

July 12, 1984

FOR MR. JAMES A. BAKER

Dear Jim:

Thank you for the statement. As you asked me last Friday to advise you of any changes I felt necessary, I made bold to do so. Specifically, I request consideration of the following modifications in the section headed "Policy Objectives."

Number one, amend the beginning of the last sentence of the fourth paragraph to read as follows (added language underscored):

"The U.S. will also call for concrete assurances that the UNFBA is not engaged in, or does not provide funding for, abortion or coercive family planning programs . . ."

Number two, amend the fifth paragraph to read as follows (new language underscored):

"In addition, when efforts to lower population growth are deemed advisable, U.S. policy considers it imperative that such efforts respect the religious beliefs and culture of each society, and the right of couples to determine the size of their own families. Accordingly, the U.S. will not provide family planning funds to any nation which engages in coercion to achieve population growth objectives."

*ivable*

If these changes are acceptable and assuming an appropriate delegation and staffing, I will be pleased to head the delegation to Mexico City. Again, I must emphasize that time is very short.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

James L. Buckley

Dictated Over Phone

by Mr. Buckley's (President of  
Radio Free Europe & Radio Liberty)  
secretary in Munich

011-4989 2102 300

(Ms. Maria Rerrich)

(Her Home No. is 011-4989 9832 44

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Jim Cicconi

back

Quotes from Julian Simon's Book The Ultimate Resource

Chapter "What Are Your Values", p. 341

"I hope you share my belief that it is good for people to be able, as much as possible, to decide how to run their own lives. Such a desire for individual self-determination is quite consistent with giving people maximum information about birth control, because information increases their ability to have the number of children they want. It is also consistent with legal abortion. . . . I am unqualifiedly in favor of all these policies to increase the individual's ability to achieve the family size she or he chooses."

Chapter "The Politics of Population Control", p. 301

". . . or pro-abortion freedom and pro-population growth (for example, the writer of this book); . . ."

Latest Draft  
as I understand  
it. Peter McPherson

The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1959) calls for legal protection for children before birth as well as after birth; and the United States does not consider abortion an acceptable element of family planning programs and will no longer contribute to those of which it is a part. Accordingly, when dealing with nations which support abortion with funds not provided by the United States government, the United States will contribute to such nations through segregated accounts which cannot be used for abortion. Also, the United States will insist that no part of its contribution to UNFPA be used for abortion. The United States will call for concrete assurances that the UNFPA is not engaged in abortion or coercive family planning. If such assurances are not forthcoming, the United States will redirect the amount of its contribution to non-UNFPA family planning activities. Moreover the United States will no longer contribute to non-government organizations which perform or actively promote abortions as a method of family planning in other nations. U. S. Government authorities will immediately begin to negotiate to implement the above policies with the appropriate governments and organizations.

The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1959) calls for legal protection for children before birth as well as after birth. In keeping with this ~~principle~~<sup>obligation</sup>, the United States does not consider abortion an acceptable element of family planning programs and will no longer contribute to those of which it is a part. ~~Accordingly,~~<sup>Accordingly, when</sup> when dealing with nations which support abortion with funds not provided by the United States government, the United States will contribute to such nations through ~~separate~~<sup>segregated</sup> accounts which cannot be used for abortion.

1  
➔ Moreover, the United States will no longer contribute to ~~separate~~ non-governmental organizations which perform or actively promote abortion as a method of family planning <sup>in other nations.</sup> With regard to the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), the U.S. will insist that no part of its contribution to the UNFPA be used for abortion, ~~and will negotiate an arrangement to immediately implement this policy.~~ The U.S. will also ~~require~~<sup>call for</sup> concrete assurances that the UNFPA is not ~~directly or indirectly~~ engaged in abortion or coercive family planning programs; ~~if~~<sup>if</sup> such assurances <sup>are not forthcoming,</sup> the U.S. will ~~consider further steps as appropriate under U.S. law.~~ ~~given U.S. policy,~~ ~~redirect its contribution~~ ~~to~~ ~~family planning programs.~~ ~~the amount of its contribution to other, non-UNFPA family planning programs.~~

Insert  
~~US government authorities will immediately begin negotiations to negotiate arrangements to~~ ~~with appropriate governments and organizations~~ ~~to immediately implement the above policies~~

3 US government authorities will immediately begin negotiations to implement the above policies with the appropriate governments and organizations.

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In addition,

Efforts to lower population growth <sup>where</sup> ~~in cases in which~~ it is deemed advisable to do so must, <sup>also</sup> ~~moreover~~, respect the religious beliefs and culture of each society.

It is time to put additional emphasis upon those root problems which frequently exacerbate population pressures. By focusing upon real remedies for underdeveloped economies, the United Nations Conference on Population can reduce demographic issues to their proper place. It is an important place, but not the controlling one. It requires our continuing attention within the broader context of economic growth and of the economic freedom that is its prerequisite.

The U.S. at Mexico City

In conjunction with the above statements of policy, the following principles should be drawn upon to guide the U.S. delegation at the International Conference on Population:

1. Respect for human life is basic, and any attempt to use abortion, involuntary sterilization, or other coercive measures in family planning must be rejected.

2. Population policies and programs should be fully integrated into, and reinforce, appropriate, market-oriented development policies; their objective should be clearly seen as an improvement in the human condition, and not merely an exercise in limiting births.

3. Access to family education and services is needed, especially in the context of maternal/child health programs, in order to enable couples to exercise responsible parenthood. Consistent with values and customs, the U.S. favors offering couples a variety of medically approved methods.

4. Though population factors merit serious consideration in development strategy, they are not a substitute for sound economic policies which liberate individual initiative through the market mechanism.

