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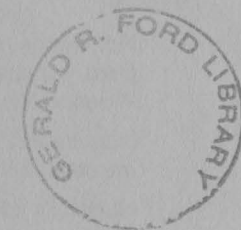
[1973?]

WHILE THERE IS TIME

A Call to Arms

national
8 right to life
committee, inc.

national press building, suite 557
529 - 14th street, northwest
washington, d.c. 20045
telephone (202) 638-4396



TWO SIDES OF THE COIN

*Dr. James D. Watson, Nobel Prize winner, wonders in fact whether a baby should be considered alive until it is three days old. "The doctor could then allow the child to die if the parents so chose, and save much misery and suffering."

—PRISM, AMA Magazine, May, 1973

*Rev. Dr. Joseph Fletcher argues "If it is believed that the well-being of persons is the highest good, then it follows that either suicide or mercy killing could be the right thing to do"

—To Live and Die (Fletcher) August, 1973

* * * * *

*Eighteen years ago I could have been a prime candidate for mercy killing. I lay in bed in an oxygen tent and tubes and needles were keeping me alive. My neck was broken. I was comatose and paralyzed. Prognosis was that in the unlikely event of survival, I would be helpless for the rest of my life. I did survive, I am still paralyzed, but I have enjoyed 18 years of priceless living. I have a family, and I am deeply involved in working on problems of the severely disabled. If someone had killed me, I would have been robbed of the best years of my life. I would have been murdered.

—Ernest T. Chavez
President, Zia Chapter

Paralyzed Veterans of America, November, 1973

Place this card, with your generous contribution,
in an envelope, stamp it and mail to
NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE INC
National Press Building, Suite 557
529 - 14th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20045

Gentlemen:

I do want to help in the fight against abortion, because I agree with your basic proposition that all human beings have a fundamental right to life. For this purpose I enclose my contribution of:

☐ \$100 ☐ \$25 ☐ \$10
☐ \$50 ☐ \$15 \$ _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

Please make all checks payable to the National Right to Life Committee, Inc.
Enclose this card in the reply envelope provided and mail it today. Thank you.

12345

The National Right to Life Committee, Inc. is headquartered in Washington, D.C.

It has affiliate organizations in all fifty states. It needs assistance from persons of all faiths, of all walks of life who share its concern . . .

. . . . that Abortion ("legitimized" January 22, 1973, by the Supreme Court) is only the beginning of the struggle between the forces of Life and the forces of Death . . .

. . . . that Euthanasia, Infanticide and forced Sterilization are beginning to be accepted and practiced in the United States . . .

. . . . that only a Human Life Amendment enacted in the U.S. Congress and ratified in the States can guarantee protection to human beings at both spectrums of life and in-between (the unborn, aged, infirm, the "unproductive").

Since our formal establishment in June, 1973 at Detroit (attended by several thousands of representatives from pro-life state organizations which now comprise our national body) our numbers have increased, and our activities have mounted in intensity.

*Numerable state legislatures have asked Congress to enact a Constitutional Human Life Amendment.

*Numerable pro-life amendments have been introduced into Congress.

*Hundreds of bills have been introduced in State legislatures to challenge the Supreme Court ruling.

The burgeoning of activity, local and national, indicates that our aim is within reach: to overturn the Supreme Court ruling with a Constitutional Amendment.

But we need expanding numbers and resources.

All of this pro-life activity is centralized through the NLC Washington Office, where a full-time functioning staff serves as liaison with the fifty state organizations and chapter groups.

Lobbying, legislation-watching, congressional communications are prime concerns of the Washington, D.C. office; these concerns—and suggested reactions—are then transmitted to the States.

To uphold this structure, to broaden its base, strengthen its foundation, we need involvement — people and resources.

Please make your personal commitment and assist us. Tear off the accompanying reply card and return it to our national headquarters.

[1973]

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE

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

Tel: (202) 638-6235

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STATEMENT OF PURPOSE OF THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE

The National Right to Life Committee is a non-sectarian interdisciplinary organization that is committed to informing and educating the general public on questions related to the sanctity of human life. Protecting the right to life of the unborn child is a central issue to this concern. Proposals for total repeal or removal of laws regulating abortion represent a limited and negative approach to serious human problems. The National Right to Life Committee favors a legal system that protects the life of the unborn child, while recognizing the dignity of the child's mother, the rights of its father, and the responsibility of society to provide support and assistance to both the mother and child. In order to understand the abortion dilemma, the horizons of society must be expanded to include a consideration of pre-natal and maternal health care programs, as well as improvement of social services for those children whose parents are unable to care for them.

HISTORY

The National Right to Life Committee has maintained a small office in donated space in Washington since 1969. This office acts as a clearinghouse to supply information to and coordinate the activities of several hundred affiliated local organizations in the 50 states. The Committee also sponsors an annual national convention, which will be held this year on June 8, 9, and 10 in Detroit, Michigan.

The Committee is in the process of expanding the scope of its activities and greatly increasing its funding and budget. The Committee has been incorporated as a District of Columbia non-profit corporation and will shortly have a board of directors composed of one director from each state.



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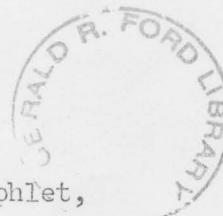
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Further information on right to life issues can be obtained by writing:

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

Rev. eds. 1971, 1973. Russell Shaw, author of this pamphlet, has also published Abortion on Trial (1968).



[1973]

AGENDA

National Right to Life Committee

Executive Committee

International Tower Hotel

Chicago, Ill.

August 17, 18 & 19

FRIDAY, Aug. 17, 9:00 PM

1. Discussion relative to bracelet contract and implementation of promotion.
2. Discussion on dividing the Country into regions for purposes of instant communication, conventions etc.. *see Saturday #5*
3. Staffing of Convention Committee.
Convention site possibilities or preferences

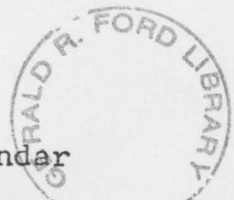
Saturday, Aug. 18, 1973, 9:00 AM

1. Discussion of Public Relations & Media Committee, Al Fortman reporting with additional background from Ted Smith. *(c)(b) status not available*
2. President's report relative to establishing office and staff in Washington D.C.. *more staff needed*
3. Preliminary report from Policy Committee.
4. Review of States Program Committee, acceptance and implementation.
5. Preliminary report from States Organization Committee.
6. Report from Finance Committee *budget too small*
7. Report from Education Committee
8. Report from Legal Advisory Committee

relationship {

Sunday Aug. 19, 1973 10:00 AM

1. Organize and implement national calendar
2. Discussion on utilizing Washington D.C. RTL group in Metropolitan D.C. activities. *? Warren*
3. Compile a list of speakers for a national *should not be done by exec. comm.*



PAGE 2 AGENDA

bureau; State, Region, those able to travel,
classification by profession etc..

4. Feed back on MAUD show, review of "Pro_Life *media committee*
TV Repair Kit".
5. Updating Board of Directors.
6. OTHER Business

leadership philosophy
review of political situation

PUBLIC RELATIONS MANUAL

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

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INITIATING A RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE

The public effectiveness of the citizen grows disproportionately when he unites and organizes for collective action with like-minded fellow-citizens.

This axiom applies in the movement to resist a relaxing of state laws against abortion. Those who oppose "easy abortion" and its logical consequences--future amendments to make it ever easier to get an abortion, involuntary sterilization, legalized euthanasia, and the other 21st Century theories in the superplanner's selective-breeding kit--can begin to become effective advocates of the value of human life by organizing a state Right to Life Committee. The main effort of the state Right to Life Committee is twofold:

1. To mobilize public opinion in opposition to liberalization of abortion laws.
2. To maintain an organized program of opposition throughout the state to new abortion legislation. This program is directed to members of the state legislature.

To achieve these goals, the state Right to Life Committee should:

1. Set up similar committees on the local level that will carry on their own programs of information and opposition.
2. Seek support and cooperation from other organizations with similar interests and concerns, even if their approach is somewhat different.
3. Accurately, forcefully, and competently present its case in the public forum.

Although a state Right to Life Committee can become strong, complex and diversified, it usually has a more humble beginning. Even the organization with a simple organization structure can produce speedy results, and a successful beginning assures development and long-range effectiveness. Here are some basic suggestions to get things moving.

PURPOSE

To provide an organizational structure, as broadly-based as possible, for collective citizen action in defense of the right to life.

To develop and carry out an educational program directed toward legislators who make public policy, toward opinion leaders who affect the making of public policy, and toward the general public which affects both groups.

To act as a vehicle for persuasive programs of civic action designed to focus law-makers' attention on the true issues at stake whenever an effort is made to change existing laws that protect the right to life.

YOUR RTL COMMITTEE SHOULD BE

Simply organized with a bare minimum officer, charter, and parliamentary structure. Simple by-laws are enough.

Broadly-based but small at the beginning. A few dedicated members are enough--but they should represent as many religious, economic, political and vocational sectors as possible.

IT SHOULD NOT BE

Over planned. Interminable meetings, planning sessions, efforts to get "big names" are unnecessary and frequently kill the spirit with which a movement can begin almost spontaneously.

Over-organized. A chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and treasurer--plus an executive committee--are all that are necessary to get your Right to Life Committee started. At the beginning, committees, subcommittees, and a table of organization will only mire down the group in internal politics and organization-for-the-sake-of-organization. We suggest: get some good people together and get on with the job.

THE STEPS

1. Bring a group of citizens together. Where possible, members of the various religious groups should be included. Six or

eight persons would be a good starting number, and their only commitment-in-common needs to be agreement that the right to life must be defended, and that easy abortion is a definite threat to the dignity of human life.

2. The group should agree on a few brief, easily written purposes and adopt them (See preceding page--PURPOSES).
3. The minimum number of leaders should be elected or chosen by common consent.
4. A mailing address should be selected, preferably someone's home or place of business, but a P.O. box will suffice.
5. Some money will be needed--not much, but some. The organizing group might contribute to a small fund, or nominal dues could be established. With no more than fifty dollars, all starting-up expenses can be covered.
6. Design and order some simple letterhead carrying the title, address, officers, and executive committee.
7. Because the group's first project is to assist in the campaign against relaxing the abortion laws, it will be necessary for the group itself to be knowledgeable and well-informed about abortion. Review the list of existing materials, study some samples, and order materials for the Committee's self-education from:

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

8. Discuss and inventory the ways in which your Right to Life Committee can develop and carry out an education program directed to legislators, opinion leaders (editors, civic leaders, union officials, medical and health association officers, etc.), and the general public.
9. Study the ways in which your Right to Life Committee can be prepared to carry out a public affairs (i.e., lobbying) program. This program should be prepared but not activated unless and until it is needed. Its objective would be to

state the Committee's position to legislators who may make public policy on abortion, in a friendly yet strong and persuasive manner. (Later, you may wish to have two committees: Education and Public Affairs.)

10. Let the national office know you exist and keep them informed of your progress. As soon as you begin organizing, write to:

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

On vital questions of public policy, too often the interested and sincere citizen wrings his hands in dismay, not understanding how much he can do to affect the outcome, if he is organized--simply, broadly, and with commitment--and if he and those who believe as he does, carry out programs--clearly, quickly, and vigorously.

There need be no feeling of dismay, of helplessness, if you put your feelings about the right to life into action with a Right to Life Committee.

Senate

268

Congressional Directory

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Sam J. Ervin, Jr., of North Carolina.	Hugh Scott, of Pennsylvania.
Philip A. Hart, of Michigan.	Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina.
Edward M. Kennedy, of Massachusetts.	Marlow W. Cook, of Kentucky.
Birch Bayh, of Indiana.	Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., of Maryland.
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House 300

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John Conyers, Jr., of Michigan.	David W. Dennis, of Indiana.
Joshua Eilberg, of Pennsylvania.	Hamilton Fish, Jr., of New York.
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Walter Flowers, of Alabama.	Lawrence J. Hogan, of Maryland.
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George E. Danielson, of California.	Trent Lott, of Mississippi.
Robert F. Drinan, of Massachusetts.	Harold V. Froehlich, of Wisconsin.
Charles B. Rangel, of New York.	Carlos J. Moorhead, of California.
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Ray Thornton, of Arkansas.	
Elizabeth Holtzman, of New York.	
Wayne Owens, of Utah.	
Edward Mezvinsky, of Iowa.	

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ing earlier lower-court decisions. The law would have provided tax-credit support for parents.

Two Washington state laws have been challenged in the state supreme court. One provides grants to individual students to help pay tuition and related costs. The second provides tuition assistance to church-related, privately owned colleges.

A New Hampshire federal district court also ruled recently that an agree-

ment between a Catholic school and a state school district was unconstitutional. Under the agreement, teachers of "secular subjects" in the Nashua school district were allowed to teach in parochial schools, while their salaries were paid from public funds. The court said it felt that the partnership took church and state beyond the realm of association or even entanglement—that the public and parochial facilities had in effect been merged.

Parochial laws in Vermont and local plans in New Jersey were also blocked by court action.

Catholics credit Nixon's parochial and anti-abortion stands with helping swing the normally Democratic Roman Catholic vote into his column.

However, the President is now faced with shepherding the Ways and Means Committee bill through both houses of a congress cautioned by the recent court rulings and voter decisions. □

THE NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS: A RELIGIOUS CENSUS

In each category, the Senators are listed in bold face, then House members. Asterisks indicate apparent winners.

The census was compiled by researcher Deborah Miller.

METHODIST (84)

Bayh (D-Ind.)	Hastings (R-N.Y.)
Bible (D-Nev.)	Hawkins (D-Calif.)
Clark (D-Iowa)	Jones (D-Ala.)
Dole (R-Kans.)	Kuykendall (R-Tenn.)
Eastland (D-Miss.)	Lent (R-N.Y.)
Fannin (R-Ariz.)	Mahon (D-Tex.)
Huddleston (D-Ky.)	Mathias (R-Calif.)
Hughes (D-Iowa)	Miller (R-Ohio)
Inouye (D-Hawaii)	Mills (D-Ark.)
Long (D-La.)	Mills (R-Md.)
McClure (R-Idaho)	Mitchell (R-N.Y.)
McGovern (D-S.Dak.)	Morgan (D-Pa.)
Metcalf (D-Idaho)	Nichols (D-Ala.)
Nelson (D-Wis.)	Pickle (D-Tex.)
Nunn (D-Ga.)	Quillen (R-Tenn.)
Scott (R-Va.)	Randall (D-Mo.)
Sparkman (D-Ala.)	Rhodes (R-Ariz.)
Tower (R-Tex.)	Riegle, Jr. (R-Mich.)
Abdnor (R-S.Dak.)	Roberts (D-Tex.)
Albert (D-Okla.)	Robison (R-N.Y.)
Arends (R-Ill.)	Rogers (D-Fla.)
Beard (R-Tenn.)	Roy (D-Kans.)
Brademas (D-Ind.)	Sabellius (R-Kans.)
Brooks (D-Tex.)	Shriver (R-Kans.)
Brotzman (R-Colo.)	Sikes (D-Fla.)
Brown, Jr. (D-Calif.)	Skubitz (R-Kans.)
Burgener (R-Calif.)	Smith (D-Iowa)
Burke (D-Calif.)	Staggers (D-W.Va.)
Chappell, Jr. (D-Fla.)	Steed (D-Okla.)
Chisholm (D-N.Y.)	Stokes (D-Ohio)
Collier (R-Ill.)	Stubblefield (D-Ky.)
Conable, Jr. (R-N.Y.)	Symms (R-Idaho)
Corman (D-Calif.)	Talcott (R-Calif.)
Crane (R-Ill.)	Taylor (R-Mo.)
Davis (D-S.C.)	Treen (R-La.)
Devine (R-Ohio)	Waggoner, Jr. (D-La.)
Dickinson (R-Ala.)	Whithurst (R-Va.)
Flynt, Jr. (D-Ga.)	Wiggins (R-Calif.)
Fulton (D-Tenn.)	Williams (R-Pa.)
Goodling (R-Pa.)	Wilson (D-Tex.)
Hailey (D-Fla.)	Wylie (R-Ohio)
Hamilton (D-Ind.)	Young (R-Fla.)

CHRISTIAN CHURCH (DISCIPLES) (9)

Fulbright (D-Ark.)	Holifield (D-Calif.)
Bennett (D-Fla.)	Hungate (D-Mo.)
Camp (R-Okla.)	Shoup (R-Mont.)
Casey (D-Tex.)	Winn, Jr. (R-Kans.)
Green (D-Oreg.)	

UNITARIAN-UNIVERSALIST (9)

Gravel (D-Alaska)	Cohen (R-Maine)
Hruska (R-Neb.)	Edwards (D-Calif.)
Packwood (R-Oreg.)	Poage (D-Tex.)
Stevenson, III (D-Ill.)	Stark (D-Calif.)
Burton (D-Calif.)	

