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confidence, complimenting workers
necessity of operation by women (they have the time)

truly ecumenical

Trace Lamm: positive not negative (no anchors allowed)

liberal & or moderate

aggressive

imaginative

risk taking - gambles

self-fulfilling prophecy (works both ways)

responsive to situations & problems

project & cultivate image

individual initiative

empirical, pragmatic, flexible

problem solving methodology

~~structured,~~

~~that~~ cohesive, but not stifling, organization

recruitment at all levels

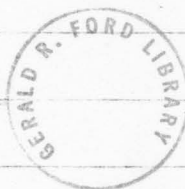
matching talents to jobs

look for & open to expertise: law

graphic arts

media

politics



Teamwork

mutual respect for areas of competence

key element is strong, ^{central,} personal leadership

by effective, experienced persons

no blocking of each other.

faith in future.

charisma & force of personality molding and
guiding an organization

leadership facilitates not controls

~~capture~~ "the price of doing anything is making mistakes"

purpose of hammer is to build, not break things

~~Trace Lamm~~

its the smallest committee

✓ coordination of committee with natl. exec. dir.
state organization manual | plug in education, fundraising,
chapter manual | political programs sections
state newsletters

consulting service: legal & organizational
resources state group should have access to:

publication & subscription list ^{clipping} service
up to date list of all groups → Willke's

survey of states: broad profile & RTL

categorize states by overall level of problems

establish priorities of each category

state meetings

regional meetings

leadership training meetings & materials (Warren)

travel in states by Exec. Dir.

open state offices

develop alternative ^{organizational} ~~structural~~ model(s?)

identify & seek best potential leaders in states

& move them into positions of influence

identify "problem states" and develop possible
solutions to the problems:

NY

CA

PA

WI

10 states with no director

the function of a good leader ^{proper role}

fund raising

utilization of volunteers

developing visibility and attracting people to the cause

speakers bureaus

organizational image & philosophy

offshoot organizations & liaisons

establish umbrella group in divided states

Admission to the

elect chairman?

I hope to have more time this fall.

MCCL manual ^{too theoretical,} too much of a model
we need an operating manual, cookbook style

assignments

questionnaire: who should it go to? staff person good idea
manuals:

teams: field & offer them (MCCL has already)

legal research: re: 501c3 c4 or what?

501c3 has helped MCCL

is there an ideal corporate setup recommended

find 9 directors: all of us

affiliation research:

committee philosophy:

1. I favored ~~two~~ committees because
2. program & org. ~~are~~ are interrelated
3. Should eliminate overlap or combine committees
or move some people to other committees?
4. activist: ① should not assume that directors
are NRLO's only constituency. ^{9 states} non-representative
② should even think in terms of a RTL
roadshow.
③ Staff person imperative
5. goals important: understandable, immediate, achievable
6. political party as model vs. committee to elect candidate
should state org. be chapters of NRLO?

Mike: agenda (suggested)
what it is?
" " has been doing

✓ chairmanship of committee (no)

✓ items for spec comm. meeting report:
1. questionnaire
2. teams
3. manual
4. affiliation } added

brief short call to keep costs down

NRLC spec. comm. feeling its way too
Mike's 3 memos

1 call cancelled to save money

3 other memos Jane & Jane & Joe
address changes

Jos not received by Mike Taylor
churn.?

Jane M. & Jane M. & M. Mc. no churn.
unanimous

questionnaire discussion on ^{procedure} mechanics of distribution

discussion on content of questionnaire

Mike suggested improving #10

Jane M. " " #2

McCabe re: unincorporated association

Manuals

goals necessary first

much confusion over content and whether we
can do it, not

McCabe: 3 types of groups { B.R. C3
ed. C3
interactions important → pol. C4
to protect each other

Taylor & Lampert preliminary manual should be attempted now
Taylor coalition ~~model~~ state manual needed now
because it's a hodgepodge

Arnold: 5 corps → (1 for board) NATL policy statement
1 C3 corp. affiliation
13 or 14 other groups
specialized in interest ^{life} groups ^{demanding} Hogen allegiance

Muldoon: agreement on policy & strategy must
come before unity or as a way to unity
regional organization & teams
see his memo

Joe: staff rec.

Mike: thinks we can find ^{sufficient} team leaders

Affiliation: few answers
needs much thought & research

turn in incidental expenses

Sept. 13 conference call

Joe: break down responsibilities? no
philosophy on committee structure:
why 2 committees?
collaboration needed

see if org. comm. addresses it this weekend

ask Mary Schmit for Valerie Dillon book

it's not really possible to separate
the organization & program committees

there's much overlap and interrelatedness

sides of
and coin { can't have ^{effective} programs without organization
" " effective organization without programs

cookbook format ⁱⁿ ~~both~~ both chapter & state
manuals

keep ~~them~~ simple, understandable, but comprehensive

bibliographies of materials on programs & organization
and where available

leadership section

press releases

press conferences

demonstrations

newsletters : style, distribution, natl. publ. may lessen
need for comprehensiveness

legislative polls

office staff

memberships & fees

fund raising

records

mailing procedures

taxes, bookkeeping, forms, assorted filings

C3 vs C4 vs ? vs ?

I'm ~~opposed~~ not convinced that a direct national to district chain of command is ^{the} way to go. Opposed to developing national structures ^{or liaisons} below the state level which are not ^{congruent with or} related to ~~with~~ state structures. Few ~~of any~~ states' ^{organizations} are structured along ~~fd~~ district lines. Plan Competes with, ^{undercutting} ~~state~~ ^{bypasses} ~~orgs.~~ ^{orgs.}' prerogatives, responsibilities and organizational initiatives. In the cases in which a considered judgment indicates that ^{an} effective state structure ~~does not~~ ^{neither} exists or is likely to ~~be created~~ ^{emerge} in the ^{near} ~~foreseeable~~ future, this ~~approach~~ ^{might} be considered ~~as~~ a possible alternative. ~~approach~~. However, in those states ~~that~~ ^{which} have ^{organizations} ~~structures~~ albeit ineffective, this ^{intrusion} is likely to be resented. If intrusions are to be made I would hope they would be in the area of trying to ^{create} improve, restructure over-leader state groups, not bypass them.

435 contacts in addition to 51 state and hundreds of local groups and chapters represents a managerial task for the nstl. office of mammoth proportions, in any case. It's a natural view of Wash. oriented person of course. It avoids working with the messy and fragmented existing groups & problems.

It's the smallest committee. I would have hoped for a good person from another successful state modelled after MN plan.

I am opposed to not adding ^{more} members to the S.O. committee. I personally am very heavily committed to other work in RTC, partly (as a result of badly ignoring ~~and~~ other responsibilities during) ~~the struggle to create~~ ~~the result of my involvement in the~~ (unfinished) struggle ~~to doing~~ of the last 10 months to create an independent, ^{effective,} ~~national~~ national ~~right to~~ pro life organization. I suspect that McCabe and Taylor have similar heavy commitments to other responsibilities.

I feel that ^{this committee has a significant problem to that, within} the E.C. of NRIC ^{too many} suffers from: an ~~overload~~ ^{overbalance} (6-3) of ~~the~~ very busy professionals ~~men~~ as ~~members~~ members (2 doctors, 2 lawyers, an exec. sec & a const. manager in the one case; and a ^{to do the} lawyer, exec. sec & exec. dir in the other). ~~the~~ ^{necessary work the} states org. comm. needs more ~~competent~~ ^{experienced, competent women if they} ~~competent~~ individuals can be found.



wrong methodology by not meeting with exec dir ^{first} ~~displace~~
too short a time to conf. call (insuff. notice)
to circulate memos

if not part of solution, part of problem

New Leader Needed

EG was ~~part~~^{central} part of old EC's problems
"EG as Pres. cost 2 years" (comment)
"intends to self-perpetuate himself"
"manipulated ~~some~~ bd. meeting agenda
to avoid being ^{elected} chmn. of bd."
a perceived ideological purity prevailed over
choosing most effective leader.

best E.C. chmn. is mandatory because
effective ~~EG at core~~ of EC crucial to success
and ~~is~~ core of NRLC organization

no agendas, not communicating with members,
improper chairing of meetings,

2 bad ^(handling of other things in part of) letters ^{indicate very} judgment

not suited by temperament, personality,
life experience, image, time availability, or
training to be E.C. chmn.

If W.S. # "not able to deal w/people"
is accused by you, E.G. has this fault many times over.

Never elected chmn. of E.C., ~~either~~
only acting. DH flabbergasted & appalled at this.

At most 2 or 3 people on EC have
the experience, qualifications & ^{proven} track record
to be ~~considered as necessary~~ ^{considered for chmn.} properly.

14th amend: slavery lost its economic justification, not moral righteousness.
sociological & historical perspective and the ^{alone did it}

ed. ~~center~~ & A/V center (ordering & handling material)
paper warehouse
mailing list maintenance & newsletter mailing
card file & ~~books~~
printing
organization - MN & ~~other~~ other states
maintenance of ~~literature files~~
lit. preparation
letters & correspondence
volunteer coordination

education & A/V center, incl. (paper warehouse & printing)
ordering & handling material
mailing list maintenance & newsletter mailing
card file and bookkeeping on membership
organizing - MN & other states
maintenance of library of books & reprints
literature preparation
letters & correspondence
volunteer coordination
monitoring legislation, etc. 1/40

state profile & characteristics | pluses and minuses

(primary & general elections)
candidate poll - publish it - get it published elsewhere
letters to legislators
strong organization w/ newsletter & local chapters
party, caucuses
county & state conventions
party positions
join campaign organizations
political workshops to teach pro-life
seek out pro-life party people & pull them in
learn the political process & power structure

state office & lobbying operation
communications & program from state
establish ^{quiet} cooperative agreements with KofC, ACCW,
parishes, bishops

aching out: attractive image & separation from Church
use Protestants to reach Protestants
organized people + media = power

image & performance, visibility, cohesiveness,

fund raising - call sandy - dues - newsletter

stick to basics: leaders, structure, education, political ^{know how}
~~to~~ support NRLC

ALT 8 characteristics of a leader

Valerie Dillon's ideal speakers

~~2011-2014~~ ~~filter~~

at least need country, state level,
Cong. district, and also level
effectiveness and also facts
some sort of organization at
each level and in each area.

note conflict between MCCL's
non-partisan, non-endorsing policy
and MAT's approach of overt politicking.

note MAT's view that structure
follows policy & programs not vice versa.

note planning approach vs our ^{speed,} action &
enthusiasm approach.

I would favor developing strong effective
org. adaptable to any program.

Dr. Idyenda teaching
spring course on
Utopias: Past & Present

as an historian believes evidence is that
we are improving.
believes in idea of progress
Has great faith in man.
concern, care, celebration.

Need constant energy &
idea input to regions and
chapters to keep them functioning.

Org. Put MCCL regional
Comm. map & Congressional district
maps into organization manual
(and ? in my memo to committee)

I have got to get a membership
system going.

Is there ^{see} Miss Williams to get
to Humphrey not Mike McBrown

affiliation :

Mike assumes it's necessary and desirable.

I think it's one of ~~the~~ many unsubstantiated assumptions in his memos.

It's a symptom of the overstructuring, overplanning syndrome.

others: people in state best able to understand own situation,

re: visibility & effectiveness in the state

looking at history of MCL, field work also important.

① public meetings

② small leadership sessions
identification, selection, training

③ nationally, ~~personnel~~

evaluation and intelligence

gathering will be essential
(even though expensive)

to identify leaders

"freedoms once granted are
not lightly rescinded"

difficulty of task seems to
escape many people - greed of the
must build ^{essence} over myth of our strength
make few seem like many
(quote) Japanese & other experience
or institutionalization of abortion
(Diamond's letter too)
no democratic society ever rejected
it once a fact of life

Wyoming

Mississippi

Hawaii

Tennessee

North Carolina

South Carolina

Nevada

Arkansas

Idaho

~~California~~

FREEDOM *vs* ENTRAPMENT

by L. Ron Hubbard



In Greece, Rome, England, Colonial America, France and Washington, a great deal of conversation is made on the subject of Freedom. Freedom, apparently, is something that is very desirable. Indeed, Freedom is seen to be the goal of a nation or a people. Similarly, if we are restoring ability to a person, we must restore Freedom. If we do not restore Freedom, we cannot restore ability. The muscle-bound wrestler, the tense driver, the rocket jockey with frozen reaction time, alike are not able. Their ability lies in an increase of Freedom, a release of tension, and a better communication to their environment.

The main trouble with Freedom is that it does not have an anatomy. Something that is free is free. It is not free with wires, vias, by-passes, or dams; it is simply free. There is something else about Freedom which is intensely interesting - it cannot be erased.

You may be able to concentrate somebody's attention on something that is not free and thus bring him into a state of belief that Freedom does not exist, but this does not mean that you have erased the individual's freedom. You have not. All the freedom he ever had is still there.

Furthermore, Freedom has no quantity, and by definition, it has no location in space or time. Thus we see the individual (spirit, soul) as potentially the freest thing there could be. Thus man concentrates upon Freedom.

But if Freedom has no anatomy, then please explain how one is going to attain to something which cannot be fully explained. If anyone talks about a "road to Freedom", he is talking about a linear line. This, then, must have boundaries. If there are boundaries, there is no Freedom.

Talk to a person who works from eight o'clock until five with no goals, and no future, and no belief in the organization and its goals, who is being required by time-payments, rent, and other barriers of an economic variety to invest all of his salary as soon as it is paid, and we have an individual who has lost the notion of Freedom. His concentration is so thoroughly fixed upon barriers that Freedom has to be in terms of less barriers.

Life is prone to a stupidity in many cases in which it is not cognizant of a disaster until the disaster has occurred. The middle-western farmer had a phrase for it: "Lock the door after the horse is stolen." It takes a disaster in order to educate people into the existence of such a disaster. This is education by pain, by impact, by punishment. Therefore, a population which is faced with

*Definitions begin on page 7

Wouldn't it help to know how happiness happens?

What does it depend on? What is it that makes one happy one moment and depressed or sad the next . . . for no apparent reason?

You may have guessed that it had something to do with the mind, may even have been sure of it, but did that certainty help make you happy when you found yourself in the dumps?

Now, supposing you knew not only that the mind was the key, but exactly what the mind was and what to do to make it serve you better than you ever hoped it could? That would be something. That *would* be a help!

DIANETICS: THE MODERN SCIENCE OF MENTAL HEALTH by L. Ron Hubbard contains the answers to the problem of the human mind. 'Dianetic' means 'through thought' and this book proves that only the pitfalls of the mind stand between you and happiness—it shows you the way through those pitfalls to a higher realm of well being.

DIANETICS: THE MODERN SCIENCE OF MENTAL HEALTH has revealed to countless thousands the exact reasons for all human aberration and given them the exact techniques by which those aberrations are eliminated. Through the applica-

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- The Reactive Mind
- Prenatal Experience and Birth
- The Mind's Protection
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to list just a few.

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ACHIEVEMENT

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a one-shot disaster which will obliterate the sphere would not have a chance to learn very much about the sphere before it was obliterated. Thus, if they insisted upon learning by experience in order to prevent such a disaster, they would never have the opportunity. If no atomic bomb of any kind had been dropped in World War II, it is probable there would be no slightest concern about atomic fission, although atomic fission might have been developed right on up to the planet-buster without ever being used against Man, and then the planet-buster being used on Earth, and so destroying it.

If a person did not know what a tiger was, and we desired to demonstrate to him that no tigers were present, we would have a difficult time of it. Here we have a freedom from tigers without knowing anything about tigers. Before he could understand an absence of tigers, he would have to understand the presence of tigers. This is the process of learning we know as "by experience".

In order to know anything, if we are going to use educational methods, it is necessary then, to know, as well, its opposite. The opposite of tigers probably exists in Malayan jungles where tigers are so frequent that the absence of tigers would be a novelty, indeed. A country which was totally burdened by tigers might not understand at all the idea that there were no tigers. In some parts of the world, a great deal of argument would have to be entered into with the populace of a tiger-burdened area to get them to get any inkling of what an absence of tigers would be.

The understanding of Freedom, then, is slightly complex if, then, individuals who do not have it are not likely to understand it.

But the opposite of Freedom is slavery and everybody knows this -- or is it? I do not think these two things are a dichotomy. Freedom is not the plus of a condition where slavery is the minus, unless we are dealing entirely with the political organism. Where we are dealing with the individual, better terminology is necessary and more understanding of the anatomy of minus-Freedom is required.

Minus-Freedom is entrapment. Freedom is the absence of barriers. Less Freedom is the presence of barriers. Entirely minus-Freedom would be the omnipresence of barriers. A barrier is matter or energy or time or space. The more matter, energy, time or space assumes command over the individual, the less Freedom that individual has. This is best understood as entrapment, since slavery connotes an intention and entrapment might be considered almost without intention. A person who falls into a bear-pit might not have intended to fall into it at all, and a bear-pit might not have intended a person to fall upon its stake. Nevertheless, an entrapment has occurred. The person is in the bear-pit.

If one wants to understand existence and his unhappiness with it, he must understand entrapment and its mechanisms.

In what can a person become entrapped? Basically and foremost,

he can become entrapped in ideas. In view of the fact that freedom and ability can be seen to be somewhat synonymous, then ideas of disability are, first and foremost, an entrapment. I daresay that, amongst men, the incident has occurred that a person has been sitting upon a bare plain in the total belief that he is entirely entrapped by a fence.

There is that incident mentioned in Self Analysis¹ of fishing in Lake Tanganyika where the sun's rays, being equatorial, pierce burningly to the lake's bottom. The natives there fish by tying a number of slats of wood on a long piece of line. They take either end of this line and put it in canoes, and then paddle the two canoes to shore, the slatted line stretching between. The sun shining downward presses the shadows of these bars down to the bottom of the lake, and thus a cage of shadows moves inward toward the shallows. The fish, seeing this cage contract upon them, which is composed of nothing but the absence of light, flounder frantically into the shallows where they cannot swim and are thus caught, picked up in baskets and cooked. There is nothing to be afraid of but shadows.

When we move out of mechanics, man finds himself on unsure ground. The idea that ideas could be so strong and pervasive is foreign to most men.

So, first and foremost, we have the idea. Then, themselves the product of ideas, we have the more obvious mechanics of entrapment in matter, energy, space and time.

The anatomy of entrapment is an interesting one, and the reason why people get entrapped, and indeed, the total mechanics of entrapment, are now understood. In Scientology a great deal of experimentation was undertaken to determine the factors which resulted in entrapment, and it was discovered that the answer to the entire problem was two-way communication.

Roughly, the laws back of this are: Fixation occurs in the presence of one-way communication. Entrapment occurs only when one has not given or received answers to the things entrapping him.

It could be said that all the entrapment there is is the waiting one does for an answer.

Entrapment is the opposite of Freedom. A person who is not free is entrapped. He may be trapped by an idea; he may be trapped by matter; he may be trapped by energy, or space, or time; or he may be trapped by all of them. The more thoroughly a person is trapped, the less free he is. He cannot change, he cannot move, he cannot

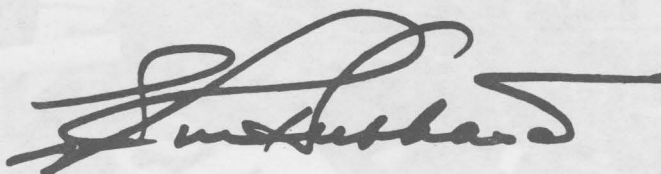
¹Self-Analysis, a book by L. Ron Hubbard. Available from any Scientology Central Organization or Hubbard Communications Office, Saint Hill Manor, East Grinstead, Sussex, England. Published in 1951.

communicate, he cannot feel affinity and reality. Death itself could be said to be Man's ultimate in entrapment; for when a man is totally entrapped, he is dead.

