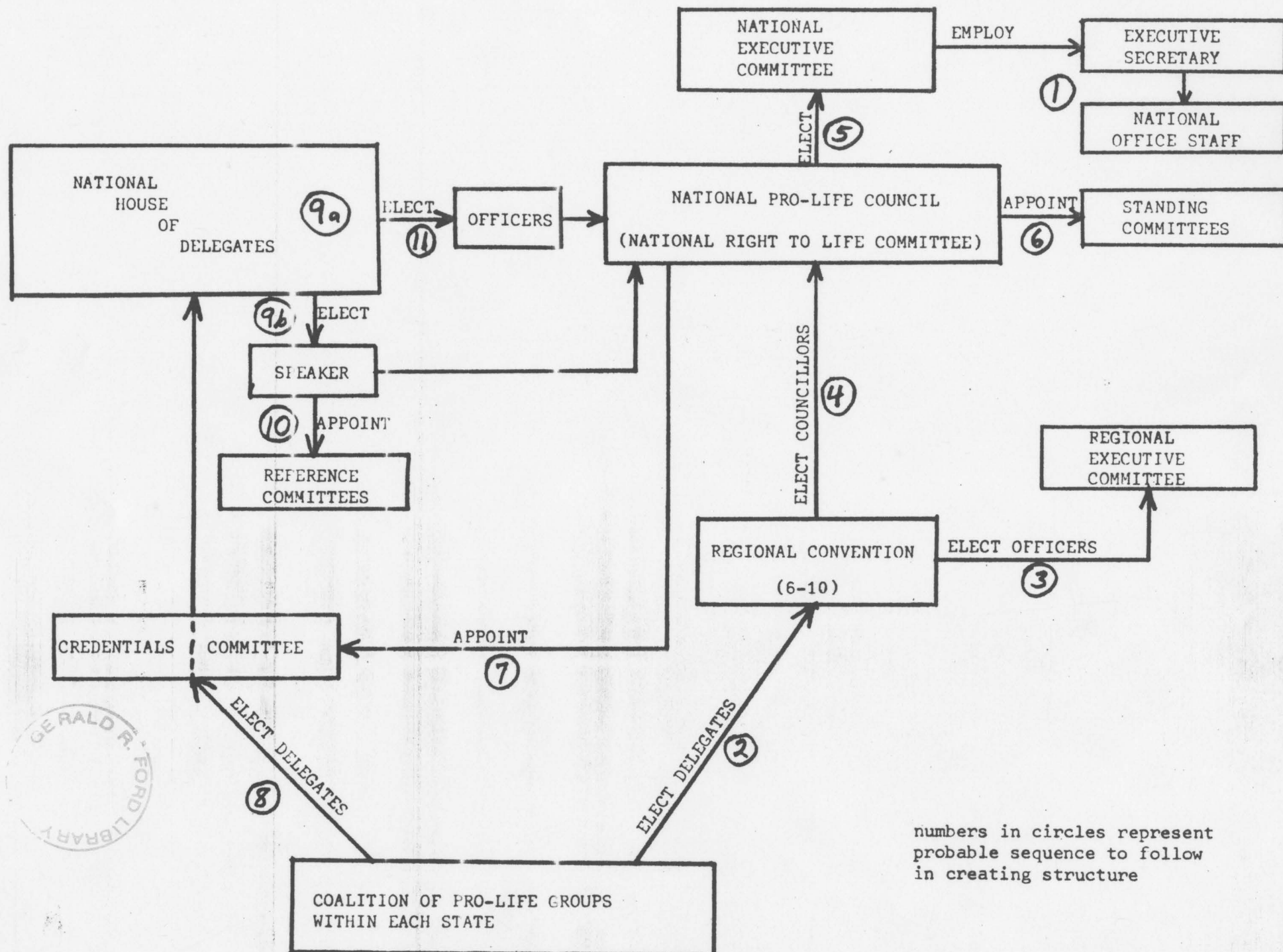
Paul H. Andreini, M.D.

Marjory Mecklenburg

Joseph A. Lampe

July 11, 1972





numbers in circles represent
probable sequence to follow
in creating structure

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE

P.O. Box 9365 Washington, D.C. 20005

Tel: (202) 638-6235

OFFICERS

President

JUAN J. RYAN, ESQ.
New Providence, New Jersey

Vice-Presidents

JEROME FRAZEL, ESQ.
Chicago, Illinois

MARY WINTER
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Executive Secretary

MICHAEL A. TAYLOR
Washington, D. C.

General Counsel

MARTIN F. MC KERNAN, JR., ESQ.
Haddonfield, New Jersey

November 1, 1972

To: Board of Directors, National Right to Life Committee;
Pro-Life Leaders

From: Michael Taylor, Executive Secretary

Re: Meeting on National Organization, Washington, D.C.,
Saturday, December 9, 1972, 9:30 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Chairman

FRED E. MECKLENBURG, M.D.
Minneapolis, Minnesota

RICHARD M. APPLEBAUM, M.D.
Miami, Florida

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Wayne, New Jersey

ROSE POLITO
Van Nuys, California

KENNETH D. VAN DERHOEF, ESQ.
Seattle, Washington

TERRY WEAVER
Atlanta, Georgia

Last December NRLC called a meeting of the Board of Directors and other pro-life leaders to discuss the needs and prospects for the development of national organization. At that time a five member executive committee, drawn from the existing Board of Directors, was established. The national office committed itself to funding three meetings of the executive committee between January and June. The purpose of the executive committee was to provide a more formal structure for Right to Life Committees to funnel advice to the national level on programs and national policies.