5. There should be higher international priority for biomedical research into safer and better methods of fertility regulation, especially natural family planning,

and for operations research into more effective service delivery and program management.

6. Issues of migration should be handled in ways consistent with both human rights and national sovereignty.

7. The U.S., in cooperation with other concerned countries, should resist intrusion of polemical or non-germane issues into Conference deliberations.

## REVISED DRAFT STATEMENT

### Introduction

For many years, the United States has supported, and helped to finance, programs of family planning, particularly in the less developed countries. This Administration has continued that support but has placed it within a policy context different from that of the past. It is sufficiently evident that the current exponential growth in global population cannot continue indefinitely. There is no question of the ultimate need to achieve a condition of population equilibrium. The differences that do exist concern the choice of strategies and methods for the achievement of that goal. The experience of the last two decades not only makes possible but requires a sharper focus for our population policy. It requires a more refined approach to problems which appear today in quite a different light than they did twenty years ago.

First and most important, population growth is, of itself, a neutral phenomenon. It is not necessarily good or ill. It becomes an asset or a problem only in conjunction with other factors, such as economic policy, social constraints, need for manpower, and so forth. The relationship between population growth and economic development is not a negative one. More people do not necessarily mean less growth. Indeed, in the economic history of many nations, population growth has been an essential element in economic progress.

Before the advent of governmental population programs, several factors had combined to create an unprecedented surge in population over most of the world. Although population levels in many industrialized nations had reached or were approaching equilibrium in the period before the Second World War, the baby boom that followed in its wake resulted in a dramatic, but temporary, population "tilt" toward youth. The disproportionate number of infants, children, teenagers, and eventually young adults did strain the social infrastructure of schools, health facilities, law enforcement and so forth. However, it also helped sustain strong economic growth, despite occasionally counterproductive government policies.

Among the developing nations, a coincidental population increase was caused by entirely different factors. A tremendous expansion of health services -- from simple inoculations to sophisticated surgery -- saved millions of lives every year. Emergency relief, facilitated by modern transport, helped millions to survive flood, famine, and drought. The sharing of technology, the teaching of agriculture and engineering, and improvements in educational standards, generally, all helped to reduce mortality rates, especially infant mortality, and to lengthen life spans.

This demonstrated not poor planning or bad policy but human progress in a new era of international assistance, technological advance, and human compassion. The population boom was a challenge; it need not have been a crisis. Seen in its broader context, it required a measured, modulated response. It provoked an overreaction by some, largely because it coincided with two

negative factors which, together, hindered families and nations in adapting to their changing circumstances.

The first of these factors was governmental control of economies, a development which effectively constrained economic growth. The post-war experience consistently demonstrated that, as economic decision-making was concentrated in the hands of planners and public officials, the ability of average men and women to work towards a better future was impaired, and sometimes crippled. In many cases, agriculture was devastated by government price fixing that wiped out rewards for labor. Job creation in infant industries was hampered by confiscatory taxes. Personal industry and thrift were penalized, while dependence upon the state was encouraged. Political considerations made it difficult for the economy to adjust to changes in supply and demand or to disruptions in world trade and finance. Under such circumstances, population growth changed from an asset in the development of economic potential to a peril.

One of the consequences of this "economic statism" was that it disrupted the natural mechanism for slowing population growth in problem areas. The world's more affluent nations have reached a population equilibrium without compulsion and, in most cases, even before it was government policy to achieve it. The controlling factor in these cases has been the adjustment, by individual families, of reproductive behavior to economic opportunity and aspiration. Historically, as opportunities and the standard of living rise, the birth rate falls. Economic freedom has led to economically rational behavior.

That historic pattern might be well under way in many nations where population growth is today a problem, if counter-productive government policies had not disrupted economic incentives, rewards, and advancement. In this regard, localized crises of population growth are, in part, evidence of too much government control and planning, rather than too little.

The second factor that turned the population boom into a crisis was confined to the western world. It was an outbreak of an anti-intellectualism, which attacked science, technology, and the very concept of material progress. Joined to a commendable and long overdue concern for the environment, it was more a reflection of anxiety about unsettled times and an uncertain future. In its disregard of human experience and scientific sophistication, it was not unlike other waves of cultural anxiety that have swept through western civilization during times of social stress and scientific exploration.

The combination of these two factors -- counterproductive economic policies in poor and struggling nations; and a pseudo-scientific pessimism among the more advanced -- led to a demographic overreaction in the 1960's and 1970's. Scientific forecasts were required to compete with unsound, extremist scenarios, and too many governments pursued population control measures, rather than sound economic policies that create the rise in living standards historically associated with decline in fertility rates. This approach has not worked, primarily because it has focused on a symptom and neglected the underlying ailments. For the last three years, this Administration has sought to reverse that approach. We

recognize that immediate population pressures may require short-term efforts to meliorate them. But population control programs alone cannot substitute for the economic reforms that put a society on the road toward growth and, as an after-effect, toward slower population increase as well.

Nor can population control substitute for the rapid and responsible development of natural resources. In commenting on the Global 2000 report, this Administration in 1981 repudiated its call for more governmental supervision and control, stating that:

"Historically, that has tended to restrict the availability of resources and to hamper the development of technology, rather than to assist it. Recognizing the seriousness of environmental and economic problems, and their relationship to social and political pressures, especially in the developing nations, the Administration places a priority upon technological advance and economic expansion, which hold out the hope of prosperity and stability of a rapidly changing world. That hope can be realized, of course, only to the extent that government's response to problems, whether economic or ecological, respects and enhances individual freedom, which makes true progress possible and worthwhile."

Those principles underlie this country's approach to the United Nations Conference on Population to be held in Mexico City in August.