The component parts of Freedom, as we first gaze upon it, are then: Affinity, Reality and Communication, which summate into Understanding. Once Understanding is attained, Freedom is obtained. For the individual who is thoroughly snarled in the mechanics of entrapment, it is necessary to restore to him sufficient communication to permit his ascendance into a higher state of understanding. Once this has been accomplished, his entrapment is ended.

A greater freedom can be attained by the individual. The individual does desire a greater freedom, once he has some inkling of it. And Scientology steers the individual out of the first areas of entrapment to a point where he can gain higher levels of Freedom.

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Definitions

AUDITING: The action of asking someone a question (which he can understand and answer), getting an answer to that question and acknowledging him for that answer. Auditing is done by precise procedures by a trained Auditor.

AUDITOR: A listener or one who listens carefully to what people have to say; a Spiritual Counsellor. (Auditing is the spiritual counseling technique of the Church of Scientology - a religion.

BANK: A colloquial name for the Reactive Mind. (This is what the procedures of Scientology are devoted to disposing of, for it is only a burden to an individual and he is much better off without it.

CIRCUIT: A part of an individual's reactive mind that behaves as though it were someone or something separate from him and that either talks to him or goes into action of its own accord, and may even, if severe enough, take control of him while it operates. (A tune that keeps going around in someone's head is an example of a circuit.)

(Definitions continued on page 19)



MCCL STATE CONVENTION
TENTATIVE AGENDA

Saturday

8:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.	Registration
10:00 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Welcome - General Session
10:30 a.m. - 12:00 n.	Seminars:
	① Speakers Training
	② The New Ethic
	③ Legal _____
12:00 N. - 1:00 p.m.	Lunch
1:00 p.m. - 2:30 p.m.	Seminars:
	① Medical Complications
	② Fundraising
	③ National Youth Pro Life Workshop
2:30 p.m. - 2:45 p.m.	Coffee Break
2:45 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.	Model Pro Life Programs
	Films and Discussion
4:00 p.m. - 5:30 p.m.	① Organization and Activities of Chapters
	② Alternatives to Abortion
	③ Health Professions Face Pro-Life Issues
5:30 p.m.	Ecumenical Prayer Service
7:00 p.m.	Social Hour
8:00 p.m.	Banquet
	Keynote Speaker - Mildred Jefferson, M.D.
	Entertainment



Sunday

9:00 a.m. - 10:45 a.m.

Seminars

✓ Political

✓ Euthanasia

10:45 p.m.

Brunch

Speaker - Marjory Mecklenburg - The
National Pro-Life Movement

Entertainment

1:00 p.m.

Farewell

State Convention Seminar Moderators

- ✓ Political - Angie Wozniak and Rosemarie Johnson
- ✓ Organization and Activities of Chapters - Ruth Powers
- ✓ Speakers Training - Mary Schmit
- ✓ Model Pro-Life Programs - Mary Schmit

- ✓ Alternatives to Abortion - Jim Beatty
- ✓ Legal Seminar - Bill Hassing
- ✓ Medical Complications - Bob Powers
- ✓ Euthanasia - John Harrington and Tom Maher
- ✓ The New Ethic - Tom St. Martin
- ✓ Fundraising - Sandy Simmons
- ✓ Health Professions Face Pro-Life Issues - Larry McEvoy and Diane Rooney
- ✓ National Youth Pro-Life Workshop - the Dahls

Everyone except John Harrington has given their "O.K." on being moderator.

WORKING OUTLINE
CONCERN FOR LIFE

Prepared by:

Gary Crippen

MINNESOTA CITIZENS CONCERNED FOR LIFE, INC., SOUTHWEST REGIONAL OFFICE,
P.O. BOX, 622, WORTHINGTON, MINNESOTA 56187



I. Attitude. Firmness - while some may favor a freedom to plan living and lives, we believe there is need for control of our conduct, and need to inform the public on the subject. Confidence - there is reason to expect that restrictions will survive, because of dominant public attitude, and because of determinations by courts and legislatures in 1970 and 1971; confidence for many will also be found to rest in the presence of God in the affairs of man.

II. Issue. Should our people choose, 1) to give absolute permit for a man to implement his plans in respect to the life of a conceived human, or adversely, 2) to protect that life which has been created and does exist after conception?

III. Human Plans, their Nature and Affect.

A. The proposition for planning in terms of lives to be lived, for freedom in abortion activity, is tied to a disciplined social or medical point of view, and is audacious, even shocking. The suggestion, fairly summarized, is this: that some lives are not to be recognized, and should not be allowed to be born. Consider these statements of advocates of the proposition:

"A guiding principle for our time and our attitude is the affirmation that every child must be welcome. Birth, entry into life without this welcome, is a travesty: it would be better if the gift of life were withheld. If every child born were welcomed and loved from the hour of birth, society would be transformed in one generation." Robert Soderholm, Minneapolis Tribune, March 12, 1971 (emphasis added)

"To be human one must find acceptance and love. One must have the basic material, social, cultural, educational and spiritual opportunities which make life worthwhile." Robert L. Burnett, Worthington Daily Globe, February 20, 1971. (emphasis added)

B. To attempt remedy through abortion is to choose a prompt and visable action and to shun a more significant approach which depends upon the compassion of a mother and those who might give help to her child. There is not here suggested simply an alternative course of action, but a compelling remedy of infinite value. Consider the duty for compassion (for example, Matthew 25:31-46) and the power for a man with direction such as this in his life (for example, Matthew 21:21,22). Compare similar problems which face mankind: 1) Should a nation choose to find strength in military might or in war, so long as there exists a hope for its people (particularly as such hope exists in reference to the power and the will of God) for growth, betterment of life, and peaceful relations with others? 2) Should men choose to sacrifice their environment for immediate benefits in transportation, recreation, or industrial prowess, when there exists a more significant life (particularly as is given to God) in harmony with nature? 3) Should homicide be justified except in cases of absolute necessity in protecting the life of another?

C. If abortions are to be permitted, everyone can appreciate practices which would then be uncontrolled and which would offend the simplest sense of right and wrong. Who is to speak for the interests of the child? Who for the father? Who will counsel the mother, and how fairly (and in what fashion if she is poor, crippled, black, indian)?

D. Many have suggested their interest in a legal control of abortion which permits the act in "some of those cases" where it would seem less objectionable. There has not appeared from layman or legal scholar any definable standard which would be middle ground for a stand on this question. There has been a significant trend of choice among those who oppose present restrictions to rest with a demand that there be a complete repeal of the laws.

E. It is not reasonable to label as "liberal" those propositions which would make abortion an acceptable practice. What is proposed as a means to enhance the life of an adult is calling for the destruction of the life of an infant. The choice of a nation for war might as well be considered liberal if one can narrow his attention to only the potential for advantage to the victor, and can ignore the disaster which is in store for all in this course of action. It is in fact the case that there appears in many of the actions for change of abortion statutes, such as those which occurred in southern states before 1970, an open and a real malice toward the lives of infants which would be taken as a result of the changes in the law.

F. Some suggest that our environmental problems might be relieved by specific measures of population control. Destruction of our environment is not tied to the numbers of people but to the attitudes and practices of people toward God, toward their fellow men, and toward their environment. It has been observed that the problem of feeding people is one of distribution of resources, and this is a specific example of the way in which the pollution problem is resolved through changes in practices and attitudes of the people. It is also worthy of note that the tactic of license for abortion, aside from its error in other regards, has not affected the growth of population where the tactic has been chosen.

G. The best formed plans for abortion are based on predictions of advantage which cannot be anticipated with confidence, because of new anxieties which are involved for the involved adults, and because of the uncertainties which we all face. It remains clear that therapeutic abortion is more dangerous to a mother than is the event of natural birth. Current studies increase our knowledge in regard to physical and psychological harm which comes to a mother during and after the occurrence of an abortion.

H. The observations which have been noted above tend to show how poor is the way of life that depends upon the power and wisdom of man. We would do well to join in the testimony of Paul of Tarsus: "faith should not stand in wisdom of men, but in the power of God." (I Corinthians 2:5)

IV. Protecting the Cycle of Life.

A. We recognize that the cycle of life begins, undeniably, with conception, and ends in death, usually after the passing of many years. In terms of spiritual truth, we recognize that the creation of life, from the moment of conception, is an act of God and not of man. In terms of human reason, we find no name or concept ("tissue", "cancer", "animal", "not-life") which adequately demonstrates that existence after conception can be identified as something other than human life.

B. Spiritual, theological views confirm the soundness of our attitude toward the cycle of life. That God is the creator of human life is at the heart of Judeo-Christian practice, thought and history. Consider:

"Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee; and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations." Jeremiah 1:5.

"And Adam knew Eve his wife; and she conceived, and bare Cain, and said, I have gotten a man from the Lord." Genesis 4:1.

"If I did despise the cause of my manservant or of my maidservant, when they contended with me; What then shall I do when God riseth up? and when he visiteth, what shall I answer him? Did not he that made me in the womb make him? and did not one fashion us in the womb? Job 31:13-15.

Christian thought cannot lead us to minimize the role of God in the creation of the initial stages of life, and cannot show us cause for tolerance of the act of man in destroying that creation. The unique creation of human life by God is an essential and central part of the truths which are the object of attention of Christians; Christianity rests on revelations of truths as to the creation of man in the image of God, the potential of man for redemption before God, and the presence of God in the lives of men. One cannot reconcile the destruction of human life in any of its forms with the truths which are known in regard to the creation of man by God.

C. The system of law which we know has respected through its history the personal and property rights of a child before birth. Most jurisdictions in our country recognize the right of compensation for the surviving kind of an unborn child who is killed as the result of a wrongful act. This law is consistent with principles which have roots as early as the law of Moses. Exodus 21:22. Our courts and legislatures have given universal respect for the status of an unborn child as a child and an heir for purposes of the inheritance of property.

D. In a growing breakthrough in scientific knowledge this discipline of thought has led us to see and have greater respect for the state of life before birth. We profit greatly by examining the photographs and records of activity of the unborn. In fact, science is leading us to the day when there will be little question that the life of an unborn child can be saved under nearly all circumstances, so that in any case of parturition of the child there will be need for decision as to whether the existing and savable form of life should be destroyed or saved; whereas it was once thought possible to save the life of an infant in parturition after the thirtieth week of pregnancy, it has been seen in recent years that the life of a child is savable at a period as early as in the twentieth week of pregnancy; those incidents which have already occurred where a child has survived an attempted abortion show us the gravity of the act of abortion.

E. In protecting the cycle of life, consistent with our reason, and with our disciplines of thought in science, law and theology, we are not moved to sacrifice any person in an attempt to respect the compelling circumstances of another. We are not insensitive in regard to circumstances of emotional illness, risk of the defect of a child, feelings against bearing or caring for a child, or hostility toward an undesirable father. We beg of man that he be compassionate in respect to the needs which are suggested by these circumstances; one who respects life must see the compulsion for compassion which confronts him.

F. It is asserted, even by many who would personally choose to protect the full cycle of life, that a moral judgment on this subject cannot be legislated for the entire community.

1. The admonition, "don't legislate morals", is not a recognized doctrine in the history of the law, but is a point of political argument which is occasionally chosen as a motto by those who see prospect that the law may interfere with their chosen course of conduct. It is the essence of any law of value, observable among man in any presence or past time, to reflect the moral judgment of the community which is affected by the law. If there is any substance to the admonition against legislation of morals, this is only in respect to the legal adoption of social standards in the community; "thou shalt not kill" is not a proposition touched in any way by thoughts in respect to social choices of the people.

2. It is fair to identify the abortionist as the party who wishes to impose upon the community his ethical judgment. The grand designs for lives, the plan and the proposition which is before the community, is the program for destruction of lives of children who are

conceived but not yet born.

3. Restrictions in our law which reflect our concern for life are among the most vital which are considered by a free people. Our essential purposes is establishing a democratic form of government would certainly include the creation of law, first, to protect life, and further, to protect property and the chosen form of government.

4. There have been only infrequent and tenuous court determinations which have indicated basis for legal objection to restrictions against the practice of abortion. An argument that these laws are unconstitutionally vague has now been rejected by the United States Supreme Court. Some are insistent that these laws are unique in compelling a course of conduct, but in this same category are many other laws, including the long enduring provisions which compel that a person provide care and support for certain of his relatives. The representation that basic rights of a mother must include the choice for abortion has no support in our constitution or in the history of the law of our civilization.

5. It is similarly asserted, that one church cannot impose its point of view upon the community. The voice of concern for life is not from the people of any church, but from men everywhere who are conscious of God or given to respect standards of decency.

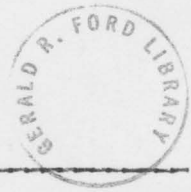
6. Some have urged that the people in one state should not rest with a law which is avoided by some in traveling to another jurisdiction. The error of a neighbor is not a guide for our choice of action, and it would be folly to observe otherwise.

V. Call for Action.

A. It is a first, vital necessity that we think and act with a mature spirit of compassion toward those whose lives are affected by the question we are considering.

B. At the same time, it is right and proper that we be diligent in defending those values which are vital to the community of man and to the Kingdom of God.

C. We must demand of ourselves both compassion and the pursuit of truth, and neither to the exclusion of the other.



Organization Name
Street City State Zip
Tel.

Organization Contact
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Please forward main copy of this questionnaire to: NRIC, Inc., 1200 15th St. NW Suite 500, Washington, D.C. 20005. Duplicate a copy for your own files.

DRAFT WORKING PAPER



- A. PROGRAM GOALS FOR NRIC, INC.
 - 1. To have positive impact on the 1974 congressional elections.
 - 2. To build up as much strength as possible for a vote on a constitutional amendment, in either chamber, in spring/summer/fall of 1974.
 - 3. To build up and strengthen state organizational structures.
- B. PROGRAM PRIORITIES FOR THE STATES ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE
 - 1. National structures
 - a) Develop the chairman/committee structure in select congressional districts.
 - b) Develop chairman/committee structure in each congressional district.
 - 2. State Structures
 - a) Develop and strengthen the currently existing state structures.
 - b) Assist and encourage new local/state organizations.
- C. PROGRAM TOOL/METHODS FOR THE STATES ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE
 - 1. Develop two organizational manuals
 - a) Congressional district manual
 - b) State organization manual
 - 2. Develop organization teams
 - 3. Essential program research be completed
- D. INITIAL RESEARCH PROJECTS FOR THE STATES ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE
 - 1. Develop a questionnaire, to be sent to the State Directors, as a tool to study the structural models currently employed by pro-life organizations within the various states.
 - 2. Develop guidelines for State Directors to research on-going effective political organizations in their locale/state.

DRAFT WORKING PAPER

A. PROGRAM GOALS FOR NRLC, INC.

The establishment of a program for the development of strong state organizations depends, ideally, on the prior articulation of overall program policy. Program goals/policies of NRLC, Inc. will, in part, affect program priorities, means, projects and projections of the States Organization Committee; this relationship is explored in the following sections of this program sketch.

It is the responsibility and prerogative of the Executive Committee of NRLC, Inc. to articulate the program policy. As the States Organization Committee begins its work, I would, then, posit the following program policy possibilities for discussion by the States Organization Committee and for recommendation for consideration by the Executive Committee. The following discussion is by no means complete.

Presumably the articulation of program policy vis-a-vis program priorities, means, projects and projections for the States Organization Committee will be a continuing concern for both the States Organization Committee and the Executive Committee.

1. To have positive impact on the 1974 congressional elections.
 - a) gain pro-life strength in Congress;
 - b) unseat some key congressmen/senators who have voted unfavorably on abortion related legislation, or, who continue to waffle badly on the issue of abortion (eg, Rep. Thomas O'Neill, D-8th, Mass., Majority Leader in the House). Some such selective

defeats would have a definite impact on the 94th Congress.

- c) to unseat members of Judiciary Committees in either chamber who oppose a Constitutional Amendment.

Comments. Goal (1) is based on known long-term considerations. There may or may not be hearings on the amendments before the 1974 elections (though there probably will). If there are hearings, there may or may not be a vote on an amendment before the '74 elections. Even if there is a vote, it may be unfavorable or, if favorable, the amendment voted on may be unacceptable. However, there will be elections in '74. In those elections the pro-life movement will either gain or lose strength in Congress.

We must prepare for the '74 elections. Such political work should generally have positive impact on either hearings or a vote. The on-going relationship between the hearings/voting process and the elections in '74 should be constantly monitored by the Executive Committee and NRIC staff.

2. To build up as much strength as possible for a vote on a constitutional amendment, in either chamber, in spring/summer/fall of 1974.

Comments. Goal (2) represents a possible necessity and a possible option. If Congressional leadership, for good or ill, would push for a vote prior to the '74 elections, then the pro-life movement, on the basis of its developed strength at that point, will lobby for a

favorable vote on an acceptable amendment.

On the other hand, the NRIC, Inc. might decide to push for a vote, eg, hearings in Spring of 74, vote in the fall prior to the elections. The Executive Committee, in consultation with staff and political advisers, should discuss this option.

The question of hearings implies that specific emphasis be placed on (a) the Judiciary subcommittees to which the amendments have been referred and (b) the full Judiciary Committees. The states/districts of the committee members represent organization target areas.

Even in the case of hearings, if the intent is to move an amendment on to the floor for a vote, work on the full House and the full Senate must begin immediately (in context of 74 elections, cf. goal one).

The decision to push for a vote on the floor should be preceded by an informed judgment regarding our voting strength.

The question of a vote before/after the 74 elections needs a thorough discussion.

3. To build up and strengthen state organizational structures so as to better facilitate lobbying efforts directed at the state legislatures and to better facilitate the implementation of other state organization programs.

Comments. State legislative activity, along with other state programs,

is, of course, a sine qua non. Such activity over the next several years may be the only way that the pro-life movement can cut back or stall the de facto performance of abortions. Further, state legislative expertise must be kept alive and healthy for the ratification of a constitutional amendment.

I place this objective in third place only because Right to Life activity in this area is well underway on the state level.

Even though national organization needs primary practical consideration at this time, the State Organization Committee should not simply presume that the strengthening and building of current organizational models will automatically benefit state programs. The States Organization Committee should be concerned, if possible, to advise regarding the re-structuring of state organizational models to work more effectively on the state level.

B. PROGRAM PRIORITIES FOR THE STATES ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

1. National Structures.

The basic geographical unit when dealing with the Federal Congress, whether House or Senate, is the congressional district. Within the context of current, re-structured, or newly established local/state organizations, a committee structure should be established within each congressional district. The primary purpose of such a congressional district committee would be to develop a politically functional unit that could participate in a co-ordinated national campaign.

The policy/decision-making relationship of such committees to state co-ordinating committees, and thence to the national committee requires top-priority consideration.

Assuming that the 74 elections are the primary program goal for the national effort, I would suggest the following programs, in order of priority, for the States Organization Committee:

- a) Develop the chairman/committee structure in those congressional districts where:
 - (1) pro-abortion congressmen are vulnerable;
 - (2) pro-life congressmen are vulnerable;
 - (3) neutral congressmen are vulnerable;
 - (4) pro-abortion congressmen are.

Without research it is estimated that a possible 60-70 districts, out of 435, fall in the classification of vulnerable.

Several criteria indicate whether a district falls in the class of vulnerable: the congressman is a freshman, or perhaps second term (by third term a congressman has had the opportunity to entrench himself in his district); elected by close majority last time, or by decreasing majorities in last several elections; unfavorable population shift in the district make-up, etc.

A caution: discussion of fall 74 elections can be deceptive in that many of those contests will be "settled" in the primaries. Many candidates are vulnerable to attack only from within their own party. Thus, the organizing time-table, in this scheme, would often

have to be moved up.