This coming December, then, NRLC would like to hold another meeting with the same essential purpose as last year's meeting, to discuss the development of national organization

Undoubtedly in the last 11 months Right to Life Organizations have continued to grow in strength and experience, on both the state and the national levels. So as to best utilize this gathered experience at the upcoming meeting the agenda will be limited to only national organization. It will not be the purpose of this meeting to discuss legislative strategy, court strategy, educational programs, etc.

I commit myself to having a more fully developed agenda in the mail ten days prior to the meeting. This agenda will include, as I can best manage it, summary references to any specific feedback that I receive between now and then on the following points:



1. What, in order of priority, are organizational needs/goals of the pro-life movement on the specifically national level?
2. What are the resources available/needed to accomplish some/all of these goals?
3. In light of projected needs/resources, what, in fact, should/can be done? According to what plan/time schedule?

The December 9 meeting, then, should be geared toward the implementation of specific plans of action.

The meeting is formally structured as a Board meeting. However, interested pro-life leaders with particular viewpoints are invited and encouraged to attend. We would ask that those who plan to attend would inform us of their intentions so that we can better plan for the meeting. The meeting room will be announced later.

* * * * *

The new stationery used with this mailing lists the names of new members of the Board of Directors. The number of Board members is slightly expanded. Several members, because of personal or professional reasons, or in deference to other colleagues, have asked to be retired from the Board. Our thanks is extended to the following: Joseph Gartlan, Jr., Esq.; Gloria Volini Heffernan, M.D.; Sandra Tobis; Walter Trinkaus, Esq.; Carolyn Wright. A welcome to the new members: Mary Winter; Richard M. Applebaum, M.D.; Diane Arrigan; William F. Colliton Jr., M.D.; Albert H. Fortman, M.D.; Gerry Ghiglieri; Mildred F. Jefferson, M.D.; Gloria Klein; Rose Polito.

The Officers and members of the Board of Directors, of course, do not officially represent states, regions or other pro-life organizations. They represent, so to speak, only themselves. The NRLC, from its inception to date, is a committee of individuals who seek to provide visibility on the national level to the scope of the pro-life movement and, within the resources at their disposal, seek to provide essential services to the pro-life movement on the national level.

505

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE

P.O. Box 9365 Washington, D. C. 20005

Tel: (202) 638-6235

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MARTIN F. MC KERNAN, JR., ESQ.
Haddonfield, New Jersey

December 1, 1972

To: Board of Directors, National Right to Life Committee;
Pro-Life Leaders

From: Michael Taylor, Executive Secretary

Re: Agenda for National Organizational Meeting,
December 9, 1972

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Chairman

FRED E. MECKLENBURG, M.D.
Minneapolis, Minnesota

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Wayne, New Jersey

ROSE POLITO
Van Nuys, California

KENNETH D. VAN DERHOEF, ESQ.
Seattle, Washington

TERRY WEAVER
Atlanta, Georgia

Place: Ramada Inn
Normandy/Savoy Room
10 Thomas Circle (14th/Massachusetts Ave., N.W.)
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202-783-4600)

Time: 9:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.

Lunch will be served at noon.

A preliminary comment: please let us know if you plan to attend. This will help the hotel to plan for proper room arrangement, lunch, etc.

Over the last several months there has been increasing concern about the development of national organization. Hopefully, on December 9th, a productive resolution of these organizational problems can be achieved.

Following the national meeting in Philadelphia in June, several organizations and individuals expressed an interest in submitting plans for the development of national organization. It was the conviction of the national office that further development of national organization was necessary. A couple of individuals submitted specific ideas on methods of fund raising. Only Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life (MCCL) submitted a plan on national organization. Marjory Mecklenburg, Dr. Paul Andreini and Joe Lampe should be commended for the many hours of work over the months since June that they have committed to the development and refinement of this plan.



On the basis of my job experience, and the dialogue with the Executive Committee of NRIC from January - June of 1972, I am submitting, with this mailing, a plan for the development of national organization. Like the MCCL plan it should be taken as a model for discussion. In many ways it builds on the MCCL model, though it also differs in substantial ways.

Before I engage in a discussion of specific plans and proposals for national organization, some preliminary remarks should help clarify the discussion.

Background Comments

A fair amount of the concern directed toward NRIC regarding national organization/programs relates to the media. NRIC is deeply concerned about media problems and always has, within its limits, sought to provide a response to the pressing needs of particular occasions as they arose. Most recently NRIC helped assemble, at the request of several pro-life organizations, an ad hoc media meeting to respond to the PBS situation. (Maury Sheridan, of Seattle, Washington, appointed secretary by the meeting participants, is preparing a memo on the meeting.)

At the present time Americans United for Life and the U.S. Coalition for Life are two organizations that are deeply concerned about national media. As regards future developments every effort should be made so that such organizations assume effective responsibility in this area.

From its inception the NRIC has been a factotum on the national level doing what was required within its capabilities. However, the primary task that NRIC set for itself was a development of a loose coalition of grassroots volunteer citizen groups that would implement political action/public education programs on the state and national levels.

NRIC has also monitored court cases and has fostered a development of a body of right-to-life legal experts across the country. The Legal Advisory Board of the NRIC, founded June 1972, contains some 76 lawyers.

