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TO: ED MEESE

Attached is the NSC circulated DRAFT position paper for the population conference. Also a letter from Buckley. I am under the impression that aside from the emphasis on economic development, the "change" in policy is limited to the highlighted sentence on page 6. I have also attached two recent documents signed by the President which were used in the development of the draft.

While we were not aware that NSC was circulating the paper, <sup>to state</sup> it is clearly marked as a draft. When Ken Dam called me, I indicated that once comments were in, we would convene a session to resolve and/or highlight differences in the draft. Then a paper could be circulated for decision. He was satisfied.

State leaked this draft and then turned around to try to make it look like I'm doing an end run. That's bullshit.

JACK

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

3775  
Add On

May 30, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES HILL  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: International Conference on Population

Attached is a draft position paper for the International Conference on Population in Mexico City, August 6 - 13, 1984. The paper was prepared by the White House Office of Policy Development, in coordination with our staff.

Please provide your comments or concurrence by Wednesday, June 13. Please respond jointly to Robert C. McFarlane and John A. Svahn, Assistant to the President for Policy Development.

  
Robert M. Kimmitt  
Executive Secretary

Attachment  
Tab A Position paper

cc: John A. Svahn

bcc: Carl Anderson, OPD  
Anne Higgins  
Becky Norton Develop

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 millions 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.

The worst consequence 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 aftereffect, 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 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."

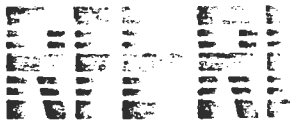
Those principles underlie this country's approach to the United Nations Conference on Population to be held in Mexico City in August. In accord with those principles, we reject compulsion or coercion in family planning programs, whether it is exercised against families within a society or against nations 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

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.

It is time to concentrate 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. Most of all, 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.



RECEIVED  
OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL PERSONNEL  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

DATE: 5/7/84

7 May 1984

Mrs. Becky Norton Dunlop  
Office of Presidential Personnel  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Dunlop:

I am concerned that so much time has elapsed since you asked me if I would assume the chairmanship of the U.S. delegation to the forthcoming Conference on Population in Mexico City, but too many matters remain unresolved for me to make any decision in the matter.

Several weeks ago, I commented on a draft policy statement on population prepared by the NSC and the Office of Policy Development. With the modifications I proposed, I believe the paper will represent an appropriate and necessary definition of the American position on population matters. It affirms the President's integrated approach to economic development and, without renouncing any element of current policy, lays the basis for greater flexibility and a sharper focus for the Administration in the future. I believe it is an accurate and convincing expression of the message the Administration wants to present at the Mexico City Conference on Population.

It is my understanding that the statement is now being vetted through bureaucratic channels; a process which, unfortunately, can prove endless if someone doesn't force an early decision. In the meantime, arrangements for the Conference proceed. There have been planning sessions in New York and in Mexico City at which the Conference agenda and the position of the United States concerning its substance have been discussed. I call your attention particularly to the enclosed State Department notice announcing a very public forum concerning the Mexico Conference. This symposium is not likely to enunciate a

Mrs. Becky Norton Dunlop  
Office of Presidential Personnel  
7 May 1984  
Page 3

the necessary planning. Given the critical nature of staff work in matters of this kind, it would be naive to assume the work can be assigned to anyone with any serious reservations about the fundamental merits of the Administration's population policy.

In light of all these considerations, I am sure you understand my reluctance to assume the responsibility of heading the U.S. delegation to the Conference. So much has been permitted to proceed on its customary course that, at this late date, there may not be sufficient time to get things on the right track.

Of course, there may be matters of which I am uninformed that would put a more encouraging face on the situation. If so, I hope I will hear about them soon.