- b) Develop chairman/committee structure in each congressional district.

The establishment of such congressional district committees could be the way to initiate the development of state structures where lacking, or to build up disjointed state structures (under a regional or metropolitan basis, eventually state coalition basis).

The congressional district chairman could initially double as chairman or co-ordinator for state legislative districts.

Congressional district committee structures, as they relate to local, metropolitan, county or state structures, vary from state to state within currently operating political units, eg, the major political parties, the labor unions, chambers of commerce, the farm bureaus, etc. Such organizations should be researched on the local, metropolitan, or state level. Such research should provide valuable clues to right to life as to the methods and procedures best suited to organizing in a particular locale, city, state, as well as warn right to life of some typical pitfalls.

2. State Structures.

Here the basic geographical unit is the state legislative district. The states have variously organized these districts.

In general the goal of the States Organization Committee is twofold:

- (a) to strengthen and build up the ongoing state organizations; (b) initiate

organizations in those states that lack substantial organizations, or, more likely, assist those states with fledgling or new organizations. Perhaps only the state of Arkansas lacks the presence of a formally organized right to life unit. States with new or fledgling units would possibly include: N. Carolina, S. Carolina, Mississippi, Nevada, Idaho, and Alaska. Even in these states organizational plans may already be under development and may already be in process of implementation.

- a) Develop and strengthen the variety of currently existing state organizational structures. Different structures are functioning in different states and regions. Generally, the state structure operates on the coalition model, with sub-groups organized along a variety of lines: metropolitan area, chapter, small city, county, regions of the state, state legislative districts, etc. Two booklets, one describing MCCL, the other NY State Right to Life, are enclosed for your information and study.
- b) Assist and encourage new and fledgling local/state organizations. In this regard I am enclosing two items currently distributed by the NRIC, the opening chapter of the Legislative Manual, "The Ad Hoc Committee on Abortion Legislation," and the opening chapter of the Public Relations Manual, "Initiating a Right to Life Committee."

C. PROGRAM TOOLS/METHODS FOR THE STATES ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

At this point I will outline one way of approaching programs for the States Organization Committee:

1. Develop two organizational manuals

- a) Congressional District Manual
- b) State Organization Manual

The employment of a political consultant to help draw up such manuals should be considered.

2. Develop organization teams

- a) The ideal goal should be the development of standing organizational teams (for both congressional district and overall state organization) from within a state to serve the needs of that state.
- b) Initially, organize local/district/state according to regions of the country (cf. enclosed Census Bureau map for a regional model). Organizational teams be developed from within the regions.
- c) On a schedule, beginning in the Fall of 1973, NRIC, Inc. organize and fund a select team or teams of experts to conduct a series of seminars on a regional basis (several regions perhaps participate in one centrally located seminar).

Such seminars should be held only with prior intensive preparatory work, including the assembling together of the best people for the organizing work, the development of

program directives, some determination of NRIC, Inc. program policy, etc.

The organizational manuals should be prepared prior to the holding of the organization seminars.

3. Before the manuals can be prepared and before the seminars can be held, it is important that essential research in two general areas be completed:

- a) factual descriptions of the current status of pro-life organizations;
- b) the political program needs, structural and substantial, of the pro-life movement, on both state and national levels (Section A of this memo discussed substantial program needs as they potentially relate to structural program needs, primarily on the national level).

In the next section of this memo I attempt to outline a program that would initiate work on 3. a).

However, the research work of 3. b) will fall heavily to staff working with political consultants.

D. INITIAL RESEARCH PROJECTS FOR THE STATES ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

1. Develop a questionnaire, to be sent to the State Directors, as a tool to study the structural models currently employed by pro-life organizations within the various states.

a) Such a study should aim at the collection of limited, but specific data. Such information would then be on file with the national office for use by staff and professional consultants in the construction of organizational and political programs.

— assemble names, addresses, phone numbers of the various organizations within a state; along with names, addresses, phone numbers of key officers if possible.

— assemble statements of purpose, articles of incorporation, by-laws of the various organizations from within a state; along with a brief history of organization, eg, when founded, incorporated, etc. if possible.

— develop a description of the organizational model/models employed in a state, or region of a state, eg, what is basic organizational unit: metropolitan area, region, city/town, county, state legislative district, congressional district, etc.? Do different sections of a state vary one from the other, eg, urban/suburban v. rural, or, one urban area v. another urban area? How are state legislative committees structured? C-3, C-4 organizations? etc.

-- develop a description of the policy decision-making structures for the state, for the organizational bodies within a state.

-- how does the state director envision his state being best helped organizationally by the national organization?

It should not be the intention of the States Organization Committee to issue reports evaluating the worth of current state organizations on a scale of 1 to 50, or even in categories of 1 to 5. The cultural/social/political situations of each state is unique. For this reason such categorizings are too easily susceptible to needless misunderstandings. Comparisons or analogies with effective political organizations within the particular state would probably be more helpful.

This committee should consider it a primary responsibility to listen to and learn from the on-going pro-life leadership in each city, state, region, etc. NRIC, Inc.'s goal should be the building up, in co-operation with the states, of the pro-life organizations so that those organizations can work effectively in the political forum, especially in the passage of a constitutional amendment.

Information received through the questionnaire should be treated with confidentiality and should be considered for the use of the NRIC, Inc.

b) Such a questionnaire/study program could involve the following several elements:

-- divide country into regions. Suggested divisions: enclosed Census Bureau map of nine regions. The present five members of the committee assume responsibility for that region in which they live. Four individuals, one from each of the remaining regions, be added to the committee on an ad hoc basis, ie, for the purpose of the study project. Some suggested names: New England - John Beliveau; South Atlantic - Jay Bowman; East South Central - Michael Taylor; West South Central - Paulette Standefer; Mountain - Dr. Wm. McWhirter.

As an alternative, it may be more efficient to regionalize the states under the present five members of the committee. The communication problem is made more difficult as we add more members to the committee.

-- structure of study program: the nine (five) regional consultants communicate with the members of the Board of Directors from the states within their region, or when such directors are lacking, with leadership within the state.

Suggested program procedure:

- (1) a questionnaire embodying the elements of point D.1.a. above be developed.
- (2) questionnaire be sent to the state directors.

Prior to sending the questionnaire, the regional consultant

should telephone the individual state directors within his or her region, explaining the questionnaire, aims of the States Organization Committee, etc.

Similarly, after the questionnaire has been sent, the regional consultant should place follow up phone calls with the state directors, encouraging them to complete the questionnaires, discussing the meaning of the questions, etc.

(3) On completion the state directors should duplicate the questionnaire with one copy to be sent to each of the following:

- (i) regional consultant;
- (ii) the Executive Committee consultant on
State Organization (M. Taylor);
- (iii) the national office (1200 15th St. NW Wash., D.C.).

c) I would propose the following work schedule:

- (1) Committee conference call Tuesday, July 24, 10 pm EDT.

Prior to the conference call I will again call each member of the committee.

I strongly encourage committee members to exchange their own program memos with the other committee members.

If necessary, the above conference call could be delayed a couple of days to allow the exchange of memos.

The purpose of this conference call would be to discuss the purpose of the States Organization Committee, its functions, and to confirm our immediate work schedule.

Further conference calls be scheduled as needed.

(2) by Aug. 7 to have questionnaire developed for distribution to state directors.

(3) completion date of project: Sept. 18.

(4) Aug. 10 - preliminary report on activities of States Organization Committee for submission to the Executive Committee.

d) Committee members, and possible ad hoc consultant for the questionnaire project, submit incidental expenses for the above study project (long distance phone calls, mailings, xerox, baby sitters). No committee meetings involving travel be conducted between now and Aug. 10.

2. Develop a model (guidelines, resource hints, questionnaire) for State Directors to research on-going effective political organizations in their locale/state (cf. above B.1.b).

This project would more properly be slotted as the first project of the locale/congressional district/state organization committee.

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Additional copies of this booklet available for \$25 from:

Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life

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CHARTS

#1.....	State Pro Life Educational Association
#2.....	State Pro Life Public Policy Organization
#3.....	State Pro Life Organization
#4a.....	Chapters
#4b.....	Local Area Pro Life Chapter
#5a,b.....	Education
#6.....	Public Policy
#7.....	Fund Raising

ADDENDA

#1.....	Sample By-Laws
#2.....	Sample Budget

Additional copies of this booklet available for 35¢ from:

Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life

STATE PRO LIFE ORGANIZATION

I PURPOSES

- A. Educative
- B. Public Policy
 - 1. Governmental
 - a. Legislative
 - b. Judicial
 - c. Administrative
 - 2. Non-governmental
- C. Financial Support
- D. Need for two pro-life organizations (see charts #1 and #2)
 - 1. Education and Service
 - a. tax exempt
 - b. strong central organization
 - 2. Public policy including political activity, as well as education and service
 - a. non-tax exempt
 - b. strong grassroots organization with central direction

II IMAGE

- A. Favorable
 - 1. Ecumenical
 - 2. Informed
 - 3. Articulate
 - 4. Responsible
 - 5. Oriented toward single goal
 - 6. Community leadership
 - 7. Young
 - 8. Respect of others in community
- B. Unfavorable
 - 1. Oriented toward single church
 - 2. Involved in other issues
 - 3. Extremism
 - 4. Hostility

III BASIC ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION

- A. Principles
 - 1. Central direction
 - 2. Grassroots involvement
 - 3. Communications network

B. Basic plan (as applicable to Section I,D,2 above) (see Chart III)

1. State level
 - a. Board of Directors
 - b. Executive committee
 - c. Executive secretary
 - d. State office
 - e. State committees
 - f. Outstate chairmen
2. Regional level
 - a. Steering committee
 - b. Regional Coordinator
 - c. Regional office
 - d. Regional committees
3. Chapter (local) level
 - a. Steering committee (executive committee)
 - b. Chapter chairperson
 - c. Chapter committees

C. Organization and Function

1. State level
 - a. Board of Directors
 - i. broad representation
 - geographical (regional)
 - professional
 - ecumenical
 - political
 - ii. recognized leadership
 - iii. strong commitment
 - iv. unified purpose
 - v. annual or semi-annual meetings
 - vi. functions
 - major policy decisions
 - b. Executive Committee
 - i. broad representation
 - geographical when practical
 - special abilities and interests
 - ii. leadership
 - iii. commitment
 - iv. weekly or biweekly meetings
 - v. liaison with other pro-life groups (official or unofficial)
 - vi. special officers or unofficial participants
 - editor of pro-life newsletter
 - executive secretary and office staff
 - designated committee chairpeople
 - outstate chairpeople

vii. functions

- week-to-week policy decisions
- communication and cooperation with other pro-life groups
 - within state
 - other states
 - NRL

c. State Committees

- i. responsible to state Executive Committee
- ii. develop independence from parent organization
 - more effective as separate group
 - desirability of separating images
 - maintain liaison

d. State Office

- i. physical plant
- ii. personnel
 - executive secretary
 - paid employees
 - volunteers
- iii. daily operation
 - continuity
- iv. functions
 - clerical and mail order
 - bookkeeping and records
 - execution of state policies
 - intraorganizational relations
 - newsletter
 - periodical informational mailings to leadership
 - outstate organization and activities
 - preparation of educational and political materials
 - communication with other states' pro-life groups and NRL
 - volunteer committee
 - speakers' bureau
 - staffing and preparation of booths and displays for state-level conventions

2. Regional level

a. Concept

- i. development of grassroots organization
- ii. opportunities for regional leadership and responsibilities
- iii. assuming workload of state office as it pertains to region
- iv. choice of regional centers
 - hub cities
 - cultural
 - political
 - socio-economical
 - proximity to component chapters
 - ease of transportation
 - available leadership

b. Organization and function

i. steering committee

representatives from component chapters
regional coordinator (chairperson)

function

sharing ideas and experiences
increasing morale and encouraging
leadership
decisions for regional activities
-educational
-political
-fund raising (see section
on finances
-training
regional workshops

ii. regional coordinator

liaison with chapters
liaison with outstate chairperson on
state executive committee
initiate new chapters
maintain old chapters
inform leadership within region
regional newsletters (optional)

iii. regional office

physical plant

telephone
mail box or post-office box

personnel

regional coordinator
paid employee (at least part time)
volunteers
speakers' pool

function

clerical
bookkeeping
preparing and distributing materials
pro-life educational center
-reference, resource materials
-speakers' kits
-audiovisual materials
-information on political
candidates
-political materials

3. Chapter level

a. concept

i. on the basis of counties, cities, state political
districts

ii. grassroots development

iii. development of branch contacts in smaller communities

b. organization (see chart #4a. and #4b.)

i. executive committee

representatives from throughout county or
legislative district

chapter chairperson

functions

plan chapter activities

monthly meetings

special duties of chapter officers

chairperson:

official spokesman

coordinator of local activities

liaison with regional and
state offices

responsibility for local
public relations

secretary:

file of information on
membership

treasurer:

file financial report to
state level treasurer
for filing IRS returns

publicity chairperson:

news media
mailings
public displays
public meetings

organization chairperson:

memberships
dues
fund raising
volunteers

political chairpeople

telephone and communication chairperson

education chairperson:

speakers' bureau
libraries
schools
churches

ii. effectiveness

goal orientation

purposeful activity

individual responsibility

group spirit

iii. chapter by-laws (see Addendum #1)

iv. Annual chapter meeting (general membership)

IV EDUCATION FUNCTIONS OF PRO LIFE ORGANIZATION (pertinent to State, Regional,
Chapter levels: see charts #5a and #5b)

A. Principles

1. leadership from state
selection and preparation of materials
training speakers
2. availability from region
preparation and storage of materials
training speakers
3. delivery by chapters
distribution of materials
speaking commitments
4. overlap of responsibilities

B. Materials

1. channeling of materials to state office
 - a. NRL
 - b. other state pro-life groups
 - c. regional offices
 - d. chapters
2. selection and approval by state
3. printing by state office, regional office, or chapter
4. audiovisual material storage at state and regional offices
5. reference libraries and resource files at state and regional offices

C. Speakers

1. sources
2. speakers' workshops at state, regional levels
3. speakers' bureau at state, regional, and chapter levels
4. speakers from other pro life organizations

D. Audiences

1. schools
2. church
3. professional
4. general public

E. Methods of Public Education

1. public meetings
2. newspapers, letters-to-editors, guest editorials
3. radio, tv
4. newsletter
 - a. special mailings
 - b. general mailings to membership
5. ads, bumper stickers, buttons, posters, billboards
6. handout materials
7. audiovisual aids
8. special events
 - a. workshops
 - b. youth and other special programs
 - c. rallies, marches
9. via other organizations through pro life membership

V POLITICAL FUNCTIONS OF PRO LIFE ORGANIZATIONS (see chart #6)

A. State Level

1. Leadership

- a. general strategy

2. Special functions

- a. lobbying, records on legislators
- b. amicus curiae briefs
- c. cooperating with government agencies and commissions
- d. liaison with other statewide pro life organizations
- e. training manual in parliamentary procedure
- f. seeking out pro life political activists
- g. separate democrat and republican political committees
- h. mailings, handouts
- i. responsibility for state and district political conventions

B. Regional Level

1. implementation of strategy

2. special functions

- a. training in parliamentary procedure
- b. advising state office of political situation regionally
- c. mailings, handouts
- d. responsibility for district political conventions (optimal)

C. Chapter Level

1. implementation of strategy

2. special functions

- a. contact with party people
- b. candidate selection
- c. candidate education
- d. letter-writing campaigns
- e. petitions
- f. advising state and/or regional office of political situation locally

VI FUND RAISING (see chart #7)

A. Principles

- 1. insure dollars at level of organization needed
- 2. encourage initiative for grassroots participation

B. A Plan

1. dollars to state office from

- a. membership dues, collected by state, region, or chapter
- b. foundations
- c. special state functions
- d. excess from chapter and regional levels

2. dollars to regional office from

- a. component chapters
- b. regional functions

3. dollars to chapter office from

- a. chapter functions

C. Sample Costs (see addendum #2)

1. rent and utilities
2. salaries
3. telephone
4. business supplies
5. transportation
6. printing and materials
7. postage
8. professional consultation
 - a. medical
 - b. legal
 - c. public relations
 - i. fund raising
 - ii. advertising

D. Sample funds

1. membership
2. wealthy patrons and foundations
3. religious leaders and organizations
4. promotional mailings
5. church collections
6. special projects
 - a. banquets
 - b. garage sales
 - c. rummage sales
 - d. dances
 - e. food stands
 - f. benefits--theater, sports
7. speaking honoraria

VII GETTING STARTED

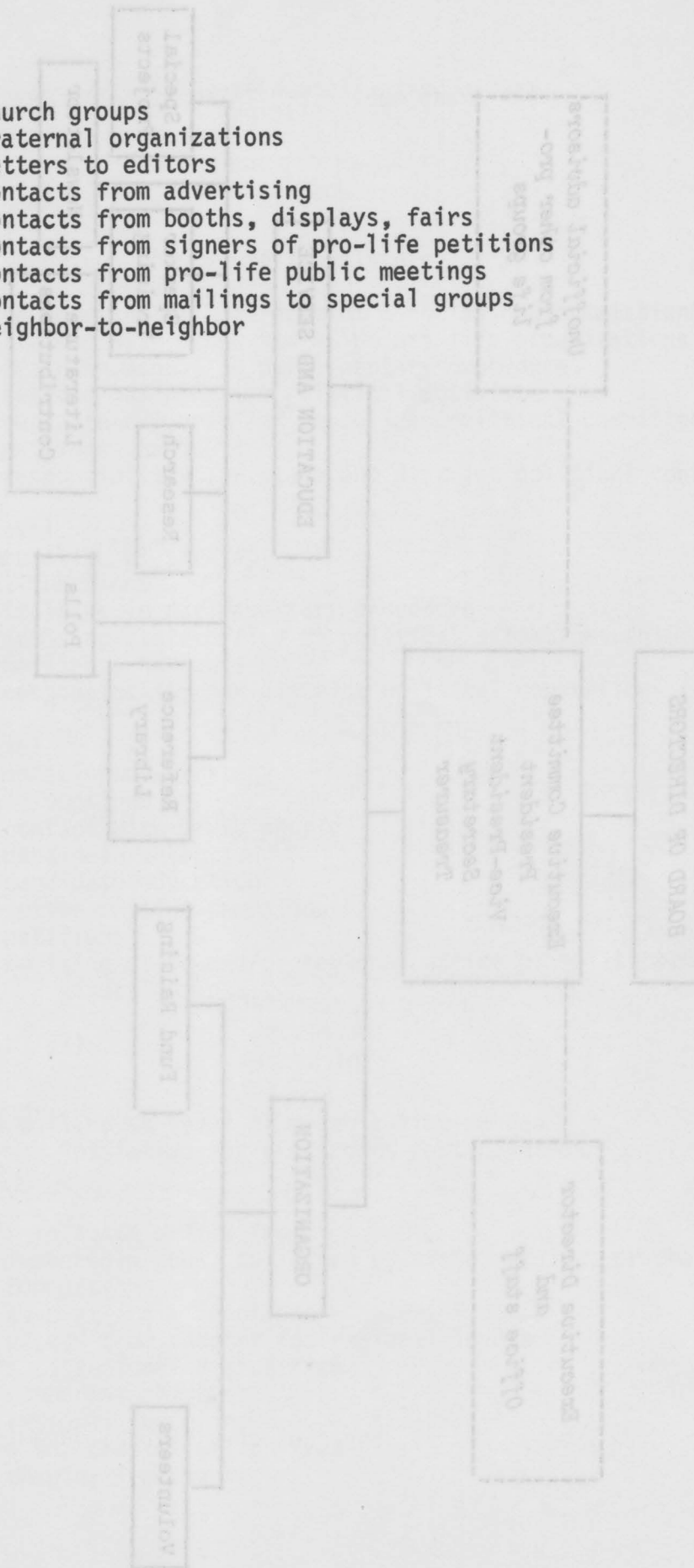
A. Core Group--approximately 10 to 15

1. broad representation
 - a. interfaith
 - b. professional
 - c. age and sex
 - d. minorities
 - e. area
2. organizational meeting
 - a. avoid church-affiliated meeting halls
 - b. not usually effective as a public meeting