JEWISH (14)

Javits (R-N.Y.)	Lehman (D-Fla.)
Ribicoff (D-Conn.)	Mezvinisky (D-Iowa)
Abzug (D-N.Y.)	Podell (D-N.Y.)
Ellberg (D-Pa.)	Rosenthal (D-N.Y.)
Gilman (R-N.Y.)	Steiger (R-Ariz.)
Holtzman (D-N.Y.)	Wolff (D-N.Y.)
Koch (D-N.Y.)	Yates (D-Ill.)

PRESBYTERIAN (78)

Aker (R-Tenn.)	Henderson (D-N.C.)
Bellmon (R-Okla.)	Hillis (R-Ind.)
Bentson (D-Tex.)	Holt (R-Md.)
Brock (R-Tenn.)	Horton (R-N.Y.)
Case (R-N.J.)	Hudnut (R-Ind.)
Chiles (D-Fla.)	Jarman (D-Okla.)
Church (D-Idaho)	Johnson (D-Calif.)
Curtis (R-Neb.)	Johnson (R-Colo.)
Ervin (D-N.C.)	Jones (D-Tenn.)
Jackson (D-Wash.)	Karh (D-Minn.)
McGee (D-Wyo.)	Kemp (R-N.Y.)
Mondale (D-Minn.)	Litton (D-Mo.)
Pearson (R-Kans.)	Long (D-Md.)
Stennis (D-Miss.)	Martin (R-Neb.)
Williams, Jr. (D-N.J.)	Martin (R-N.C.)
Bell (R-Calif.)	Mayne (R-Iowa)
Breckinridge (D-Ky.)	McCloskey (R-Calif.)
Brown (R-Mich.)	McCollister (R-Neb.)
Brown (R-Ohio)	McEwen (R-N.Y.)
Broomfield (R-Mich.)	Moorhead (R-Calif.)
Clark (D-Pa.)	Powell (R-Ohio)
Culver (D-Iowa)	Preyer (D-N.C.)
Davis (D-Ga.)	Pritchard (R-Wash.)*
Dellenback (R-Oreg.)	Reid (D-N.Y.)
Duncan (R-Tenn.)	Rose (D-N.C.)
Eckhardt (D-Tex.)	Ruth (R-N.C.)
Edwards (R-Ala.)	Slack, Jr. (D-W.Va.)
Esch (R-Mich.)	Smith, III (R-N.Y.)
Evans (D-Colo.)	Stephens, Jr. (D-Ga.)
Fountain (D-N.C.)	Stratton (D-N.Y.)
Fuqua (D-Fla.)	Thomson (R-Wis.)
Gettys (D-S.C.)	Thone (R-Neb.)
Gibbons (D-Fla.)	Ullman (D-Oreg.)
Gross (R-Iowa)	Vander Jagt (R-Mich.)
Gubser (R-Calif.)	Veysey (R-Calif.)
Hammerschmidt (R-Ark.)	Wampler (R-Va.)
Harsha (R-Ohio)	Ware, III (R-Pa.)
Harvey (R-Mich.)	Whitten (D-Miss.)
Hays (D-Ohio)	Wright (D-Tex.)

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST (27) (Includes 'Congregational')

Burdick (D-N.Dak.)	Mosher (R-Ohio)
Cotton (R-N.H.)	Pike (D-N.Y.)
Fong (R-Hawaii)	Rallsback (R-Ill.)
Griffin (R-Mich.)	Saylor (R-Pa.)
Gurney (R-Fla.)	Schroeder (D-Colo.)
Humphrey (D-Minn.)	Shuster (R-Pa.)
Stafford (R-Vt.)	Steele (R-Conn.)
Blester (R-Pa.)	Thornton (D-Ark.)
Bingham (D-N.Y.)	Waldie (D-Calif.)
Davis (R-Wis.)	Wilson (D-Calif.)
Findley (R-Ill.)	Wyman (R-N.H.)
Ford (D-Mich.)	Young (D-Ga.)
Fraser (D-Minn.)	Zion (R-Ind.)
Mink (D-Hawaii)	

LUTHERAN (16)

Hartke (D-Ind.)	Frey, Jr. (R-Fla.)
Hollings (D-S.C.)	Fröhlich (R-Wis.)
Magnuson (D-Wash.)	Landgrebe (R-Ind.)
Armstrong (R-Colo.)	Milford (D-Tex.)
Bergland (D-Minn.)	Nelsen (R-Minn.)
Broyhill (R-Va.)	Quie (R-Minn.)
Clausen (R-Calif.)	Snyder (R-Ky.)
Eshleman (R-Pa.)	Spence (R-S.C.)

ROMAN CATHOLIC (115)

Bartlett (R-Okla.)	Heckler (R-Mass.)
Biden (D-Del.)	Helstoski (D-N.J.)
Buckley (C-N.Y.)	Hogan (R-Md.)
Cooke (R-Ky.)	Howard (D-N.J.)
Domenici (R-N.Mex.)	Huber (R-Mich.)
Eagleton (D-Mo.)	Jones (D-Okla.)
Hart (D-Mich.)	Kazen, Jr. (D-Tex.)
Kennedy (D-Mass.)	Keating (R-Ohio)
McIntyre (D-N.H.)	King (R-N.Y.)
Mansfield (D-Mont.)	Kluczynski (D-Ill.)
Montoya (D-N.Mex.)	Leggett (D-Calif.)
Muskie (D-Maine)	Lujan, Jr. (R-N.Mex.)
Pastore (D-R.I.)	Macdonald (D-Mass.)
Tunney (D-Calif.)	Madden (D-Ind.)
Addabbo (D-N.Y.)	Madigan (R-Ill.)
Annunzio (D-Ill.)	Maraziti (R-N.J.)
Archer (R-Tex.)	Mazzoli (D-Ky.)
Arrett (D-Pa.)	McDade (R-Pa.)
Bagich (D-Alaska)	Melcher (D-Mont.)
Biaggi (D-N.Y.)	Metcalf (D-Ill.)
Bisnik (D-Minn.)	Minish (D-N.J.)
Boggs (D-La.)	Moakley (I-Mass.)
Boland (D-Mass.)	Murphy (D-Ill.)
Brasco (D-N.Y.)	Murphy (D-N.Y.)
Breaux (D-La.)	Nedzi (D-Mich.)
Burke (R-Fla.)	Obey (D-Wis.)
Burke (D-Mass.)	O'Brien (R-Ill.)
Carey (D-N.Y.)	O'Hara (D-Mich.)
Carmey (D-Ohio)	O'Neill, Jr. (D-Mass.)
Clancy (R-Ohio)	Patten (D-N.J.)
Clay (D-Mo.)	Price (D-Ill.)
Conte (R-Mass.)	Rangel (D-N.Y.)
Cotter (D-Conn.)	Rinaldo (R-N.J.)
Cronin (R-Mass.)	Roe (D-N.J.)
Daniels (D-N.J.)	Rodino, Jr. (D-M.J.)
de la Garza (D-Tex.)	Roncallo (R-N.Y.)
Delaney (D-N.Y.)	Rooney (D-N.Y.)
Denholm (D-S.D.)	Rooney (D-Pa.)
Dent (D-Pa.)	Rostenkowski (D-Ill.)
Derwinski (R-Ill.)	Roybal (D-Calif.)
Dingell (D-Mich.)	Ruppe (R-Mich.)
Donohue (D-Mass.)	Ryan (D-Calif.)
Drinan (D-Mass.)	Sandman, Jr. (R-N.J.)
Dulski (D-N.Y.)	Sarasin (R-Conn.)
Erlenborn (R-Ill.)	Scharle (R-Iowa)
Flood (D-Pa.)	Stanton (D-Ohio)
Foley (D-Wash.)	Stanton (R-Ohio)
Gaydos (D-Pa.)	St. Germain (D-R.I.)
Glaimo (D-Conn.)	Sullivan (D-Mo.)
Gonzalez (D-Tex.)	Thompson, Jr. (D-N.J.)
Grasso (D-Conn.)	Tierman (D-R.I.)
Green (D-Pa.)	Vanik (D-Ohio)
Grover, Jr. (R-N.Y.)	Walsh (R-N.Y.)
Gude (R-Md.)	Whalen, Jr. (R-Ohio)
Hanley (D-N.Y.)	Young (D-Tex.)
Hanrahan (R-Ill.)	Zablocki (D-Wis.)
Harrington (D-Mass.)	Zwack (R-Minn.)
Hebert (D-La.)	

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE (5)

Percy (R-Ill.)	McClory (R-Ill.)
Hansen (D-Wash.)	Rousselot (R-Calif.)
Hutchinson (R-Mich.)	

EASTERN ORTHODOX (4)

Abourezk (D-S.Dak.)	Sarbanes (D-Md.)
Kyros (D-Maine)	Yatron (D-Pa.)

Vice Pres Sp. to Agnew - LEADING REP. PRES. candidate
 Presided over Senate; has many friends
UNITED STATES SENATE

<u>State</u>	<u>Senator</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Senator</u>	<u>Position</u>
Alabama	James B. Allen John Sparkman		IOWA	Dick Clark Harold E. Hughes	HL*
Alaska	Mike Gravel Ted Stevens		Kansas	Robert Dole James B. Pearson	
Arizona	Paul J. Fannin Barry M. Goldwater		Kentucky	MARLOW W. COOK Walter Huddleston	Judiciary Comm. PL-U
Arkansas	J. W. Fulbright JOHN L. McCLELLAN	Judiciary comm.	Louisiana	J. Bennett Johnston, Jr. Russell B. Long	
California	Alan Cranston JOHN V. TUNNEY	Judiciary comm. PA	Maine	William D. Hathaway EDMUND S. MUSKIE	Leading Dem. PRES. candidate
Colorado	Peter H. Dominick Floyd K. Haskell		Maryland	J. Glenn Beall, Jr. CHARLES M. MATHIAS	Judiciary comm. SR, see hearing
Connecticut	Abraham Ribicoff Lowell P. Weicker	PA	Massachusetts	Edward W. Brooke EDWARD M. KENNEDY	Leading Dem. PRES. candidate; Judiciary comm. PL
Delaware	Joseph R. Biden, Jr. William V. Roth		Michigan	Robert P. Griffin PHILIP A. HART	Judiciary comm. PL-U
Florida	Lawton Chiles EDWARD J. GURNEY	Judiciary comm. PL	Minnesota	Hubert H. Humphrey Walter F. Mondales	Leading Dem. PRES. candidate " " " "
Georgia	Sam Nunn Herman E. Talmadge		Mississippi	JAMES O. EASTLAND John C. Stennis	Chairman of (6) Judiciary comm. HL*
Hawaii	HIRAM L. FONG Daniel K. Inouye	Judiciary Comm.	Missouri	Thomas F. Eagleton Stuart Symington	
Idaho	Frank Church James A. McClure		Montana	MIKE MANSFIELD Lee Metcalf	sen leader majority
Illinois	Charles H. Percy Adlai E. Stevenson, III	Leading Rep. PRES. Candidate	Nebraska	Carl T. Curtis ROMAN L. HRUSKA	Judiciary comm. HL*
Indiana	VIR BIRCH BAYH D. Vance Hartke	sub committee (Judicial) chairman PL-U			

<u>State</u>	<u>Senator</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Senator</u>	<u>Position</u>
Nevada	Alan Biblet Howard W. Cannon	SR	South Dakota	James Abouresk George McGovern	SR
New Hampshire	Norris Cotton Thomas J. McIntyre		Tennessee	Howard H. Baker, Jr. William E. Brock	Leading REP. Pres. Candidate
New Jersey	Clifford P. Case Harrison J. Williams	U	Texas	Lloyd Bentsen John G. Tower	
New Mexico	Pete V. Domenici Joseph M. Montoya		Utah	Wallace F. Bennett Frank E. Moss	HL*
New York	James L. Buckley Jacob K. Javits	HL* PA	Vermont	George D. Aiken Robert T. Stafford	
North Carolina	SAM J. ERVIN, JR. Jesse A. Helms	Judiciary comm. PL-V HL*	Virginia	Harry F. Byrd, Jr. William Lloyd Scott	
North Dakota	QUENTIN N. BURDICK Milton R. Young	Judiciary comm. HL*	Washington	Henry M. Jackson Warren G. Magnuson	Leading Dem. Pres. Candidate
Ohio	William B. Saxbe Robert Taft, Jr.		West Virginia	ROBERT C. BYRD Jennings Randolph	Judiciary comm.
Oklahoma	Dewey F. Bartlett Henry Bellmon	HL*	Wisconsin	Gaylord Nelson William Proxmire	
Oregon	Mark O. Hatfield Robert W. Packwood	HL*	Wyoming	Clifford P. Hansen Gale W. McGee	
Pennsylvania	Richard S. Schweiker HUGH SCOTT	(R. Sen. Missouri) Judiciary comm.			
Rhode Island	John O. Pastore Claiborne Pell				
South Carolina	Ernest F. Hollings STROM THURMOND	Judiciary Comm.			

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>
ALABAMA		
1	Jack Edwards	NC
2	William L. Dickinson	
3	Bill Nichols	
4	Tom Bevill	HL*
5	Bob Jones	
6	John H. Buchanan, Jr.	
7	WALTER FLOWERS Judiciary Comm	
ALASKA		
ARIZONA		
1	John J. Rhodes	
2	Morris K. Udall	
3	Sam Steiger	PL-U
4	John B. Conlan	

* An asterisk indicates Congressman sponsored bill.
 HL - Supports Human Life Amendment
 SR - Supports States' Rights Amendment
 PA - Pro-abortion; for Supreme Court decision as it stands.

<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>
ARKANSAS		
1	Bill Alexander	
2	Wilbur D. Mills	
3	John Paul Hammerschmidt	
4	RAY THORNTON Judiciary Comm	SR
CALIFORNIA		
1	Don H. Clausen	HL
2	Harold T. Johnson	
3	John E. Moss	
4	Robert L. Leggett	
5	Philip Burton	
6	William S. Mailliard	U
7	Ronald V. Dellums	
8	Fortney H. (Pete) Stark	
9	DON EDWARDS O, subcommittee (Judicial) chairman	

PL - Pro-life; PL-U - pro-life but undecided as to best course of action.
 U - Undecided as to position on abortion.
 NC - No Comment; Has not yet indicated his position
 KEY PERSONS INDICATED IN RED AND BLOCK CAPS.

<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>
CALIFORNIA			CALIFORNIA		
10	Charles S. Gubser	HL	29	GEORGE E. DANIELSON	Judiciary Comm
11	Leo J. Ryan		30	Edward R. Roybal	
12	Burt L. Talcott		31	Charles H. Wilson	
13	Charles M. Teague	SR	32	Craig Hosmer	
14	JEROME R. WALDIE subcom. #4 U St Judiciary comm.		33	Jerry L. Pettis	
15	John J. McFall		34	Richard T. Hanna	
16	B. F. Sisk		35	Gleen M. Anderson	
17	Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.	PA	36	William M. Ketchum	
18	Robert B. (Bob) Mathias		37	Yvonne Brathwaite Burke	
19	Chet Holifield	PL	38	George E. Brown, Jr.	
20	CARLOS J. MOORHEAD Judiciary comm. HL		39	Andrew J. Hinshaw	
21	Augusts F. Hawkins		40	Bob Wilson	
22	James C. Corman		41	Lionel Van Deerlin	PA
23	Del Clawson		42	Clair W. Burgener	SR*
24	John H. Rousselot		43	Victor V. Veysey	
25	CHARLES E. WIGGINS Judiciary PL, HL? subcom. #4		COLORADO		
26	Thomas M. Rees		1	Patricia Schroeder	
27	Barry M. Goldwater, Jr.	PA	2	Donald G. Brotzman	
28	Alphonzo Bell				

<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>
COLORADO			FLORIDA		
3	Frank E. Ebans		7	Sam M. Gibbons	PA
4	James P. (Jim) Johnson		8	James A. Haley	
5	William L. Armstrong		9	Louis Frey, Jr.	PL
CONNECTICUT			10	L.A. (Skip) Bafalis	
1	William R. Cotter		11	Paul G. Rogers	
2	Robert H. Steele		12	J. Herbert Burke	PL, SR
3	Robert N. Giaimo		13	William Lehman	
4	Stewart B. McKinney		14	Claude D. Pepper	
5	Ronald A. Sarasin		15	Dante B. Fascell	
6	Ella T. Grasso		GEORGIA		
DELAWARE			1	Bo Ginn	
At Large	Pierre S. duPont IV		2	Dawson Mathis	
FLORIDA			3	Jack Brinkley	
1	Bob Sikes		4	Ben B. Blackburn	
2	Don Fuqua		5	Andrew Young	
3	Charles E. Bennett		6	John J. Flynt, Jr.	
4	Bill Chappell		7	John W. Davis	
5	Bill Gunter	SR*	8	W.S.(Bill) Stuckey, Jr.	U
6	C. W. Bill Young		9	Phil M. Landrum	
			10	Robert G. Stephens, Jr.	U