Sincerely yours,

  
James L. Buckley

Enclosure



# DEPARTMENT NOTICE

April 20, 1984

TO ALL EMPLOYEES  
STATE, IDCA, USIA, ACDA

## POPULATION AND THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY

May 15, 1984

Foreign Service Institute, Room 101  
A Symposium Presented by the  
Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs

\* \* \*

### MORNING SESSION

- 8:45 - 9:00            Coffee and Registration
- 9:00 - 9:05            Welcome  
                      - Leo Moser, Director, Center for the Study  
                          of Foreign Affairs
- 9:05 - 9:10            Introduction  
                      - Richard Benedick, Ambassador, State  
                          Department Coordinator for Population  
                          Affairs
- 9:10 - 9:25            An Historical Perspective  
                      - Phil Claxton, Project Manager, The Futures  
                          Group
- 9:25 - 9:40            What Happened at Bucharest  
                          (1974 World Population Conference)  
                      - Phil Claxton
- 9:45 - 10:30           Population and Development  
                      A. Foreign Policy Perspective  
                          - Edwin Martin, Ambassador (Ret.)  
                          - Richard Benedick, Ambassador
- 10:30 - 10:45           Coffee
- 10:45 - 11:15           B. Ethical/Human Rights Concerns  
                          - James McHugh, Monseigneur, Sacred Heart  
                          Cathedral, Newark, N.J.

(Continued on reverse)

11:15 - 12:00            Population and Development  
                           C. AID's Role  
                           - Steven Sinding, Director, Office of  
                           Population, AID

12:00 - 1:30            Lunch

AFTERNOON SESSION

1:30 - 2:15            Population and Development  
                           D. Role of the Private Sector  
                           - Sharon Camp, Vice President, Population  
                           Crises Committee, Washington, D.C.  
                           - George Zeidenstein, President, Population  
                           Council, N.Y.  
                           - Phyllis Pietrow, Director, Population  
                           Information Program, Johns Hopkins  
                           University

2:15 - 2:45            Preparing for Mexico City  
                           - Werner Fornos, President, Population  
                           Institute, Washington, D.C.  
                           - Richard Benedick, Ambassador

2:45 - 3:00            Coffee

3:00 - 3:45            Mexico City and Beyond  
                           - Raphael Salas, Exectutive Director, UNFPA,  
                           and Secretary General of the UN Population  
                           Conference

3:45 - 4:30            Discussion

\*\*\*\*\*

This symposium will be offered on a tuition-free basis. Call (703)  
 235-8830 to make arrangements to attend.

May 30, 1984

I am grateful to Mexico, under the leadership of President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, for its gracious hospitality in hosting the International Conference on Population.

World leaders have come to recognize that the historically unprecedented growth of population now occurring in many countries affects economic and social development and presents a unique set of challenges and opportunities. It is for these reasons that the United States provides bilateral and multilateral assistance in population programs.

Recognizing the seriousness of environmental and economic problems and their relationship to social realities, the United States places a priority upon technological advancement and economic expansion which hold out the hope of prosperity and stability for a rapidly changing world. That hope can be realized to the extent nations respond to problems, whether economic or ecological, in ways that respect and enhance the freedom and dignity of the individual.

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.

Our concern over the dimensions of demographic change is inseparable from a concern for the welfare of children--who are the ultimate resource of any society. Together we must strive for a world in which children are happy and healthy. They must have the opportunity to develop to their full mental and physical potential and, as young adults, be able to find productive work and to enjoy a decent and dignified existence.



I wish the participants in this Conference good counsel and inspiration in addressing these issues. I am confident they will fulfill their responsibility to produce recommendations for action by the international community which will improve the well-being of generations to come.

RR:WELLS:

cc: K.Osborne/D.Livingston/D.Darman/CF

To Mr. Darman

COPY

187168

F0003-02

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 13, 1984

Dear Bishop Quarracino:

I am sorry to be so late in responding to your August letter, but the matters you brought up were of such concern to me that I asked for a review of our policies and programs.

We strongly agree that our AID programs must be guided by the religious traditions, cultural heritage, and moral convictions of the citizens of a given region. We must recognize in particular that policies in this sensitive area deal not only with individuals, but with the integrity and vitality of the family unit. Children are the most precious asset of both families and nations--they are, as one of our American poets wrote, a "sign from God that the world should continue," but they are also the means by which that future will come to fruition.