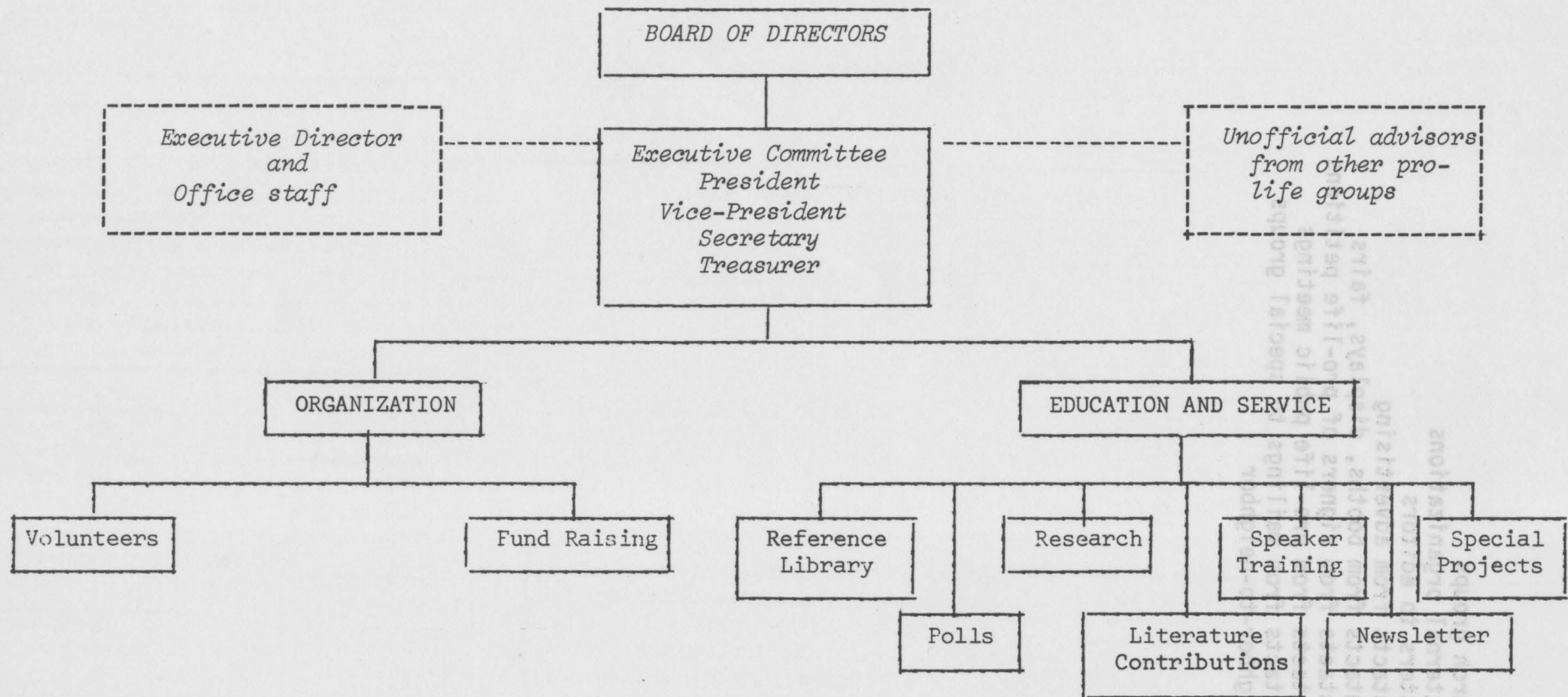
B. Searching for core group

1. principle
 - a. reach as broad a spectrum of the community as possible
 - b. keep list of names of interested individuals.
Follow through
2. Sources
 - a. churches of different denominations

- b. church groups
- c. fraternal organizations
- d. letters to editors
- e. contacts from advertising
- f. contacts from booths, displays, fairs
- g. contacts from signers of pro-life petitions
- h. contacts from pro-life public meetings
- i. contacts from mailings to special groups
- j. neighbor-to-neighbor

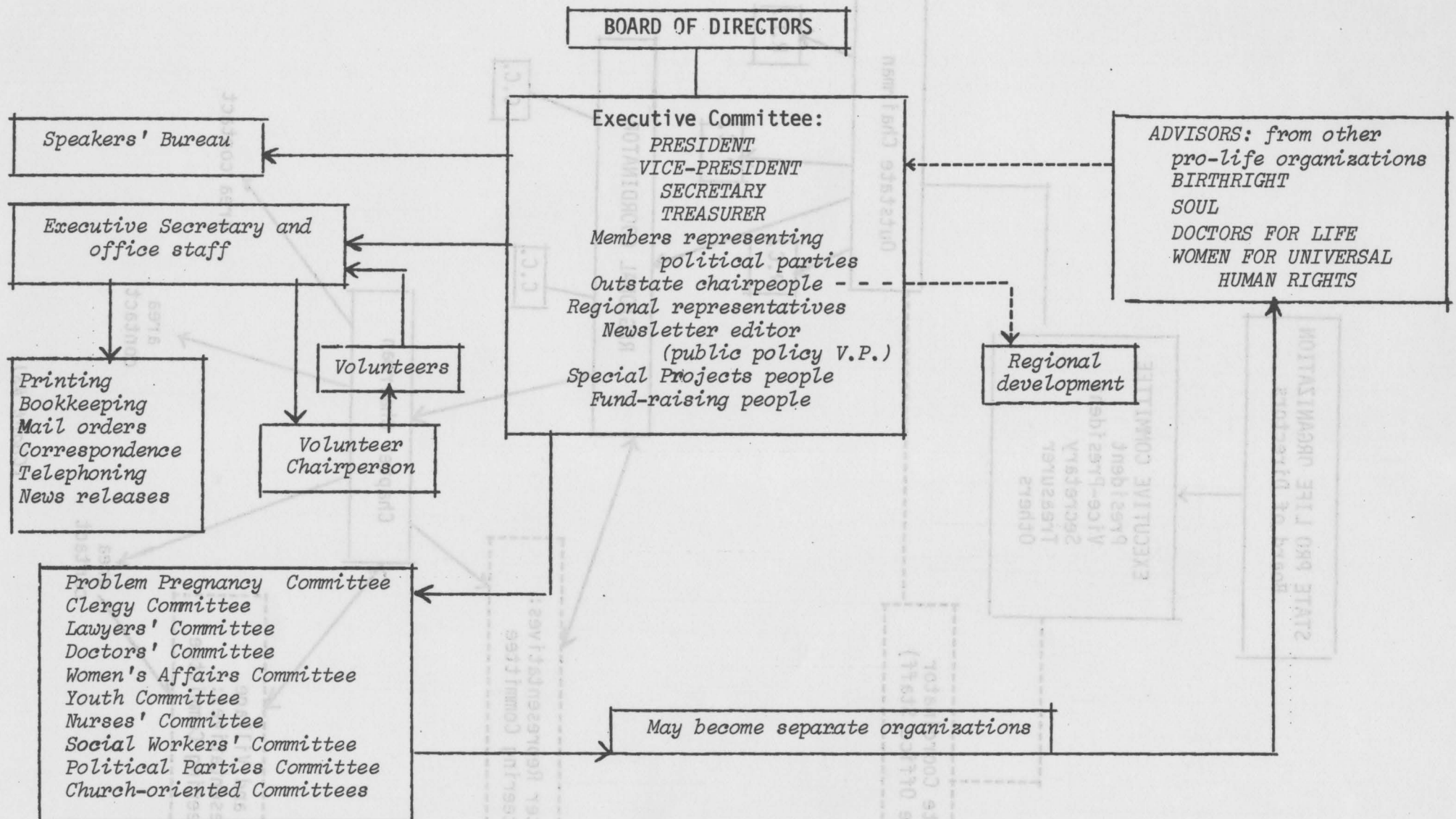


STATE PRO LIFE EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION (PLEA)
(tax-exempt)

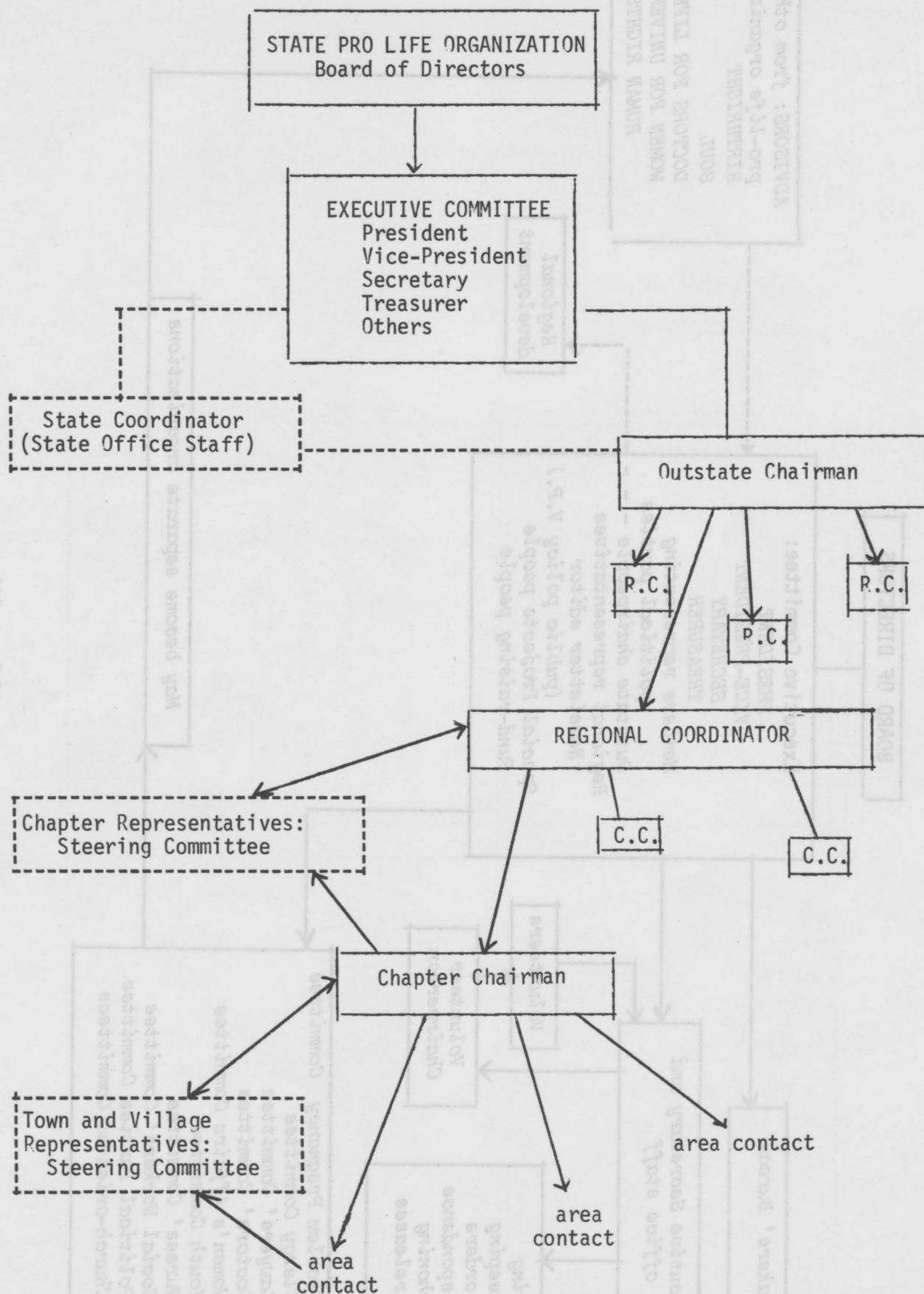


(Chart #1)

STATE PRO LIFE PUBLIC POLICY ORGANIZATION
(NOT tax-exempt)



(Chart #2)



(Chart #3)

CHAPTERS

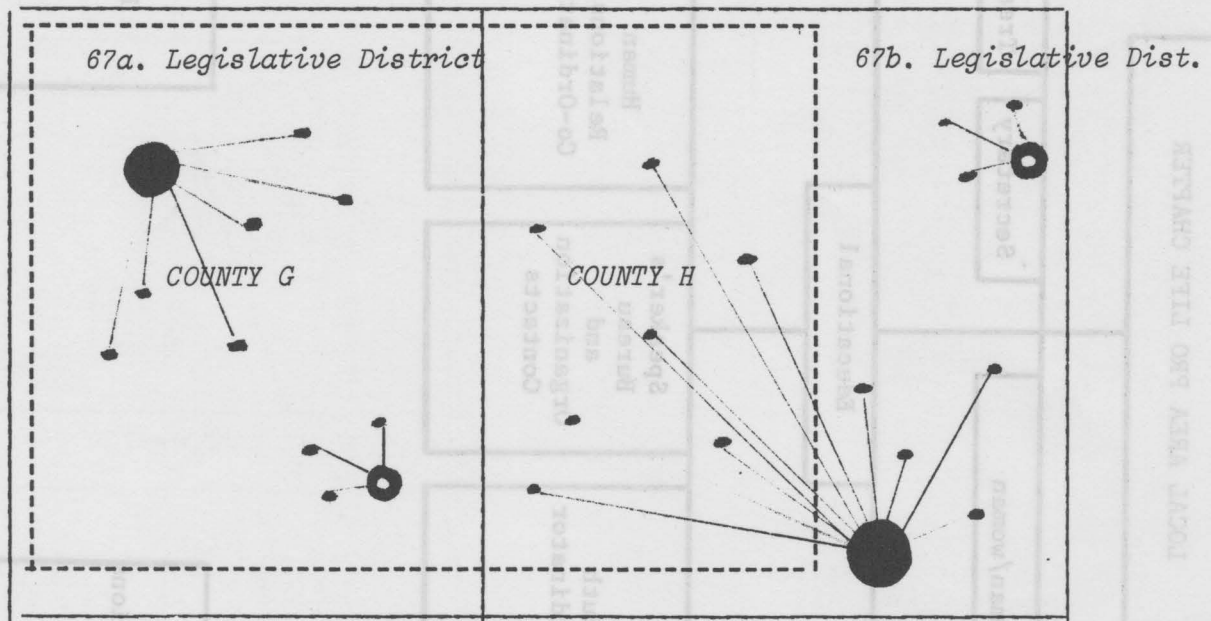
A. AT LEAST ONE IN EACH STATE

Legislative Districts

1. Senatorial
2. Representative

B. MAJOR CHAPTERS IN EACH COUNTY

C. MINOR CHAPTERS



KEY:

County Line —————

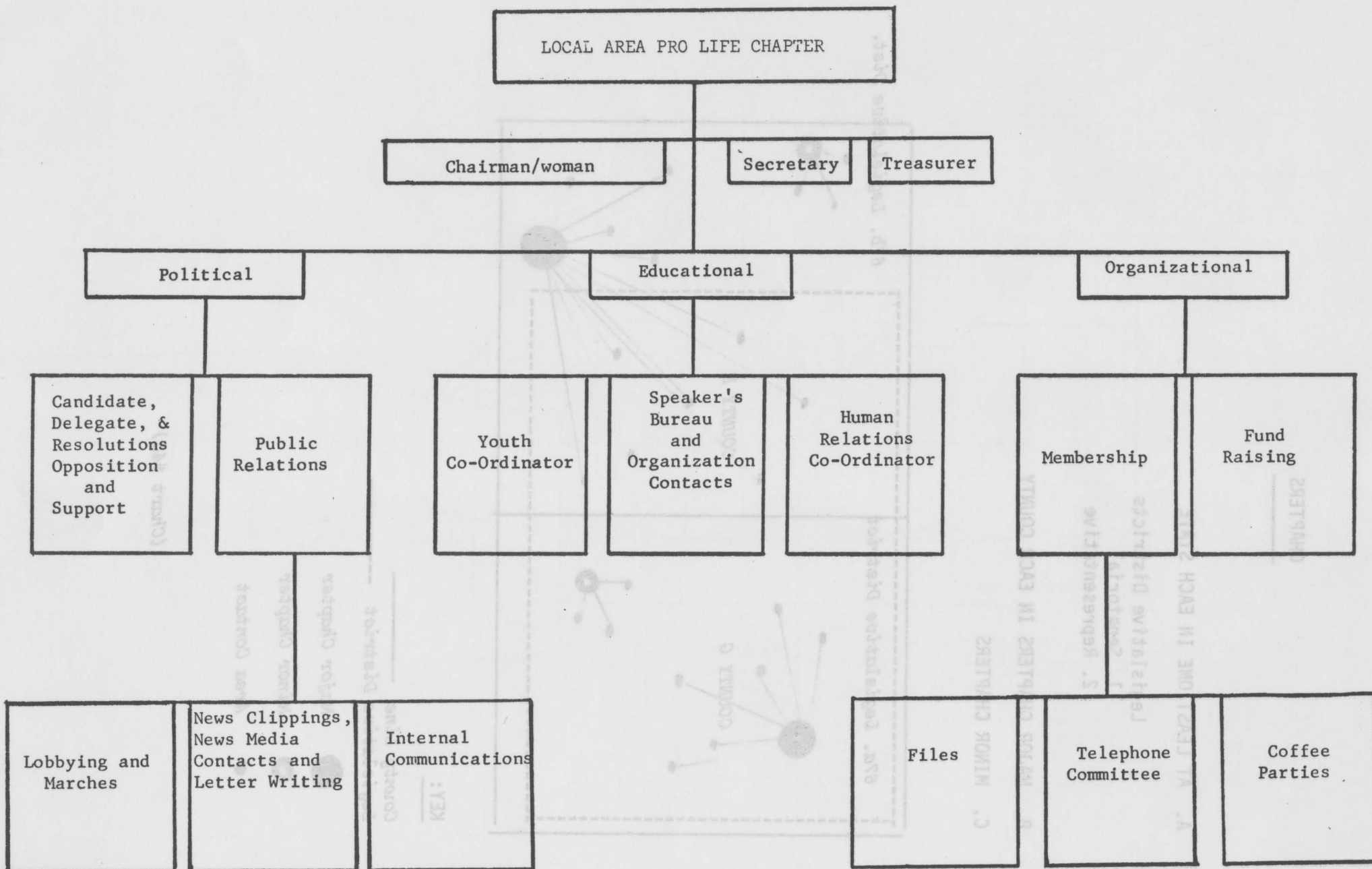
Legislative District - - - - -

● Major Chapter

○ Minor Chapter

● Area Contact

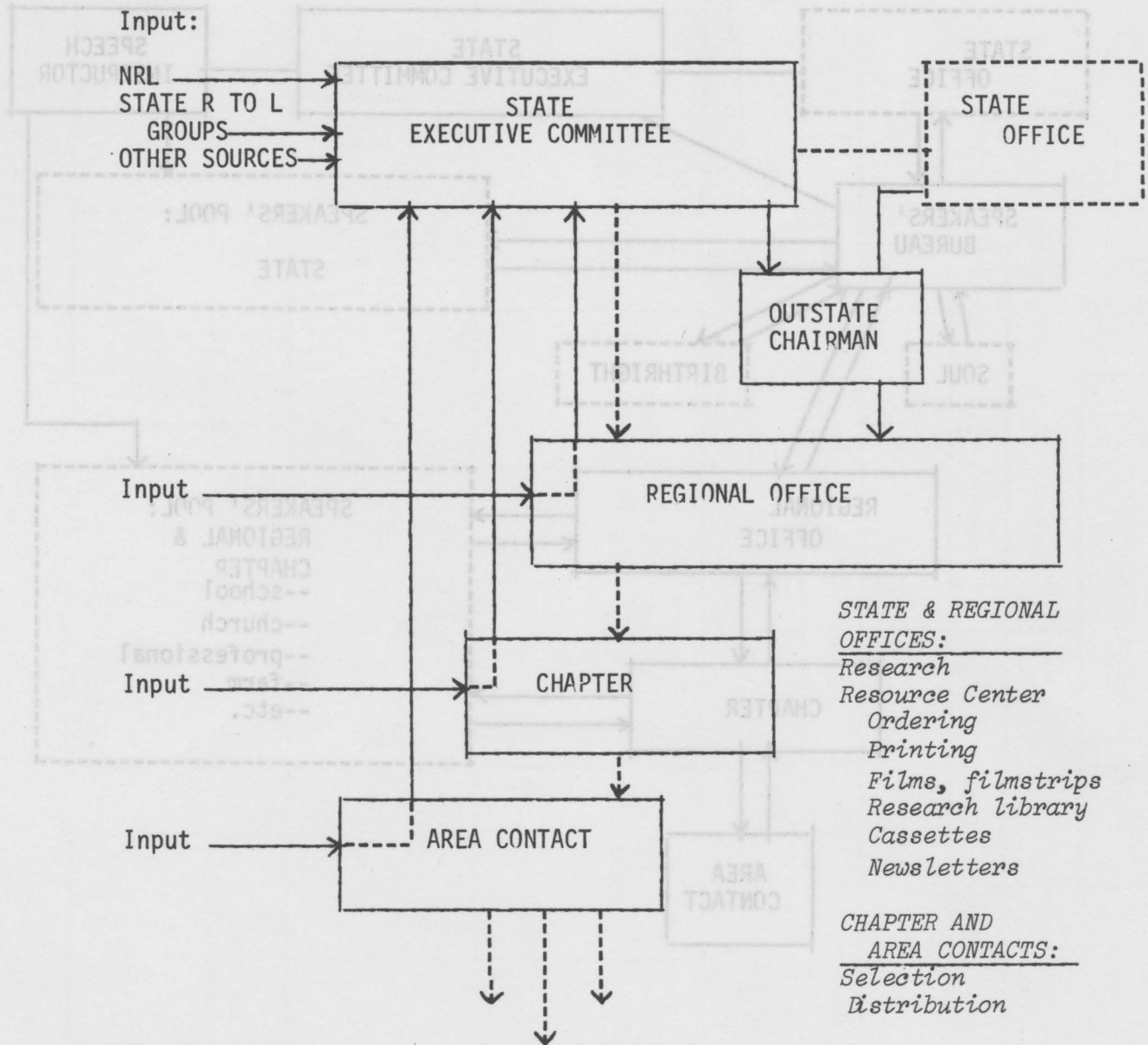
(Chart #4a)



(Chart #4b)

EDUCATION

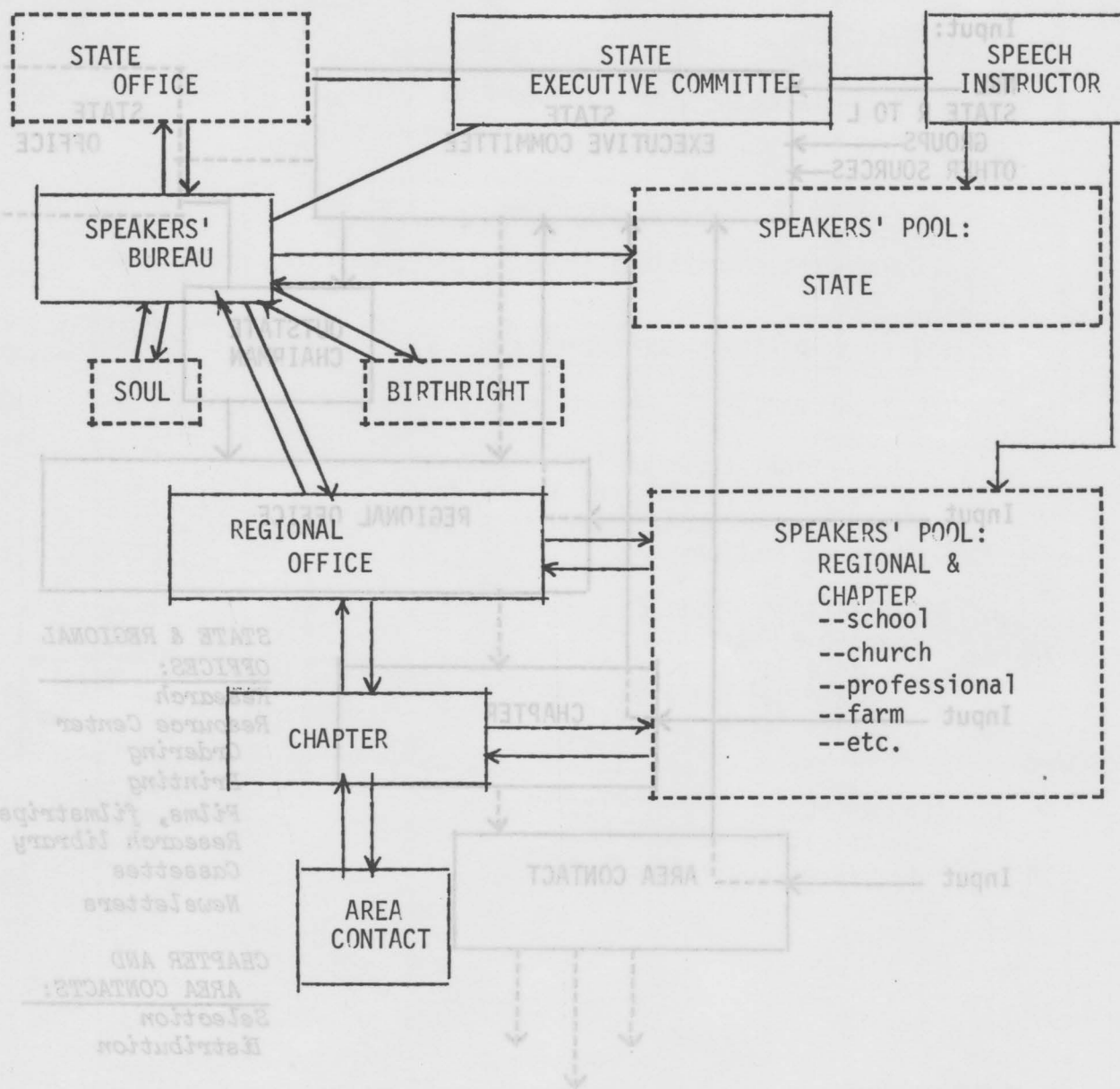
A. MATERIALS:



(Chart #5a)

EDUCATION

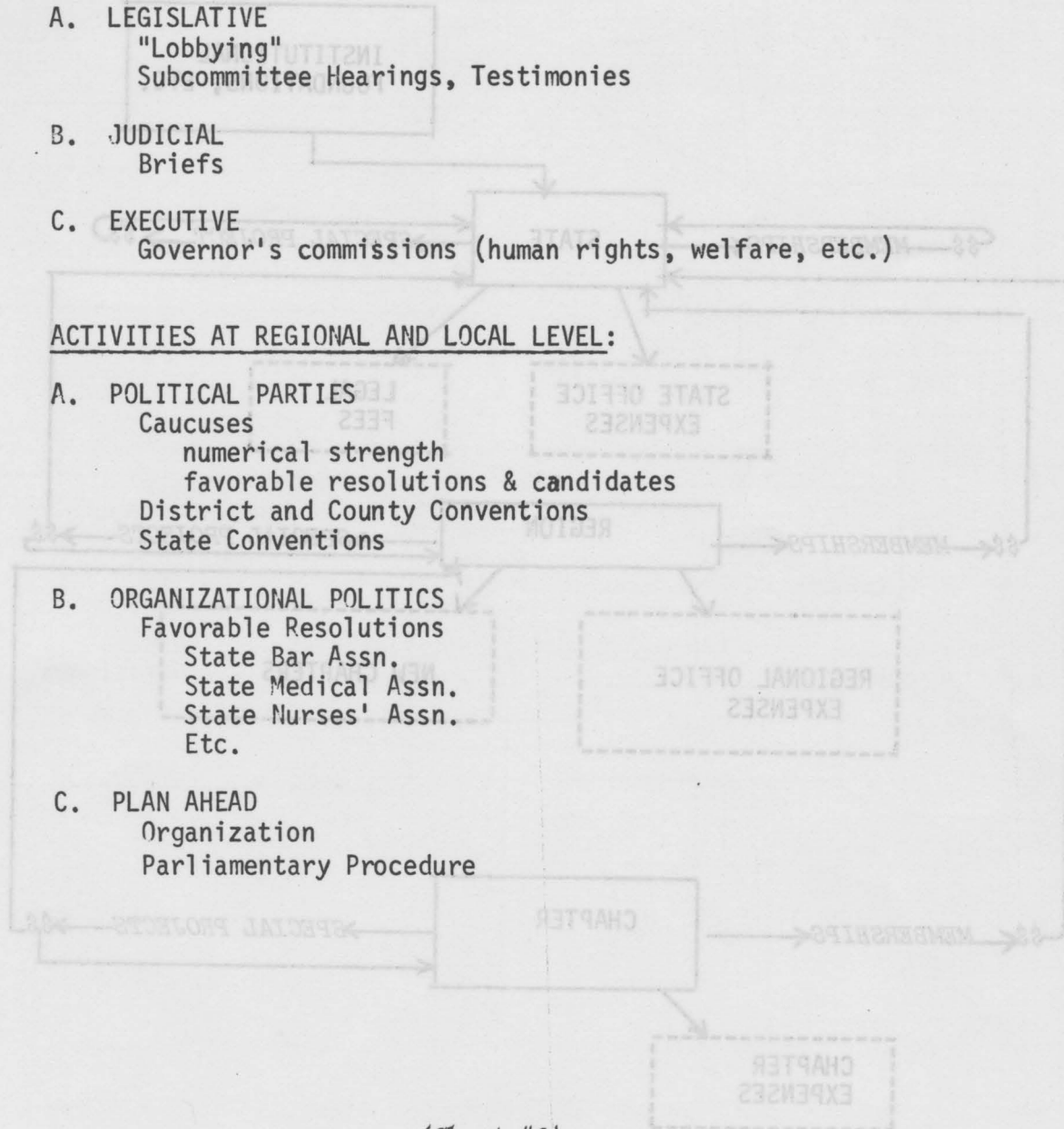
B. SPEAKERS, TV, RADIO:



(Chart #5b)

PUBLIC POLICY

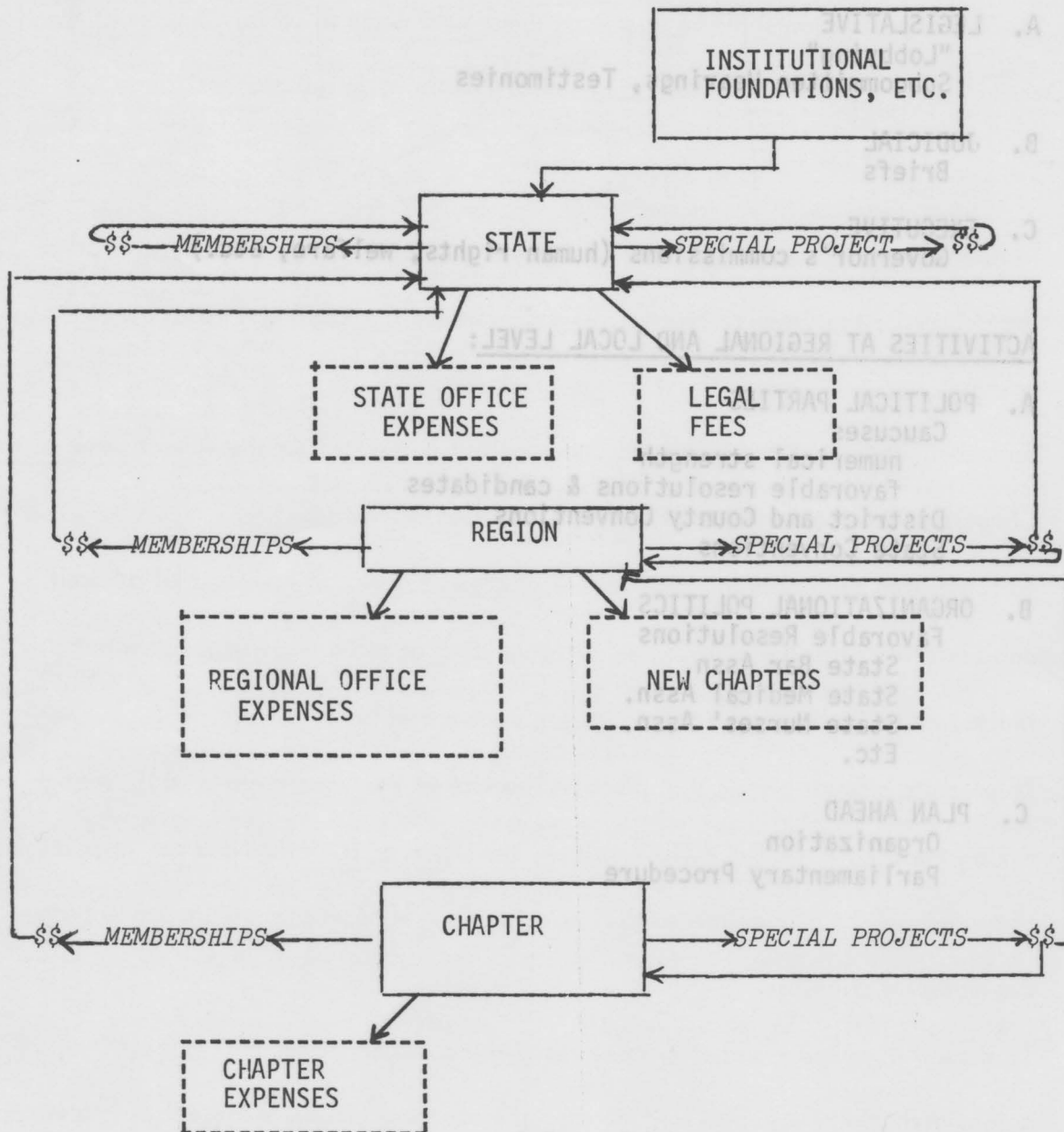
A. NEED
B. MECHANISM



(Chart #6)

FUND RAISING

- A. NEED
- B. MECHANISM



(Chart #7)

BY-LAWS OF THE (Insert Name of Town) CHAPTER OF THE N.D. RIGHT TO LIFE ASSN.

ARTICLE I. TITLE, PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the (insert name of town) Chapter of the North Dakota Right to Life Association, a non-profit, interfaith association.

Section 2. Purpose.

- A. To develop and maintain programs of an educational nature and concern to all of the people of the State of North Dakota regarding the Right to Life of every human being.
- B. To protect the Right to Life of the unborn child is the goal of the (insert name of town) Chapter of the North Dakota Right to Life Association.
- C. To prove that proposals for total repeal of present abortion laws and ill advised consideration directed at irresponsible amending of those same laws represent a limited and negative approach to serious human problems.
- D. To promote 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 where circumstances dictate to provide support and assistance to both the mother and child.
- E. To show that in order to better understand the abortion dilemma, we must include a consideration of prenatal and maternal health care programs as well as improvement of social services for those children whose parents are unable to care for them.
- F. To solicit and raise funds or moneys needed to carry out the purpose of this organization as stated above.
- G. To promote the general welfare of all the people of the State of North Dakota by developing a clear understanding, full appreciation and sympathetic attitude

toward the fundamental value and dignity of human life at all stages of its

development and the right of every human being to the continuation of life.

ARTICLE II. MEMBERSHIP AND DUES

Section 1. Membership shall be open to any person desiring to further the right to life of the unborn child.

Section 2. Dues shall be received on a voluntary basis depending upon the individual's desire and/or ability to contribute. Dues will be forwarded to the state office. Memberships available: 1) Patron-\$100 or more annually; 2) Contributing-\$25.00 annually; 3) Supporting-\$10.00 annually; 4) Sponsoring-\$5.00 annually; or 5) Other-Less than \$5.00 annually.

ARTICLE III. BOARD, OFFICERS, ELECTION, DUTIES

Section 1. The Right to Life Chapter shall consist of a board of directors and an advisory council or executive board.

Section 2. Officers shall be chairman (man or woman), vice-chairman (man or woman), secretary, treasurer, fund raising chairman, public information chairman and membership chairman. Other officers may be elected in accordance with the provisions of this

Article. Any two or more offices may be held by the same person except the offices of chairman and secretary.

Section 3. The election of officers shall be held once annually.

Section 4. All officers shall serve terms of one year and shall be eligible for election to two additional terms.

Section 5. Election shall be by vote following nomination from the floor.

DUTIES

1. Chapter Chairman

The duties of the chapter chairman are the overall responsibilities of the organizations: 1) appointing the individual chairmen; 2) recruitment of volunteer chairmen or volunteer workers; 3) chairing the organization's meetings; 4) approving any news releases; 5) assisting in the fund-raising and membership programs; and 6) speaking to organizations. Much of this depends on the chairman's time, interest and talents. He or she may delegate many of these duties to other members.

2. Vice Chairman

Act in absence of chairman and take over other assigned duties.

3. Secretary

The duties of the secretary are as follows:

--Keep minutes

--Mailings

--Correspondence

--Maintain membership file and forward names of all new members to state office.

--Keep file on abortion issue, Right to Life literature and news media clippings.

--In charge of telephone chairman, who is in charge of contacting members for meetings etc. May have committee under her.

4. Treasurer

The treasurer will receive all funds from memberships, donations, and projects and disburse them accordingly. The treasurer, together with the secretary, will forward memberships and funds from memberships to the state office. Funds derived from a strictly local project such as a "Pancake Breakfast" may be kept at the Chapter for their own use. The decision whether to keep the money at the chapter

level or submit to state officer is to be made by the Chapter Chairman.

5. Public Information Chairman

The duties of the public information chairman include scheduling and arranging for news conferences; preparing news releases; scheduling guest appearances; and soliciting favorable editorials from the news editors and keeping them furnished with latest information; distribution of literature, posters and general preparation of any material to be used for publicity. A letter to the editor campaign is extremely effective and costs nothing in dollars and cents. This must be a prime project of local Right to Life Chapters.

6. Membership Chairman

The duties of the membership chairman include soliciting, compiling and recording names of members and to send these names to the state office. Always keep a copy of Right to Life members for your own records. The day before election each block worker will be required to call their new members and other friends in the block they have canvassed and urge these people to vote against abortion on demand on November 7th. Offer a ride to the polls for friends of Right to Life in your block.

The state office will use all new memberships to broaden their mailing list and send the Right to Life Newsletter plus other materials to the new members.

7. Fund-Raising Chairman

It will be the duty of the fund-raising chairman to organize projects for chapter expenses. A few ideas for projects are as follows: coffee parties, pancake suppers (breakfasts), rummage sales, raffles, car washes and countless others.

ARTICLE V. COMMITTEES

Section 1. To assist the board of directors in executing the purpose of its charter, committees from time to time will be established. The board will define the scope and duration of these committees.

ARTICLE VI. PUBLIC STATEMENTS

Section 1. In most cases the chairman will speak on behalf of the (insert name of town) Chapter of the North Dakota Right to Life Association. Most public statements and advertisements should be prepared with the help of the state organization.