<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>
HAWAII			ILLINOIS		
1	Spark M. Matsunaga		15	LESLIE C. ARENDS	
2	Patsy Takemoto Mink		16	John B. Anderson	
IDAHO			17	George M. O'Brien	SR *
1	Steven D. Symms		18	Robert H. Michel	
2	Orval Hansen		19	THOMAS F. RAILSBACK	Judiciary PA comm.
ILLINOIS			20	Paul Findley	
1	Ralph H. Metcalfe		21	Edward R. Madigan	
2	Morgan F. Murphy		22	George E. Shipley	HL
3	Robert P. Hanrahan	SR *	23	Melvin Price	PL
4	Edward J. Derwinski		24	Kenneth J. Gray	
5	John C. Kluczynski		INDIANA		
6	Harold R. Collier		1	Ray J. Madden	
7			2	Earl F. Landgrebe	
8	Daniel D. Rostenkowski		3	John Brademas	
9	Sidney R. Yates		4	J. Edward Roush	
10	Samuel H. Young	U	5	Elwood Hillis	
11	Frank Annunzio		6	William G. Bray	
12	Philip M. Crane		7	John T. Myers	SR?
13	ROBERT McCLORY	Judiciary Subcomm. #4	8	Roger H. Zion	
14	John N. Erlenborn	HL	9	Lee H. Hamilton	

<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>
INDIANA			KENTUCKY		
10	DAVID W. DENNIS	Judiciary Comm PL, SR?	4	M. Gene Snyder	
11	William H. Hudnut		5	Tim Lee Carter	
IOWA			6	John Breckinridge	
1	EDWARD MEZVINSKY	Judiciary Comm. SR	7	Carl D. Perkins	
2	John C. Culver	NC	LOUISIANA		
3	H.R. Gross	PL, SR	1	F. Edward Hebert	HL
4	Neal Smith	SR	2		
5	William J. Scherle		3	David C. Treen	SR*
6	WILEY MAYNE	Judiciary Comm. PL, SR	4	Joe D. Waggoner, Jr.	PL-U
KANSAS			5	Otto E. Passman	
1	Keith G. Sebelius		6	John R. Rarick	SR*
2	Bill Roy		7	John B. Breauz	
3	Larry Winn, Jr.		8	Gillis W. Long	PL?
4	Garner E. Shriver		MAINE		
5	Joe Skubitz		1	Peter N. Kyros	PA
KENTUCKY			2	WILLIAM S. COHEN	Judiciary Comm. PL, SR?
1	Frank A. Stubblefield		MARYLAND		
2	William H. Natcher		1		
3	Romano L. Mazzoli	HL*, SKA	2	Clarence D. Long	
			3	PAUL S. SARBANES	sub comm PL Judiciary subcommittee #4

<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>
MARYLAND			MICHIGAN		
4	Marjorie S. Holt	SR*	1	JOHN CONYERS, JR.	Judiciary Comm. PA
5	LAWRENCE J. HOGAN	Judiciary Comm. HL*	2	Marvin L. Esch	
6	Goodloe E. Byron		3	Garry Brown	
7	Parren J. Mitchell		4	EDWARD HUTCHINSON	Judiciary Comm. U
8	Gilbert Gude		5	Gerald Ford	R, House minority LEADER
MASSACHUSETTS			6	Charles E. Chamberlain	
1	Silvio O. Conte	U	7	Donald W. Riegler, Jr.	
2	Edward P. Boland		8	James Harvey	
3	HAROLD D. DONOHUE	Judiciary committee	9	Guy A. Vander Jagt	
4	ROBERT F. DRINAN	Judiciary sub comm. #4	10	Elford A. Cederberg	PL
5	Paul W. Cronin		11	Philip E. Ruppe	PL - U
6	Michael Harrington	PA	12	James G. O'Hara	
7	Torbert H. Macdonald	PL	13	Charles C. Diggs, Jr.	
8	THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.	D, House major LEADER	14	Lucien N. Nedzi	PL
9	John Joseph Moakley		15	William D. Ford	
10	Margaret M. Heckler		16	John D. Dingell	
11	James A. Burke		17	Martha W. Griffiths	
12	Gerry E. Studds	PL, SR, HL?	18	Robert J. Huber	HL*, SR*
			19	William S. Broomfield	

<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>
MINNESOTA			MISSOURI		
1	Albert H. Quie	HL*	5	Richard Bolling	
2	Ancher Nelsen		6	Jerry Litton	
3	William Frenzel		7	Gene Taylor	
4	Joseph E. Karth	SR	8	Richard (Dick) Ichord	
5	Donald M. Fraser		9	WILLIAM L. (BILL) HUNGATE ₂	PL-U
6	John M. Zwach		10	Judiciary Committee Bill D. Burlison	U
7	Robert Bergland		MONTANA		
8	John A. Blatnik	PL	1	Dick Shoup	
MISSISSIPPI			2	John Melcher	
1	Jamie L. Whitten	U	NEBRASKA		
2	David R. Bowen		1	Charles Thone	
3	Gillespie V. Montgomery		2	John Y. McCollister	SR*
4	W. Thad Cochran		3	Dave Martin	
5	C. TRENT LOTT _{Judiciary Subcomm. # 4}	PA	NEVADA		
MISSOURI			At Large	David Towell	
1	William (Bill) Clay		NEW HAMPSHIRE		
2	James W. Symington		1	Louis C. Wyman	
3	Leonor K. Sullivan (Mrs. John B.)		2	James C. Cleveland	
4	Wm. J. (Bill) Randall	HL	NEW JERSEY		
			1	John E. Hunt	

<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>
NEW JERSEY		
2	CHARLES W. SANDMAN, JR. <i>Judiciary comm.</i>	HL*
3	James J. Howard	
4	Frank Thompson, Jr.	
5	Peter H. B. Frelinghusen	
6	Edwin B. Forsythe	
7	William B. Widnall	PA
8	Robert A. Roe	
9	Henry Helstoski	PL
10	PETER W. RODINO, JR. <i>D</i>	HL
11	<i>Judicial comm. chairman,</i> Joseph G. Minish	
12	Matthew J. Rinaldo	
13	Joseph J. Maraziti	
14	Dominick V. Daniels	HL
15	Edward J. Patten	PL, HL?
NEW MEXICO		
1	Manuel Lujan, Jr.	HL*
2	Harold Runnels	
NEW YORK		
1	Otis G. Pike	U
2	James R. Grover, Jr.	HL

<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>
NEW YORK		
3	Angelo D. Roncallo	
4	Norman F. Lent	PA
5	John W. Wydler	U
6	Lester L. Wolff	SR?
7	Joseph P. Addabbo	SR?
8	Benjamin S. Rosenthal	PA
9	James J. Delaney	HL
10	Mario Biaggi	HL*
11	Frank J. Brasco	
12	Shirley Chisholm	PA
13	Bertram L. Podell	PA
14	John J. Rooney	U
15	Hugh L. Carey	PL, HL?
16	ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN <i>Judiciary comm.</i>	PA
17	John M. Murphy	PL-U
18	Edward I. Koch	
19	CHARLES RANGEL <i>Judiciary subcomm. #4</i>	PA
20	Bella S. Abzug	PA
21	Herman Badillo	
22	Jonathan B. Bingham	

<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>
NEW YORK			NORTH CAROLINA		
23	Peter A. Peyser		3	David N. Henderson	
24	Ogden R. Reid	U	4	Ike F. Andrews	
25	HAMILTON FISH, JR. ^{Judiciary} _{comm.}	PL, HL?	5	Wilmer D. Mizell	
26	Benjamin A. Gilman		6	Richardson Preyer	
27	Howard W. Robison	PA	7	Charles Rose	
28	Samuel S. Stratton	SR?	8	Earl B. Ruth	
29	Charleton J. King	HL*	9	James G. Martin	
30	Robert C. McEwen	HL*	10	James T. (Jim) Broyhill	
31	Donald J. Mitchell		11	Roy A. Taylor	
32	James M. Hanley	PL-U	NORTH DAKOTA		
33	William F. Walsh		At Large	Mark Andrews	SR
34	Frank Horton	PL?	OHIO		
35	Barber B. Conable, Jr.	PA, SR	1	WILLIAM J. KEATING ^{Judiciary} _{comm.}	HL*
36	HENRY P. SMITH, III ^{Judiciary} _{comm.}		2	Donald D. Clancy	PL, HLP
37	Thaddeus J. Dulski	PL-U	3	Charles W. Whalen, Jr.	
38	Jack F. Kempt	HL	4	Tennyson Guyer	
39	James F. Hastings		5	Delbert L. Latta	
NORTH CAROLINA			6	William H. Harsha	PA
1	Walter B. Jones	PL-SR	7	Clarence J. Brown	
2	L. H. Fountain		8	Walter E. Powell	PA

<u>STATE AND District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>
OHIO			OKLAHOMA		
9	Thomas L. Ashley	NC	5	John Jarman	PL
10	Clarence E. Miller	PL-U	6	John N. Happy Camp	HL*
11	J. William Stanton	PL	ORGEON		
12	Samuel L. Devine		1	Wendell Wyatt	U
13	Charles A. Mosher	PL-U	2	Al Ullman	
14	JOHN F. SEIBERLING Judiciary Comm.	PA	3	Edith Green	
15	Chalmers P. Wylie		4	John Dellenback	
16	Ralph S. Regula		PENNSYLVANIA		
17	John M. Ashbrook	PL	1	William A. Barrett	HL
18	Wayne L. Hays		2	Robert N.C. Nix	NC
19	Charles J. Carney		3	William J. Green	PL-U
20	James V. Stanton	PL	4	JOSHUA EILBERG Judiciary Comm.	
21	Louis Stokes		5	John H. Ware	
22	Charles A. Vanik		6	Gus Yatron	
23	William E. Minshall		7	Lawrence G. Williams	
OKLAHOMA			8	Edward G. Biester, Jr.	
1	James R. Jones		9	E. G. Shuster	
2	Clem Rogers McSpadden		10	Joseph M. McDade	
3	CARL ALBERT D, House SPEAKER		11	Daniel J. Flood	
4	Tom Steed	PL?	12	John P. Saylor	

<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>
PENNSYLVANIA		
13	LAWRENCE COUGHLIN	PL, SR?
14	William S. Moorhead	
15	Fred B. Rooney	U
16	Edwin D. Eshleman	
17	Herman T. Schneebeli	
18	H. John Heinz, III	
19	George A. Goodling	
20	Joseph M. Gaydos	HL*
21	John H. Dent	
22	Thomas E. Morgan	
23	Albert W. Johnson	
24	Joseph P. Vigorito	
25	Frank M. Clark	
RHODE ISLAND		
1	Fernand J. St. Germain	
2	Robert O. Tiernan	
SOUTH CAROLINA		
1	Mendel J. Davis	
2	Floyd Spence	
3	Wm. Jennings Bryan Dorn	

<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>
SOUTH CAROLINA		
4	JAMES R. MANN Judiciary Comm.	PL
5	Tom S. Gettys	
6	Edward Young	
SOUTH DAKOTA		
1	Frank E. Denholm	
2	James Abdnor	
TENNESSEE		
1	James H. (Jimmy) Quillen	HL
2	John J. Duncan	
3	LaMar Baker	
4	Joe L. Evins	
5	Richard H. Fulton	HL
6	Robin L. Beard	
7	Ed Jones	
8	Don Kuykendall	
TEXAS		
1	Wright Patman	U
2	Charles Wilson	
3	James M. (Jim) Collins	

<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>
TEXAS			TEXAS		
4	Ray Roberts		23	Abraham (Chick) Kazen	
5	Alan Steelman		24	Dale Milford	
6	Olin E. Teague		UTAH		
7	W.R. (Bill) Archer		1	Gunn McKay	
8	Bob Eckhard		2	WAYNE OWENS Judiciary Comm. HL	
9	JACK BROOKS Judiciary Comm. HL		VERMONT		
10	J.J. (Jake) Pickle PL-U		At Large	Richard W. Mallary	
11	W. R. Poage		VIRGINIA		
12	Jim Wright SR*		1	Thomas N. Downing	
13	Robert Price		2	G. William Whitehurst SR*	
14	John Young		3	David E. Satterfield, III	
15	E de la Garza		4	Robert W. Daniel, Jr.	
16	Richard C. (Dick) White		5	Dan Daniel	
17	Omar Burleson PL?		6	M. CALDWELL BUTLER Judiciary PL-U, SR? Subcomm. # 4	
18	BARBARA JORDAN Judiciary Comm. PA		7	J. Kenneth Robinson	
19	George Mahon		8	Standford E. Parris	
20	Henry B. Gonzales		9	William C. Wampler SR*	
21	O.C. Fisher		10	Joel T. Broyhill	
22	Bob Casey				

<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>State and District</u>	<u>Representative</u>	<u>Position</u>
WASHINGTON			WISCONSIN		
1	Joel Pritchard		8	HAROLD V. FROEHLICH	Judiciary Comm. <i>SR*, PL</i>
2	Lloyd Meeds		9	Glenn R. Savis	
3	Julia Butler Hansen		WYOMING.		
4	Mike McCormack		At Large	Teno Roncallo	
5	Thomas S. Foley		GUAM		
6	Floyd V. Hicks			Won Pat (Del.)	HL*
7	Brock Adams				
WEST VIRGINIA					
1	Robert H. Mollohan				
2	Harley O. Staggers	PL, HL?			
3	John M. Slack				
4	Ken Hechler	SR			
WISCONSIN					
1	Les Aspin				
2	ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER	Judiciary Committee NC			
3	Vernon W. Thomson	HL			
4	Clement J. Zablocki				
5	Henry S. Reuss				
6	William A. Steiger	PL-U			
7	David R. Obey				

To their Excellencies, The Bishops of Pennsylvania.

Subject: The Right To Life Amendment

From: James J. Diamond, M.D.

305 MEDICAL ARTS BLD.
READING, PENNSYLVANIA 19601
Phone (215) 374-0938

In the course of preparing the wording of the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States, the purpose of which is to protect the life of the unborn, several jurisprudential and medical considerations have emerged which are of concern to the spiritual leaders of the people of the Pennsylvania Catholic community. It is the purpose of this letter to discuss these considerations so that neither misunderstanding nor scandal be caused by the failure of anyone to appreciate the dimensions of the problems involved.

- 1.) At the present time, there is no legal way to overthrow the Griswold v. Connecticut decision regarding the right of an American to practice contraception according to his private moral concepts. A corollary to this is the fact that in the eyes of the federal government, the providing of contraceptive information and devices qua health measures has become the legitimate province of the civil authorities. For this reason, many activities by federally sponsored family-planning organizations cannot be legally assaulted by the National Right To Life Committee or by any lesser pro-Life group in the state. Coercive activity against the poor, the minorities and the illiterates by federally funded agencies can be assaulted, but this is not the province of the R.T.L. Committee, but represents a civil liberties cause. In the recent South Carolina case where young black girls were surreptitiously sterilized, it was the A.C.L.U. which sponsored the appropriate law suits against the government. There appears to be at present adequate grounds

within the constitution for declaring such sterilizations to be unconstitutional. However, Buck v. Bell still holds some value as precedent in the Court, and Planned Parenthood has recently called upon the federal government to convoke a group-think on this matter of sterilizing against their will these functional illiterates who "would probably want to be sterilized" if they were capable of making a judgment on the matter. The R.T.L. committee is interested in such matters and will seek an active role in any deliberations in this field at the federal level, yet it will be under a "civil liberty" thesis rather than a "right to life" thesis. All of this should be clear without any further explanation here.

- 2) The matter which will cause the most concern to the Bishops is this. At the present time, approximately two to three million women of reproductive age in the United States employ some type of intra-uterine device as a contraceptive measure. Many have employed the morning-after pill, which is a hormone taken after sexual contact to prevent the fertile zygote from implanting on the uterine wall. Some rape victims can avoid a pregnancy ensuing from the forceful sexual exposure by promptly submitting to a dilatation and curettage of the uterine lining, the net result of which is not to remove the fertile zygote but to render the wall of the uterus incapable of providing an implantation site to the zygote when it subsequently descends from the tube into the lumen of the uterus.

(Use of the term "contraceptive" vs. "abortifacient" in describing the I.U.D. refers only to the mindset of the woman using the device. Which term is morally accurate is the subject of the debate centering on whether or not a Homo exists prior to implantation.)

- 3) The intra-uterine devices present a varied pattern of effects. There is evidence to suggest that they act in several ways; they can so irritate the lining of the womb that implantation is impossible; they can excite a proliferation of white blood cells which destroy the zygote; they may exert an ionic effect hostile to the zygote. They may (this is hard to prove) by their presence dislodge an implanted zygote from the wall. In a number of cases, they have failed completely to prevent a pregnancy, but when they do succeed in preventing pregnancy they do so by means which are proscribed by Catholic moral philosophy.
- 4) There are two considerations of interest here. One concerns itself with the precise content (morally) of the intended act intrinsic to using the I.U.D. Does this constitute the taking of the life of a Homo? As is well known to the readers, Catholic moral theologians are not in agreement as to whether the Thomistic definition of the soul can be met at this stage of human existence. This is not to resurrect the old theory of mediate animation, but to pay heed to the advances in biology which seem to be zeroing in on the completion of implantation as the beginning of human life. Conception is viewed as a maternal act biologically, a catching onto the child or a taking to oneself of a child (zygote). It is not the purpose of this paper to attempt to resolve this age old argument, but to convey to all interested parties some of the jurisprudential matters involved. The National Right To Life Committee is not qualified to make moral philosophical observations with any expertise; it can, however, throw some light upon the legal and medical parameters of the use of the I.U.D. which will be

discussed with various levels of expertise by Catholics at all levels. Before entering this matter, mention should be made of several other medical matters involved here.