No matter the range of problems that NRIC may or may not continue to be involved in, future developments should anticipate the political/legal needs on both state and national levels. Ultimately, any effective action programs directed toward Congress will be dependent on the development of grassroot organizations in each state and in each Congressional district within the states.

Some of the problems regarding national organization spring from two sources.

First of all, increasing, and generally legitimate, demands have been put on the national office by the expanding state and local organizations. However, there has not been a corresponding increase in the resources of the national office. Thus, the national office's responses to legitimate requests from the states at times is satisfactory neither to the national office nor the states.

In my estimation to moderately respond to the legitimate demands presently put on the national office by local and state organizations the present staff of two full-time, two part-time employees should, ideally, be increased to eight full-time employees (four directors, four assistants), in the following areas: action programs; court action; organization; research/publications (program research, not research on pro-life issues; the latter could be the concern of a whole new organization). There should also be flexibility in the budget to hire personnel for specific important projects, for example, one individual to work full time on referenda when they occur.

The second source of concern with national organization derives from a general concern for democratic participation in the decision-making processes on the national level. There are several aspects to this concern.

No → There is the fear, sometimes legitimate, sometimes exaggerated, that after a substantial amount of work on the local or state level the whole pro-life cause will "go down the tube" on the national level. To help offset this possibility the local and state organizations want input/control vis-a-vis the national organization.

On the other hand, effective action on the part of any political organization requires that a small group of informed and trusted individuals have the authority to implement programs as they judge necessary. As a matter of fact, the MCCL plan and my own plan provide for this in the Executive Committee structure.

It is my firm conviction that the general concern for democratic participation in decision-making processes on the national level first of all, and primarily, requires that an expanded national office be established in Washington, D.C., which is essentially financed by and accountable to local and state right-to-life organizations. ?

I do not think that it is necessary that \$100,000 or \$200,000 be placed on the table before an independently financed and independently functioning national office be established. Financially, such an office could be established on a pay-as-you-go basis. Before such an office is established, it is necessary, first of all, that local and state right-to-life organizations in fact make the initial and long-range commitment to financially sustain the office; and that such financial resources be within the limits of possibility. I think that both these conditions presently exist.



MCCL Plan: Comments

With these remarks stated, I should like to enter into a discussion of MCCL's plan.

Briefly, three general remarks:

motivates states to join
1. The plan seems historically *true* ahead of its time, specifically, the plan presupposes that state organizations be relatively developed; whereas, in fact, a great deal of work is generally required in this area. Tremendous strides are being made in the various states to develop internal organization. Thus, I would propose a concerted effort at this time to assist states in the continued development of effective state organization suited to each particular state.

OK
2. Correlatively, in that the effective political units derive from state and inter-state structures, I would be inclined to deemphasize (but not eliminate) the regional structures. The development of meaningful structures beyond the state level ultimately depends upon the effective functioning of the state structures.

3. Thus far, right to life has derived its impact from the fact that it has involved the mobilization of an informed volunteer body of concerned citizens; with a minimum of financing. The MCCL structure implies a shift from a loose, minimally financed structure, to a well defined, financed organization.

In this respect I would like to offer two comments/questions:

OK
a) The assumption of increased activities on the national level will realistically require increased funding; we make impossible demands on ourselves if we do not increase our financial resources. Some projects require substantial funds, for example, AUL and media.

must distinguish state & national latter may have to be less volunteer
b) A deeper question/problem needs to be discussed: In terms of volunteer, grassroot character of the right-to-life movement, does the MCCL plan involve over-organization, either at this time, or at any time? If implemented, would it generate counter-productive negative feedback on the volunteer aspect of the movement? *no* Considering right-to-life as volunteer political units, would over-organization have the unintended effect of excluding many volunteer workers/leaders from active participation in policy-making for the movement? Over the last few months several individuals have expressed a deep concern that a professionally run organizational structure will impede the activation of the essential volunteer grassroot non-professional effort.

A NRIC Plan

In summary, it is my feeling that the launching of a whole new grassroots national organization at this time is precipitous; and that a more continuous transfer of responsibilities/development of national structures is possible. To this end I would submit the following proposal for consideration:

1. Bona fide pro-life organizations pledge themselves to raise \$20,000 in two months to establish an independent NRIC office in Washington, D.C. (one individual/one assistant); with the commitment to raise an additional \$40,000 over the next ten months.

2. During this time continue the Committee structure of the NRIC, i.e., maintain a loose representational structure between the states and the national office/programs; in this way:

a) all states so desiring should be allowed one person on the Board of Directors. States with a very large population be allowed two memberships. Such membership would not be dependent on financial contributions to NRIC. Strictly speaking (legally), these persons will represent only themselves. In a broader sense, they should provide a visible mechanism for particular state/local organizations to express concerns and viewpoints to the national organization. *decisions*

b) the Executive Committee during this 12-month period would be those individuals/organizations who commit themselves to funding the national office/projects. *how much?*
2/3 those who put in money
1/3 didn't put in money from?

3. This plan would entail the following steps/augmentations:

a) assemble/determine those organizations/individuals willing to commit themselves to raising the required money over the next 12 months.

b) assemble names for expanded Board of Directors.

c) simultaneously, two committees should be established:

i) Committee on State Organizations. The purpose of this committee would be to actively assist the pro-life organizations within a state to better organize and develop their state efforts, in light of the social dynamics particular to each state. This team of advisors could consider not only visiting particular states, or cities, but also could consider holding ad hoc regional meetings; these latter might be scheduled in an orderly fashion over the next 12 months.