ARTICLE VII. AMENDMENTS TO BY-LAWS

Section 1. These by-laws may be altered, amended or repealed and new by-laws may be adopted by a majority of the directors present at any regular meeting or at any special meeting if at least two days written notice is given to all voting directors of the intention to alter, amend, or repeal or to adopt new by-laws at such meeting.

ADDENDUM II

EXAMPLE OF STATE PRO LIFE ORGANIZATION BUDGET

(scale up or down to suit your situation)

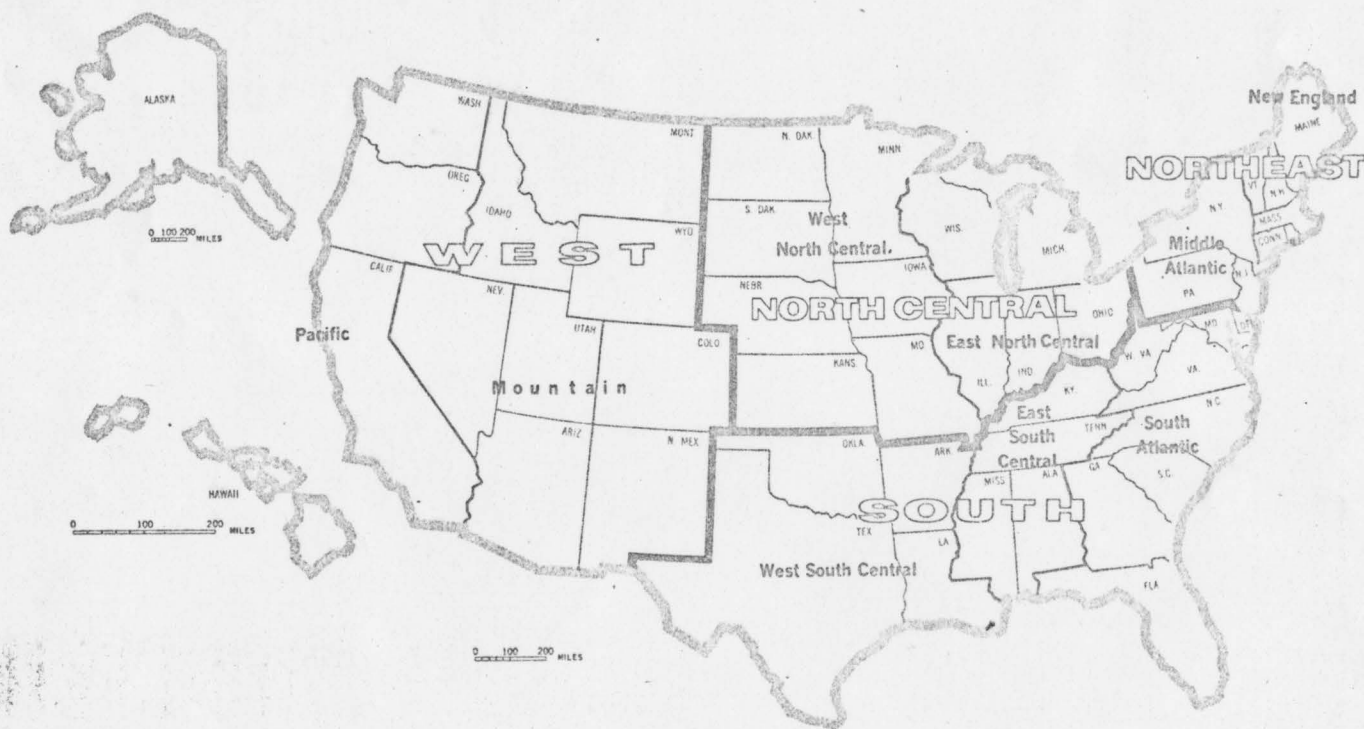
PROFESSIONAL SERVICES:

Legal fees.....	\$20,000
Fund raising & Public relations.....	2,200
Graphic design.....	2,200
PRINTING.....	17,000
WAGES for Office Staff.....	15,000
PUBLIC BANQUET for Legislators.....	6,000
Postage.....	3,000
Business supplies, equipment, maintenance.....	2,800
Telephone.....	2,500
Disbursements to chapters.....	2,200
Rent & utilities.....	1,300
Films, slides, models.....	1,000
Travel.....	1,000
Books and periodicals.....	1,000
Youth group.....	600
Advertising & promotion.....	500
Baby sitting.....	400
Convention & display fees.....	400
CPA audit.....	400
Newspaper clipping service.....	300
Insurance.....	200

TOTAL.....\$80,000



FIG. I. MAP OF THE UNITED STATES, SHOWING CENSUS REGIONS AND DIVISIONS
[Alaska and Hawaii are drawn at different scales from conterminous United States and are not shown in their correct relative geographic positions]



Map

xix

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

THE LEGISLATIVE MANUAL



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

CONTENTS

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THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON ABORTION LEGISLATION

In view of the fact that the laws prohibiting abortion are state laws, and that efforts to liberalize these laws must be passed in each state legislature, it is necessary to mobilize a committee in each state that will bear the responsibility of opposing the efforts at liberalization.

In those states where a functioning and resourceful Right to Life Committee does not yet exist, it is imperative that an ad hoc committee be formed with the special responsibility of opposing liberalization of the abortion law. This Steering Committee should include representatives from the various religious groups in the state, doctors, lawyers, public health personnel, nurses and educators, public relations and communication specialists, and a small core of interested and concerned citizens.

It is important that this Committee mobilize itself as soon as possible and that it meet regularly to formulate and evaluate its long-range program and strategy.

The main effort of the Committee is twofold:

1. To mobilize public opinion in opposition to liberalization of abortion laws.
2. To maintain an organized program of opposition to new abortion legislation that will reach the members of the state legislature.

To achieve these goals, the Steering Committee should:

1. Set up similar committees on the local level.
2. Seek support and cooperation from other organizations with similar interests and concerns.
3. Initiate a Right to Life Committee that will carry on its own program of information and opposition.
4. Accurately, forcefully, and competently present its case in the public forum.

Consistent with the realization that the challenge of liberal abortion legislation must be met on the state level, the Steering Committee will determine by research and dialogue, the proper strategy to be followed in the individual state.

The following suggestions are offered because of their success in states where they have been employed.

I EDUCATION PROGRAM

1. Education of Leadership: Conduct a series of regional meetings in population centers to broadly inform the leaderships of diocesan groups and to encourage grass-roots opposition.
2. Education of General Public:
 - a) Radio, TV, local press interviews.
 - b) Community programs--representation of doctors and lawyers.
 - c) Right to Life Committee.
 - d) Scrutiny of local press, especially editorial comment, and respond by letters to the editors for publication.
 - e) Direct mail campaign.

II POLITICAL-LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

1. Identify legislators, sponsors of bills, committee leaderships and members, time and place of legislative hearings.
2. Establish and maintain local contacts with individual legislators.
3. Identify the areas of pro-abortion sentiment and be prepared to confront any proposals favoring new laws.
4. To achieve maximum effect in the legal-political field, the following rules should be carefully observed:
 - a) Know the function of government and understand the techniques of governmental decision-making.
 - b) Understand political activity, the sources of political power in the state, and assess accurately one's own impact on the political scene.



- c) Systematize information. Build an information bank that can be called upon to provide knowledge for decision-making on very short notice. Provide for constant influx of new information, continual re-evaluation of present information, and accurate identification and assessment of trends that will affect the future.
- d) Broaden the base of support. Identify and encourage understanding, mutual participation in other projects, and continual dialogue with other groups holding a position similar to one's own.
- e) Dialogue. Engage in continual communication with government officials and other persons who maintain interest in the legislative activity of the government.

THE INTERIM PROGRAM

Following the legislative sessions there is a natural resting period in which no one, for or against abortion, feels much like working on the next round in the struggle. It is just as well not to attempt any projects for a few weeks after the session; the legislators are tired, the press has turned to more active news fronts, and those who helped in your campaign have work to catch up on, in their offices, homes, farms, and stores.

The manual section following this one is entitled Pre-Session Preparation. That section provides guidelines for a period which comes in November and December in those states which have sessions beginning in January. In a few states in which sessions begin later, in the spring, the Pre-Session period would still begin some sixty days before the session is called to order, whenever that may be.

During those sixty days before the session, an even rudimentary intelligence system begins to pick up rumors of bills being drafted and of legislative programs which are in the wind. For that reason, the section on Pre-Session Preparation recommends several steps to be taken when pro-abortion legislation threatens for the first time. We recommend that you review that section now because several of those steps should be reviewed and strengthened now, during the Interim Program, as spelled out specifically below.

The Interim Program is intended to be carried out during the ninety days before Pre-Session Preparation begins. In other words, in states whose legislatures convene in January, the Pre-Session Program takes place during November and December and the Interim Program begins in August and continues during September and October.

IMPORTANT NOTE: Even in states which convene at a time other than January, the Interim Program should still begin the preceding August and continue from that point. Important segments of the Interim Program relate to the legislative election campaigns. Forty-six states elect their legislatures in November of the even-numbered years. The exceptions are Louisiana (February), and Virginia, Kentucky, and New Jersey, which hold their general legislative elections in November of the odd-numbered years. The dates of primary elections vary widely from spring to fall, but the primaries are not particularly important to this program. The important point is that with the exception of Louisiana, an Interim Program beginning in August would include the pre-election period of time in every state in which there would be an election that year. And in the off-years, pre-

ceding an off-year session in states having annual sessions, the non-election segments of the Interim Program would still be important and completely applicable.

Now, to review the pertinent points from the Pre-Session Program:

1. Reorganize, expand and improve your State Coordinating Committee. This is the basic vehicle for activating your program and it must be in working condition before the program can begin.

Even if it was well organized a year earlier, it almost certainly fell into disrepair and disuse during that rest period after the session. Some members who have moved or changed positions should be replaced. Groups and organizations which were not represented during the last campaign should now be sought out and asked to send representatives. And whether or not a Coordinating Committee truly existed last time, this is the time to establish it or re-establish it, before any programs are undertaken.

2. Be sure that a State Coordinator is selected and either reconfirmed or replaced.
3. And the Legislative Committee should be reconvened and re-organized at this point, too.

Points 4 and 5 of the Pre-Session Program can be performed later, during the actual pre-session period. But Points 6 and 7 should be reviewed and begun now: (6) Begin preparation of materials for later production, when the specific nature of the adverse bill may be known with more precision, and (7) Inventory the list of parishes and organizations in key house and senate districts.

If you are confident that the State Coordinating Committee, State Coordinator, and Legislative Committee exist and are getting themselves reorganized, and if materials are being prepared and local support groups are being inventoried--then your base exists. The polishing can continue on into the pre-session stage and the other pre-session activities can be done thoroughly at that time. But for now you are ready to begin the Interim Program.

1. Be sure that Thank You letters are written to every legislator who helped last time. Ideally these letters should have been written at the end of the session. This is the time to check back

to see if individual letters were written to each legislator by the persons who were in touch with him. If not, it is certainly not too late--and doing it is a must.

2. This is the time to emphasize your Education Program. The original memorandum on the State Coordinating Committee outlined, on page 5, the basic elements of an Education Program. Naturally, the State Coordinating Committee should be carrying on this program at all times. But its greatest specific government relations value begins at this point in the cycle: groups, organizations, parties, legislators, political backers, political workers, and interested citizens are beginning to think about the next session of the legislature. The Education Program can have special impact at this season.

So that it is conveniently before you for consideration while planning the Interim Stage, we repeat it below from the earlier memorandum:

EDUCATION PROGRAM

1. Education of Leadership: Conduct a series of regional meetings in population centers to broadly inform the leaderships of diocesan groups and to encourage grass-roots opposition.

2. Education of Catholic Populace

- a) Provide information to the clergy and to lay leaders.
- b) Articles in diocesan press and in newsletters, bulletins, of diocesan organizations.
- c) Information program for meetings of lay organizations.
- d) Pastoral letters--sermon outlines.
- e) Direct mail campaign.

3. Education of General Public

- a) Radio, TV, local press interviews.
- b) Community programs--representation of doctors and lawyers.
- c) Right to Life Committee.

3. Your state's Right to Life Committee should now be organized or reorganized, as the case may be. A special memorandum has been prepared on this subject only. Experience in the present program and in many other legislative projects has proved beyond doubt that this Committee, once organized, will become one of the very most important elements in your program.
4. Later, in the immediate Pre-Session Stage, you will be going to the local parishes and their organizations with specific requests for their assistance with local legislators. But now, during the Interim Stage, is the time to contact and to educate at the parish level--through your Education Program and through your Right to Life Committee. It may well be impossible to set up meetings in parishes in every legislative district in the state. Then, give the highest order of priority to those districts represented by powerful, senior, and apt-to-be-elected house and senate leaders. Building a base within those districts now, and having the organizations ready to act when you go back to them with specific projects in the Pre-Session and Session Stages, will increase their potential effectiveness many times over.

About half the states have annual legislative sessions and the number of those having yearly meetings is increasing--so there is a strong possibility that you will have a complete legislative cycle every year, rather than every two years.

But every other year, during this Interim Stage, there will be a general election in your state to determine who among the winners of an earlier primary election will become members of the next legislature.

The election campaign gives your group their single best opportunity during the entire biennium to solicit support for your position and to learn and to confirm the attitudes of both friends and enemies in the legislature. If time and manpower limitations permit you to do nothing else during this stage, the two following programs ought to have the very highest priority. By themselves, they can make the difference between victory and defeat in the next session.

1. Parish organization appearances by all legislative candidates. Parishes, especially those with large membership organizations, should invite all candidates for the legislature in that district to appear before one or more parish organizations. The candidates will generally welcome the opportunity.

In his invitation, the candidate should receive a list of subjects on which his views will be sought--and abortion should be one of the subjects. At the meeting, if necessary he should be questioned on this point, and a clear, unequivocal "yes" or "no" answer sought persistently.

After the meeting, his answer should be transmitted to your State Coordinating Committee. The Committee then follows up at once with a letter to him saying, if he is opposed to abortion, that the Committee appreciates his views and would like him to have the enclosed pieces of literature which will provide further information. If he favors abortion, he should still receive a letter saying that the Committee hopes he will reconsider his position and that they are sending him some literature to aid in his study of the subject. Either way, he then knows that he is on record with the Committee.

The positions of the candidates should then be tabulated, matched up with the results of the other project described below, and transferred to a master tabulation after the general election has determined a final list of winners.

This program must be planned and coordinated by your State Coordinating Committee or it will not get done, or at least it will not be done as completely and as effectively as it might be done.

2. After the primary election, the Right to Life Committee should send questionnaires to every general election candidate for the legislature. Candidates are accustomed to receiving questionnaires from many organizations. They are reliable about filling them out--if it seems that the result might be published and might help their chances of election.

The Right to Life Committee's covering letter could simply state the broad-based nature of the body, that it includes representatives of several religious groups and of the public at large, and that it is preparing to defend the existing abortion statute against efforts to relax it in the next session. The letter might go on to say that the results of this questionnaire will be published. (And arrangements should indeed be made to have the results published: perhaps in the diocesan newspaper.) A reasonable deadline should be set for the return of the questionnaire, and about two weeks before the deadline, another copy with a more urgent letter should be sent to all those who have not yet responded.

The questionnaire might contain the following questions, plus two or three additional local issue questions:

Will you vote for or against any amendment which would broaden the present abortion statute ?

For an amendment _____
Against amendment _____

Are you for or against involuntary sterilization?

For sterilization _____
Against sterilization _____

Would you favor or oppose a legislative study of a model Euthanasia Act which has been proposed by some social planners?

For study _____
Against study _____

Do you feel that you are generally for or generally against planned, selective human breeding?

Generally for _____
Generally against _____

A thorough, planned approach to these two election-year projects will (1) start legislators thinking about the perils of the abortion question before they get themselves innocently committed in favor of it; (2) let them know that there is a body of support for defending the present statute; and (3) give them an opportunity to commit themselves against change, and thereby possibly gain some electoral support, while enabling them to tell our adversaries that they are already committed.

These two projects are potentially so valuable that they are worth concentrated, persistent effort during the sixty days before the general election. And all of these projects will provide the base for the beginning of the Pre-Session projects.

PRE-SESSION PREPARATION

More defensive legislative programs are lost for want of advance preparation than for any other reason. Preparation need not be complicated. It consists very simply of people, organized in an uncomplicated structure; of clear, straightforward educational materials; and of applied political intelligence.

The following seven points are a checklist for pre-session preparation, to be carried out before the session begins, and polished during the first slow-starting weeks of most sessions.

1. Organize the State Coordinating Committee for educational and legislative projects. (See the "State Coordinating Committee" section.) Be sure your Right to Life Committee has at least a basic membership and structure. Do not be concerned with numbers of members at the outset; existence is more important than size.
2. Be sure that your Committee has settled on a single State Coordinator, if at all possible. There should be a single, central clearing-house with coordination being provided by one person. Second best is a coordinating committee, comprised of one coordinator from each diocese within the state. Please let the national office know who the Coordinator is, with complete addresses and telephone numbers. "Findability" and quick communication will be very important.
3. The Coordinating Committee might have a Legislative Committee, comprised of those handling the active lobbying work. Again, leadership of this group should be in the hands of a single person. This person should be in charge of the legislative action program. There would probably be two types of members on the Legislative Committee:
 - a) Active Workers: who are doing the actual lobbying, preparation for committee action, and stimulation of home district support groups; and

b) Advisors: friendly professional lobbyists who are called together as a result of an inventory of the state's "Third House," the professional lobbyists. The advisors should be asked for two types of aid:

- i. good intelligence about the plans of the opposition, and tactical advice about how to meet those moves; and
- ii. a willingness to talk with two or three legislators each, members who are close personal friends of the lobbyist, whose help he can ask without jeopardizing his normal professional lobbying work.

3. The Legislative leadership should be visited by those best able to talk with them--knowledgeable Coordinating Committee members, lobbyists, and political confederates--just before the session. Their help should be openly sought and even if they are committed to the other side, their neutrality might be the minimum result. The leadership group includes:

State Senate President (frequently the
Lieutenant Governor)

Senate President Pro Tem

Senate Majority Floor Leader

Senate Assistant Majority Floor Leader

Senate Minority Floor Leader

Senate Assistant Minority Floor Leader

Chairmen of Senate Committees to which
the bill may be referred

Influential Committee Members in the Senate

Speaker of the House

House Majority Floor Leader

House Assistant Majority Floor Leader

House Minority Floor Leader

House Assistant Minority Floor Leader

Chairmen of House Committee to which the
bill may be referred

Influential Committee Members in the House

And this is the time to visit those members of both the Senate and House who should be naturally friendly to our position. These visits should result in:

- a) Providing basic information for their study;
 - b) Showing the concern of a large number of citizens-- and their constituents;
 - c) Asking for their assistance; and
 - d) If at all possible, obtaining a commitment to help.
5. Do the First Count of how all members seem to stand on the issue, basing the count on news reports, actions in the last session, rumor, and reports from the Third House friends. A possible method for doing this count is described in the section on Preparation for the Committee Hearing.
 6. Produce simple, clear educational materials. The number of different kinds of brochures, memos, and position papers is not nearly as important as having one or two which are very clear, easy to read, and available in quantity by the time the session begins.
 7. Prepare the local district support groups for fast action if and when they are called upon. Inventory the key house and senate districts for:
 - a) Friendly local political leaders;
 - b) Parishes which can be helpful locally; and
 - c) Parish and community organizations which can be ready to go to work.