- 5) An increasingly popular procedure, which started on the West Coast and which is gaining popularity, is the minor surgical procedure known as "menstrual extraction" - a euphemism. It consists of this: every 28 days a woman goes to her doctor who with a tiny syringe and tube sucks out the lining of the uterus. Reports indicate that this is so simple that even now it is being done by women upon one another without seeking the help of a doctor. Several reports indicate that coeds in university sororities now do this on one another, and that women's Liberation leaders are touring the ladies organizations with a demonstration of the technic. It has several appealing things about it. It seems adequately safe to satisfy those doing it. It is quick; it is simple; it is inexpensive. It saves the chore of taking the birth-control pill each day, and avoids the known medical hazards and side effects of the pill. For some women it considerably shortens the duration of the menstrual period and is thus welcome. The medical profession has as yet no accurate data on this technic, and the technic conceivably could become one which for reasons of privacy and economics is removed from medical practice much as scrubbing ones teeth can be done with no help from a dentist.
- 6) The final matter is the prostaglandins. From time to time the medical researchers have come up with drugs which promise to be effective abortifacients. An early one, methotrexate, was abandoned because it sometimes caused the development of a monstrosity instead of aborting the fetus. Other drugs seeking to cause an adverse effect on the corpus luteum (the part of the ovary which produces the hormones essential to the support of

the early conceptus) are termed luteolytic drugs and are still in the research stage. Of great importance is a class of new drugs termed the prostaglandins. Pregnancy can be interrupted by the administration of this drug intravenously, vaginally or by the intra-uterine (intra-amniotic) route. The Upjohn Company in Kalamazoo, Michigan is the leading researcher in this area and several hospitals in the United States are already using the prostaglandins to induce abortions in clinical trials. The drug seems to be one laden with many adverse problems and it has not yet been cleared by the Food and Drug Administration for public use. Practically no one in the field doubts that it is only a matter of time until vaginal tampons impregnated with prostaglandin will be available as an abortifacient. There is as yet no oral form of the drug, but work is being done to develop an abortifacient which can be taken by mouth.

7) So much for the facts. Now for their implications.

First of all, it is apparent that there is no way except by moral suasion that the life of the unborn child can be protected from the mother who wants to rid herself of her unborn child. If the abortive act is simple, cheap, safe, private and quite undetectible, there exists no impediment to her aborting her child with civil immunity.

8) As a corollary, it is apparent that there is also no way by which civil authorities can demonstrate with objective evidence that a given woman's abortion was not spontaneous. There is no criminological method possible by which any prosecuting attorney could prove that a woman who employed one of these methods in the very early weeks of pregnancy did actually kill a real unborn child, a corpus delicti.

- 9) Furthermore, even if the woman aborted her child after the stage where a recognizable corpus delicti was expelled, it would still be impossible for a prosecutor to show that the abortion resulted directly from the woman's actions. There are no tell-tale traces after these various means have been employed. There is no conceivable prosecutable case except that case where a militant woman confesses to using the abortifacient and then produces the aborted conceptus to the court of her own free will, a not very likely occurrence in the ordinary course of events.
- 10) In another direction, it should be noted that there is no way in which the manufacture and distribution of abortifacient drugs or "extraction" instruments can be regulated so as to make them unavailable to the public. A black market would quickly spring up should the drugs or instruments be made illegal. For example, we are currently completely unable to encompass the use of illegal narcotics in any sector of our society; what makes us think that we could possibly restrict the availability of abortifacient drugs and instruments on a given college campus. The problem lies in the fact that there are perfectly valid non-abortionnal uses for every abortionnal drug and instrument, and there is no way that any law could successfully be written to restrict the distribution and use of these materials. To imagine otherwise is naive.
- 11) The I.U.D. is still another matter. There is not possible any law forbidding manufacturers from making a 35 cent piece of copper coiled in a certain fashion. There is no possible law which can keep women or doctors from buying these coils. There is possible no law which can keep a doctor from placing this coil in a woman's uterus if she requests it, anymore than a law can keep a doctor from piercing a woman's ears for

earrings if she requests it. There is possible no law which can identify the woman wearing one of these coils as a woman who took a human life by preventing the implantation of a zygote. In fact, there is not even possible a way for a skilled physician to demonstrate either to himself or to a court that the woman is guilty of killing a zygote. The I.U.D., whether moral or immoral, is de facto immune to legal proscription. For anyone to pretend otherwise is to manifest naivete about evidentiary law.

12) Where does this leave us? Quite candidly, the thrust of the Right To Life Amendment is anti-homicidal. As a legal and constitutional matter, its borders are necessarily those of evidence. We cannot escape this in jurisprudence. Because of evidentiary limitations, the Right To Life Amendment cannot protect the unborn from private abortifacient drugs or mechanical instrumentations, no matter how anxious one might be to write a law attempting to protect these privately abortable unborn children.

13) Still another dimension exists. No one in the medical profession entertains any delusions about the future availability of either drug or mechanical measures employed every 28 days by those women who do not want any more children. Of unusual psychological importance is the fact that these measures, if employed faithfully every 28 days, cannot be known even by the woman to be abortifacient for they will be employed prior to that date on which a woman's next menstrual period will have occurred (or failed to occur). A woman in her conscience will never have the occasion to know directly and certainly that she did in fact abort a conceived zygote (or blastocyst) and thus it may become a procedure that commends itself to women who would not knowingly employ

2

an abortifacient had they certain knowledge (as from a missed menstrual period) that they were pregnant. The same can be said of a monthly dose of prostaglandin, and it already can be seen in the use of the morning-after pill. If the woman is still evidentiarily free to consider herself as not being pregnant, she will likely be more prone to consider herself not pregnant than potentially pregnant. While the norms of moral theology might disagree with this type of thinking, nevertheless it has no little appeal to the average woman desperately anxious not to bear another child. This needs no elaboration.

- 14) What then is the purpose of the Right To Life Amendment? In its broadest scope, the amendment lays down constitutional precedent and principle against public abortion, governmental participation in abortion services, infanticide, euthanasia, senicide and fetal experimentation. It will restrict genetic engineering to therapeutic measures and rule out homicidal selective measures. It will deny public funds to any agency which employs abortifacients as a part of family-planning services, but careful supervision will be needed here; indeed, policing will probably be needed here. These are the most obvious effects of the Right To Life Amendment, and it is not difficult to visualize the penumbra that it will cast protecting all human life. It is not by default of either the framers' intent or of the framers' philosophy that many unborn children will continue to be privately aborted; this results solely from evidentiary considerations as outlined above. If an effective measure could conceivably be drawn up to protect even the life of the privately abortable unborn child, the framers would do so; but facts are facts, and the amendment must seek to do the maximum possible rather than fail to gain passage because it asked the legally impossible, the medically impossible and the constitutionally

impossible.

- 15) It is of consummate interest to the ordinaries that neither scandal nor misrepresentation of the Church be permitted to occur. While sophisticated Catholics, lay and clerical, can comprehend the intricacies hinted at above, it is quite possible - indeed, already apparent - that not all of the people understand these intricacies. Hence they may be driven to read hypocrisy or compromise into what cannot escape being labelled as a "Catholic" amendment by the press and by the pro-abortion forces in the United States. While it is perhaps unavoidable that this occur, it seems to the writer that it might be highly desirable that a meeting be convened in the near future, such meeting to include the Board of Directors of Pennsylvanians For Human Life, Howard Fetterhoff from P.C.C., moral theologians or equivalent representatives from the eight dioceses (if not the ordinaries themselves) and someone familiar with the medical parameters involved. I believe that a fruitful outcome of such a meeting would be a uniformity of understanding concerning the borders of the amendment and an understanding why the borders are where they are. P.H.L. is planning a state-wide seminar on 10-27-73 at Reading, and it would be extremely useful if the meeting could be held prior to that date and a report made available to describe for the faithful the position of the ordinaries toward the amendment. In analysis, neither scandal nor an appearance of compromise can be read into the amendment by the faithful if this meeting does its job completely. The convening of so many fine minds would seem to have a built-in protection from overlooking any occult sources of danger either to the Church or its people.

right to life

By Law

THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE
732 Main Street
Pawtucket, Rhode Island 02860

TO: THE DIRECTORS, NRLC, INC.

JANUARY 11, 1973

RE: PROPOSED REVISIONS OF BY-LAWS SUBMITTED BY DIRECTORS BELIVEAU, COOK, FINK, FORTMAN, KARIM, KELLEY, MECKLENBURG, MORREY, SCHALD, URBISH, WITHERSPOON, STANDEFER, INCLUDING ALSO HORAN (NOT A DIRECTOR).

FRIENDS,

THE ABOVE BAKERS' DOZEN WHO, PROPOSING TO SILENCE AT-LARGE DIRECTORS (NAMESLY RANDY ENGEL, MAGALAY LLAGUNO, MIKE TAYLOR, MARTY MCKERNAN, BUT ALSO OTHERS WHO MAY IN THE FUTURE BE RECOGNIZED IN OUR COLLECTIVE JUDGEMENT TO BE WORTHY OF SHARING THAT HONOUR) HAVE THEMSELVES SUCCUMBED TO AN INCONSISTENCY THAT BEGS SOME OTHER MOTIVE. MUCH AS I RESPECT MR. HORAN, I DARESAY IT IS ASTONISHINGLY NAIVE TO LEND HIS NAME (HIMSELF NOT A DIRECTOR) TO A SET OF PROPOSED BY-LAW REVISIONS THAT PURPORT TO SUPPRESS THE LEGITIMATE PARTICIPATION OF OTHERS WHILE UNBLUSHINGLY ADVANCING HIS OWN. SEE ART 11.1 (GENERAL POWERS), "THE AFFAIRS OF NRLC, INC. SHALL BE MANAGED BY ITS BOARD OF DIRECTORS".

BECAUSE MY COPY WAS DATELINED WASHINGTON D.C., I MUST ASSUME THAT THE NATIONAL STAFF AND SUPPLIES WERE UTILIZED IN THE PREPARATION AND DISSEMINATION OF THE AFOREMENTIONED PROPOSED BY-LAW REVISIONS. IS IT NOT PROVOCATIVE FOR SOME DIRECTORS TO AVAIL THEMSELVES OUR RESOURCES FOR THE PURPOSE OF SKEWERING OTHER DIRECTORS? TO THE EXTENT THAT MY OPINION MAY BE FREELY EXPRESSED, PERMIT ME TO SAY THAT I SENSE INTIMIDATION AND EMBARRASSMENT BY THE ARTLESSNESS OF IT ALL. TACTIC-TORTURED INTRIGUES ARE MISADVENTURES THAT EXCITE FACILE AND DIVISIVE SPECULATIONS; HOWEVER, IF YOU CAN AGREE WITH ME THAT THESE SHOULD NOT BE DIGNIFIED IN SERIOUS DELIBERATIONS, LET US HEAR NONE OF IT IN WASHINGTON, SAVE EXCISE A SORE OR TWO.

Robert M Bergeron

JROBERT MBERGERON, DIRECTOR

I DON'T LIKE THE ANTI-LIFE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT, RENDERED ON JANUARY 22, 1973, BUT WHAT CAN I DO ABOUT IT?

IF I DO NOTHING, I DESERVE THE HARSH CONDEMNATION HISTORY NOW ACCORDS THE GERMANS FOR NOT OPPOSING HITLER'S BARBARIC TREATMENT OF JEWISH PEOPLE.

SOME OF THE THINGS I MIGHT DO:

Write to each of my elected representatives letting each know that I favor a constitutional amendment granting the rights of "person" to human life in the womb.

Each time I read a periodical that praises the anti-life decision, write a letter or postcard to the editors letting them know what I think.

When I hear or see a broadcast of an anti-life show, write the station, the network, the advertisers.

Ask my doctor if he is going to perform abortions on demand; remind him that I do not care to be the patient of an anti-life doctor.

Stop contributing to hospitals that misuse their facilities to end human life; don't use such hospitals where there are alternatives.

If I am a doctor, nurse or other worker in a medical field, remind myself that I have a right under the constitution and under conscience to refuse participation in a procedure that terminates human life.

Become an outspoken "nut" in favor of human life. When someone at bridge, cocktails, bowling or poker praises abortion on demand as abortion "reform", remind them that it is no such thing, that it is a reversion to barbarism and equivalent to murder and infanticide. When friends announce they are resorting to the "ultimate contraceptive" to end an inconvenient pregnancy, let them know what I think -- lest I become as morally reprehensible as the Germans who cheered the SS Troopers leading Jews to the gas chambers. Start a chain letter in favor of life, remembering that chain letters to promote good ideas are not illegal. Put a pro-life bumper sticker on the car.

Put my money where my mouth is:

Send a contribution to a group working for a constitutional amendment to protect human life in the womb.

Send contributions to hospitals that lose their public funds because they do not cooperate in terminating human life.

Restrict my gifts to United Fund or Community Chest so my money is not supporting anti-life agencies and purposes.

Ask for health insurance that excludes voluntary abortion so my premiums are not funding the anti-life choices of others.

Discontinue patronizing advertisers of anti-life shows.

Encourage political candidates who have the creativity to propose pro-life solutions for society's problems.

Encourage those who encourage continency in the young and the unmarried; encourage those who are in favor of meaningful sex education that considers the moral as well as the physical side of sex.

If my unmarried daughter becomes pregnant, remind myself and her that we are committed to "choose life" and must accept all that follows from such commitment. Be compassionate to other families that have resolved the same dilemma in favor of life.

Hal Sweet

Reflections made January 28, 1973 by
Hal Sweet, 2160 Windsor Way, Golden Valley, Minn. 55422

Friends: If you concur in these reflections, feel free to copy them and send them to others, with or without your own name.

HOW TO PASS A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT REVERSING THE U.S. SUPREME COURT ABORTION DECISION

What One Person Can Do to Restore Protection for the Unborn

By Robert L. Mauro

The U.S. Supreme Court's decision of January 22, 1973 striking down traditional protections afforded the unborn child by the law and permitting liberalized abortion has shocked millions. It is commonly agreed that the adoption of an Amendment to the U.S. Constitution restoring protection to the unborn—a "Right to Life" Constitutional Amendment—is needed. What can one person do to assure passage of such a Right to Life Constitutional Amendment at the earliest possible date, thereby reversing the U.S. Supreme Court abortion decision?

This article is written to afford some concrete and practical suggestions for prompt and effective action by the individual citizen who desperately wants to do something now to restore protection for the unborn. If you, the reader, lack this fierce determination to do something to reverse the court decision, read no further.

The actions suggested here have been tested by the writer in a number of State Legislatures on various pieces of legislation. They have succeeded, and resulted in the desired legislation being passed. If you will utilize the techniques described in this article, you will hasten the day when a Constitutional Amendment reversing the U.S. Supreme Court decision on abortion is adopted. You will be building into the U.S. Constitution an explicit protection for the unborn child which cannot be torn down by the justices of the Supreme Court or the judges of any other court.

HOW THE U.S. CONSTITUTION IS AMENDED

In order to lobby for the adoption of a Right to Life Amendment, one must first review the two basic methods provided for amending the U.S. Constitution. These methods are described in Article V of the Constitution, and may be summarized as follows:

Method No. 1. A constitutional amendment is proposed (passed) by two-thirds vote of the U.S. Senate and two-thirds vote of the U.S. House of Representatives, and sent to the States for ratification by three-fourths of the States (38 States must ratify).

Method No. 2. Two-thirds of the State Legislatures (34) apply to Congress to call a convention for the purpose of proposing amendments to the U.S. Constitution. A convention, when called into being, proposes (passes) the constitutional amendment, and sends that proposed constitutional amendment to the States where it must be ratified by three-fourths of the States (38 States must ratify).

It is strongly urged that both of these methods be pursued immediately. Unborn lives are being destroyed as you read this article, and all avenues to halt the slaughter must be pursued vigorously.

The First Method of amending the Constitution will be described hereafter as the Congressional Method of Amending the Constitution. The Second Method will be described as the States Convention Method. An easy way to remember the distinction between the two methods is to remember that one method (The Congressional Method) begins in Washington, D.C., in Congress, and the other method, (States Convention Method) begins in the States.

THE CONGRESSIONAL METHOD OF AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION

All of the Amendments to the Constitution adopted to date have been adopted pursuant to the Congressional Method, that is, have commenced in Congress. Here, step by step, is what you can do to help bring about enactment of a Constitutional Amendment by the Congressional Method.

Find out (if you do not presently know) the names of your two U.S. Senators, and the name of your U.S. Representative (all three officials serving you in Washington, D.C.).

2. Print or type out three copies of the following Constitutional Amendment:

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT — CONGRESS

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 age, illness, or incapacity.