OK, but
doesn't go
far enough in
implementing

ii) Committee on National Organization. The purpose of this committee would be to continue dialogue, research and reflection on further ways to fulfill the needs of national organization; monitor the source of developments over the next 12 months; so that at the end of the 12-month period, or even prior, changes/developments in national organization should occur. The primary purpose of this committee would be to present, in due time, to the Executive Committee and Board of Directors of NRIC a plan on national organization that could be operative at the end of this 12-month period.

d) it would be the responsibility of the new Executive Committee to explore ways in which money could be raised for the national office/projects.

e) by the time the new office is ready to begin functioning, negotiations with the present NRIC office should have established some plan for the transfer of function and responsibilities; presumably the actual transfer process would occur over a several-month period.

I would also submit the following format for the 4th Annual NRIC Meeting:

- OK 1. Be held the 4th week of September (either weekend or during week).
- OK 2. Suggested location: Washington, D.C. (because of political implications on national level and related media coverage).
- OK 3. Details of meeting be responsibility of national office in conjunction with a program committee drawn from the states.
4. Some basic structures of meeting:
 - a) prior to meeting Executive Committee should select a Chairman of the Convention who would have knowledge/experience of parliamentary procedure. The Chairman would conduct all main sessions.
 - b) resolutions on national policies/programs would be submitted by state units; to be voted on at the Convention by the full Board of Directors of NRIC; to be considered advisory to the Executive Committee of NRIC. Resolutions be prepared by the states so that two weeks prior to meeting the national office could make resolutions subject of a national mailing.
5. By means of a reasonable registration fee, and judicious meeting expenditures, the national meeting should be able to pay its own way.

too small?

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING

Washington, D.C.

December 9, 1972

AGENDA

9:00 - 9:30 a.m.	Presentation of MCCL Plan
9:30 -10:00 a.m.	Questions
10:00 -10:30 a.m.	Presentation of NRIC Plan
10:30 -11:00 a.m.	Questions
11:00 -12:00 noon	Within this time slot seek to determine the forming consensus for concrete action.
12:00 - 1:00 p.m.	Lunch

The afternoon agenda be formed during lunch hour, along these lines:

1. If still major disagreements after morning discussion, then these areas be identified and scheduled for discussion.
2. If the morning session results in a working consensus on a plan of concrete action, then the afternoon discussion should center on questions relating to implementation.

The afternoon session may very well be a combination of 1 and 2.

If by 4:00 p.m. there is an impasse regarding concrete action, then the above discussion should stop and in the time remaining ways of dealing with the impasse be considered, for example, appoint a committee, further meetings, etc.



Dec. 9, 1972

Willbe Tom Dillon - NY
Golden

Ada Ryan

Eleanor Tener

Fred Williams

Dr. Colliton

Vanderhoef

Rick Fitzgibbons

McKiernan

Boosinger

Kibroy

Fr. Quinn

Fr. Lyons

Klein

Fink

Otto Harling

Gloria Heffernan

?

Andreini

Archibold

Mitzner

Fortner

Dr. Heffernan

?

Wm. Carrigan - Maryland

Pat Kelley - Chicago

Isella C. - 11.10

Edwin Palmer

Jay Bowman

?

Juan Ryan

Val Dillon

F. Mack

M. Meck

Fr. McHugh

Taylor

Larry Chiglieri

Mary Winter

Paul Haring

Larry Washburn



Thurs. Cranston hearing
looked at ads
set up appts.
dinner w/ John 11pm

Fri. Judy in 9am
looked at offices to 2pm ABCD
saw Mike - John had
drafted articles & typed them
" letter & typed it
" ~~bylaws~~ ^{bylaws} (started)
dinner Jockey Club
Martin in → drinks ~~at~~

Sat. drafted bylaws
I probably meet May 26th or June 1st 82
maybe in Wash.
Joe stay in Wash. for now

Sun.

Mon.

retype & file articles
lunch w/ Tom Mooney
negotiate lease
drafted letters re: lease

Tue:

had Mike do mailing to Exec. Comm.
ordered corporate seal
got book of corporate legal forms



and "not having and exercising the the authority of the board of directors in the management of the corporation" (D.C. Code 29-1022).

Some directors ~~certain members of the board~~ have criticized the executive committee for creating ~~the~~ committees to assist ~~them in their work~~ the executive committee in its work. The criticisms stem from ^{dissatisfaction with} ~~disapproval of~~ the committee system, and committee members, ~~and committee~~ recommendations and decisions. It is also alleged that ~~the~~ the bylaws allow only the board to appoint committees.[¶] The bylaws specify that the board may appoint a Credentials Committee (Article II, sec. 4), a Nominating Committee (Article III, sec. 2) and other "committees to perform functions designated by the board" (Article II, sec. 14); all ~~of~~ ~~which are~~ ^{directly} responsible to the board, not to the executive committee. The bylaws also specify that the board shall elect an executive committee ^(Article VIII) ~~responsible to it~~ which "shall have and exercise the authority of the board of directors in the management of the corporation" (D.C. Code 29-1022). ~~On the~~

~~But~~

7 → exercise of this management authority ~~the~~
It is a reasonable and proper for the executive committee to appoint or elect other committees to advise it on various matters. ~~Does not~~ ^{does not} This impinge on the board's power to appoint similar committees to advise the board. ~~directly~~



Joe, Judy, Warren, Maji, Pat Kelley?