Organize names and addresses of leaders and officers according to organization and legislative district. Then write to each of them, alerting them to the possible danger and urging them to be available to help on very short notice by:

- a) Being ready to mount a letter-writing campaign in the home district;
- b) Preparing friends of the legislator to go to talk with him at home; and
- c) Having parish organizations ready to extend invitations to local legislators to come to speak on this and other important issues of the session.

These seven activities can be begun before the session convenes and completed during its slow early days. Then the Coordinating Committee will be ready for the Early Session activity which will precede the preparation for a committee hearing.

THE EARLY WEEKS OF THE SESSION

Most legislatures spend the early weeks--ranging from two weeks in states having short sessions to six or seven or more weeks in states with lengthy sessions--organizing, caucussing, strategizing, and bargaining. This is valuable time for the defensive legislative program. If this time is used thoughtfully and according to plan, the battle can often be won quietly during these weeks, before it even becomes public knowledge.

This is the time to polish and develop the points explained in the preceding section on Pre-Session Preparation. When that work is well under way, the following activities should be started:

1. Perfect the structure. Tightly-knit, clear structure is important for fast action, unquestioned lines of authority, fixed responsibility, and consistent program. By this time the basic pieces of your structure exist; now it remains to fit them together in a workable table of organization. While each state will develop its own structure to fit program requirements, a possibly typical table of organization is shown on page 15.

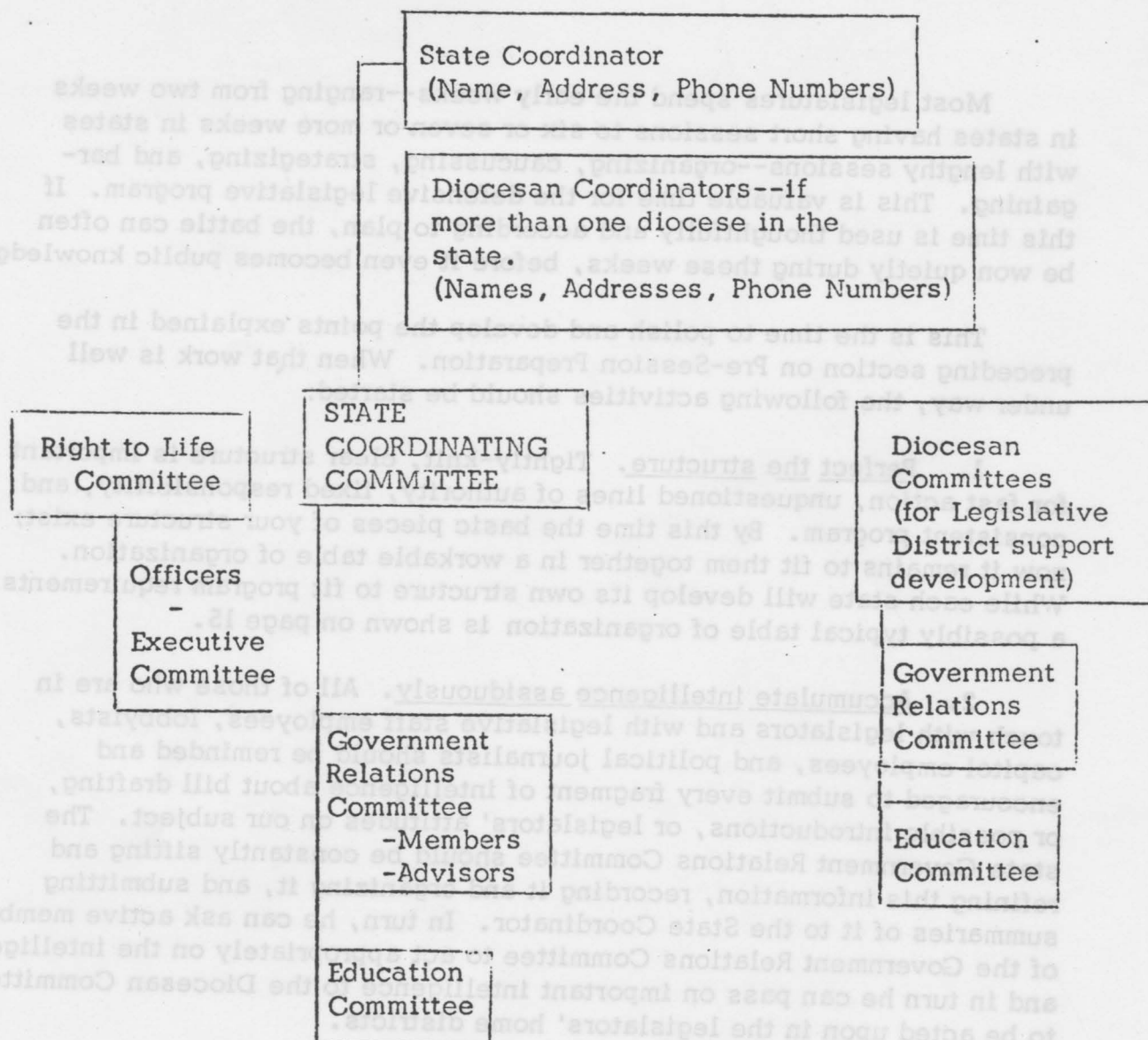
2. Accumulate intelligence assiduously. All of those who are in touch with legislators and with legislative staff employees, lobbyists, capitol employees, and political journalists should be reminded and encouraged to submit every fragment of intelligence about bill drafting, or possible introductions, or legislators' attitudes on our subject. The state Government Relations Committee should be constantly sifting and refining this information, recording it and organizing it, and submitting summaries of it to the State Coordinator. In turn, he can ask active members of the Government Relations Committee to act appropriately on the intelligence and in turn he can pass on important intelligence to the Diocesan Committees, to be acted upon in the legislators' home districts.

Every fragment of intelligence is important. Each particle of information can be translated into votes.

3. Legislators should be contacted promptly as a result of each intelligence indication. As soon as a member is reported to be favorable or unfavorable, further communication with him should begin.

Those unfavorable to our position should be visited by carefully selected delegations, invitations to speak should be extended by home district parish groups, and rational, logical letters should be sent by constituents.

TYPICAL TABLE OF ORGANIZATION



Those who are reported to be favorable to our position should be thanked by a delegation, in person, and by mail by constituents. Parish organizations should pass resolutions and organize petitions to be sent to each assemblyman or representative and to each senator from that parish's district, expressing the hope that he will support the moral position on this issue. If he is already in favor, he will be gratified by the opportunity to reply affirmatively. If he is tending toward the opposition, he may be neutralized or concerned by these communications.

4. Quiet lobbying begins at this stage. If a bill has been already introduced or carried forward from an earlier session, the lobbying is more active--but still conducted quietly.

The Active Members and the Advisory Members of the Government Relations Committee begin making their rounds, calling on members, giving them basic printed materials. The home district communications program outlined above and in the following section on Committee Preparation, goes into effect.

It is frequently possible and always extremely effective to gather quietly a group of legislators who are willing to help with the lobbying effort inside their respective bodies. The group need not be large--quality counts far much more than quantity, and it should include as many as possible of the leaders listed in Point 4 of the section on Pre-Session Preparation. This group should have at least one meeting if at all possible so that each member will know who all the others are--and from then on, they can go about their project of talking with colleagues, eliciting viewpoints, and attempting to persuade other members to share their position.

One non-member--perhaps a professional lobbyist from the Advisory Group of the Government Relations Committee--should have the responsibility of collecting intelligence and nose-count information from this group, and of making recommendations to them which will increase their effectiveness.

If no bill has as yet been introduced, it is still very wise to make the preparations recommended above, but to maintain this organization on a stand-by rather than an active basis, ready to go into action, but meantime watching quietly and attempting to head off incipient opposition by means of conversation.

5. Support Group action begins at the diocesan level. If a bill is in fact before the legislature, the activities listed under Point 7 of the Pre-Session Preparation Checklist should be put into instant high gear. Mail, invitations to speak at home, visits by delegations should all get under way.

Letters (To The Editor) should be submitted by home district residents to home district newspapers. Groups should plan to come to the capitol to visit their legislators.

If no bill has yet been introduced, the diocesan structure in the home districts should be re-checked to be absolutely certain that it is on the alert and ready to follow out its plan on twenty-four hours' notice.

6. Act to forestall introduction of a bill. As soon as intelligence indicates that certain legislators are probably authors of a bill and are getting ready to introduce it, a selective program of lobbying--as outlined above for both the capitol and the home district--must be set in motion. Frequently this will cause potential authors to change their minds, thereby weakening the opposition's impetus. Members of the Government Relations Committee should visit potential authors, dissuading them, reasoning with them, and asking for a copy of the draft bill for study and suggestions after "a week or two". This activity--forestalling introduction--is one of the most important in any defensive program.

7. Begin the preliminary steps from the next section, Preparation for the Committee Hearing. There may not be much time, if a bill is introduced and a chairman quickly sets a hearing date. This is the right time to study the following checklist and begin any steps which may be commenced at this point.

Time is always short in legislative sessions. Hurry and hard work are unavoidable--but they're worth it because there are no second chances.

PREPARATION FOR THE COMMITTEE HEARING

A Condensed List of Hearing Techniques and Checklists

A defensive legislative program seeks first of all to avoid any hearing at all on a bill which it seeks to defeat. Some ways to delay a hearing:

1. Friendly committee members ask the chairman to avoid having a hearing if possible because considering the bill will hurt them politically;
2. The chairman is encouraged to take up other bills from the stack usually awaiting committee attention;
3. Other lobbying forces who want other bills passed are encouraged to seek hearings from the chairman for their own bills;
4. Legislative leaders ask the chairman to move as slowly as possible toward holding a hearing.

These techniques presuppose (1) a friendly or at least neutral committee chairman, or (2) the presence of pressure on him from the legislative leadership, and (3) the ability of the defensive program to persuade and win over a substantial number of the committee members.

But perhaps a hearing is inevitable, especially if this state's rules require that every bill must be reported out of committee either favorably or unfavorably.

Then the preparatory work falls into two categories:

- a) The pre-hearing program for committing a majority of the committee members to vote against the bill; and
- b) The planning of the hearing itself.

THE PRE-HEARING PROGRAM

It is axiomatic that committee hearings are normally won or lost before the committee chairman ever calls the meeting to order.

These are the steps for getting a majority of the votes before the hearing begins:

1. Analysis of Committee Membership: The lobbying group canvasses the committee. In its best form this canvass is done twice--once by the lobbyists in the state capitol, directly to the members and through friendly legislators on the committee or to whom the committee members are known, and simultaneously by persons and groups within the members' home districts. The object of the canvass is simply to know as accurately as possible how the members stand.

Five columns should be drawn vertically alongside a list of the committee membership. These are headed:

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
	Against	Probably	For the	Probably for	
<u>Name</u>	<u>the Bill</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>Bill</u>	<u>for Bill</u>	<u>Unknown</u>

Members' attitudes should then be recorded by X's in the appropriate columns.

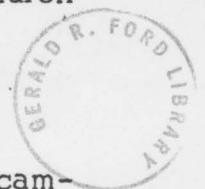
2. It is essential to be carefully conservative in analyzing the members' probable positions. Guard against wishful thinking; the best committee analysis is the most conservative one.
3. It is better to have a clearly adverse answer than a fuzzy one. Then we at least know where a member stands.
4. Next, set up the committee membership in a list according to priority of work-importance:

Probables Against	(Column 2)
Unknowns	(Column 5)
Reconfirmation of Those Against	(Column 1)
Attempts to Change Those	(Column 4)
Probably For	
Attempts to Change Those For	(Column 3)

5. If the total of Columns 1 and 2 produces a majority vote of the entire committee, the picture is quite good. If some votes from Column 5 are needed for a majority, there is some very hard work ahead. If a majority can be gotten only by changing some from Column 4, the situation is critical. But no matter how it looks, every hearing must be regarded as critical.
6. An accurate count is essential. Any reply to the question "How do you stand" which is less than an unequivocal, absolute commitment must be put in some column other than Column 1. Experienced legislators are expert at listening, seeming to be favorable to the interviewer's position, being personally friendly, but stopping short of the flat commitment.
7. Next comes the follow-up, with a variety of means of persuasion. Please remember: there is no case on record of a legislator making up his mind against you because he received too much pressure. If he says, "I was going your way until I got all that mail," or "You people have forced me over to the other side," that means he has been looking for an excuse to go the other way. He was never our vote in the first place. In dealing with legislators, it is impossible to exert too much pressure. At the same time, care must be taken that the image of the church is not harmed by imprudent or incautious tactics.

8. The means:

- * Personal visits to him by the legislator's friends and campaign supporters and workers;
- * Letters, telephone calls, and telegrams from them;
- * Personal visits by constituents, by committees of them, and by representatives of organizations in his district;
- * Resolutions and letters from organizations in his district;
- * Conversations with him by legislative leaders who are friendly to our cause;
- * If he is a union member, appeals to him by his fellow union members; if a businessman, appeals by friends in his business and by his customers; if a lawyer, appeals by colleagues; if a farmer, appeals by members of his farm organization (Farm Bureau, NFU, NFO, Grange); if a non-



union employee, an appeal by his employer following appeals by customers;

- * Discussions with him by other legislators who are friendly to us and whose support he needs for other measures in which he is more interested;
- * Discussions with him by local leaders of his own political party upon whom he relies for campaign support;
- * Discussions with him by those known to have contributed financially to his campaign;
- * Conversations with him by lobbyists not directly involved on our side but friendly to us and to him;
- * Personal letters from committees and organizations outside his constituency.

This list is incomplete and should be added to, according to local traditions and opportunities.

Then, after enough of these projects have been carried out--and you know for sure that they were carried out--it is time for the lobbying group or lobbyist to return to the members, formally.

9. Each of the means listed above must be explored carefully and carried out thoroughly. Every member in Column 2 and Column 5 should be studied by our group and researched carefully. It is best of all, of course, to have researched them months in advance and to have carried out this program over a period of months.

But if it must be done quickly, it can still be done thoroughly if our group is committed to digging--for areas of leverage, and for the persons to carry it out. Assiduous follow-up is essential to make sure the assignments are carried out.

If at all possible, a single intelligent, resourceful person within the district should be put in charge. This person should be of the legislator's own party and should be committed and ready to follow through persistently with citizens carrying out specific parts of the program.

10. Re-canvassing can then re-ascertain the member's position, a day or two before the hearing. If he is uncertain, wants to help, but feels committed to the other side, then he should be asked if he could be absent from the hearing. If he is not there, he does not violate his commitment to the adversaries, but he helps us by at least not voting against us.
11. The attendance of friendly members at the hearing must be re-confirmed carefully. Just because Column 1 now contains a majority or near-majority of the committee, it does not mean that they will all show up. The third canvassing must be made to obtain their commitments that they will be present and will vote correctly on all procedural motions and on the main motion.

HEARING TECHNIQUES

We will not discuss the content of the hearing here. It is assumed that good representation has been lined up, worked with and rehearsed, materials have been prepared both for presentation and distribution, interesting and persuasive testimony has been developed--directed especially toward those members who are still in Columns 4 and 5, and that all of the time granted by the chairman will be used well.

12. In some states a pre-hearing gathering of friendly, committed members of the committee is not unseemly. A breakfast before a morning session, or a luncheon before an afternoon meeting, or dinner before an evening committee session does several things:
 - a) It makes attendance of our friends more certain because they go directly from the social event to the hearing;
 - b) It provides an opportunity for the friendly members to ask any last-minute questions and to be given up-to-the-moment material; and
 - c) The get-together gives psychological stimulus to each friendly member as he sees that he is far from alone in supporting our position.
13. Recommend specific questions to friendly members of the committee, if questioning of witnesses is permitted. Questions should be of three types:

- a) Pointed questions meant to develop uncertain or unfriendly answers from opponents;
- b) Questions to our witnesses which will permit them to expand their case;
- c) Questions developed particularly for one or another of the adversary witnesses, directed toward what their testimony probably will be.

With many committee members, it is best to write out the questions on slips of plain white paper, with no printing or identification on the paper.

14. Choose a leader and an assistant leader from among the friendly committee members. They should be the most articulate, best-known, and most able parliamentarians from among the committee friends. Whether the committee takes action at the time of its hearing or in later executive session, these members should have their motions worked out. This must not be left to chance because too frequently one member will think another will make the motions with the result that neither does. Some of their procedural opportunities from the defensive position are:

- * Motion that the bill be given a do-not-pass recommendation;
- * Motion that the bill be referred to sub-committee for further study;
- * Motion that the bill be tabled indefinitely;
- * Motion that the bill be returned to its author;
- * Motion that the bill be returned to its author for further drafting;
- * Motion that action be postponed to a date certain.

Which motions are used will depend upon your state's rules and upon our strength within the committee, and also upon how much face-saving must be done for the opposition. These tactical judgments should be made by the lobbyist and our leader from among the friendly committee members.

15. If we have anything less than an absolute, certain majority of those sure to attend, and if there is the slightest doubt about being able to kill the bill, a large number of amendments should be prepared. These must be prepared well in advance and placed, in final form, with several members of the committee who are committed to introduce them. One or two amendments are not sufficient; ten or twelve are a better number.
16. If the outcome is still in doubt during the hearing, a friendly member should ask--toward the end of the time allotted to our side--if we need more time. Our chief witness should be prepared to cite a list of several more speakers who could not be present or who have asked for an opportunity to be heard. Then the friendly member should ask the chairman for a continuation of the hearing for at least one week, and if possible for two or three weeks. This provides time for redoubling the lobbying effort.
17. If permitted under the state's rules, and if the outlook is bad during the committee hearing, the friendly chairman of some other committee which could have jurisdiction (Welfare, if the hearing is in Health; Law Enforcement, if the hearing is in Welfare, etc.) should come to the hearing to ask that the bill be referred to his committee for study and recommendation. In states where dual or triple committee study and action are permitted, a chairman usually can have the bill referred to him as a courtesy. Then the entire process can be started from the beginning.
18. Seek the advice of an astute parliamentarian thoroughly familiar with the state's rules. There are other possibilities for delay and death:
 - * Referral to a standing commission for study;
 - * Inclusion in the work of an interim study commission;
 - * Referral to Appropriations if anything in the bill requires state expenditure;
 - * Delay to await any action from the other house if it already has a similar bill;

* Referral to the Attorney General for an opinion on constitutionality; and

* Referral to the Rules Committee or Steering Committee

are among the other possible techniques.

Central to this approach is the acquisition of knowledge about the committee members and consistent follow-up in every way available, to obtain their commitments at the earliest possible date. It is preferable to stop the bill before any hearing. But if there must be one, the votes must be counted well in advance, and counted well.

Arithmetic is the first law of politics.

ON THE LEGISLATIVE FLOOR

The legislative counsel's cardinal rule is to kill dangerous legislation in committee and never to let it get to floor debate and full house or senate stage. Once a bill has left committee, it becomes infinitely harder to stop for the simple arithmetical fact that so many more votes must be accumulated against it than in committee. A senate has six or seven times more members than any of its committees, and a house may have ten to twenty times more members than there are on any committee.

With enough Pre-Session, Early Session, and Pre-Hearing work and with carefully planned tactical and persuasive activities over a period of several months, the chances of an intelligently and strongly opposed adverse bill being reported favorably out of committee are virtually nil.

But let us suppose that--despite full application of all techniques and methods described in earlier sections of this manual--a bill is reported out of committee. A new plan, for which preparations must have already been made, then goes into effect.

It is important to remember that every point described below may have to be performed twice--first in the chamber to which the committee is reporting--and then, if that chamber, either House or Senate, passes the bill, again in the other house where the bill must travel its entire prescribed parliamentary route once again. Where the term "house" is used below, it means either house, the Senate or the House (Assembly in some states), depending simply upon which one is receiving the committee recommendation.