As you know, our goals for the future are to cooperate with our friends in Latin America in pursuit of peace, prosperity, and the development of democratic institutions. I am confident that these are the aspirations of the families of Latin America as well. Governments are instituted by the people to serve these aspirations, and not the other way around. For that reason, the cornerstones of our family planning programs must always be the principles of voluntarism and respect for the value and dignity of each human life.

This Administration has worked to correct past problems in U.S. assistance programs abroad with regard to abortion and the underfunding of natural family planning programs. Our law is clear that U.S. assistance monies cannot be used by any government or private organization to provide assistance for abortion services, abortion equipment, the training or encouragement of persons to perform or obtain abortions, or to conduct research on methods of abortion as a means of family planning. We would view the violation of the letter or spirit of this policy with grave concern. Any information that the Episcopal Conference of Latin America provides in this connection will assist in completing the review of our activities in Latin America that I have requested.

I can report that we are moving ahead in our efforts to increase support for natural family planning and to remove any barriers that may exist to their availability. In Latin America during 1984, we will assist several natural family planning programs, including the Lay Association for Family Work in Peru, the Santa Fe Foundation in Bogota, and the Family of the Americas Foundation which promotes the Billings Method of Natural Family Planning. We recognize that more needs to be done, and the experience gained through these initial programs will be invaluable in helping us plan our future course.

Together, we look forward to the day when nations everywhere base their policies on reverence for the dignity of each and every member of the human family. As I have said on a number of occasions, the nations of our Hemisphere share the bonds of a common tradition and deeply held values. We must work to strengthen those bonds and to revitalize those traditions, so that one day our children and our children's children can know the same gifts of life and liberty that were our birthright.

Thank you again for sharing your concerns, and  
may God be with you in all of your work on  
behalf of His people in Latin America.

Sincerely,

*Ronald Reagan*

The Right Reverend  
Antonio Quarracino  
President of the Episcopal  
Conference of Latin America  
Obispaño de Avellaneda  
Ameghino 907 - Avellaneda

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

3775  
Add On

May 30, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES HILL  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: International Conference on Population

Attached is a draft position paper for the International Conference on Population in Mexico City, August 6 - 13, 1984. The paper was prepared by the White House Office of Policy Development, in coordination with our staff.

Please provide your comments or concurrence by Wednesday, June 13. Please respond jointly to Robert C. McFarlane and John A. Svahn, Assistant to the President for Policy Development.

  
Robert M. Kimmitt  
Executive Secretary

Attachment  
Tab A Position paper

cc: John A. Svahn

bcc: Carl Anderson, OPD  
Anne Higgins  
Becky Norton Develop

### 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,

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.

The worst consequence 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 aftereffect, 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 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

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.

It is time to concentrate 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. Most of all, 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.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 29, 1984

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WF003  
FG006

MEMORANDUM FOR CARL A. ANDERSON

FROM: JOHN A. SVAHN  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR POLICY DEVELOPMENT

SUBJECT: INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POPULATION

*my*  
Pursuant to our conversation earlier today I would like you to serve as ~~White House~~ coordinator for the International Conference on Population. In this capacity you will be responsible for the development of a policy paper on population for the use and guidance of the American delegation to the Conference. In addition, you should coordinate preparations for the Conference with the appropriate officials in the White House, the Department of State and other agencies as well as with the chairman and members of the delegation when they are appointed.

*Copy*

The statement has been softened in several additional ways:

"advocate" has been stricken so as to reduce first amendment objections and "perform or promote" has been inserted;

"population control" has been stricken and family planning inserted;

"direct or indirect" has been stricken

Statement #1 addresses only "organizations" and would therefore blur coverage of UNFPA in the prohibition

Statement #2 addresses only "private voluntary organizations" and would clearly exempt UNFPA from the prohibition

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.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 16, 1984

204713 PD  
71

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN A. SVAHN

FROM: CARL A. ANDERSON *CA*

SUBJECT: Presidential Message for International  
Conference on Population

Attached is a modified version of the draft statement referred to our office. The arrangement of certain paragraphs has been changed and some words deleted in order to set a more moderate tone and reduce the sense of crisis that pervades sections of the statement. Also gone are terms such as "essential priority element" and "urgent" which seem to establish a basis for budget increases in the near future. Finally the statement has been amended to reflect the President's concern that individual freedom and economic expansion is the key to prosperity and stability.