1. lobbying committee for preservation of Warren Schaller.
because ^{he's} doing good job
2. proxy fight
no one can hold over 3
3. ^{capture} parliamentarian - fight over agenda
4. need tight resolutions on baddies.

agenda: (nominating committee)
① appoint (credentials committee) for next June's ~~board meeting~~ board meeting?
~~② elect more at large directors (Joe)~~
③ seat new directors?
④ agree on agenda
⑤ ratify dues structure per IV 2.
~~⑥ elec. comm. presumably could ^{replace} ~~replace~~ ~~Stoba~~~~
~~as Treasurer~~
⑥ replace exec. committee members
⑦ amend bylaws
⑧ committee & other reports
⑨ resolutions
⑩ Program: Tom Bendorff, who is a high-powered Wash. type



✓ Acorace } cancelled their requests
 ✓ Magaly }
 ✓ Thompson }

Fosch replaced: she ~~doesn't~~ wants meeting
 but is she a director?

Dennis should talk to { ⁹¹³⁻ Goodson need
 " " " " Maloney telegrams

³⁰²⁻⁷⁴⁸⁻²⁷³⁹ Fleming - nice young couple: ²⁰⁷⁻⁸³⁹⁻³⁹⁰⁵ Beliveau?
 Gerster: } Sandy
 Bergerson: } Mildred work on?

ask Dennis about legal requirements on
 Mary on calling meeting: time
 date
 place

8th or 1st Ed Z.
 Bob B.
 Magaly L. (withdraw)
 Ken V.
 Randy E.
 Joseph A.
~~William C.~~
 Mimi B.
 William M.
 Francis F. ?
 Pat L.
 Caroline Gerster

1st Martin M.
 James F.
 Mike T.
 William F.
 Caroline T.

$\frac{1}{4}$ of 46 = 12
 $\frac{1}{4}$ of 50 = 13
 $\frac{2}{3}$ of 50 = 17
 $\frac{2}{3}$ of 51 = 18



get Bob Greene a copy of Markert's letter to MBishops

date

place

bylaws changes

retract calls?

Ken: motion to dismiss Warren Schaller?

45 members 23 quorum

collect proxies & lobby
boycott?

2 strategies:

- ① unseat executive committee
- ② attack decisions made on task by task basis

hire Batten on the spot
throw out committee system

$\frac{2}{3}$ to remove Ed?
proxies OK?

bylaw change notice (how long)
~~45~~

bylaws on exec. comm. length of terms vs directors



at mercy of board now
made errors
need full time Exec. Dir.
political organizational experience

Bob said Warren not able to handle
job of this magnitude

Ed & Mary have blind spot
in regard to Warren

At morally committed to Warren.

can't move in Exec. Dir. w/
Warren present

move Warren to Judge's committee
Ed will never accept that
Warren has ability
Will be fiddling

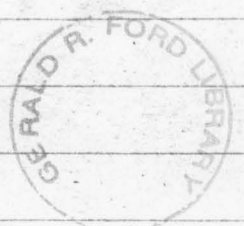
Protestants will never be attracted into
NRLC

total support of Bob, but he's
only part time so has to go
E.C. has notes to replace Bob satisfactorily

has nothing against Bob except part time
job

still respects Mary

need a human being for E.D.



~~research proxies for spec. comm.~~
~~Hasting or Horan~~

short, frequent meetings are:

- inefficient
- ① time consuming: travel
preparation
followup
 - ② expensive: \$100-150 travel
+\$50 / day meals & lodging
 - ③ slow & decision making: spread out vs
concentrated

- A. never schedule meetings for less time
than the decisions to be made.
- B. meet 2 or 3 or 4 days infrequently.
- C. develop & circulate agendas well in
advance.

must hire staff.
must put out mailings to movement
get Washington intelligence on amendments
do mailing to bishops on new letterhead:
re: amendment position &
announcing new NRLC, Inc.?
authorize committees: state organization
(see Greene letter) : fund raising
: newsletter?
: legal advisory

~~May 15, 70~~
~~42-217-221~~

~~Quatman~~

get list back from Mary

~~Calif. omission
10 states
universal letterhead
weekly mailings
proxies OK (e.g. AVL)
3/day meetings~~

GEORGE R. FORD LIBRARY

~~Call. Report~~
~~Notes~~
~~for [unclear]~~

Bishops' meeting

- 1) Working relationship several levels
 - A lobbyists
 - B Bishops
 - C legal advisory (Horan)
 - D Catholic Conference directors
- 2) Cody letter - torpedo
need endorsement - not undercutting
(to raise money from Catholics)
- 3) Catholics against abortion - organization
- 4) Lack of cooperation Mike Taylor
Deliberate ambiguity being created
- 5) Educate own people
political, secular group
Family Life Bureau - materials
on life issues
Teachers, students
CCD -
agency relating to outside world
or to serve the Catholic church

Organization
of Golden

Ms Frank Ellison
presented



- 6) Really wants a meeting with a committee they appoint.

②

insert here the role & functions performed by NRLC

On August, 1970, the NRLC sponsored a 3 day national meeting of ~~pro~~ right to life leaders from around the country at Barat College near Chicago. Even at this early date it was obvious to those attending that Msgr. McHugh totally dominated the NRLC and that it ~~was~~ was a facade, not a national right to life organization. The Ohio delegation were the most vocal in ~~the~~ their opposition to the structure of NRLC, but no changes were made by Msgr. McHugh and no alternative plans were offered.