Policy Objectives

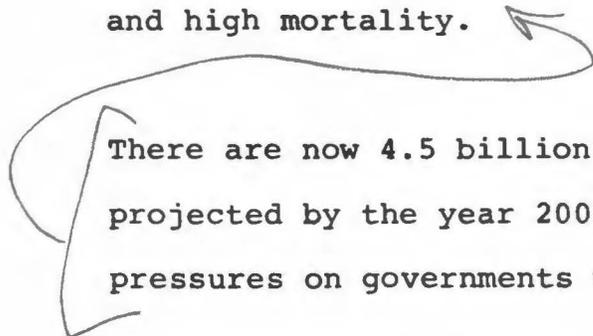
The International Conference on Population offers the U.S. an opportunity to strengthen the international consensus on the interrelationships between economic development and population which has emerged since the last such conference in Bucharest in 1974. Our primary objective will be to encourage developing countries to adopt sound economic policies and, where appropriate, population policies consistent with respect for human dignity and family values. As President Reagan stated, in his message to the Mexico City Conference:

~~Conference:~~

We believe population programs can and must be truly voluntary, cognizant of the rights and responsibilities of individuals and families, and respectful of religious and cultural values. When they are, such programs can make an important contribution to economic and social development, to the health of mothers and children, and to the stability of the family and of society.

The world's rapid population growth is a recent phenomenon. Only several decades ago, the population of developing countries was relatively stable, the result of a balance between high fertility and high mortality.

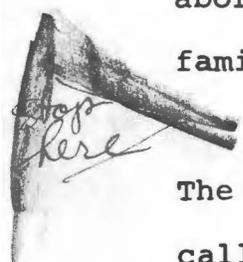
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There are now 4.5 billion people in the world, and six billion are projected by the year 2000. Such rapid growth places tremendous pressures on governments without concomitant economic growth.

U.S. support for family planning programs is based on ~~two fundamental~~ <sup>respect for human life, enhancement of,</sup> ~~moral principles,~~ <sup>enhancing human dignity,</sup> and strengthening <sup>of the</sup> family life.

~~The respect for human life is a basic moral value, and in accord-~~  
with <sup>those principles,</sup> ~~that value,~~ we reject compulsion or coercion in family planning programs, whether it is exercised against families within a society or against nations within the family of man. <sup>the respect for human life is a basic moral</sup> Attempts to use abortion, involuntary sterilization, or other coercive measures in family planning must be shunned.



The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1959) calls for legal protection for children before birth as well as after birth. In keeping with this <sup>obligation,</sup> ~~principle,~~ the United States does not consider abortion an acceptable element of family planning programs and will no longer contribute to those of which it is

part. Accordingly, ~~when dealing with nations which support~~ <sup>the United States will no longer contribute to non-governmental</sup> ~~organizations which perform or actively promote abortion as a method of family planning.~~



# NEWS

DATE: June 25, 1984

FROM: William Ryan

O - 202/659-6700

H - 202/686-1824

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

## BISHOPS' SPOKESMAN PRAISES ADMINISTRATION POLICY STATEMENT FOR POPULATION CONFERENCE

WASHINGTON--The General Secretary of the United States Catholic Conference (USCC) praised an Administration position paper which is intended as a policy statement for the forthcoming International Conference on Population.

In a letter to President Reagan, Msgr. Daniel F. Hoyer expressed the hope that key features of the White House proposal will be retained in the final document, to be presented in Mexico City in August, and that "this will signal a redirection of American policy toward an approach which is more balanced and more respectful of human dignity."

The Administration position paper, drafted by White House and National Security Council staff, states, among other things, that abortion is completely unacceptable as a form of family planning, and that the U.S. will not give direct or indirect support to programs which use or advocate it as an instrument of population control.

Msgr. Hoyer told President Reagan that certain declarations in the position paper "are very much in accord with concerns expressed by the bishops of the United States in their 1973

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NATIONAL CATHOLIC OFFICE FOR INFORMATION

1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W. · WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005

Statement on Population, as well as by Pope John Paul II and the bishops of the world at the 1980 Synod on the Family."

"There is little doubt that these principles have not always been respected in developed nations' policies with respect to the Third World," Msgr. Hoye said.

Following is the text of Msgr. Hoye's letter to President Reagan:

Dear Mr. President:

The position paper drafted by White House and National Security Council staff, intended as a policy statement for the International Conference on Population in Mexico City in August, contains several features that are worthy of praise. Of particular interest are the following suggestions made in the draft proposal:

1. Abortion is completely unacceptable as a form of family planning, and the U.S. will not give direct or indirect support to programs which use or advocate it as an instrument of population control.
2. Although rapid population growth can sometimes aggravate social and economic problems for developing nations, it is not an evil in and of itself, and becomes a serious problem only in conjunction with other social and economic factors. Consequently, population stabilization should not be over-emphasized as an end in itself but must be seen in a broader context. Efforts to help these nations develop their natural resources and raise their standard of living should be given higher priority.
3. Efforts to lower population growth should reject all "compulsion or coercion," and must "respect the religious beliefs and culture of each society."

These statements are very much in accord with concerns expressed by the bishops of the United States in their 1973 Statement on Population, as well as by Pope John Paul II and the bishops of the world at the 1980 Synod on the Family. There is little doubt that these principles have not always been respected in developed nations' policies with respect to the Third World. I hope these features of the White House staff proposal will be retained in the final document presented at Mexico City, and that this will signal a redirection of American policy toward an approach which is more balanced and more respectful of human dignity.

# # #

A,X,AB

6/27 Noted by JAE in E.F.

CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH  
4TH DISTRICT, NEW JERSEY



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VETERANS' AFFAIRS

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HEALTH AND HOSPITALS

HOUSING AND MEMORIAL AFFAIRS

COMMISSIONER:  
COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND  
COOPERATION IN EUROPE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

June 26, 1984

The Honorable James A. Baker III  
Chief of Staff and Assistant to  
the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Jim:

We would like to thank you for arranging the breakfast meeting last Thursday. It's good to know you share our concern about the Mexico City conference and the constructive effect the Administration's policy statement could have there.

As the Administration works toward a final draft of that statement, we want to express our confident hope that the story about it in yesterday's Washington Times was off the mark. To exclude the UNFPA from the scope of the paper -- or to adopt an approach that substitutes separate accounting procedures for the UNFPA -- would not only minimize its impact but also invite its evasion in the future.

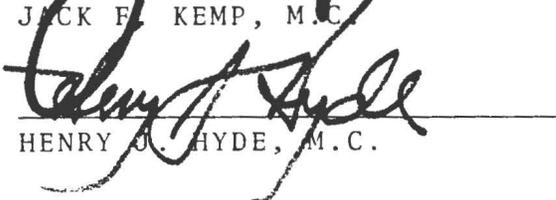
The UNFPA should have to follow the same guidelines as the other organizations receiving AID population funds. Contrary to the disinformation being circulated by the population control lobby, this would not mean a massive cutoff in funding. The UNFPA will not go out of business. It will have no choice but to abide by the conditions prescribed by the President.

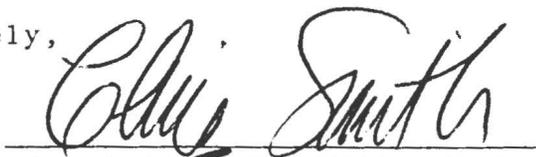
Incidentally, that would set an interesting precedent for dealing with other controversial UN agencies, to bring them into line with Administration policy.

Perhaps that is why some people are trying so hard to exclude the UNFPA from the carefully reasoned provisions of your excellent policy statement.

Sincerely,

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
JACK F. KEMP, M.C.

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
HENRY J. HYDE, M.C.

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, M.C.

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
VIN WEBER, M.C.

6/26 R.F., PLF MDT



William Childs Westmoreland  
General, United States Army, Retired  
Box 1059  
Charleston, South Carolina 29402

June 20, 1984

Dear Jim:

I have seen the draft White House position paper for the Population Conference to be held in Mexico City and urge you carefully to consider the long range implications of a policy that will set back an important program that is beginning to show results in the interest of the countries involved and in our long range interest.

Sincerely,



W. C. WESTMORELAND

James Baker  
Chief of Staff  
To the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

# White House seen giving in on U.S. funds for abortions

By George Archibald  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The White House reportedly has agreed to major concessions that would allow continued U.S. funding of some worldwide population control programs that include abortion, sources said.

Among the concessions won by M. Peter McPherson, administrator of the Agency for International Development, is continued U.S. funding of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA).

The concessions were worked out privately late last week between Mr. McPherson and James A. Baker III, White House chief of staff, sources said.

Mr. Baker also reportedly agreed that a new administration policy now being drafted to stop direct or indirect U.S. funding of abortion-related activities would not apply to foreign governments.

A White House spokesman was unable to confirm the reports yesterday. Just last

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## *The UNFPA is highly controversial to pro-life leaders in Congress...*

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week, Mr. Baker's staff told reporters that the White House would "hang tough" on the anti-abortion issue.

Mr. McPherson could not be reached for comment. An AID spokesman told The Washington Times last week that he would not discuss the matter.

Reports of the compromise followed a White House meeting held by Mr. Baker and Mr. McPherson Thursday with a group of conservative House Republicans.

The GOP lawmakers, including Rep. Jack F. Kemp, R-N.Y., chairman of the House Republican Conference, and Rep. Christopher H. Smith, R-N.J., chairman of the bi-partisan Congressional Pro-Life Caucus, urged the White House to adopt a hard line anti-abortion policy drafted jointly by the White House Office of Policy Development and the National Security Council. The draft was for an international population conference to be held in Mexico City August 6-13.

Mr. Baker was warned by the House Republicans that failure to include the UNFPA within the proposed anti-abortion policy would doom any attempt to pass a foreign aid bill in the House this year, according to congressional sources.

Mr. McPherson and the State Department are hotly contesting the draft White House Policy statement. According to AID officials, Mr. McPherson held further meetings

at the White House after the confrontation with the Republican congressmen. But it was unclear whether Mr. Baker agreed to the reported compromise with AID before or after he met with the GOP group.

The UNFPA is highly controversial to pro-life leaders in Congress and national anti-abortion groups. The U.N. agency supports massive forced abortion and sterilization programs in China and India, and along with The International Planned Parenthood Federation — another AID funded organization — has funded sterilization programs in Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal.

The UNFPA spent \$120.4 million on population control projects in about 126 countries last year, of which \$34 million, or 26 percent, came from AID. The IPPF spent \$49 million in 90 countries, of which AID contributed \$12.4 million or 25 percent.

AID is now required by law to earmark 16 percent of its \$240 million population planning budget to the UNFPA if the international agency is otherwise eligible to receive U.S. funds.

One Senate leadership aide said Mr. Baker "has walked into a clever trap" if he has agreed to the UNFPA exemption. The U.N. funds could be used to circumvent any White House policy or congressional restriction against the use of U.S. funds for abortion-related population controlled activities, the aide said.

Even if the IPPF and other private organizations that advocate or financially support world-wide abortions were barred by a new White House policy from receiving further U.S. aid, population control supporters in Congress could "increase the UNFPA set-aside to 40 percent or 50 percent" of AID population planning funds, the aide said.