Section 3. Congress and the several States shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

3. After you have printed or typed three copies of the Constitutional Amendment—Congress (to be enclosed in the letters to follow) write the following letter to both of your U.S. Senators:

Senator _____
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator _____

In referenda in Michigan and North Dakota last November, the voters overwhelmingly rejected liberalized abortion, yet the U.S. Supreme Court, which is not elected, has ignored the voters in this recent shocking abortion decision.

I am writing to ask you if you: 1) will introduce the Right to Life Constitutional Amendment which is enclosed 2) if you introduce, will

KEEP THIS CENTRAL FACT IN MIND: the amendment for which you ask your legislators support is a most controversial one. They will, for the most part, seek to avoid commitment, unless you demonstrate intelligence, firmness, and perseverance, and insistence on Yes or No answers to your questions. The first sign of weakness on your part—the first sign that you are in awe of them—that you look up to them—that you trust them—is quickly detected, and your effectiveness is quickly diminished or lost. The legislators must be made to feel at all times that you "know the score," that you know all the tricks they use to avoid taking a stand, that you are always skeptical of them, that you are always mildly dissatisfied with their performance, that they are not doing enough. Do not become jovial if you visit with them or talk with them. In your conversations with them (if you visit them) try not to smile, instead affect a mood of brooding discontent which in most cases will spur the legislator to greater effort towards the goal you seek.

Do not be discouraged if the legislators in Washington answer your requests with "No" answers—even if all of them are "No."

Remember that the "No" answer is in most cases only a temporary answer, an answer which can be changed. Remember also that there is an ultimate weapon which causes even the most dedicated foe of the Right to Life Amendment to weaken: the Primary Election challenge on the abortion issue (more on this later.)

HOW TO DEAL WITH A LEGISLATOR WHO ANSWERS "NO"

The most important of the questions in your letters to the legislators is the last one—"Will you vote for the Right to Life Constitutional Amendment?" It is almost certain that a number of U.S. Senators and U.S. Representatives will answer "No" to some of the questions, but a "No" answer to this question—"Will you vote for the Right to Life Constitutional Amendment?"—cannot under any circumstances be tolerated or accepted as final.

DO NOT BE DISCOURAGED IF YOU RECEIVE A "NO" ANSWER TO THIS LAST QUESTION IN YOUR LETTERS. YOU CAN CHANGE THIS TO A "YES" VOTE.

The case of Assemblyman William Burns of New York State demonstrates the point that one should never be discouraged upon receiving a "No" answer. In 1970, Assemblyman Burns voted for the liberalized New York abortion law. Commencing in 1971, and carrying over into 1972, a campaign of visits to his office, phone calls, telegrams, letters, and resolutions were directed at him by a number of pro-life constituents in his district. But he adamantly refused to change his position in favor of the abortion law. The day before the Assembly voted on the pro-life bill to repeal the liberalized abortion law, Assemblyman Burns was interviewed on his position. He said he had voted for liberalized abortion in 1970, and despite pressure from right to life groups he would vote the next day to retain the liberalized abortion law. In the 24 hour period before the vote, an organized campaign was undertaken to flood the Assemblyman's office with telegrams (there is a special low rate for Western Union telegrams to legislators: \$1.25 for 15 word messages to legislators in your State Capitol). A total of 1,000 telegrams were sent to Assemblyman Burns in this last 24 hour period, asking him to vote for the pro-life bill repealing New York's liberalized abortion law. On the day of the vote, Assemblyman Burns changed his mind, and voted "Yes". He voted for the pro-life repeal bill. And the bill passed. When interviewed subsequently, Assemblyman Burns said the outpouring of telegrams had been a decisive factor in his change. "No" answer of a legislator is recited to demonstrate that the "No" answer is repeated only one day before the critical vote. A steady, consistent flow of personal visits to legislators, telephone calls to them, telegrams (at the very inexpensive rate), letters, resolutions, and other contacts prior to the vote, culminating in a concentrated outpouring of messages immediately prior to the day of the vote can change most "No" answers to "Yes" votes.

Here is another point worth mentioning. Some legislators who strongly favor abortion, and who would normally vote "No" on a Right to Life Constitutional Amendment, WILL NOT VOTE AT ALL ON THE DAY OF THE VOTE IF A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF PERSONAL VISITS, TELEPHONE CALLS, TELEGRAMS, LETTERS AND RESOLUTIONS ARE SENT URGING A "YES" VOTE. These legislators, so strongly in favor of abortion that they could never vote Yes, will not come all the way from a No position to a Yes position, but they will simply not vote. By not voting, they make it easier for supporters of the Right to Life Amendment to pass the Amendment, because a potential No vote is absent or not voting, and is not counted.

In this regard, it is important to keep in mind that a Constitutional Amendment under the Congressional Method (originating in Congress) must receive a vote of TWO-THIRDS VOTE OF THOSE PRESENT AND VOTING. Thus, in the U.S. Senate with a total of 100 Senators, if only 90 Senators are present and voting on the day of the roll call vote on the Right to Life Constitutional Amendment, a Yes vote of 60 will pass the Amendment by the necessary two-thirds (60 is two-thirds of 90). In the U.S. House of Representatives of 435 members, the same principle obtains. The two-thirds majority needed is two-thirds of those present and voting (so if 400 members of the House are present and voting, two-thirds of 400, or 267 Yes votes, are enough for passage.)

Appoint your self a committee of one to trigger a steady number of visits to Washington to your legislators, urging support of the Right to Life Constitutional Amendment. Even if the distance of your State from Washington makes this unlikely, at the very least trigger telephone calls, telegrams, letters, and resolutions (from groups) to

paragraph 4 is not used, the Right to Life Constitutional Amendment designed to stop the killing of millions of unborn babies is not only in the clutches of a Committee (the great majority of Bills die in Committee) but is in the hands of a subcommittee headed by Senator Birch Bayh (D-Indiana).

What to do? Several possibilities present themselves.

1. Pressure could be exerted on Senator Bayh to call immediate hearings on the Right to Life Amendment (prior to making decisions on bills hearings can be resorted to for the purpose of receiving opinions on the legislation in question).

2. Pressure the Senate sponsor of the Right to Life Amendment to make a Discharge Motion under Senate Rule 26. If a simple majority vote Yes, the Right to Life Amendment is forced out of Committee, and is ready to be voted upon.

3. Press the Senate sponsor of the Right to Life Amendment to re-introduce the Right to Life Amendment, and this time to process it pursuant to Rule 14, paragraph 4 (keeping it out of the Senate Judiciary Committee) and thereby placing it directly on the Senate calendar for a vote.

Let us discuss the three possibilities aforesaid.

Hearings. If pro-life forces press Senator Birch Bayh to call hearings (which he as Chairman of the subcommittee is empowered to do), predictably a host of pro-abortion clergy, radical law school professors, famous Women's Lib figures, and surely some Catholic clergy (including, possibly Father Drinan) will testify against the Right to Life Amendment, arguing it abridges the Bill of Rights, etc. The people who would come forward in behalf of the Right to Life Amendment would probably be fewer in number and less prestigious. Notwithstanding the possibility of a publicity defeat at the hearings, this course may develop as the only realistic alternative.

Certainly those from Indiana (particularly those who press Bayh to call immediate hearings) should ask for only one day of hearings, arguing that the issue has been fully explored and to carry the hearings beyond one day would be unnecessary. The pro-life presentation should include at least one witness with slides. The general interest of supporters of the Right to Life Amendment would be to get the hearings over with as soon as possible, and to press for a subcommittee vote to report the bill (The Right to Life Amendment) out for action.

Discharge Motion. More preferable than hearings would be a Discharge Motion to force the Right to Life Amendment out of Committee. This would require only a majority vote of the Senate. The Amendment would then go onto the calendar.

Re-introduction, Proceedings under Rule 14, paragraph 4. If supporters of the Right to Life Constitutional Amendment genuinely want to stop the killing of babies quickly, their best interests are served by getting the Amendment passed by the Senate and the House as soon as possible, and ratified by the States as soon as possible. This would be accomplished by pressuring the sponsor of the Amendment to re-introduce the Amendment, to ask that it be read twice, and to ask that he object to further proceedings after second reading, thereby placing the Amendment on the calendar. This procedure does not expose the Amendment to the preliminary debate and vote which is required under the Discharge Motion, and it spares the Amendment the delay, the pressure for hearings, the hearings and the committee vote necessary under the customary procedure when an Amendment is referred to Committee. Moreover, it spares the Amendment the possibility of attacks and amendments to its text at the hands of the Committee. Under Rule 14, paragraph 4, the Right to Life Amendment comes onto the calendar quickly and without exposure to enemy fire and booby traps and delaying tactics.

Summary. If the Right to Life Amendment is introduced and referred to Committee, the strongest effort should be made to have the sponsor re-introduce and handle the Amendment under Rule 14, paragraph 4. Pressure should simultaneously be brought for the sponsor to file a Discharge Motion. At the same time, pressure should be maintained on Senator Bayh to call hearings. Although it is tempting to say that pressure should only be brought to bear on the sponsor to re-introduce, hoping he will, as a practical matter he may refuse and continue to refuse to do so, and Bayh should not in the interim be spared pressure. One does not know who will give ground first, the sponsor or Bayh, so both must be given heavy and constant pressure, until one or the other moves.

PROCEDURE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Assuming that the Right to Life Constitutional Amendment is passed by two-thirds of the U.S. Senate, it then goes to the U.S. House of Representatives for action. As a Constitutional Amendment, it will be referred to the House Judiciary Committee for action. This Committee is headed by Representative Peter Rodino, a Catholic. Rodino, as Chairman of this powerful Committee, has control over its huge staff of lawyers and other personnel. His staff can be used, at Rodino's whim, to marshal favorable or unfavorable data and opinions on the Amendment. Will he support it? Oppose it? Equivocate? Bury it? Ignore it?

The answer is simple. Rodino will do exactly as much or as little as his pro-life constituents demand of him, and not one iota more. He has almost life or death power over the Amendment in the House, but he will not reveal this fact to his constituents. They must write to him (and others must write to him) and demand that he take prompt and favorable action on the Amendment. It should be kept in mind that the Rules of the Senate make passage of the Amendment far easier in that body than in the House, and for that reason in this article we have the Amendment being acted upon first by the Senate and then going to the House, there is nothing to prevent the first vote from taking place in the House.

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 age, illness, or incapacity.

Section 3. Congress and the several States shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

2.) Authenticated copies of this resolution shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the Senate of the United States, the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States, the members of Congress from this State, and the Secretary of State of each of the several States for transmittal by him to the Legislators of his respective State.

Here are some facts about the States-Convention Resolution:

1. Only a simple majority of each State Senate and State House of Representatives (State Assembly) is needed to pass this Resolution (application) asking for a convention. A two-thirds vote is not needed. The resolution does not need the Governor's approval.

2. Some State Legislatures do not meet every year. Your State Legislature may be one of these. There are provisions, however, in State Constitutions providing for Special Sessions. Check your State Constitution to see how special sessions are called. (Usually either the Governor or the Legislature itself can by a certain majority call itself into special session). But check your State Constitution. Pressure may be applied by letters asking that a Special Session be called. **BUT REMEMBER THROUGHOUT YOU MUST FIGHT ON TWO FRONTS: PRESSURING YOUR LEGISLATORS IN WASHINGTON (FIRST PRIORITY) AND ALSO AT THE STATE LEVEL. Under no circumstances concentrate all of your time at the State level. FIGHT ON BOTH FRONTS.**

3. Some State Legislatures meeting in 1973 are only in session for a short period (a matter of months). Find out how long your State Legislature remains in session this year, and prod your State Senators and State Representatives for the fastest possible action. **DO NOT LET TIME RUN OUT ON YOU.**

4. **REMEMBER THE TWO BASIC RULES OF SUCCESSFUL LOBBYING: 1) KEEP THE BILL YOU FAVOR OUT OF COMMITTEE IN THE FIRST INSTANCE IF AT ALL POSSIBLE (YOU MUST KNOW THE RULES OF YOUR STATE LEGISLATURE TO KNOW IF THIS CAN BE DONE); 2) IF YOU CANNOT KEEP THE BILL OR RESOLUTION YOU FAVOR OUT OF COMMITTEE IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, STUDY THE RULES TO SEE HOW IT CAN BE FORCED OUT OF COMMITTEE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. REMEMBER THAT THE GREAT MAJORITY OF BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND AMENDMENTS DIE IN COMMITTEE.**

5. If you submit the enclosed Resolution to your State Senator and State Representative (using the form letter in this article), and he says, "Yes," (he says he will introduce it), make certain to follow up and ask for a copy of the Resolution in printed form. Call every day thereafter until you have a printed copy of the Resolution in your hands.

6. Examine the text of the printed Resolution carefully, when you receive it. Often the professional staff at the State Legislatures who put into final printed form Resolutions given them by State Senators or State Representatives add, change, or delete language. **MAKE CERTAIN THAT THE KEY WORDS "APPLICATION TO CONGRESS TO CALL A CONVENTION FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION" ARE IN THE RESOLUTION, AND HAVE NOT BEEN DELETED. IF THESE WORDS ARE DELETED, THE RESOLUTION IS A WORTHLESS PIECE OF PAPER, SIMPLY ASKING CONGRESS TO PASS AN AMENDMENT, NOT ASKING FOR A CONVENTION.**

7. In each State Legislature there are sophisticated and skilled opponents of pro-life legislation. Sometimes they will pose as friends of pro-life. More often than not, when a States-Convention Resolution is introduced, such an opponent will offer an amendment to the language of the Resolution. He will ask to have the words "application to Congress to call a convention for the purpose of proposing an amendment to the Constitution" deleted. He will argue that a Convention once called can propose other amendments to the Constitution, that the better course is not to call a convention, but to ask Congress to pass an Amendment. A naive sponsor and others sympathetic to the convention resolution may unwittingly accept this change in language. **YOU SHOULD INSTRUCT YOUR STATE LEGISLATORS AT ALL COSTS TO RETAIN THE WORDS "APPLICATION TO CONGRESS TO CALL A CONVENTION FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION."** Any other resolution passed by a State Legislature which does not contain these words is meaningless.

8. The language of Article V places no specific time limit on the validity of state applications (resolutions) applying to Congress to call a convention for the purpose of proposing an Amendment to the Constitution. A general assumption exists, however, that a state resolution remains valid for seven years. This means that if Connecticut, for example, is the first state to pass a convention resolution on a Right to Life Amendment and does so in 1973, and each year thereafter until 1979 other states pass the convention resolution with Ohio being the 34th State (for example) to pass the convention resolution (in 1979), the Connecticut resolution is still "good" up until 1979. In other words, right to life forces do not have to obtain resolutions from every State in one year. They can acquire the total

delays. To speed up the hearings, and to draw attention to Bayh's delaying tactics (if in fact he does not schedule hearings immediately), the person who offers his or her candidacy against Bayh (in the Democratic Primary of 1974) should announce his candidacy one year earlier, in 1973.

PRIMARY CANDIDATES

As indicated previously, some readers in various states who send in the suggested form letters to their two U.S. Senators and U.S. Representative (enclosing the Constitutional Amendment-Congress) will receive "No" answers to some of the questions. As stated, a No answer to the fourth question in the letters: "Will you vote for the Right to Life Constitutional Amendment?" cannot be tolerated, and must be accepted as only a temporary answer. The U.S. Senator and Representative who continues to respond "No" to this question, must have a Primary opponent. As a practical matter, all 435 House members must run again in Primary Elections in 1974. 33 U.S. Senators must also run for re-election in 1974: (Allen (D-Alabama); Gravel (D-Alaska); Goldwater (R-Arizona); Fulbright (D-Arkansas); Cranston (D-California); Dominick (R-Colorado); Ribicoff (D-Connecticut); Talmadge (D-Georgia); Inouye (D-Hawaii); Church (D-Idaho); Stevenson (D-Illinois); Bayh (D-Indiana); Hughes (D-Iowa); Dole (R-Kansas); Cook (R-Kentucky); Long (D-Louisiana); Mathias (R-Maryland); Eagleton (D-Missouri); Bible (D-Nevada); Cotton (R-New Hampshire); Javits (R-New York); Ervin (D-North Carolina); Young (R-North Dakota); Saxbe (R-Ohio); Bellmon (R-Oklahoma); Packwood (R-Oregon); Schweiker (R-Pennsylvania); Hollings (D-South Carolina); McGovern (D-South Dakota); Bennett (R-Utah); Aiken (R-Vermont); Magnuson (D-Washington); Nelson (D-Wisconsin).