A similar confrontation between Msgr. McHugh and right to life leaders occurred at the closing sessions of the NRLC sponsored ~~at June, 1971, national meeting in June, 1971,~~ national meeting in June, 1971, at Macalester College in ~~St. Paul, Minnesota~~ St. Paul. Again there was great sentiment for a commitment to an independently structured and funded NRLC, but to no avail.

~~steal Bob's last para~~

At the NRLC sponsored national meeting in Philadelphia in June, 1972, there was a great deal of confusion as pro-life groups from several states, including New York, attempted to present several resolutions before the meeting to be voted on in convention and thereby become matters of policy. All such groups were instructed from the chair that such resolutions would not be binding upon the National Right to Life Committee and would be taken merely as recommendations. These remarks further contributed to the confusion and elevated the hostility which exists against an autocratic or-

③

and that before the next convention there would be, a new national organization.

Upon returning home from ^{the Philadelphia} ~~that~~ meeting, ~~convention~~, three of the Minnesota delegates ~~voiced that they would not tolerate~~ determined that they were not interested in attending another national convention with the chaotic closing session ~~of~~ of all previous conventions. Thus, it came to pass that in July, 1972, Dr. Paul Andreini, Marjory Mecklenburg and Joseph Lampe, ~~of MN~~ met in Rochester, MN to ~~discuss~~ formulate a proposal for ~~a~~ a more independent, ... effective and representative national pro-life organization (see attached letter). A final draft of this proposal was mailed to Msgr. McHugh and Michael Taylor on July 11, 1972.



Call - Margaret - pick up stuff

Call - Doug & Muriel

Michael is not ^{himself} responsible ~~himself~~ to the board for the E.C. corporately.

He is responsible to the board for himself only.

The EC is ^{accountable} responsible as a whole to the board and as individuals individually.

Natl. should be modeled on the most successful state groups. i.e. MCL, etc.

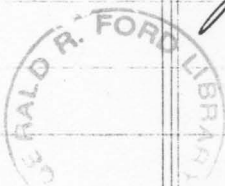
Board, E.C., committee model; strong effective president, participatory decision making, and highly structured.

I.E. NRLC should be an organization, not a coalition (a group of organizations).

Too much state loyalty, operational not enough NRLC loyalty.

is a result ~~of~~ Our experience with the E.C., participatory model ~~is that~~ ^{we would observe} that it involves more people and makes them more dedicated & loyal.

It does absolutely require a trusting, temperate, open and communicative leader. It requires near absolute good faith and adherence to consensus or democratic decision making in which decisions made are supported by all and not undercut or appealed to board by the dissenters. It requires that the very best possible people with the most time and talent be



A meeting of Right to Life leaders interested in the concept of national organization was held in Washington, DC on December 9, 1972, at the Ramada Inn, 10 Thomas Circle.

Fred Mecklenburg, M.D., chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Right to Life Committee (hereinafter referred to as NRLC) presided. Dr. Mecklenburg appointed Judy Fink of Pittsburgh, PA, as secretary for the meeting.

The following minutes are submitted by Mrs. Fink for perusal by the Board of Directors of NRLC.

The meeting opened with the establishment of rules to be followed for the day; specifically, 1) each individual present was permitted one vote, 2) a simple majority was needed to cut off debate and 3) a consensus of 2/3 of the persons present was required to determine a substantive consensus on any issue.

Dr. Mecklenburg announced that the assemblage had convened on an ad hoc basis to discuss national organization of Right to Life groups and that the deliberations of the assemblage (hereinafter referred to as "the council") were not a legal meeting of the Board of Directors of the NRLC. He emphasized, however, that the NRLC, its Directors and others present would be strongly influenced and bound by decisions made in the room.

The agenda for the meeting is attached to these minutes.

- * The first item of business was the presentation of the Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life plan of national organization (hereinafter referred to as the MCCL plan). Paul Andreini, M.D., of MCCL, served as spokesman. He explained that the MCCL plan had arisen out of the apparent consensus at the June, 1972 National Right to Life Convention in Philadelphia that a definite plan for broadening the base of pro-life activities was needed to effectuate new avenues of approach and to stimulate idea exchange as well as increase political effectiveness.

He stated that the MCCL plan was common to many organizational structures, and offered an explanation of the flow chart, regional organization and proposed funding. (Refer to MCCL plan attached to complete organizational outline). Dr. Andreini also stressed that there was no need to adopt the plan in its entirety at the present time.

- * Questioning of MCCL representatives by the council was the next scheduled agenda item.

Dr. Andreini stated that the MCCL plan would, for tax purposes, be a 501 c4 organization and that it would be possible to retain a professional lobbyist under this IRS classification. Marjory Mecklenburg, in response to a question, informed the council that Americans United for Life has a 501 c3 tax status and at this point in time a Board of Directors with a newly established office located in Chicago staffed by Mr. David Mall as Executive Director. She said that AUL could potentially be a liaison group for c3 prolife groups nationally. It was emphasized by Dr. Andreini that adoption of the MCCL plan did not exclude the continued existence of viable splinter groups in the country but that the national structure was needed for effective political activity.

Clarification of the role of the present National Right to Life Committee in a new organizational structure was requested. Rev. James T. McHugh informed those present that the logic of the adoption of any plan depended on funding and that the aid and support of the Family Life Bureau currently invested annually in the NRLC was not a factor in a new structure. He emphasized that there was no way that the monies presently allocated for Right to Life activity would ever be transferred outside the control of the present NRLC.