1. An accurate tabulation must be made at once of every member's position--a "nose-count." Employ the same techniques for counting the votes as were employed in the committee stage. They are described fully in the immediately preceding section of this manual. Do not be optimistic; count every "unknown" as adverse until you have firm information about his position.

2. Assess the timing--when the bill is apt to come to the floor for debate and amendment. In some states a bill may creep slowly up on the calendar of bills to be considered. In other states it may come to the floor within a matter of days--or even hours--after committee recommendation. In states where there is time to do the work after a loss in committee, it will be possible to carry out the program after the committee recommendation

has been made. In states in which rapid floor action is customary, the work must be done before the committee takes action; there will be very little time afterward. It is imperative to avoid being caught without sufficient time to activate an entire program between the point of committee action and the point of floor action. The only way to be sure of having enough time is to begin the floor action plan well in advance of committee action--assuming that the committee report may be adverse.

Working on the entire body before there is committee action has two effects: (1) members who are not on the committee transmit conversationally to those who are committee members, pointing out the amount of public interest, and urging their colleagues to keep the bill in committee, or to kill it there to spare political bloodshed in the full house; and (2) advance work, should there be an adverse committee result, saves time later and provides a base for building defenses in the entire house. Doing the work before the committee reports is logical, sensible insurance.

3. The first nose-count will show which members need to hear from home in opposition to the bill. The best form of communication from home is the delegation--or several groups at different times--meeting the legislator when he comes home, and also travelling to the Capitol to obtain a commitment from him against the bill. The second best form is telephone calls from informed, articulate opponents. Third best is the letter. And least desirable, unless done in small quantity, is the telegram. Large numbers of telegrams smack of carefully structured preparation and of some hidden force paying for the wires. They are to be used sparingly, if at all. And if the other forms of communication are organized and used in time, telegrams should not be necessary.

4. Meantime, your Capitol representatives and significant small delegations are meeting with the leadership of the appropriate house and with the majority and minority leaderships. Their first appeal is for help against the bill. Failing that, they ask for procedural help--to slow it down so that further work can be done against it, or for re-referral to another committee for more complete hearings and further consideration. Even if the leadership has taken a public position against the bill, it is imperative to visit them--to seek their advice about what they want you to do, to offer help, and to establish communication with them.

On the other hand, if the leadership has gone on record in favor of this bad bill, it is still absolutely essential to visit them--to attempt to swing them back at least to center, to try neutralizing them, and still to seek their advice. Frequently their public position and their private views

are quite different; being on record publicly, they still may recommend which members can be most effective in opposition, and they may give in on tactical points. Your visit to a publicly in-favor leader may give him a chance to get off the hook.

5. Study the rules and procedural opportunities closely. In most states there are twenty to thirty important procedural opportunities for delay and defeat. Delay is vital--most houses must adjourn or want to adjourn by a certain time--and every day in which the bill is left on the calendar, or passed over by motion, or superceded by special orders for other bills, is a day of victory.

Examples of the procedural opportunities open in most states are re-referral to another committee by motion and speaker's concurrence, request for an attorney general's opinion on legality, or joint finance committee's opinion on fiscal areas of the bill, points of order, call for a quorum, amendments (more on that below), motions to table, to postpone, to take up at a time certain, and so on. Every opportunity provided in your state must be studied, worked into the tactical plan, and used.

6. Organize the floor team, supply them with ammunition and put the floor plan in writing. Develop a group of legislators who will carry the defensive fight. Pick and solicit the members of this group, according to two criteria: (1) which are the most effective and persuasive speakers and tacticians, and (2) those who have small blocs of other legislators who follow them frequently.

This group's help should be solicited in the nose-count, too.

A complete tactical plan must be laid out: who will make which motions, who will second them (many motions fail for want of a second), who will call for roll calls in committee of the whole, who will make speeches, who will present which amendments, who will take the floor in favor of those amendments, who will quarterback the floor fight, and who will stay in touch with your professional legislative advisors outside the chamber and in the gallery.

Then speeches must be drafted--lengthy ones on main points, shorter ones in support of those points. Other speeches must be written in support of certain amendments and opposed to other amendments. These speeches must be placed with members who are totally pledged to use them, and who promise to use them in the sequence which the floor plan calls for, and under instructions from the floor plan leaders who are calling the shots during the debate.

7. Materials must be written and distributed to the entire chamber at intervals before the debate, and on the day of the action. These should be simple, easy to read, hard-hitting materials, telling the entire story in several different ways and from several different points of view. One and two page broadsides are most effective, mimeographed to avoid the appearance of expense, and on the letterhead of the local Right to Life Committee, and of whatever other organizations may be recruited to assist.

8. Amendments of two types should be prepared. If the battle seems to be going badly, substantive amendments--prepared to soften the bill and to provide openings for future watering-down and ultimate repeal--should be ready and programmed into the floor-action plan. It is not unusual to attempt from ten to fifteen such amendments; each requires a maker, a speech for him, and speeches and comments for seconders and supporters.

But before these amendments are attempted, obstacle amendments should be presented in the same way. These seek to point up the bill's inconsistencies, attempt to make it difficult or next to impossible to administer, inject unconstitutional elements, provide sections which will be unacceptable to the other house, and all but destroy the bill. Members who are already committed to the other side will frequently vote for such amendments or for adverse tactical motions as a way of helping the opponents--even though they must ultimately vote for the bill, in whatever condition it is, on final passage.

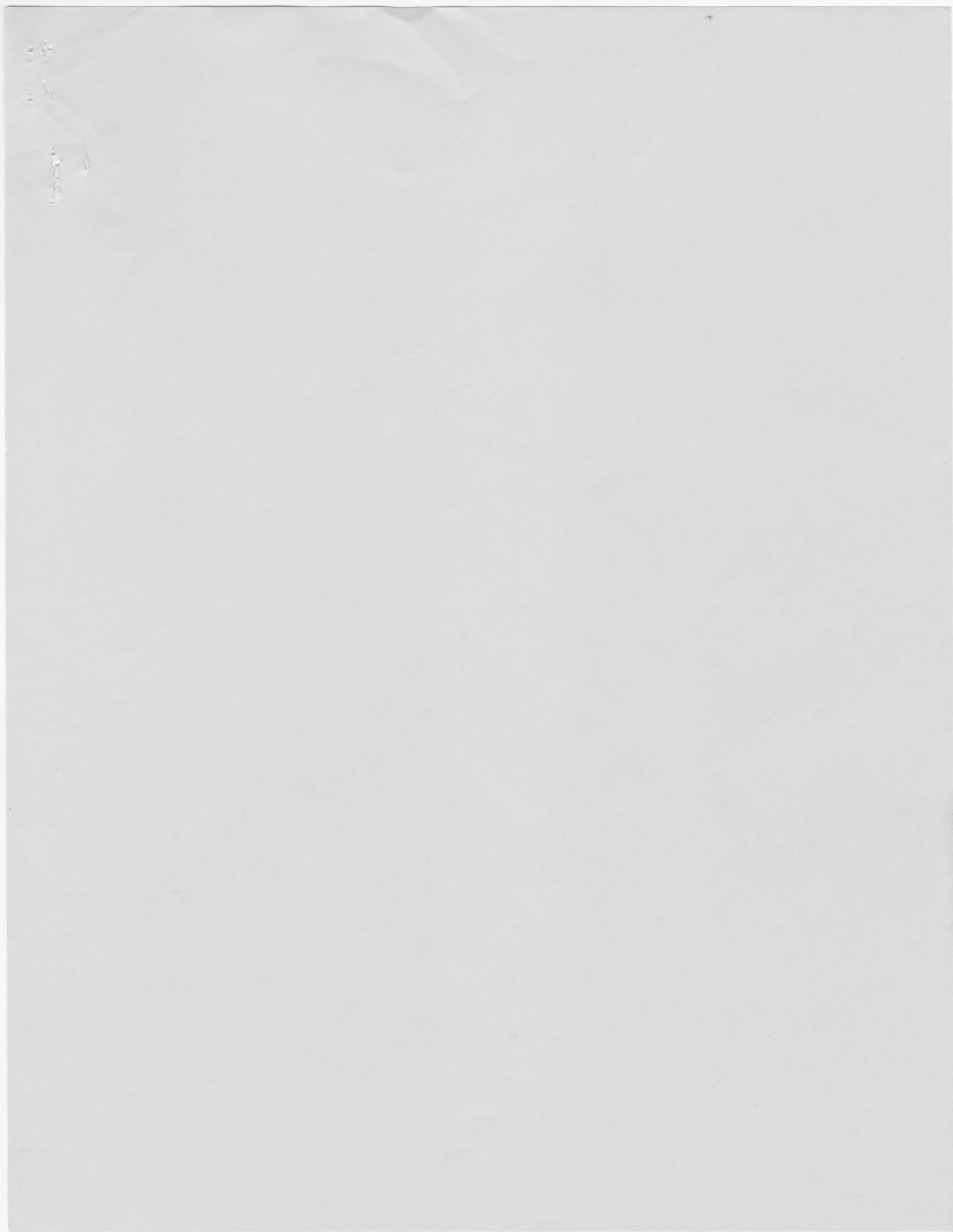
9. The Rules Committee frequently sets the calendar, and the order in which bills will be considered. They should be lobbied as thoroughly as the committee of origin was lobbied before the hearing.

10. If the bill passes, a motion for reconsideration should be made within the parliamentary time limit for such a motion. This motion must be made by a member of the prevailing side; sometimes, when a vote is going badly, a member who is friendly to us will--by pre-arrangement--switch his vote before the roll is closed in order to be on the prevailing side. He will then call for reconsideration. During the time before that vote, in some states one day and in others two days, the entire lobbying program must be re-accelerated to its highest pitch in an effort to switch votes from the other side. Even if this does not work, the motion and resulting vote will still gain time for our side before the bill goes to the other house or to the governor for signature.

11. Whenever possible, attempt through amendment to create two different bills in the two houses. Even a small difference in the final house and senate versions will require a conference committee, which opens the door to re-lobbying, delay and possible killing of the bill, or referral for interim study, and at the very least, another opportunity on the floor when the conferred bill is sent back to the two houses for final action.

12. Prepare the program of persuasion for use on the governor's office if required. Delegations, mail, important citizens and group leaders, telegrams, telephone calls--the full panoply of techniques described earlier, plus newspaper reaction and public statements--must be ready if a bill gets as far as the governor's office. He must be given every reason and every opportunity to veto the bill.

13. If it passes and is signed, begin planning at once for the introduction in the next session of repealer legislation and of amendments to weaken the new statute. The public support program and tactical and political planning must begin within weeks after the session's end, to be ready for the next round in the fight.



MURDER INCORPORATED

Archbishop Strecker of Kansas City claims "that more babies suffer death at the hands of doctors turned abortionists during the year than all the military killed in Vietnam during the same period.

YOUR TAX DOLLARS AT WORK....

In a series of articles that started over two years ago, this writer has tried every way possible to penetrate the apathy of the reader, to do something for life. We are fully convinced that were it possible for the average man or woman to actually see an abortion.... to see a tiny but humanly formed baby.... moving and many times gasping for air.... being tossed to one side and left to die.... with its ultimate destination being the hospital incinerator, he or she would be so revolted as to become a fanatic for life.

Although this happens about 4,000 times a day, all over our land, the gruesome aspects are kept well hidden from the public view.... thus the apathy. However, an interesting aspect that does affect you is developed below. Would it surprise you to know that you actually pay to have abortions performed?

Would you be more interested if we showed you chapter and verse how these anti-life fanatics are hitting you hard in the pocket-book....

The Supreme Court decision, with minor variations of time, and with much legal prestidigitation attempting to identify the source of this right of a woman to destroy the life within her, a right that had escaped renowned Constitutional Jurists for almost two hundred years, did nevertheless affirm it.

So the law of the land, now affirms any woman for any or no reason.... has a right to abortion from conception to birth....

What the New York State Abortion Law, or the Supreme Court decision **DID NOT PROCLAIM** was that exercise of this right may be, must be, or should be, implemented by public funds... the source of which are **YOUR TAXES**.

The Supreme Court held this right of a woman to abort her offspring so inviolable, up to advanced state of pregnancy that only two people are involved in its exercise and these are specifically named **THE WOMAN AND HER DOCTOR**. The State must keep hands off....

THE DECISION DID NOT PROSCRIBE YOUR RIGHT NOT TO HELP THE KILLERS.

The Court decision left the State free to decide by passage of specific laws whether or not they wished to be accomplices to the mass killings.

THIS IS AN IMPORTANT DISTINCTION....

When the State of New York and particularly New York City, rushed to institute programs using City and State public funds, hospitals and medical personnel under the pretext they had to obey the law, were perpetrating the greatest deception since **HITLER'S BIG LIE....**

Included in the final chapters of Chief Justice Burger's decision, were these words... "Plainly, the Court **REJECTS** any claim that the Constitution requires **ABORTION ON DEMAND**". (Pro-abortionists predict 1,500,000 abortions will be completed in the U.S. for 1973).

Nothing in the State Law or nothing in the Court decision requires or suggests that **PUBLIC FUNDS** be used to implement this right.

The Courts and the State defend and respect my right to drive an automobile. But neither the Courts nor the state will suggest that the car or gas to operate it must be furnished from public funds.

Again we will have the soft heads suggest that the rich can afford abortion so the State should be required to pay for the poor. Maybe they should, but they are not under current law and to do so is a clear violation of law. The rich can afford Cadillacs but is the State required to buy them for the poor?

We have not been able to secure a figure of State or City expenditures for abortion, but we do have authenticated figures on Federal Government spending on the promotion of abortion and sterilization by private tax exempt organizations. We draw special attention to how frequently the word **COMPULSORY** enters into programs and aims of these organizations.

Last Mothers Day, Governor Rockefeller vetoed the **REPEAL** of the New York State Abortion Law, by our legislature.

NOTE: How frequently his brother's name enters into the funding and promotion of abortion...

YOUR TAX DOLLARS AT WORK....

In 1972 the office of Environmental Education-O.E.E. made grants totalling \$127,000.00 for population education control.

Distribution was as follows:

A.L.E.X. Dupont School, Greenville	\$ 13,000.00
Indiana Univ. Foundation	35,000.00
Univ. of No. Carolina	20,000.00
Zero Population Growth, Fargo, N.D.	4,000.00
Univ. of Cincinnati	5,000.00
Population Education Inc. Wash. D.C. (an outgrowth of the Rockefeller Comm.).....	50,000.00
O.E.E. projects funding #F41972	

Director of O.E.E. Walter Bogan, admitted to six projects selected for 1972. Zero Population Growth representatives were used as Councils.

Among tax monies spent were:

Population Education Inc. (Rockefeller created group)	\$ 50,000.00
Fargo-Moorehead Zero Population Growth	4,000.00

YOUR TAX DOLLARS AT WORK....

Office of Equal Opportunity grant to Planned Parenthood of the Southern Mountains.

Purpose - Program of sterilization, to carry out, over a period of two years 150 vasectomies and 150 tubal ligations.

Cost to taxpayers	\$ 240,000.00
(Aikin County S.C., 18 of 50 Medicaid patients sterilized, 17 of the 18 were black, POPULATION CONTROL???)	

Rockefeller Population Council, technical aid for childrens booklet to Chinese Center for International Training in Family Planning. (Taiwan)

Funding for paper and ink, 440,000 copies	\$ 10,000.00
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OVER

Human Resources sub-committee. Population Control, Senate Bill #S1708.

Tax dollars for 1974 \$231,000,000.00
Tax dollars projected for 1976 348,500,000.00

WHY PRO-LIFE GETS NO MEDIA COVERAGE....

Can mass media advertising increase contraceptive use?

Six months multi-media campaign undertaken in four U.S. Cities.

Financing this experiment were:

H.E.W. - Dept. Health Education & Welfare \$ 30,000.00
Rockefeller Foundation 85,000.00
National Center for Family Planning 252,000.00
(Study conducted by: J.W. Thompson Agency.)

YOUR TAX DOLLARS AT WORK....

The capture of this nations Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) by the population controllers has proved to be a "golden goose", as is amply evident by taking a look at the MILLIONS of tax dollars this agency has been pouring into the Malthusian Movement abroad. The following data was taken from AID'S fifth population report 1965 to 1971, with the majority of dollars falling between 69-71....

Population Council \$ 17,373,000.00
International Planned Parenthood Federation 22,612,000.00
Pathfinder 8,299,000.00
Planned Parenthood-World Population 3,800,000.00
Margret Sanger Research Bureau 1,035,000.00
NICHD - Contraceptive Research Branch 1,563,000.00
Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology ... 3,188,000.00
International Conference on Voluntary Sterilization 20,000,000.00
Makerere University - Uganda 1,264,000.00
University of Chicago Workshops 672,000.00
John Hopkins University 4,700,000.00
Planned Parenthood, Chicago 200,000.00
University of Michigan 3,747,000.00
University of No. Carolina 12,309,000.00
Howard University 1,625,000.00
Columbia University 1,651,000.00
University of Pittsburgh 839,000.00
University of Hawaii 1,101,000.00

A.I.D. is the largest distributor of contraceptive pills, more than all private groups put together. In addition to the pill, A.I.D. purchased over one million IUD's. **

A.I.D. Contraceptive Commodities Program 4,400,000.00

**U.S. Gov't confiscates IUD stock in N.Y.C., Federal Food & Drug Administration claims IUD's need surgical removal, perforate uterus, number of woman require hysterectomies and are otherwise potential harmful.??????

YOUR TAX DOLLARS AT WORK....

H.E.W. Dept. Health Education and Welfare purchased 100 copies of the Rockefeller Film "Population Growth and the American Future" - aired over P.B.S. TV, Nov. 1972.

Cost to taxpayers \$ 230,000.00

The Rockefeller Commission whose report recommended abortion as a means of population control, (rejected by Pres. Nixon) issued a propaganda film to sell their report.

Due to active lobbying on the part of many pro-life groups the Gov't is presently investigating H.E.W.'s role in the sponsorship and distribution of this film. The U.S. Coalition for Life requested equivalent exposure of the pro-life side of the question as a companion film.... Request rejected....

YOUR TAX DOLLARS AT WORK....

TEEN SCENE....

H.E.W. (U.S. Federal grant #05-H00301), 7837:

Planned Parenthood, Chicago1971 \$ 69,000.00
Planned Parenthood, Chicago1973 189,000.00
For use by C.A.R.E. (Cooperative Abortion Referral Evaluation)
Meanwhile Chicago "Birthright" suffers financial hardships....

YOUR TAX DOLLARS AT WORK....

Foreign Assistance Act. Title X.

Responsible Parenthood Program, "Los Supermachos" \$ 1,100.00

Panama purchased 10,000 copies of the Mexican booklet Nov. 72. We object to this blasphemous book whose cover features a little old Mexican woman kneeling before a statue of the Blessed Mother praying:

LITTLE VIRGIN, YOU WHO CONCEIVED WITHOUT SINNING,
TEACH ME TO SIN WITHOUT CONCEIVING....
(your tax dollars at work)

YOUR TAX DOLLARS AT WORK....

Federally funded by H.E.W., a program designed to study and investigate the Catholic resistance to abortion in New York State, Entitled DIOCESAN MOBILIZATION AGAINST ABORTION LAW REFORM. A one year grant to Dr. J. Mayone Strcos, Director of International Population Program of Cornell University and candidate Frank J. Traina, Sept. 1 1972 to August 31, 1973....
Your tax dollars to investigate Catholics \$ 11,390.00

IS THIS HOW YOU WANT YOUR TAX MONEY USED??? GET INVOLVED WITH LIFE.... WRITE OR VISIT YOUR LEGISLATORS NOW.... DO THEY REALLY REPRESENT YOUR VIEWS....

Charles J. Williamson