If any of these Senators respond "NO" to the question "Will you vote for the Right to Life Constitutional Amendment?" it is urged that a Right to Life candidate of the same party as the Senator announce that he or she will oppose him in the 1974 Primary Election of his Party because of the Senator's opposition to the Right to Life Constitutional Amendment. The same treatment should be given to members of the U.S. House of Representatives who answer "No" to the question: "Will you vote for the Right to Life Constitutional Amendment?" Do not wait for a very prestigious person to come forward to run against the U.S. Senator or U.S. Representative who answers "No." Probably this will not happen. Discuss the matter with several friends who are also for the Right to Life Amendment, and after some thought, be prepared to announce your own candidacy because of the U.S. Senator's or U.S. Representative's opposition to the Right to Life Amendment. The U.S. Senator or U.S. Representative is much more vulnerable to defeat in a Primary Election than in a general election. And when he reads of your 1973 announcement of opposition to him because of his opposition to the Right to Life Amendment, he will think twice about his position, and there is a good chance he will change his mind.

This technique, like the others suggested, comes from successful experience with its use. The writer published two small newspapers which were circulated among thousands of pro-life readers in New York State in the Fall of 1971 and early in 1972. These newspapers urged, among other tactics, primary opponents for New York State Senators and Assemblymen who had voted for abortion in 1970. A number of pro-life primary candidates entered races against legislators who had voted for abortion in 1970. Faced with living, breathing primary candidates on the abortion issue, a number of previously pro-abortion legislators changed, and voted for the pro-life repeal bill, which passed. The primary opposition to a U.S. Senator or Representative who opposes the Right to Life Amendment, combined with visits, letters, telephone calls, and telegrams, can cause him to change or absent himself from the vote.

The Primary Election is particularly objectionable to the incumbent U.S. Senator or Representative, not only because the abortion issue is politically explosive and could cause his defeat, but because he must spend time, money and effort on a Primary Election, which time, money and effort are normally spent on the General Election. He must run in two elections to get back to Washington, thereby running a double risk of being defeated.

THE IMPORTANCE OF GEORGE MEANY AND LABOR

If there is any one man in the United States who can have more influence on the outcome of the Right to Life Constitutional Amendment than any other man, that man is George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO. He not only exerts tremendous personal influence in Washington, but directly or indirectly he has the most important voice about contributions to candidates, including U.S. Senators and U.S. Representatives. One need only look back at Meany's decision to remain neutral in the recent Presidential race. That decision deprived Senator George McGovern of enormous sums from union coffers.

There are certain men in the Senate and House who look to stay in the good graces of Meany because of labor contributions to their campaigns. If Meany could be prevailed upon to take a decisive stand for the Right to Life Amendment, and convey this stand to union lobbyists in Washington, the writer is convinced this would insure a decisive victory for the Right to Life Amendment. Meany, a Catholic, is known to dislike abortion. Please write to: George Meany, 8819 Burdette Road, Bethesda, Maryland. Urge him to publicly support a Right to Life Constitutional Amendment, and ask him to intercede with U.S. Senators and U.S. Representatives for its passage. Tell him

This advertisement paid for by Robert L. Mauro, Broadway, Long Branch, New Jersey, 07740

AGENDA

Ad Hoc National Right to Life Strategy Meeting

Chicago, February 11, 1973

- 10:00 Introduction: Marilyn Walsh, ICCL
- 10:15 Supreme Court: 1. Rehearing of Texas and Georgia cases. report from lawyer and discussion
2. Other pending cases.
- 10:45 State Legislative Efforts: 1. The several possible approaches.
2. Discussion.
- 12:30 Lunch: Sandwiches will be brought in to save time.
- 1:00 Constitutional Amendment: 1. Report from lawyers' meeting on February 10.
2. Discussion of merits of each type of amendment.
3. Development of a program to pass amendment.
- 3:00 National Organization: 1. Incorporation
2. Selection of board and committees
3. Establishment of mechanism for decision making
4. Funding
5. Lobbying and political activity
6. State organization: emerging vs established groups
7. A national publication?
8. Public image
9. Speakers bureau
- 5:00 Next Meeting: Set date, location and format.

The following is offered as a possible framework in which to place our work today and in the days to come:

- A. Define our goals
- B. Determine the relative priority of each goal
- C. Create programs for achieving these goals
- D. Implement the programs
 1. Assign responsibilities
 2. Create the necessary structures
 3. Set up a schedule of execution

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THOMAS E. WORKMAN, JR., I

March 1, 1973

Mr. Edwin C. Becker
304 Ave. A. West
Bismark, N. Dak. 58501

Dear Mr. Becker:

I have studied your confidential memo together with enclosures of Feb. 21st.

It is my opinion that the plan you have outlined and particularly the action proposals set for decision on March 11 are premature.

I am aware that discussion has been going on in this area for several months and I regret that I have been unable to personally participate due to distance and family obligations. I do feel, however, that more preliminary discussion must take place within the present structure of the National Right to Life Committee before such far-reaching decisions can be prudentially reached and agreed upon by all concerned parties.

At the March 11 meeting, I feel the following questions must be clearly answered:

1. Have any preliminary discussions taken place with the National Council of Catholic Bishops regarding their continued support of the N. R. L. C. after incorporation as a separate entity?
2. Have any plans or proposals been made vis-a-vis the collection of the one-half cent per capita assessment for each state?

March 1, 1973

3. Are there any immediate sources of revenue available to get the new organization off the ground?
4. Have you discussed the problems of national financing with A. U. L., the only other really viable national pro-life organization? (Their experience should be sought.)
5. Even if the million dollars were almost immediately available to launch the proposed operation, where would the continued monies come from to sustain the long and costly campaign both at the national and state levels for a Constitutional Amendment?
6. If less than one million dollars is available at the outset, which are the priority budget items?

Without clarification of these problems, I feel the venture is doomed to failure at the outset and if, at the same time, the present function of N. R. L. C. were to be abandoned, we would be in worse shape than we were three or four years ago as a national movement.

I know you as well as everyone else recognizes the importance of the grass roots organization which continues to fight the battle on the local fronts. These groups, in turn, realize the necessity for national, coordinating, policy making, representative body. Let's be darn sure we can deliver same before we act hastily on March 11.

I look forward to meeting you in Chicago.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. S. Robert Polito
President

SRP:mw

cc Officers and the Board of Directors of N. R. L. C.

MINUTES

Mary Ann Smith opened the ^{ad hoc} meeting of ~~the National~~ Right to Life ~~Board Members~~ ^{Leaders} at 10:30 A.M. on February 11, 1973, at the O'Hare Inn.

Dr. Mecklenburg had everyone introduce themselves. The following were present:

Mary Ann Smith
Mary Rycavy
Sue Bastyr
Michael McCabe
Edward Kilroy
Michael Taylor
John F. Markert
Edwin C. Becker
Albert H. Fortman
Alice L. Hartle
Marjory Mecklenburg
Patricia Kelly
Fred Mecklenburg
Joseph A. Lampe
Elizabeth Sheahan
Marilyn Walsh
Mary Towne
Robert E. Winn
E. J. Golden
Dennis J. Horan
Judy Fink
Paul H. Andreini
David Mall
Gloria Heffernan
Gloria Klein
Herbert Ratner.

The status of the Supreme Court decision was discussed. Both the Attorney General of Texas and Attorney General of Georgia were filing a Petition for Rehearing. Mr. Horan reported 11 cases were pending before the court besides the Georgia and Texas cases. An Executive order by the President was discussed, but not advised.

Pertaining to the next item on the agenda, State Legisla-

tive Efforts, there were two approaches:

1. Do nothing. Several states feel they will do nothing as to any clean-up legislation. They would simply leave it alone with the idea that they may be able to change it later.
2. Trying to do the best they can under the circumstances and drafting bills that will provide measures to tighten up the law.

Mr. Becker said that in North Dakota the 23rd was the final day for filing bills and that they drafted a bill within 24 hours, which was withdrawn.

Mr. Horan reported on a bill drafted from Illinois that:

1. Would still define abortion as a crime except when done in conformity with this Act;
2. Would require the consent of the natural father;
3. Would require the consent of the parents where a minor is involved;
4. It would be a violation of civil rights if a person was not allowed to refuse to help in an abortion;
5. Would require a physician to certify an abortion because after viability it should only be allowed for the health of the mother, or require a court order.
6. Would protect inheritance rights by making the crime of abortion a prison term of 5 to 10 years.
7. Would have a section regarding fetal experimentation.

Members from the various State groups reported on what they were doing.

Gloria Klein reported on a bill drafted January 24th that would make abortion a crime unless meeting certain standards:

1. Only health reasons after 3 months;
2. No individual would be forced to perform an abortion; and
3. Bills pertaining to legislators not to accept compromise.

There was a bill stressing that viability be set at 18 or 19 weeks and another providing that a woman having an abortion would be grounds for divorce.

John Mackert commented on a new bill with a breakup in three trimesters; that only institutions licensed by the State Board of Health could perform abortions and requesting that they maintain a staff of qualified physicians and provide intensive care. This would, in effect, restrict hospitals where abortions can be performed. It would also provide that any fetus that survives an abortion becomes a ward of the State and that the cost of care for the child would be maintained by welfare provision.

Judy Fink reported that Pennsylvania was attempting to get medical societies to help prevent live babies from being killed; that there is a feeling that some doctors are concerned about the possibility of a murder charge against them.

Mr. Horan pointed out that under our law a person born in this country becomes a citizen of the U.S. and the State in which he or she resides. The Opinion creates a Federal question and citizenship rights are being abrogated by this Opinion. Perhaps pressure could be applied so that an effective order could be issued that any State law that allows the destruction

of any U.S. Citizen is illegal.

Judy Fink mentioned Pennsylvania is groping at this point, but were drafting three separate bills. Dr. Mecklenburg felt the existing Minnesota bill was not broad enough and should include non-hospital employees.

Marjory Mecklenburg felt groups should be established to push all this legislation.

Ed Golden reported New York had passed similar legislation. Aside from working on bills pertaining to fetal experimentation, they are doing nothing aside an attempt to educate and a hope for constitutional amendment.

Dr. Kilroy reported they were working on a bill to reduce maternal mortality through the State Department of Health re licensing facilities and physicians. Ohio pushing for publication of criteria pertaining to performance of abortion, conscience clauses, qualifications and fetal experimentation through the Director of Public Health. They are also working on constitutional amendment and a memorialization resolution.

Michael McCabe reported California was working on a memorialization resolution.

Gloria Klein reported that Michigan was obtaining guidelines from women concerned about safe legal abortions and that Public Health guidelines are already drawn up.

Virginia has taken action with a bill designed to implement the Supreme Court decision opposing any guidelines and sponsored by pro-abortion groups.

Inquiry was made as to what bills pertaining to euthanasia had been put into the hopper. Sacket was discussed.

It was suggested that if the Supreme Court decision stands real problems will develop and that the group should concentrate on constructive legislation pertaining to:

1. Conscience clauses; and
2. Protection of welfare client.

Wisconsin has two bills which basically provide that personnel for doctors and hospitals who refuse to participate in abortions would be considered unprofessional conduct and they would lose their licenses and they could never be renewed.

With regard to protection of the poor, no legislation has discussed or determined out of what funds the social worker would look for abortion fees.

Marjory Mecklenburg thought possibly that all groups could band together with two kinds of bills:

1. Bills more or less peripheral to limitations on abortion regarding conscience clauses and reporting clauses; and
2. Spell out at the local level as to what the intention of the Supreme Court was as to out State laws.

She suggested a united front throughout the country.

Robert Winn made the following motion:

That legislation be left to its own particular State on its independent circumstances.

The motion was seconded by Ed Golden and unanimously carried.

It was suggested that the group do something about new bills or we would be allowing an evil to go on; that pro-life

groups could not allow a situation to develop badly to gain their ultimate end. Mr. Horan said the bills would challenge the court and, therefore, keep the court case alive.

Dr. Mecklenburg said that doctors are a little afraid that bad things will be happening; that we should do what we can about legislation control with restrictions on hospitals and clinics, as well as qualifications for people who perform abortions; that our prime goal is pro-life.

Gloria Heffernan wondered what would happen if a medical student or intern refused to do an abortion, but that it was necessary in order to pass the exam and get a license.

Michael McCabe was called upon to report on the constitutional amendment meeting in California. Seven were in attendance and discussion was state's rights amendment vs. pro-life amendment. It was decided that State's Rights was a back-pocket alternative. They were divided on the State's Rights proposal with an equal number in favor of a strong pro-life amendment.

Mr. Becker had a Resolution of North Dakota, which was being introduced the following day, requesting Congress to adopt an amendment to the United States Constitution for ratification by the States which will guarantee the right of the unborn human to life throughout its intrauterine development subordinate only to saving the life of the mother. A copy of this Resolution was presented to each member in attendance.

Discussion on the phrase "intrauterine development" was had and Dr. Kilroy suggested the amendment might include from

conception to natural death and that conception is an on-going process.

Lobbying in Washington was brought up and Mr. Taylor said no resolutions on State's Rights were in Washington thusfar. He said to prepare to go back into the legislatures. Dr. Mecklenburg tabled this as it appeared later in the agenda.

Marjory Mecklenburg asked about showing dissatisfaction with the Supreme Court opinion with a memorialization act. She felt that State's Rights would be easier to get through legislation. She would recommend conceptual memorialization leaving options to Congress.

Edwin Becker made the following motion:

That State Right to Life groups and people pro-life everywhere unanimously support an effort to bring about an amendment to the United States Constitution that would guarantee the right to life for all humans.

The motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried.

Michael Taylor suggested that passing amendments in the States would keep pro-life reved up, as well as continuing education.

Mary Towne feels strongly about having a mass march in Washington; that public outcry is the way Illinois feels, and that this is visibility. Mr. Horan suggested that the National organization determine which is the best tactic.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:50 for lunch break and called to order at 1:15 P.M.

Michael McCabe reported on a meeting held in California re amendments, but further work was to be done by the lawyers. They had different amendments varying from strong pro-life amend-

ments to States' amendments. Prof. Witherspoon's had all elements. One would mention conception and embryonic life and others would not. In using Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments the term person applies to every human including the unborn child from embryonic life until natural death. Prof. Noonan's ideas were (1) Congress and its States shall have power within their jurisdiction to protect life within the womb and, (2) Congress and the several States shall make no law allowing the taking of life because of the health or condition of dependency of such life, or on account of the health, convenience or desire of another life.

Mr. Taylor reported the Federal Criminal Code was up for review on March 6, 7 and 8. These hearings will be in the Senate and one issue to be discussed is abortion. This would present a good opportunity to voice our feelings, especially for the Judiciary Committee to consider. To make application to be heard one should contact the staff and make application. Protecting citizens would be a point to raise as a question of law.

The next item on the agenda was the incorporation of the National Right to Life group. The committee handling this had done nothing thusfar and it was determined that this should be expedited. Mr. Horan said it was possible to do this within 5 days, but someone in Washington should be personally responsible for creating the corporation and the by-laws. Dr. Andreini suggested opening an office in Washington and get the incorporation going. Dr. Kilroy's recollection was that Martin McKiernan was to take care of the incorporation; that the State groups would commit money. It was decided that funds to the National

Right to Life be segregated until incorporation and that they be earmarked for a lobbying fund. It was decided that Mr. Horan was to find a DC lawyer to incorporate and that Michael Taylor would continue to act as Executive ~~Director~~ *Secretary*.

Five out of fifteen board members were present at the meeting, therefore, notice would have to be sent for a special meeting or arrange a telephone conference with regard to Directors, etc. re incorporation and then get back to the Executive Committee for approval by the entire board.

Motion was duly made, seconded and unanimously carried that Dennis J. Horan would handle the incorporation as soon as possible.

All agreed that the corporate office must be in Washington, D.C.

With regard to Funding the National organization — would seek money from the State organizations to aid in the establishment of a National group. A letter would go out for seed money. Dr. Andreini suggested \$100,000.00 should be the goal for the first year, however, Mr. Becker said this was not near enough and to plan on \$500,000.00 per year. Mrs. Mecklenburg feels somebody who is experienced in fund raising should be acquired. Dr. Andreini suggested getting someone to work with Mr. Taylor. Joe Lampe's name was mentioned, however, Mrs. Mecklenburg felt Ed Becker was best qualified for fund raising and lobbying, especially in view of his political career and contacts. Mr. Becker is to meet with the committee before a final decision.

It was decided that a committee be designated to meet within a week, either by conference call or actual meeting, to

discuss permanent residency in Washington and review Mr. Becker and other candidates and come to a decision within 10 days.

For the members of the Board present, Mr. Becker gave some of his qualifications: He served as Republican Campaign Director in his State for 5 years; he was a North Dakota Senator for 12 years, resigning to give full time to the abortion issue. During his legislative years he was active in the National Council of State Governments and became Chairman of the Board. He was full time Executive Director of the North Dakota Catholic Conference.

Mr. Becker reported that North Dakota had raised \$117,000.00 by telephone calls and personal contacts within 6 weeks. Dr. Andreini suggested that a sum of \$10,000.00 or \$15,000.00 be set aside immediately to get started. Mr. Winn suggested that money be pro-rated by States. Dr. Mecklenburg stated some States do not have any pro-life groups and could not contribute on a pro-rated share.

Mr. Golden suggested that a press announcement be released indicating the new office, directorship and thrust of the group in terms of a constitutional amendment.

The next item of business was Lobbying and Political Activity. Mr. Taylor stated a letter was going out of Washington with financial appeal.