Rev. McHugh also stated his concern that the MCCL plan left no provision for pro-life persons who were active but not interested in being part of formal pro-life groups to have a part in the decision-making process. He felt that there was a danger in the MCCL plan of isolating possible dissident individuals or groups with the potentiality for producing conflict situations and pushing some groups to an "outsider" status.

The MCCL spokespersons responded with assurances that allowances of flexibility must be built in as policy.

Rev. McHugh informed the assembled council that they had two responsibilities for the results of the meeting; namely, to listen and respond to the spokesmen and to plan a means to raise money to fund any plan adopted.

Dr. Mecklenburg suggested that a legal entity corporation can raise funds more easily than a group dependent for identity on the United States Catholic Conference, especially funding for a lobbying organization.

Rev. McHugh outlined three options that, in his opinion, were present for the NRLC to consider. They were 1) take a low profile and prepare to be assimilated, 2) fold up and create a vacuum and 3) aggressively sell a plan for organization and sponsor it as a driving force.

Mr. Joe Lampe of MCCL suggested that a fourth option remained open to the NRLC, specifically that the present NRLC continue exactly as presently structured and that a new group form that would not impinge or infringe on the NRLC. Dr. Andreini added that he felt that increased participation by states in the new plan would take at least a year to develop and that the NRLC could be one of numerous participants.

Further debate centered around the regional organization concept, the proposed funding base and the suggestion that AUL could be the C3 arm. Discussion of the MCCL plan was then closed by the Chairman.

Mr. Michael Taylor, Executive Secretary of the NRLC, then presented his organizational plan. (see attachment)

He stated that the NRLC plan emerged from the Executive Committee meetings of January-April 1972 in reaction to the MCCL plan. He proceeded to outline the attached NRLC plan summarized as follows:

A gradually evolving process of grassroots organizations concerned with right to life activities should allow room for flexibility and creativity within a loosely defined representative association. A more rigid structure than in effect at present should be approached very gradually. He stressed the diversity among Right to Life groups together with their multi-faceted approaches to problem solving and stated that several group spokesmen had expressed fears surrounding a tight national organization. He felt that a continuing dialogue over several more months was necessary with appropriate contributions from interested participating groups supporting the establishment of a new office in Washington, D.C., separate from the present NRLC office.

* The council then proceeded to question and debate the NRLC plan.

The main points of concern centered around the use of the proposed funds. Questions were raised as to who would be the policy-makers, with the answer that any contributors to an expanded NRLC plan of organization would set the policy. This policy-making body could differ from the funding approach of the MCCL plan in that the NRLC's Executive Committee might consist of 2/3 funders and 1/3 non-funders.

Mr. John Archibold of NRLC clarified the status of the current Board of Directors, declaring them to be an amorphous group, and asked that the council consider the debate from the angle of what would happen to the structure of the current board under any plan of re-organization. He recommended retaining the present name "National Right to Life Committee" on any re-vamped groups emerging from the council's process.

Rev. McHugh then stated that if a consensual agreement could be reached during the day on a positive plan of action, the Family Life Bureau would not withdraw any invested funds that were contributed to any evolving structure, regardless of legal identity.

The discussion then turned to the parallels co-existent on both the MCCL and NRLC plans--chiefly, that both plans required new funding and the hiring of additional personnel. Michael Taylor stated that he did not see himself as the prime mover of a new organization, but rather that a new board would eventually come into existence.

Dr. Mecklenburg asked the group to consider whether a legal entity should be established as the first priority.

Dr. Jack Willke stated that, while he felt it advisable to retain a plug-in to the USCC and to retain the educational mailings of the NRLC, he was concerned about the continuance of "Catholic" labeling of Right to Life groups by opposition. He felt that a new name and a new legal identity were necessary to reach a cut-off point in establishing a new image.

Mr. Juan Ryan, President of NRLC, strongly stressed that the development of state organizations was vital to the existence of Right to Life, and that any national group must initially and continually feed the emergence of grassroots structures.

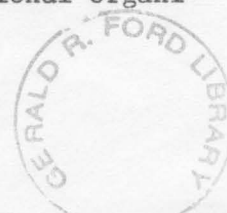
- * Dr. Andreini, at this point, moved that a caucus committee be established to try to reach a compromise on the MCCL and NRLC plans. The motion was seconded. Discussion on the motion centered around the continued existence of the Family Life Bureau of the USCC in the Right to Life battle, with assurances given that this participation would continue, although with clearer identification of the Family Life Bureau as a Catholic participant.
- * A motion was made to table the motion to caucus, was seconded, and unanimously approved by the council.

FURTHER DISCUSSION, TERMINATING IN CONSENSUS AND RESOLUTION, PROCEEDED IN OUTLINE AS FOLLOWS:

The suggestion of Dr. Edward Kilroy of Ohio to hire a new person to work alongside Michael Taylor to develop new organization structure was answered by Rev. McHugh in the negative. He stressed that legal problems would ensue.

Continued debate indicated that the emerging consensus of the council was pointed toward the concept of divorcing Right to Life Activities from an established church structure.

Martin McKernan, Esq., general counsel for NRLC, informed the council that pending Supreme Court decisions may mean a radical change both in policy and thrust for Right to Life. He said that state organizations are vital in any case. He affirmed the opinions of some others present that the national movement must be directed strongly at organizing and strengthening state organizations, and said that only when this goal was seemingly accomplished should a national body be formed, deeming national organi-



zation premature at this time.