"Then the UNFPA could subgrant to groups covered by President Reagan's new policy, but all the U.S. money they got from the UNFPA would be exempt. It's just a scam," the aide asserted.

Douglas Johnson, legislative director for the National Right-to-Life Committee, said he was troubled by the reports.

"We doubt that such a drastic concession has actually been approved by the president," he said.

Reports of the White House compromise "can't be true," said Gary Curran, government affairs director for the American Life Lobby. "The Reagan administration is about to cut off funds for UNESCO for a lot less than aiding and abetting abortions. How will they be able to justify that without cutting off funds to UNFPA, which subsidizes human rights violations through communist China's forced abortion control program?" he asked.

W124

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US-POPULATION

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND (AP) -- THE UNITED STATES WARNED TODAY IT WOULD CUT OFF \$30 MILLION IN ANNUAL AID TO THE U.N. FUND FOR POPULATION ACTIVITIES UNLESS THE AGENCY GUARANTEES THE MONEY WILL BE WITHHELD FROM PROGRAMS SUBSIDIZING OR RECOMMENDING ABORTION.

THE WARNING, DELIVERED BY UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE GREGORY S. HENELL IN A SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE U.N. FUND FOR POPULATION ACTIVITIES, FOLLOWS REPORTS THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION WANTS TO CUT SUCH AID IN KEEPING WITH ITS ANTI-ABORTION VIEWS.

HENELL STRESSED THAT THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTED EFFORTS TO SOLVE THE "POPULATION PROBLEM," BUT ASSERTED IT WAS U.S. POLICY "TO REMAIN FROM TAX-SUPPORTED SUBSIDIZATION OF ABORTION."

"THE CRUX UNDERSTANDING OF OUR POLICY THAT FUNDS IDENTIFIED AS HAVING BEEN CONTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES TO SUPPORT THE WORTHY ACTIVITIES OF CONCERNED INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS NOT BE DESIGNATED TO THE TERMINATION OF FETAL LIFE AS A TECHNIQUE OF FAMILY PLANNING," HENELL SAID.

"IF THE UNFPA CAN GIVE APPROPRIATE ASSURANCES THAT THIS IS ITS PRACTICE, THE UNITED STATES CAN CONTINUE TO EXTEND ITS FINANCIAL SUPPORT," HE SAID.

A SPOKESMAN FOR THE U.N. FUND FOR POPULATION ACTIVITIES COULD NOT BE REACHED FOR COMMENT ON HENELL'S STATEMENT, DESPITE SEVERAL TELEPHONE CALLS TO THE AGENCY'S OFFICES.

THE U.S. MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES GIVES \$30 MILLION ANNUALLY TO THE U.N. FUND FOR POPULATION ACTIVITIES. IT DID NOT GIVE FIGURES FOR U.S. AID TO OTHER POPULATION CONTROL AGENCIES.

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The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1959) calls for legal protection for children before birth as well as after birth; and the United States does not consider abortion an acceptable element of family planning programs and will not contribute to those of which it is a part. Accordingly, when dealing with nations which support abortion with funds not provided by the United States government, the United States will contribute to such nations through separate accounts which cannot be used for abortion. Nor will the United States any longer contribute to organizations which perform or promote abortion as a method of family planning.

The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1959) calls for legal protection for children before birth as well as after birth; and the United States does not consider abortion an acceptable element of family planning programs and will no longer contribute to those of which it is a part. Accordingly, when dealing with nations which support abortion with funds not provided by the United States government, the United States will contribute to such nations through separate accounts which cannot be used for abortion. <sup>and</sup> ~~Nor~~ ~~will~~ the United States <sup>will no</sup> ~~any~~ longer contribute to <sup>non-governmental</sup> ~~private voluntary~~ organizations which perform or promote abortion as a method of family planning.

availability of resources and to hamper the development of technology, rather than to assist it. Recognizing the seriousness of environmental and economic problems, and their relationship to social and political pressures, especially in the developing nations, the Administration places a priority upon technological advance and economic expansion, which hold out the hope of prosperity and stability of a rapidly changing world. That hope can be realized, of course, only to the extent that government's response to problems, whether economic or ecological, respects and enhances individual freedom, which makes true progress possible and worthwhile."

Those principles underlie this country's approach to the United Nations Conference on Population to be held in Mexico City in August. In accord with those principles, we reject compulsion or coercion in family planning programs, whether it is exercised against families within a society or against nations within the family of man. The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1959) calls for legal protection for children before birth as well as after birth; and the United States accordingly does not consider abortion an acceptable element of family planning programs and will not contribute to those of which it is a part. Nor will it any longer contribute directly or indirectly to family planning programs funded by governments or private organizations that advocate abortion as an instrument of population control. Efforts to lower population growth in cases in which it is deemed advisable to do so must, moreover, respect the religious beliefs and culture of each society. Population

August. In accord with those principles, we reject compulsion or coercion in family planning programs, whether it is exercised against families within a society or against nations within the family of man.

The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1959) calls for legal protection for children before birth as well as after birth; and the United States does not consider abortion an acceptable element of family planning programs and will no longer contribute to those of which it is a part. Accordingly, when dealing with nations which support abortion with funds not provided by the United States government, the United States will contribute to such nations through separate accounts which cannot be used for abortion. Also the U.S. will insist that no part of its contribution to the UNFPA be used for abortion and is discussing means of achieving this end with UNFPA. Moreover the United States will no longer contribute to non-governmental organizations which perform or actively promote abortion as a method of family planning.