Mrs. Mecklenburg and Mr. Lampe showed an ad that was in the ^{Minneapolis} ~~Minnesota~~ Sunday Tribune, which had raised \$10,000.00 to \$12,000.00 so far. Circulation reached 650,000 in Iowa, ^{ND, SD,} Wisconsin and Minnesota. The purpose is to let the public know

we are still alive and to let them know what we are going to do. Other groups could work through ^{MCCL's} ~~their~~ graphic designer and thereby save on costs.

Sue Bastyr showed a Wheel of Life symbol on a chain, and Josten's has shown interest. She also said another fund raising idea would be bracelets, such as the type given in hospitals, as a symbol or recognition of the baby that never wore it. A request was made for volunteers to help Sue on this project.

It was announced that Jill Knight was coming to the U.S. Possibly different Right to Life groups could invite her to their meetings. She is not accepting honorariums, just her expenses.

Dr. Andreini said we should take advantage of all the talent available and have a permanent coordinator in Washington. Also, that we should bring people into Washington to train as lobbyists. That there should be a permanent center in Washington manned by trained personnel that would keep up on what was going on. He did not feel that everyday expenses would be too bad and possibly would cost \$120,000 to \$150,000 a year. Mr. Markert agreed that this should be done.

Mr. Golden said Buckley was looking for sentiments from a group such as this, which would be in the millions from the State groups and National group, and we should present a concrete plan to Washington.

Dr. Kilroy suggested a committee be established to select political candidates; that the \$100.00 deductible allowed

on income tax for CEPO could be used and candidates would be aware that the groups would only support pro-life officials.

Mr. Horan stressed the importance of visibility. He explained that AUL was an educational group and that National Right to Life was the activist group.

Mr. Golden said the group could not wait until 1976 to announce candidates; that someone should be responsible for getting people educated and get back to State groups on what is going on.

Mrs. Mecklenburg said that right now it was easy to get into the press and there was no need to wait until invited. That a speaker's bureau should be worked out, perhaps through neighboring States to avoid traveling too far.

Mr. Golden reported there was no Right to Life group in New England, but that New York made a commitment on their behalf unknown to New England.

A discussion followed on how representative this Board of Directors is. Should National Right to Life represent primarily those States that are well funded and successful. There are different levels of sophistication and possibly should look for a common denominator.

Mrs. Mecklenburg suggested that new groups should be given help in organizing. Dr. Fortman suggested that Minnesota *Citizens* ~~Concerned~~ ~~Conference~~ for Life should help other States with a prototype plan and would be willing to see Minnesota commissioned to develop an organizational plan that could be used on a national basis.

Mr. Mall stated that the job AUL has done in the last three months was getting personnel and getting its own house in order, but that its object is a spearhead or clearing house for literature. He now has a PR man helping. A telethon might be something AUL could do to get national publicity.

Mr. Lampe feels there is a great need for publicity. Dr. Kilroy suggested a monthly newsletter. Mr. Winn had the idea of a 15 minute radio program, which is not expensive. A national newsletter could have information provided by State groups, however, there would be some duplication. Judy Fink suggested the State groups could send information to an editor and he, in turn, would edit.

Dr. Andreini was concerned about news items arriving too late to act upon; that thought should be given to a rapid communication system, possibly teletype or night letters. Also, that National Right to Life could have columns in periodicals and magazines.

Dr. Ratner explained that the group could have a syndicated column and publishers would pay for the column. He also suggested two publications: "Child and Family", which has a good circulation and gets into the hands of medical students and John Harrington's "Marriage and Family", which is published every month.

Mrs. Mecklenburg asked if someone could take over the responsibility of looking into the feasibility of a national newsletter and report back at the next meeting. Dr. Ratner suggested four of the top State newsletter editors be a committee

for the national newsletter. It was decided that Alice Hartle contact other editors and be in charge.

Mary Towne brought up a national rally in Washington, but it was suggested that this be tied in with political decisions. Michael Taylor said a lot of help would be needed in Washington to have a rally and that demonstrations in Washington are not well liked.

It was decided that Mr. Golden would give Mary Towne some names of women to get in touch with as to the rally. Another idea was to have simultaneous marches in major cities all over the U.S.

It was suggested that the people in Illinois take the responsibility of working on a primary plan so that when a rally is wanted the mechanism will be ready.

Dr. Kilroy brought up the possibility of physicians taking an ad in the yellow pages, such as the undersigned physicians do not do abortions.

Dr. Ratner said that Marcie Sneed got a call from Rev. Sampson and he advised her that he and Jesse Jackson wanted to be counted in this Right to Life group. Dr. Ratner feels we should involve the Blacks and get in touch with their leaders.

The final item on the agenda was the next meeting. Dr. Mecklenburg stated there was to be one meeting a year with the entire National group and that it should be by June the latest. Dr. Ratner suggested dividing National into three groups; West, East and Midwest and then these Board Members could get together for a combined meeting. Mr. Winn suggested

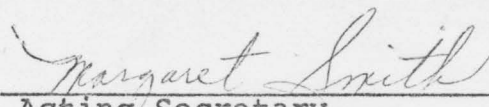
inviting Graham or Nixon to a National meeting.

Mrs. Mecklenburg suggested a committee get together on getting proposals for a National meeting or three separate meetings, but if to be held in June they would have to act quickly. Jen Garton possibly could help with conference plans.

Mr. Golden felt an Executive meeting was more important than a National at this time. Mrs. Mecklenburg definitely felt that a meeting of the Executive Committee should be held within 30 days to work out the Constitution, By-Laws and get a clearer picture of what is going on in Washington.

After further discussion it was decided that a Board meeting be held in Chicago on March 11, 1973 and that Mr. Horan would make the arrangements.

The meeting adjourned at 5:20 P.M.



Acting Secretary

10:30 (meetings started)

Feb. 11, 1973

Supreme Court: because the court is in recess
we have to find a ^{concurring} justice to enter a stay order
11 other cases pending
Dennis expects ^(unsigned) per curiam orders remanding
all remaining cases to lower cases
Byrum will file motion Monday in his case

State Legislative Efforts basic philosophies
of approaching state legislation
Ed Becker: ND bill has been withdrawn
(get his statement) SB 2404
Conscience Clause bill is only one alive
in ND at this time

Dennis: can still define abortion as a crime
except for specified
father's rights
parent's permission for minors
experimentation prohibitions
conscience clause
before require certification of non-
viability

protecting inheritance
Ed. Becker: ND RTL would have torn apart
by trying to support a regulatory bill
Mary Towne - ICCL:
Judy Fink: drafting reporting bill
conscience clause bill
- ti - experimentation bill

Ed Golden: anti-experimentation bill only
"cold-blooded approach"
stand to benefit in long run by keeping
abuses in front of public.

pragmatic consideration also: Ed feels NY RTL
has to put all its effort into national
organization, helping emerging state orgs.
and the Constitutional amendment

Ed Kirby: favorable dir. of PH in Ohio
so will try to pursue regulation
that way.

Issue must be kept before
legislature & public via memorializing
Congress. Need amendment wording ASAP.

Calif. hasn't decided ~~to~~ what to do!

Mich.: Lorraine Beebe leading a group for
"safe abortion". Guidelines were developed
prior to referendum by state. PTAHA
is divided on philosophy to follow.

Virginia ^{regulatory} bill defeated 51-39. States
rights was a factor.

Oregon, Wash., Florida euthanasia bills
introduced. Sackett thinks his bill
will pass and is talking about
infanticide, 40% mentally retarded killing.

Wisc. 2 bills in on punishing hospitals
which refuse to do abortions.
Extreme bills.

Mike: Should work on welfare client protection.
Minor. has only bills on this so far.

Resolved & voted that each state should
do as its own situation dictates.

Some areas of tentative agreement or
consensus emerged however:

reporting
non-coercion
experimentation
father's & parent rights

Constitutional Amendment

Witherspoon & Grinkaus: define person to include
unborn child

There are drafting problems in how far one
goes with this.

Some drafts alluded to age or incapacity,
but most of the discussion centered on
the decision and on abortion only.

Moved and voted to pursue ~~strong~~ the best
amendment we can get.

Dennis: visibility is paramount for 25 years
letter writing peaking Jan. 22 each year
S.C. demonstration each Jan. 22

Lunch

Mike: report on lawyer's drafting committee
research must be done on legal arguments
for various amendments.

6 or 7 different forms came out of Feb. 10
meeting.

Senate Judiciary Subcommittee is holding hearings
on March 6, 7, 8 on whole Federal
criminal code (S. 1). Abortion will
be considered.

Dennis is to draft articles of Inc. and
circulate to NRTL board for approval.
~~by~~ within 7 days.

\$100 tax deductible contribution can be
made to candidates or committees
organized ^{only} to elect (pro life)
candidates. It must be a separate
organization according to Dr. Kilroy

→ Send Ed Golden John Beliveau's name ^(Maine)
" " " " Bob Bergeron's (R. I.) name

Communications & Media

TV

Radio shows, a'la' evangelists' programs.

La Leche natl. publication has 3-6
page state insert system.

This becomes a possibility with the new
organization.

need small size, very fast communication to states.
A syndicated column by RTL spokesman?

NEW
INTERNATIONAL
BIBLE

EDWIN H. PALMER, Th.D.
Executive Secretary
28 WHITE OAK LANE
WAYNE, N.J. 07470

February 15, 1973

Mr. Martin McKernan, Jr., Esq.
601 Chews Landing Road
Haddonfield, N.J. 08033

Dear Marty,

In reference to last night's conference call, I just want to emphasize the importance of getting a legal entity set up immediately. Some talked about getting money first, and then lobbying, and finally the legal entity. I cannot buy that for a moment. We cannot get people to give to something nebulous. They must have a firm structure with definite objectives, guidelines and by-laws. Our goals are great. And it seems to me that Ed Becker can effectuate them, but we have to have the definite structure before we can ask people to contribute a thousand dollars to it. I think most agreed with that, but I just wanted to underscore that sentiment.

We are going to have a gung ho state convention in N.J. Plans are being implemented on schedule, and it will be most worth while. We will look forward to having you with us, not only for your morning speech, but for help during the whole day.

Cordially,

Ed

Edwin H. Palmer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

RALPH EARLE, *Nazarene Theological Seminary* • BURTON L. GODDARD, *Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary* • R.L. HARRIS, *Covenant Theological Seminary* • EARL S. KALLAND, *Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary* • YOUNGVE R. KINDBERG, *New York Bible Society International* • RICHARD N. LONGENECKER, *Trinity Evangelical Divinity School* • STEPHEN W. PAINE, *Houghton College* • WILLIAM J. MARTIN, *Regent College* • CHARLES F. PFEIFFER, *Central Michigan University* • ROBERT PREUS, *Concordia Theological Seminary* • CHARLES C. RYRIE, *Dallas Theological Seminary* • JOHN H. STEK, *Calvin Theological Seminary* • LARRY L. WALKER, *Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary* • J. C. WENGER, *Goshen Biblical Seminary* • MARTEN H. WOUDESTRA, *Calvin Theological Seminary*.

NEW

INTERNATIONAL

BIBLE

EDWIN H. PALMER, Th.D.
Executive Secretary
28 WHITE OAK LANE
WAYNE, N.J. 07470

To: National Right To Life Committee
From: EHP
Date: December 19, 1972

Here are my ideas on a national pro-life organization:

1. I like MCCL's Regional Convention idea.
2. I do not like a two-headed monster: 1. A House of Delegates electing officers, and 2. regional conventions electing councillors. I think that the national councillors know best who should be their officers, and not the 200 delegates who meet once a year, far removed from the hurly-burly of the day by day national office. And I think it is too costly and cumbersome to get 200 people together once a year primarily for this alone. So I propose eliminating the left side of MCCL's chart.
3. I think the national council should have the privilege of electing a certain number of members. I think they will know best many people who can and are willing to work effectively on the national level. And maybe some of the regional conventions will fail to come through with councillors.
4. I believe there should be a national membership based on the payment of dues (part of which would go to the state organization) and subscription to the goals of the national organization. No one would be able to vote who was not a member. This should help screen out those pro-abortionists who might like to crash the party.
5. Enclosed is a proposed national constitution that was discussed here in N.J. two years ago in hopes that a national organization might be born. Is this a possible plan to modify and work with? I think what we need now are concrete ideas for a constitution.

We need some preliminary discussion of what is good for a new organization, so let's have your ideas and comments.

Ed Palmer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

RALPH EARLE, Nazarene Theological Seminary • BURTON L. GODDARD, Gordon Conwell Theological Seminary •
R.L. HARRIS, Covenant Theological Seminary • EARL S. KALLAND, Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary •
YOUNGVE R. KINDBERG, New York Bible Society International • RICHARD N. LONGENECKER, Trinity Evangelical
Divinity School • STEPHEN W. PAINE, Houghton College • WILLIAM J. MARTIN, Regent College • CHARLES F.
PFEIFFER, Central Michigan University • ROBERT PREUS, Concordia Theological Seminary • CHARLES C. RYRIE,
Dallas Theological Seminary • JOHN H. STEK, Calvin Theological Seminary • LARRY L. WALKER, Southwestern
Baptist Theological Seminary • J. C. WENGER, Goshen Biblical Seminary • MARTEN H. WOODSTRA, Calvin Theological
Seminary

A Proposed National Constitution of the RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE

PREAMBLE

Today life is cheap for many: dictators arbitrarily exterminate the opposition; nations practice genocide; ruthless governments war for selfish reasons; parents destroy human life in utero for the sake of the parent's convenience; and some are clamouring for euthanasia.

In the light of this deplorable devaluation of human life, we, citizens of the United States of America, dedicated to the God-given right of every human being to life, do hereby establish the national Right to Life Committee to foster respect for life. We believe that human life is sacred and that the government is duty-bound to protect it from conception to the grave.

Human life begins at the moment of conception and gradually matures from a zygote to a well-formed fetus to an infant to a child to an adult. There is no rational, scientific foundation for drawing a line at any point of this maturation process and arbitrarily pontificating that after if there comes into existence a human person with a sacred right to live but that one day before there exists a non-human thing that may be destroyed. On the contrary, fetology indicates that the entire genetic code is determined at the moment of conception and that at no point is there a radical introduction of a fundamentally new and different form of life.

Since a human being is present in utero, abortion cannot be considered a private matter between a prospective mother and her doctor. This is not a matter of birth control or the excision of an organ of the mother. The fetus is not a thing that the mother may dispose of at her whim. Rather, the fetus is a human being that has as much a sacred, inviolable right to live as the mother. It is the duty of the state to protect his fundamental human right.

Although the prospective mother's inconvenience of having a baby does not give her a right to destroy the human life that is within her, it is not immoral, if a choice has to be made, to choose her life over that of the unborn child. Fortunately, obstetricians indicate that this situation hardly ever occurs.

Even though the destruction of innocent human life by abortion is currently the dominating problem in the fight for the right to life, yet we are concerned for the right to life from conception to the grave. For example, there is increasing pressure on the legislatures to pass euthanasia laws. We believe that man must not play God, but rather should strive for the protection of those who are less fortunate, such as the mentally impaired, physically deformed, incurably ill, and helplessly senile and aged. We believe that these innocent human beings, who have no lobby to protect their very life against the euthanasians who would do away with them, have a right to live and should be defended.

In summary, we, believing that God has made human life sacred and inviolable, do hereby establish the national Right to Life Committee, dedicated to the respect of the right to life of all persons from conception to the grave.

ARTICLE I
NAME

The name of this corporation is the Right to Life Committee.

ARTICLE II
PURPOSE

The purpose of this organization is to undertake and promote whatever activities will contribute to the defense of the right to life of all human beings from the moment of their conception to their natural death.

ARTICLE III
MEMBERSHIP

Membership in the Right to Life Committee is open to all persons who subscribe to the Preamble and Purpose of this Constitution and who pay the dues of \$5.00 a year.

ARTICLE IV
BOARD OF TRUSTEES

The governing and policy-making functions of the corporation shall reside in the Board of Trustees. This board shall be composed of members of the Right to Life Committee who have been elected or appointed by the State Federations. Each state is entitled to only one representative. If there are fewer than fifty members on the Board of Trustees, the board shall have the right to elect as many members to the board that it desires, but its total membership shall never be more than fifty. Each trustee shall be elected for a term of three years, except when elected to fill a vacancy. A trustee may serve any number of consecutive terms. The Board of Trustees shall be divided into three classes, kept approximately equal in number, whose terms shall expire successively each year. Any member of the Board

of Trustees may be removed from office by a vote of two-thirds of the entire number of trustees. The Board of Trustees shall meet annually, or as often as necessary, to elect new trustees, to make, alter, amend or repeal this Constitution, and to transact such business as may properly come before it. It may be called by the chairman or the Executive Committee. A thirty-day written notice must be given.

At the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees the following offices shall be filled by majority vote:

- a. The CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, who shall preside at all the meetings of the Board of Trustees.
- b. The VICE CHAIRMAN, who shall serve in the place of the chairman in the event of his absence or incapacity to act.
- c. The SECRETARY, who shall have supervisory charge of the minute books and records of the corporation.
- d. The TREASURER, who shall have supervisory charge of all monies of the corporation and of all records of receipts and disbursements.