While acknowledging that a beefed-up national office was necessary, he urged the council not to buy into either the MCCL or the NRLC plan, and emphasized his opinion that the thrust of the meeting should be to set up a state organization committee, suggesting that proven organizers be appointed to the committee to strengthen states requesting their aid.

Further around-the-table discussion reiterated the forming consensus toward establishing a clearly identifiable structure with a legal identity of its own that would be both educative and political. A reaffirmation of the need for a commitment to funding the new group emerged.

Dr. Andreini re-introduced his motion to appoint a caucus committee to reach a consensus. This was seconded, brief discussions ensued with the suggestion adopted that Rev. McHugh sit on the caucus committee, and the council voted unanimously in favor of the motion.

Dr. Mecklenburg appointed the following persons to the caucus committee:

Michael Taylor -- representing the NRLC plan
 Paul Andreini -- representing the MCCL plan
 Marjory Mecklenburg }
 Judy Fink } -- representing states well-established organizationally
 Valerie Dillon -- representing a state weak in organization
 Jay Bowman -- representing a new organization in process
 Fr. James McHugh -- representing the Family Life Bureau, USCC

The caucus committee met during the lunch hour, and agreed upon the following:

BE IT RESOLVED THAT THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING COMMUNICATE TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NRLC THE FOLLOWING RECOMMENDATIONS:

- 1) That the NRLC Board of Directors legally constitute itself as soon as possible, but no later than April, 1973
- 2) That the Board of Directors examine itself with regard to expansion and representation.
- 3) That the Board of Directors immediately establish a committee to help states to organize ⁱⁿ the Right to Life movement.
- 4) That the Board of Directors explore and execute the means of fund raising.
- 5) That the Board of Directors keep the NRLC office informed of all meetings, deliberations and actions, and that this information be distributed by the NRLC office to the Right to Life organizations.

EACH POINT WAS DEBATED INDIVIDUALLY, VOTED SEPARATELY, AND PASSED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE COUNCIL.

During debate over point #2, a 15 minute official board meeting consisting of a legal quorum of the NRLC Board of Directors was held in an anteroom. John Archibold, Esq. reported to the Council that the Board had considered the following methods of election of a new board of Directors for the new organization:



- 1) the board would be exclusively self perpetuating, and would elect itself.
- 2) the organization, either on a state, local, or regional basis, would elect the board members
- 3) the individual participating states alone would elect the board
- 4) individuals would elect the board

Points #1 and #4 were eliminated by consensus, leaving #2 and #3 an open-ended matter for further board action.

The Board of Directors accepted in principle that the Directors would be elected 2/3 by some mechanism, and 1/3 by the board itself.

They accepted a motion to incorporate in legal entity as per guidelines discussed at the council today.

They mandated each participating organization to contribute seed money, freely given with no strings attached and no guarantees promised, to the new NRLC Inc. to facilitate growth and expansion.

The debate over the amount of seed money needed was vigorous and no reasoned decision was possible under the pressure of time.

It was resolved by the Board that a mechanism would be developed to make the Board a representative one.

- * Following the debate and voting on the resolutions, the Chairman mandated the participating groups represented on the council to return home and determine how much seed money could be raised. February 1, 1973 was set as the deadline for communication. Dr. Edward Kilroy of Ohio was designated as the contact person for the seed money contributions. Dr. Kilroy's address is 20800 Westgate, Fairview Park, Ohio.

Dr. Mecklenburg announced that he would ask Michael Taylor to send a letter to all viable groups not present concerning the need for seed money. A reference to a figure should be included in this letter. Checks would be made payable to the National Right to Life Committee.

- * It was moved and seconded that seed money will be sought, and the council voted unanimously in favor of the motion.

At this point, the meeting of the council was adjourned by the Chairman.



To: The National Right to Life Committee
F. E. Mecklenburg, Chairman Board of Directors
M. A. Taylor, Executive Secretary
From: O. K. Harling *OK* 205A Schier St., Cohasset, Mass. 02025
Subject: National Organization
Date: December 13, 1972

The decision reached on December 9th to set up a National Organization (N.O.) which is independently financed and which is demonstrably separate from any sectarian group, is a wise and progressive step in the fight against the anti-life forces. To successfully implement the decision to set up an N.O. will require skillful planning and presentation of the proposed program. Following are some comments and suggestions which I would like to submit for your consideration.

In order to successfully promote an N.O. the Board of Directors is encouraged to prepare a clear and detailed outline for the new N.O. I suggest that this outline include:

The organization of the N.O.

A detailed statement of what it is the N.O. will do.
How these activities will differ from the present NRLC and to what extent they will be extensions of present activities.

How the program of the N.O. will be carried out eg. who will run the N.O., what qualifications and responsibilities will the staff have.

The level of effort proposed. Obviously flexibility is required because the level of support is uncertain. However a level of effort should be proposed and carefully justified on a cost to benefit basis. Consideration should be given to answering questions like, why should a local R.L. group send a substantial fraction of its hard earned dollars to a remotely located N.O. which will use a substantial fraction of these dollars to pay the salaries of professionals.

The best qualified individuals who can be found should be obtained for the N.O. staff. A realistic salary at the professional level must be offered. Volunteerism is great but it seems unrealistic to expect a substantial level of support from well qualified fulltime professionals who are also volunteers.

Obtaining adequate funds will be difficult at least initially. However, it can easily be shown that there is sufficient money available, (discretionary income) among those known to have a pro-life position, to support a thriving N.O. In fact we are really talking about an average of about 1-2 dollars per person per year. To get these funds a convincing sales pitch will be required.