As amended I believe the statement represents a clear expression of the President's policies in a manner least likely to draw criticism from those parties increasingly interested in activities surrounding the International Conference on Population.

*copy*

REVISED DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE

We are grateful to Mexico, under the leadership of President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, for its gracious hospitality in hosting the International Conference on Population.

World leaders have come to recognize that the historically unprecedented growth of population now occurring in many countries affects economic and social development and presents a unique set of challenges and opportunities. It is for these reasons that the United States provides bilateral and multilateral assistance in population programs.

Recognizing the seriousness of environmental and economic problems, and their relationship to social realities, the United States places a priority upon technological advance and economic expansion, which hold out the hope of prosperity and stability for a rapidly changing world. That hope can be realized to the extent that nations respond to problems, whether economic or ecological, in ways that respect and enhance individual freedom.

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 do so 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.

Our concern over the dimensions of demographic change is inseparable from a concern for the welfare of children--who are the ultimate resource of any society. Together, we must strive for a world in which children are happy and healthy, with the opportunity to develop their full mental and physical potential and, as young adults, to find productive work and a decent and dignified existence.

I wish the participants in this Conference good counsel and inspiration in addressing these issues. I am confident they will fulfill their responsibility to produce recommendations for actions by the international community which will improve the well-being of generations to come.

Mathias

July 30, 1981

Dear //2//:

Thank you for your letter of June 22, signed by 84 of your colleagues from the Senate and House, urging that the Administration address the issues raised in the Global 2000 report to the President, which concerned global resource problems and possible ways to address them.

As you know, the conclusions reached by the Global 2000 report have been controversial, in terms of both the report's initial assumptions and its ultimate findings. Moreover, the specific recommendations in Global Future: Time to Act, which were made public in the last days of the previous Administration, need careful assessment and review. Some of them would seem to 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 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 for 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.

Again, thank you for your thoughtful letter. We appreciate your continuing interest in this important matter.

With cordial regard, I am

, Sincerely,

Max L. Friedersdorf  
Assistant to the President

MLF:WJG:CMF:eab

cc: w/copy of incoming, Marty Anderson - FYI

NSC # 3775

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

5/15/84

Jack Svahn:

Per discussion, attached is State's request for a Presidential message to the International Conference on Population. We should ensure it is consistent with our substantive instructions for Jim Beechley.

Bds Kimmitt

cc Beechley Norton Dunlop  
Anne Higgins  
Carl Anderson  
Dodie Livingston

NSC # 3775

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

5/15/84

Jack Svahn:

Per discussion, attached is State's request for a Presidential message to the International Conference on Population. We should ensure it is consistent with our substantive instructions for Jim Buckley.

Bob Kammett

cc Bechy Norton Dunlop  
Anne Higgins  
Carl Anderson  
Dodie Livingston

## DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE

World leaders have come to recognize that the historically unprecedented growth of population now occurring in many countries has serious implications for economic and social development, adding to such problems as malnutrition, illiteracy, unemployment, health, and the environment. Our concern over the dimensions of demographic change is inseparable from a concern for the welfare of children--who are the ultimate resource of any society. Together, we must strive for a world in which children are happy and healthy, with the opportunity to develop their full mental and physical potential and, as young adults, to find productive work and a decent and dignified existence.

It is because of these concerns that United States bilateral and multilateral assistance to population programs is an essential priority element of our development aid strategy. We believe that such programs can and must be truly voluntary, cognizant of the rights and responsibilities of individuals and families, and respectful of local spiritual and cultural values. 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.

We are grateful to Mexico, under the leadership of President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, for its gracious hospitality in hosting the International Conference on Population.



I wish the participants in this Conference good counsel and inspiration in addressing these urgent issues. I am confident they will fulfill their responsibility to produce recommendations for actions by the international community which will improve the well-being of generations to come.