Efforts to lower population growth in cases in which it is deemed advisable to do so must, moreover, respect the religious beliefs

U.S. policy in this area is guided by certain basic ethical precepts:

- Aid will be provided in ways which are respectful of human dignity and religious and cultural values;
- U.S. funds will not be used for abortion activities, for involuntary sterilization, or for population activities involving coercion;
- U.S. population assistance will be provided in the context of an overall development program.

#### The U.S. at Mexico City

Other countries will look for U.S. support in strengthening the broad consensus on population and development that has emerged over the past several years.

The following principles should be drawn upon to guide the U.S. delegation at the ICP:

1. Respect for human life is basic, and any attempt to use abortion, involuntary sterilization, or other coercive measures in family planning must be rejected.
2. Population policies and programs should be fully integrated into, and reinforce, appropriate, market-oriented development policies; their objective should be clearly seen as an improvement in the human condition, and not merely an exercise in limiting births.

3. Access to family education and services needs to be significantly expanded, especially in the context of maternal/child health programs, in order to enable couples to exercise responsible parenthood. Consistent with values and customs, the U.S. favors offering couples a variety of medically approved methods.
4. Population factors merit serious consideration in development strategy, although they are not a substitute for sound economic policies which liberate individual initiative through the market mechanism.
5. National and international resources addressed to population issues should be commensurate with the growing dimensions of the problem.
6. There should be higher international priority for biomedical research into safer and better methods of fertility regulation, especially natural family planning, and for operations research into more effective service delivery and program management.
7. Issues of migration should be handled in ways consistent with both human rights and national sovereignty.
8. The U.S., in cooperation with other concerned countries, should resist intrusion of polemical or non-germane issues into Conference deliberations.

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US-POPULATION

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND (AP) -- THE UNITED STATES WARNED TODAY IT WOULD CUT OFF \$30 MILLION IN ANNUAL AID TO THE U.N. FUND FOR POPULATION ACTIVITIES UNLESS THE AGENCY GUARANTEES THE MONEY WILL BE WITHHELD FROM PROGRAMS SUBSIDIZING OR ADVERTISING ABORTION.

THE WARNING, DELIVERED BY UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE GREGORY J. HENWELL IN A SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE U.N. FUND FOR POPULATION ACTIVITIES, FOLLOWS REPORTS THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION WANTS TO CUT SUCH AID IN KEEPING WITH ITS ANTI-ABORTION VIEWS.

HENWELL STRESSED THAT THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTED EFFORTS TO SOLVE THE "POPULATION PROBLEM," BUT ASSERTED IT WAS U.S. POLICY "TO REFRAIN FROM TAX-SUPPORTED SUBSIDIZATION OF ABORTION."

"THE ONLY UNDERSTANDING OF OUR POLICY THAT FUNDS IDENTIFIED AS HAVING BEEN CONTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES TO SUPPORT THE WORTHY ACTIVITIES OF CONCERNED INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS NOT BE DEDICATED TO THE TERMINATION OF FETAL LIFE AS A TECHNIQUE OF FAMILY PLANNING," HENWELL SAID.

"IF THE UNITED NATIONS CAN GIVE APPROPRIATE ASSURANCES THAT THIS IS ITS PRACTICE, THE UNITED STATES CAN CONTINUE TO EXTEND ITS FINANCIAL SUPPORT," HE SAID.

A SPOKESMAN FOR THE U.N. FUND FOR POPULATION ACTIVITIES COULD NOT BE REACHED FOR COMMENT ON HENWELL'S STATEMENT, DESPITE SEVERAL TELEPHONE CALLS TO THE AGENCY'S OFFICES.

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AP-WX-06-25-84 1054227

# U.S. warns no money to go for abortions

GENEVA, Switzerland (AP) — The United States said yesterday that it would cut off millions of dollars in aid to the U.N. Fund for Population Activities unless the agency guarantees the money is not used for programs subsidizing or advocating abortion.

A source said "an accommodation has been reached" in which the United States would continue its funding, but only for programs in nations where abortion was not practiced as a form of population control.

The warning, delivered by Undersecretary of State Gregory J. Newell in a speech at a meeting of the U.N. Fund for Population Activities, came after reports the Reagan administration wants to cut such aid in keeping with its anti-abortion views.

The population agency is meeting under the auspices of the U.N. Development Program.

The source, familiar with the Newell speech and the population agency, said the development program had worked out the accommodation with U.S. officials. The source did not give further details of the accord.

The U.S. mission to the United Nations said the United States contributes \$38 million annually to the population fund, but could not say what percentage of the agency's annual budget this was. It also did not give figures for U.S. aid to other population control agencies.

The population fund says it gives assistance to countries that permit abortion, but that its funds are not specifically used for abortion. Among the countries that receive the organization's aid and permit abortion on request in the first three months of pregnancy, are China, Cuba, Tunisia and Vietnam. India, which also receives aid, permits abortion with some limitations.

The population fund provides governments with guidance and financing for population control.



EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
MEXICO

6/25

Letter dated 6/6, but rec'd

@ WH 6/21 (see env.)

Cicconi handle + R.F.?

6/26

Jim

F-11

KC.

Mr. James A. Baker III  
Chief of Staff and  
Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Jim,

To follow up on our conversation regarding the upcoming International Population Conference (to be held in Mexico City in August):

1) I am of the strong belief that this conference will be a particularly sensitive one and that the positions taken by our delegation must be developed with great care.

2) The government of Mexico is very proud of its accomplishments in the field of family planning and family responsibility. It sees the selection of Mexico City as the site for the Conference as an enhancement of its position as a leader among developing countries in this field.

3) For this reason the Administration's policies must be expressed with sensitivity and respect for the Mexican point of view.

4) As you know, I have been in touch with Ambassador Benedick and others regarding my concerns on this issue. I was pleased to learn of your own personal interest. Your assistance is greatly appreciated.