ARTICLE V EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee shall conduct the affairs of the corporation between meetings of the Board of Trustees. It shall consist of the officers of the Board of Trustees together with as many other members of the Board as the Board elects to serve on it. The chairman of the Board of Trustees shall also be the chairman of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall meet as often as it or its chairman thinks necessary, and not fewer than three times a year.

ARTICLE VI
STATE FEDERATIONS

Members in any state may constitute themselves as a State Federation of the Right to Life Committee, provided that they are an unincorporated association and provided further that a charter is given them by the Board of Trustees. This charter shall be revocable by the Board of Trustees at any time and for any cause that the Board of Trustees shall consider sufficient. There shall be no review of the action of the Board of Trustees in any decision made in connection with the revocation of a State Federation charter.

ARTICLE VII
AMENDMENT

This Constitution may be amended only by the Board of Trustees after a written notice of the proposed amendment has been given at least ten days prior to the vote upon the amendment, and only if two-thirds of the entire membership of the Board of Trustees has voted for it. The vote may be in absentia by a written ballot.

LAW OFFICES

HINSHAW, CULBERTSON, MOELMANN, HOBAN & FULLER

SUITE 2300-ONE NORTH LA SALLE STREET

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60602

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WHEATON, ILL. 60187 OFFICE

200 EAST WILLOW ST.

TELEPHONES - AREA CODE 312

653-3135

653-3400

February 16, 1973

IN REPLY REFER
TO FILE NO.

Dr. Fred Mecklenburg
1219 West 51st Street
Minneapolis, Minn. 55419

Dear Fred:

This is to advise that arrangements have been made and confirmed for the meeting Sunday, March 11, 1973, at the International Towers, which is located right in O'Hare Field. We requested the conference room from 10:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.

I am enclosing an article from the University of Chicago Law Review re Abortion in Hawaii.

Very truly yours,

Dennis J. Horan

Dennis J. Horan

ms

enc.

*send notice of meeting & agenda
same rep. from active
states as at last
meeting*

Penn-

Joe Compose

NEW YORK STATE RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE

Founded 1967

Officers:

Edward J. Golden
Chairman
Bruce Duncan
Vice-Chairman
Dr. John T. Middleton
Vice-Chairman
Elenore Tener
Secretary
Rita Burke
Treasurer

41 State St.
Albany, N.Y. 12207

-MEMO-

Area Code 518-434-1293
After Hours 518-272-5716

Directors:

Robert Byrn
Dr. Charles Bianco
Elizabeth Corbett
Dianne Arrigan
Lucille Buffalino
Marion Pritchard
Clare Carroll
Dr. Robert Dwyer
Robert Burke
Helen Greene
Lawrence J. Boland

TO: Right to Life Leadership
Congressional and Legislative

FROM: Edward J. Golden, Chairman

DATE: February 20, 1973

RE: Right to Life Amendment to the
United States Constitution

The attached is a copy of Professor Robert M. Byrn's Position Paper relating to the necessity of passing a mandatory ammendment rather than a permissive one.

The measure was discussed and unanimously agreed to at the executive meeting of the New York State Right to Life Committee on February 10, 1973.

Professor Byrn lectures at Fordham University School of Law. He is Chairman of Metropolitan New York Right to Life; a Director of the New York State Right to Life Committee and a member of the Legal Advisory Committee for National Right to Life. In 1968 he was a member of the Commission appointed by Governor Rockefeller to study the New York State Abortion Law Statute and was a dissenter to the majority finding.

In 1972 Professor Byrn was appointed Guardian ~~ad~~ Litem for all unborn children scheduled for abortion in municipal hospitals in New York City.

Committees:

Health

Ada Ryan, M.D.

Legal

Thomas Dillon, Esq.

Education

Alice Ramsey

Alternatives to abortion

John Short

Interfaith

Rev. Lester Meserschmidt

Media

Eugene McMahon, Esq.

Demography

Dr. James Cappuccino (HPG)

He brought action in their behalf, seeking declaration of unconstitutionality of New York's Abortion-At-Will Law on grounds that it invokes the Fourteenth Amendment - right of unborn children.

Although unsuccessful in the New York Courts on the Law he did establish as a fact - accepted by the courts - that the unborn child is a live human being.

He has appealed to the United States Supreme Court from an adverse decision of the New York Court of Appeals.

NEW YORK STATE RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE

Founded 1967

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41 State St.
Albany, N.Y. 12207

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February 16, 1973

To: Edward J. Golden
Chairman, New York State Right to Life Committee

Directors:

Robert Byrn
Dr. Charles Bianco
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Dianne Arrigan
Lucille Buffalino
Marion Pritchard
Clare Carroll
Dr. Robert Dwyer
Robert Burke
Helen Greene
Lawrence J. Boland

From: Professor Robert M. Byrn

Re: Right to Life Amendment to the United
States Constitution

This memorandum is written in response to your request for an analysis of the question of whether the proposed Amendment to the United States Constitution should mandate protection for unborn children (e.g., the Hogan Amendment) or be permissive in form guaranteeing to each state the right to determine whether it shall protect the child and if so, the extent of the protection.

I. The Threshold Problem in Wade

The problem arises, of course, because of the Supreme Court's decisions in Roe v. Wade and Doe v. Bolton. According to the Court, an unborn child is not a human person with constitutional rights at any stage of gestation. A state is free to remove all limitations on abortion up to the moment of birth. On the other hand, a state is permitted to protect the child only during the last trimester and, even then, the protection must exclude a situation wherein the mother's "health" is threatened. Health, according to Doe v. Bolton means "all factors - physical, emotional, psychological, familial, and the woman's age," a definition "that operates for the benefit, not the disadvantage of the pregnant woman." For all practical purposes, the Court has adopted the World Health Organization definition of health, ie., complete social well-being. It will be a rare medical abortionist who will be unwilling to abort a woman under this definition. An unwanted pregnancy, in and of itself, would become a "health" criterion for abortion.

Committees:

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Demography

Dr. James Cappuccino (HPG)

In effect, the Court has mandated abortion-at-will for the first nine months.

II. Further Problems in Wade.

The horror of court-imposed unrestricted abortion has tended to obscure even more profound attacks on human life which inhere in Wade. Rather than repeat them in detail, I am annexing the relevant portion of a motion filed in the Supreme Court on February 14, 1973, in the New York abortion case. As you can see, the court's decision has implications extending far beyond abortion.

These implications must be taken seriously.

First, Wade points up the complexity of the abortion debate. It is not a case simply of pro-life vs. anti-life or pro-abortion vs. anti-abortion. There are at least five contending forces at work: The pro-life forces who assert the sacredness and inalienability of every innocent human life regardless of age, imperfection or condition of wantedness; the radical libertarians who urge that every person has an absolute right to control his or her own body; the state which argues a right of unfettered discretion in choosing whether or not (and to what extent) to protect the child; the "quality of life" social engineers who balance the right to procreate against the threat to the quality of society's life posed by unrestricted procreation or the birth of defectives; and finally the value-free advanced life scientists whose mission is to create the perfect human being and who regard as human pollution anyone who presents a threat (particularly a genetic threat) to attaining that end.

The social engineers and the advanced life scientists complement each other and are allied in basic aims. It is clear that they were the victors in Wade. The radical libertarians, who may find themselves being sterilized and aborted against their will, lost a great deal.

Second, we cannot overestimate the power of the social engineers-life scientist alliance. It includes prestigious and respected organizations and individual intellectuals who have free access to funds and to media propaganda, and whose energy and dedication seems limitless. It is important to note that since the Wade decision, euthanasia bills have been introduced in Washington and Oregon and the sponsor of the Florida euthanasia bill has expressed high hopes for its passage. The proponents of these bills fully appreciate the implications of Wade.

Recently, I attended a symposium at the New York City Bar Association, sponsored jointly by the Hastings Institute of Society, Ethics and the Life Sciences, the American Law Institute and the American Bar Association. The subject was "Law and the Life Sciences." While the presentations were circumspect, the questions and statements from the audience (which came from all over the country) were not. For instance, there were suggestions of compulsory amniocentesis, to determine whether the unborn child suffers from genetic defects, followed by compulsory abortion if such defects are detected. As the annexed extract from our motion shows, Wade would permit this and a great deal more.

It was clear at the symposium that the audience had gone well beyond permissive abortion. Some of the questions indicated that they felt that the pro-life movement was merely an annoying, reactionary, theological mosquito buzzing around their ears which would in time be slapped down - as we were in Wade.

Third, I believe that the social engineer - life scientist movement represents the prevailing "intellectual" attitude in the country. For every Paul Ramsey or Andre Hellegers on our side, there are ten on the other. It is naive to think that if Wade remains law, the ethos of the nation will necessarily survive the onslaught of this movement. The movement and its members are the opinion makers with, as I have said, seemingly inexhaustible funds, media control, energy and prestige. Justice Brandeis once wrote in a famous dissent: "Our government is the potent omni-present teacher. For good or for ill, it teaches the whole people by its example; crime is contagious," Government, via Wade, has already begun to teach us that the value of human life is to be weighed on the scales of social convenience and utility. The quality-of-life movement has all the resources to spread that gospel with its ultimate and inevitable demoralization. As the late John Courtney Murray wrote:

Part of the inner architecture of the American ideal of freedom has been the profound conviction that only a virtuous people can be free. It is not an American belief that free government is inevitable, only that it is possible, and that its possibility can be realized only when the people as a whole are inwardly governed by the recognized imperatives of the universal moral law.

... Political freedom is endangered in its foundations as soon as the universal moral values, upon whose shared possession the self-discipline of a free society depends, are no longer vigorous enough to restrain the passions and shatter the selfish inertia of men. The American ideal of freedom as ordered freedom, and therefore an ethical ideal, has traditionally reckoned with these truths, these truisms.

III. The Amendment

Given all of the above, it seems to me that a permissive Amendment would be a disaster.

First, it will not stop the quality-of-life movement. It is wrong to be overconfident because abortion referenda and legislative battles have gone our way in the past several years. On a nationwide basis, our energies and funds are exhaustible and the demoralizing effect of Wade must take its toll.

Further, a permissive Amendment represents acquiescence in the jurisprudence of Wade. What arguments can we carry to our legislators when we have supported an Amendment which does not deny the twin proposition of Wade, (a) that unborn children are not human persons and (b) that unchallenged medical-fetological-biological-genetic evidence to the contrary, there is no "consensus" on when human life begins, short of birth, and therefore the unborn child cannot be said to be a human being?

Second, we are a right to life movement. I rather doubt that our people will come out in vast numbers to support an Amendment which by inference says that unborn children have no right to life. I also seriously doubt that states - rights people, who are not otherwise actively committed to the pro-life movement, will show up in droves to support a permissive Amendment. We will suffer a net loss in supporters.

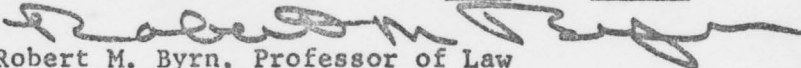
Third, we must face the prospect that neither a permissive, nor a mandatory amendment will pass. In that case, our only ultimate hope in the battle against the quality-of-life movement is to rally our people to a long term, emotional civil rights cause. A permissive Amendment is not a civil rights Amendment and leaves us without a banner around which to rally.

Fourth, Wade and Bolton will remain the law. (A permissive Amendment merely makes them unenforceable). In those states that already have A.L.I. bills, the maternal "health" provision will undoubtedly be interpreted according to the Bolton definition. Further, legislators will have an excuse for voting against us by citing to Wade, and righteously proclaiming their dedication to the substantive law of the land.

Fifth, I very much doubt the acceptability of a permissive Amendment which, in effect, removes abortion legislation from all judicial review. For instance, is it anticipated that the state legislative process will have the final word on abortion - even to the exclusion of review by state courts interpreting state constitutions (perhaps in the light of Wade)? Will the Amendment mean that a state can impose any penalty it wishes for abortion? Will it mean that it can incriminate abortion even when necessary to save the mother's life? If all these questions are answered in the affirmative then I think the Amendment, realistically, is doomed before it starts. If state courts retain the power of judicial review, then, in the eyes of many of them, Wade will govern and we have won nothing.

Sixth, a mandatory Amendment, which repudiates the jurisprudence of Wade in its entirety, is, it seems to me, the only safe and acceptable answer to Wade, and the only response consistent with our basic philosophy that the life of every innocent human being is of incalculable worth and entitled to the law's protection.

For all these reasons, I favor a mandatory Amendment, more specifically the Hogan Amendment which is a complete repudiation of Wade and Bolton.


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A CASE FOR THE NATURAL RIGHT TO LIFE OF THE UNBORN CHILD

On February 26, 1973 the appeals in the two cases from Connecticut (Markle v. Abele, 72-56 [original law] and 72-730 [May, 1972 law]) were dismissed by the U.S. Supreme Court, along with other pending cases, in light of Wade and Bolton. On March 14, 1973 the Attorney General of the State of Connecticut petitioned the Court for rehearing in these two cases.

The State of Connecticut argued that, because of the full evidential records in their cases (unlike the Texas and Georgia cases), and because the Supreme Court has not had a reasonable opportunity to evaluate its evidence (the case was summarily dismissed), the Supreme Court should take up the Connecticut cases. As to its record the State argued:

This record indicates that the State's interest in human life does not rest upon mere "theory." A theory connotes an assumption without proof. The Connecticut record is based upon scientific fact (p.4).

Further, the State of Connecticut does not rest its case only on the "personhood" of the unborn child, but upon its simple undisputed humanity:

Connecticut does not rest its case on whether the unborn child is a legal "person." Your petitioners, however, respectfully submit that if the natural sciences are the proper criteria for legal personality, they are a proper basis upon which the legislative branch of their state government may define human life and protect human life (pp. 4-5).

And elsewhere:

The evidence conclusively demonstrates that an unborn child is an alive, separate and distinct human being from the time the child is conceived (p. 2).

Many distinguished affidavits by scientists and medical personnel were cited in support of this position.

Other issues, not touched upon in the Wade and Bolton opinions, were raised in the State of Connecticut brief. For example, live births prior to the full 9 months gestational period raise questions of citizenship status under the 14th Amendment. In Connecticut in 1969 there were 9 live births under 20 weeks gestation, 277 live births between 20 and 27 weeks gestation; for the U.S. in 1968 HEW report 968 live births under 20 weeks gestation, 18,414 live births between 20 and 27 weeks gestation (p. 22). The State argued:

...it matters not whether the child may die soon afterwards due to prematurity, and thus be "nonviable." The Constitution requires only birth.

The point, then, is that regardless of whether an unborn child is a "person" under the Fourteenth Amendment, the child is a citizen under that provision upon delivery. Your petitioners note that we thus have a serious situation where live births caused by induced abortions can result in a citizenship status. Such citizenship can be attained prior to "viability" as well as "normal" full term birth. The Legislature was thus entitled to conclude that human life exists prior to these stages also and that human life is, in fact, a continuing process from the time the child is conceived. Furthermore, it can be reasonably inferred from this that there may be no meaningful distinction when the child dies inside the mother and not outside. In this respect, the table on the following page of live births due to induced abortion in the first six months of operation of the New York Law is significant (p. 26).

At the conclusion of its brief the State further articulates its argument that the unborn child, whether legally a person or not, deserves protection, under our Constitution, because of a natural right to life.

Long before the 14th Amendment was adopted, many states passed laws prohibiting slavery. The institution of slavery had been virtually untouched by the Federal Constitution as then construed, yet, the validity of the prohibiting laws was never doubted. For example, in the latter part of the 18th century the State of Connecticut began passing laws inhibiting the practice of slavery. Even though slaves were not legal persons, but were the property of another, that the slave had a right to life was upheld by many courts, even in the slave states.

The State concluded its substantive argument:

...there can be no greater compelling state interest than the protection of human life...

...Sir William Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England:

"1. Life is the immediate gift of God, a right inherent by nature in every individual, and it begins in contemplation of law as soon as an infant is able to stir in the mother's womb...." 1 Commentaries, pp. 129-130.

Blackstone included these rights among the absolute rights of persons. These rights were created by neither Crown nor Commonwealth. They were founded in nature. They were "immutable" and

could not be altered by law. It was for the protection of these rights that the government of England was intended.

"This natural life, being, as was before observed, the immediate donation of the Great Creator, cannot legally be disposed of or destroyed by any individuals, neither by the person himself, nor by any other of his fellow-creatures, merely upon their own authority." 1 Commentaries, p. 132.

This principle of a natural right to live, heretofore taken for granted, is basic in our country.

"The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time; the hand of force may destroy, but cannot disjoin them."
Thomas Jefferson, A Summary View of the Rights of British America (1774).

"The care of human life and happiness, and not their destruction, is the first and only legitimate object of good government." Thomas Jefferson, To Republican Citizens of Washington County, Maryland, March 31, 1809.

"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...." (emphasis added).
The Declaration of Independence. (pp. 50 - 51).

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