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520 8413737

May 9, 1984

34 MAY 9 1984 PID: 51

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE  
THE WHITE HOUSE


SITUATION ROOM

Subject: Presidential Statement on the Occasion of the  
International Conference on Population

In connection with the International Conference on Population (Mexico City, August 6-13, 1984), the UN is producing a volume of statements from Heads of Governments giving their views on population issues. It has thus far received more than 70 such statements, including ones from Heads of Government of the United Kingdom, Japan, and Germany.

Rafael Salas, Secretary-General of the Conference, has written to Ambassador Kirkpatrick requesting a statement from the President (Tab 2). He also requests a photograph of the President to be published along with the message.

A draft message is attached (Tab 1) for the President's signature. The draft is consistent with statements the President has agreed to in the past (Tab 3). It is essential that the message and the photograph be transmitted to the UN before May 31 in order to be published in the volume.

  
Charles Hill  
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

- Tab 1. Draft Presidential Message
- Tab 2. Letter from Rafael Salas to Ambassador Kirkpatrick, plus brochure on the Conference
- Tab 3. Excerpts from Ottawa and Versailles Summit Declarations; Presidential Message to the Western Hemisphere. Conference of Parliamentarians; letter from Kenneth Duberstein to Members of Congress

DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE

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I wish the participants in this Conference good counsel and inspiration in addressing these urgent issues. I am confident they will fulfill their responsibility to produce recommendations for actions by the international community which will improve the well-being of generations to come.



220 EAST 42ND STREET  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

54-1836

CABLE ADDRESS: UNDEVPRO - NEW YORK

INT/81/P06

29 November 1983

Dear Madam Ambassador,

In the context of the forthcoming International Conference on Population (Mexico City, 6-13 August 1984), it is our intention to produce a volume comprising brief statements from Heads of Member Governments on their views on population. The volume will be produced around the middle of 1984 for global distribution.

We would be very grateful if you could kindly transmit our request for a message of approximately 500 words to H.E. the President of the United States.

We would also appreciate receiving a photograph to be published along with the message.

Attached, for your information, is a brochure providing information on the Conference.

I remain, dear Madam Ambassador,  
Yours sincerely,

~~Rafael M. Salas~~  
Secretary-General  
International Conference  
on Population-1984

H.E. Mrs. Jeane I. Kirkpatrick  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary  
Permanent Representative to the United Nations  
United States Mission to the United Nations  
799 United Nations Plaza  
New York, NY 10017

Action Taken \_\_\_\_\_

Initials \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

REFERENCE COPY

1507/467

6/2/84



July 22-23, 1981

## DECLARATION OF THE OTTAWA SUMMIT

20. We are deeply concerned about the implications of world population growth. Many developing countries are taking action to deal with that problem, in ways sensitive to human values and dignity; and to develop human resources, including technical and managerial capabilities. We recognize the importance of these issues and will place greater emphasis on international efforts in these areas.



Château de Versailles  
4, 5 et 6 juin 1982

DECLARATION OF THE SEVEN HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT  
AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES  
(EXCERPT)

\* \* \* \* \*

- The growth of the developing countries and the deepening of a constructive relationship with them are vital for the political and economic well-being of the whole world. It is therefore important that a high level of financial flows and official assistance should be maintained and that their amount and their effectiveness should be increased as far as possible, with responsibilities shared broadly among all countries capable of making a contribution. The launching of global negotiations is a major political objective approved by all participants in the Summit. The latest draft resolution circulated by the Group of the 77 is helpful, and the discussion at Versailles showed general acceptance of the view that it would serve as a basis for consultations with the countries concerned. We believe that there is now a good prospect for the early launching and success of the global negotiations, provided that the independence of the Specialised Agencies is guaranteed. At the same time, we are prepared to continue and develop practical cooperation with the developing countries through innovations within the World Bank, through our support of the work of the Regional Development Banks, through progress in countering instability of commodity export earnings, through the encouragement of private capital flows, including international arrangements to improve the conditions for private investment, and through a further concentration of official assistance on the poorer countries. This is why we see a need for special temporary arrangements to overcome funding problems for IDA VI, and for an early start to consideration of IDA VII. We will give special encouragement to programmes or arrangements designed to increase food and energy production in developing countries which have to import these essentials, and to programmes to address the implications of population growth.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 30, 1982

On the occasion of my visit to Brazil, I am delighted to extend personal greetings to the Western Hemisphere Conference of Parliamentarians on Population and Development. As representatives of the people of this great and varied region, you are gathered to consider some of the most challenging and urgent questions of our time.