It was a pleasure seeing you during my recent visit to Washington.

Cordially,

  
John Gavin

UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY  
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20523



THE ADMINISTRATOR

June 18, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JAMES A. BAKER, III  
Chief of Staff and Assistant to the President  
The White House

Jim:

Attached is a revised draft of the population paper. Almost nothing has been changed in the paper except:

(1) There is a new sentence dealing with "directly or indirectly" supporting groups funding abortion with their own money -- see page 7;

(2) We have added paragraphs on natural family planning, etc. which are not offensive and tend to show support for sound family planning.

I have cleared this with no one else.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "MP McPherson".

M. Peter McPherson

Attachment:  
Draft Population Paper

## International Population Conference

### DRAFT Statement

For many years, the United States has supported, and helped to finance, programs of family planning, particularly in the less developed countries. This Administration has continued that support but has placed it within a policy context different from that of the past. It is sufficiently evident that the current exponential growth in global population cannot continue indefinitely. There is no question of the ultimate need to achieve a condition of population equilibrium. The differences that do exist concern the choice of strategies and methods for the achievement of that goal. The experience of the last two decades not only makes possible but requires a sharper focus for our population policy. It requires a more refined approach to problems which appear today in quite a different light than they did twenty years ago. First and most important, in any particular society today, population growth is, of itself, a neutral phenomenon. It is not necessarily good or ill. It becomes an asset or a problem only in conjunction with other factors, such as economic policy, social constraints, need for manpower, and so forth. The relationship

between population growth and economic development is not a negative one. More people do not mean less growth; that is absurd on its face. Indeed, both in the American experience and in the economic history of most advanced nations, population growth has been an essential element in economic progress.

Before the advent of governmental population programs, several factors had combined to create an unprecedented surge in population over most of the world. Although population levels in many industrialized nations had reached or were approaching equilibrium in the period before the Second World War, the baby boom that followed in its wake resulted in a dramatic, but temporary, population "tilt" toward youth. The disproportionate number of infants, children, teenagers, and eventually young adults did strain the social infrastructure of schools, health facilities, law enforcement and so forth. It also sustained strong economic growth and was probably critical in boosting the American standard of living to new heights, despite occasionally counterproductive government policies.

Among the less developed nations, a coincidental population increase was caused by entirely different factors, directly related to the humanitarian efforts of the United States and other western countries. A tremendous expansion of health

services -- from simple inoculations to sophisticated surgery -- saved millions of lives every year. Emergency relief, facilitated by modern transport, helped missions to survive flood, famine, and drought. The sharing of technology, the teaching of agriculture and engineering, the spread of western ideals in the treatment of women and children all helped to drastically reduce the mortality rates, especially infant mortality, and to lengthen the life span.

The result, to no one's surprise, was more people, everywhere. This was not a failure but a success. It demonstrated not poor planning or bad policy but human progress in a new era of international assistance, technological advance, and human compassion. The population boom was a challenge; it need not have been a crisis. Seen in its broader context, it required a measured, modulated response. It provoked an over-reaction by some, largely because it coincided with two negative factors which, together, hindered families and nations in adapting to their changing circumstances.

The first of these factors was governmental control of economies, a pathology which spread throughout the developing world with sufficient virulence to keep much of it from developing further. As economic decision-making was concentrated in the hands of planners and public officials,

the ability of average men and women to work towards a better future was impaired, and sometimes crippled. Agriculture was devastated by government price fixing that wiped out rewards for labor. Job creation in infant industries was hampered by confiscatory taxes. Personal industry and thrift were penalized, while dependency upon the state was encouraged. Political considerations made it difficult for the economy to adjust to changes in supply and demand or to disruptions in world trade and finance. Under such circumstances, population growth changed from an asset in the development of economic potential to a peril.

*new* One of the worst consequences of economic statism was that it disrupted the natural mechanism for slowing population growth in problem areas. The world's more affluent nations have reached a population equilibrium without compulsion and, in most cases, even before it was government policy to achieve it. The controlling factor in these cases has been the adjustment, by individual families, of reproductive behavior to economic opportunity and aspiration. Economic freedom has led to economically rational behavior. As opportunities and the standard of living rise, the birth rate falls.

That historic pattern would already be well under way in many nations where population growth is today a problem, if short-sighted policies had not disrupted economic incentives, rewards, and advancement. In this regard, localized crises

of population growth are evidence of too much government control and planning, rather than too little.

The second factor that turned the population boom into a crisis was confined to the western world. It was an outbreak of an anti-intellectualism, which attacked science, technology, and the very concept of material progress. Joined to a commendable and long overdue concern for the environment, it was more a reflection of anxiety about the unsettled times and the uncertain future and disregard of human experience and scientific sophistication. It was not unlike other waves of cultural anxiety that have, over the centuries, swept through western civilization during times of social stress and scientific exploration.

The combination of these two factors -- counterproductive economic policies in poor and struggling nations and a pseudo-scientific pessimism among the more advanced -- provoked the demographic overreaction of the 1960's and 1970's. Doomsday scenarios took the place of realistic forecasts, and too many governments pursued population control measures that have had little impact on population growth, rather than sound economic policies that create the rise in living standards historically associated with decline in fertility rates. It was the easy way out, and it did not work. It focused on a symptom and neglected the underlying ailments. For the last three years, this Administration has sought to reverse that

approach. We recognize that, in some cases, immediate population pressures may make advisable short-term efforts to meliorate them. But this cannot be a substitute for the economic reforms that put a society on the road toward growth and, as an after effect, toward slower population increase as well.

Nor can population control substitute for the rapid and responsible development of natural resources. In responding to certain Members of Congress concerning the previous Administration's Global 2000 report, this Administration in 1981 repudiated its call "for more governmental supervision and control. Historically, that has tended to restrict the availability of resources and to hamper the development of technology, rather than to assist. Recognizing the seriousness of environmental and economic problems, and their relationship to social and political pressures, especially in the developing nations, the Administration places a priority upon technological advance and economic expansion, which hold out the hope of prosperity and stability of a rapidly changing world. That hope can be realized, of course, only to the extent that government's response to problems, whether economic or ecological, respects and enhances individual freedom, which makes true progress possible and worthwhile.

New sentence. Replaces:

"Nor will it any longer contribute directly or indirectly to family planning programs funded by governments or private organizations that advocate abortion as an instrument of population control."

Those principles underlie this country's approach to the United Nations Conference on Population to be held in Mexico City in August. In accord with those principles, we reject compulsion or coercion in family planning programs, whether it is exercised against families within a society or against nations within the family of man. The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1959) calls for legal protection for children before birth as well as after birth; and the United States accordingly does not consider abortion an acceptable element of family planning programs and will not contribute to those of which it is a part. Accordingly, in dealing with private organizations or countries which support abortion with non-USG monies, the U.S. will contribute to such organizations and countries through separate accounts which cannot be used for abortion work. Efforts to lower population growth in cases in which it is deemed advisable to do so much, moreover, respect the religious beliefs and culture of each society. Population control is not a panacea. It will not solve problems of massive unemployment. Jobs are not lost because there are too many people in a given area. Jobs are created by the conjunction of human wants and investment capital. Population growth fuels the former, sound economic policies and properly directed international assistance can provide the latter. Indeed, population density may make the

latter more feasible by concentrating the need for both human services and technology. But as long as oppressive economic policies penalize those who work, save, and invest, joblessness will persist.

Population control cannot solve problems of unauthorized migration across national boundaries. People do not leave their homes, and often their families, to seek more space. They do so in search of opportunity and freedom. Reducing their numbers gives them neither. Population control cannot avert natural disasters, including famines provoked by cyclical drought. Fortunately, world food supplies have been adequate to relieve those circumstances in recent years. Problems of transportation remain; but there are far deeper problems as well, in those governmental policies which restrict the rewards of agricultural pursuits, encourage the abandonment of farmland, and concentrate people in urban areas.

NEW WORDING  
REPLACES  
"CONCENTRATES ON" It is time to put additional emphasis upon those root problems which frequently exacerbate population pressures. By focusing upon real remedies for underdeveloped economies, the United Nations Conference on Population can reduce demographic issues to their proper place. It is an important place, but not the controlling one. It requires our continuing attention within the broader context of economic growth and of the economic freedom that is its prerequisite.

U.S. support for family planning programs is based on two fundamental principles: enhancing human dignity and strengthening family life. These principles are reflected in our emphasis on voluntarism and informed consent in the acceptance of family planning methods. Our objectives are to enhance the freedom of individuals in the exercise of responsible parenthood and to encourage population growth consistent with the growth of economic resources and productivity.

all  
new -  
replaces  
nothing

In our view this will be accomplished when couples are able to decide freely the size of their families. Since surveys show that only 40% of the population of developing countries has access to acceptable contraceptive information and materials, families now find it difficult to make their personal choice. Our goal is to enhance personal choice. As a by-product, given accessible, acceptable and affordable services and adequate information and education, the aggregate result of such individual family decisions will be declining birth rate. Thus, our goals are increased accessibility of safe, effective and affordable family planning methods, goals we believe will result in a population growth that places less demands on the economic resources of developing nations. The focus, however, remains an individual choice.

In addition, this Administration has emphasized program areas which represent valuable means of extending the accessibility and acceptability of voluntary family planning in developing countries.

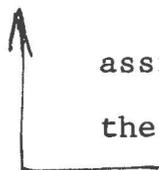
↓  
For example, Contraceptive Social Marketing (CSM) involves the use of market distribution methods for family planning and has grown to about 10% of our population program. Typically, condoms and pills are introduced at the wholesale level at low cost so they can be distributed through the retail system of a country for ultimate consumer purchase. This means of distribution, using market mechanisms, ensures that the consumer has a choice of what to purchase and also extends the availability of contraceptives by increasing the number and coverage of outlets to serve those not adequately reached by other private or public sources. The U.S. has experienced great success using market distribution channels for contraceptives. In Bangladesh, for example, subsidized condoms and pills are available in over 50,000 retail locations throughout the country and sales of subsidized condoms in that country now exceed 80,000,000 a year and is the most rapidly growing family planning program in the country. In fact, market channels can serve remote rural areas more efficiently than government programs. This method, which actually reduces the effective cost to governments of distribution, enhances voluntarism since the essence of a market sale is choice.

new  
↓  
Another new area of emphasis has been natural family planning (NFP). It has increased ten-fold in this Administration. It is especially useful where cultural and

religious values makes other methods of family planning unattractive to large parts of the population. Since the Bucharest Conference, substantial scientific progress has been made in NFP. The U.S continues to sponsor research designed to further enhance our understanding of the process of human reproduction and is currently giving increased attention to the field delivery of natural family planning methods.

new

NFP is an important component of world-wide population assistance since it provides a method which is consistent with the cultural and religious values of many individuals.



In conclusion, questions of population growth require the approach outlined by President Reagan in 1981, in remarks before the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia: "Trust the people, trust their intelligence and trust their faith, because putting people first is the secret of economic success everywhere in the world." That is the agenda of the United States for the United Nations Conference on Population this year, just as it remains the continuing goal of our family planning assistance to other nations.

new -  
Replaces  
"most  
of all"