Many world leaders have expressed concern over the dimensions of rapid population growth and its effects on the process of economic development. In our attempts to find solutions to this historically unprecedented set of problems, policies need to respect cultural and religious values and enhance the stability of the family and society.

I am confident that you will examine these complex subjects with the wisdom and unique insights of your own national backgrounds and experience.

I salute you for your sense of responsibility in considering these issues, and wish you a successful and productive meeting.

Ronald Reagan





RAD ... F ... BERTY  
OETTIN ... 67 AM EN ... HEN GARRE  
80 ... W ... ERMA  
TELEPHONE (0 ... ) 10

JAMES L. BUCKEN  
President

7 May 1984

Mrs. Becky Norton Dunlop  
Office of Presidential Personnel  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Dunlop:

I am concerned that so much time has elapsed since you asked me if I would assume the chairmanship of the U.S. delegation to the forthcoming Conference on Population in Mexico City, but too many matters remain unresolved for me to make any decision in the matter.

Several weeks ago, I commented on a draft policy statement on population prepared by the NSC and the Office of Policy Development. With the modifications I proposed, I believe the paper will represent an appropriate and necessary definition of the American position on population matters. It affirms the President's integrated approach to economic development and, without renouncing any element of current policy, lays the basis for greater flexibility and a sharper focus for the Administration in the future. I believe it is an accurate and convincing expression of the message the Administration wants to present at the Mexico City Conference on Population.

It is my understanding that the statement is now being vetted through bureaucratic channels; a process which, unfortunately, can prove endless if someone doesn't force an early decision. In the meantime, arrangements for the Conference proceed. There have been planning sessions in New York and in Mexico City at which the Conference agenda and the position of the United States concerning its substance have been discussed. I call your attention particularly to the enclosed State Department notice announcing a very public forum concerning the Mexico Conference. This symposium is not likely to enunciate a

Mrs. Becky Norton Dunlop  
Office of Presidential Personnel  
7 May 1984  
Page 3

the necessary planning. Given the critical nature of staff work in matters of this kind, it would be naive to assume the work can be assigned to anyone with any serious reservations about the fundamental merits of the Administration's population policy.

In light of all these considerations, I am sure you understand my reluctance to assume the responsibility of heading the U.S. delegation to the Conference. So much has been permitted to proceed on its customary course that, at this late date, there may not be sufficient time to get things on the right track.

Of course, there may be matters of which I am uninformed that would put a more encouraging face on the situation. If so, I hope I will hear about them soon.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "James L. Buckley", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right. The signature is written over the typed name.  
James L. Buckley

Enclosure



U.S. Department of State  
DEPARTMENT NOTICE

April 20, 1984

TO ALL EMPLOYEES  
STATE, IDCA, USIA, ACDA

POPULATION AND THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY

May 15, 1984

Foreign Service Institute, Room 101  
A Symposium Presented by the  
Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs

\* \* \*

MORNING SESSION

- 8:45 - 9:00 Coffee and Registration
- 9:00 - 9:05 Welcome  
- Leo Moser, Director, Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs
- 9:05 - 9:10 Introduction  
- Richard Benedick, Ambassador, State Department Coordinator for Population Affairs
- 9:10 - 9:25 An Historical Perspective  
- Phil Claxton, Project Manager, The Futures Group
- 9:25 - 9:40 What Happened at Bucharest  
(1974 World Population Conference)  
- Phil Claxton
- 9:45 - 10:30 Population and Development  
A. Foreign Policy Perspective  
- Edwin Martin, Ambassador (Ret.)  
- Richard Benedick, Ambassador
- 10:30 - 10:45 Coffee
- 10:45 - 11:15 B. Ethical/Human Rights Concerns  
- James McHugh, Monseigneur, Sacred Heart Cathedral, Newark, N.J.

(Continued on reverse)

- 11:15 - 12:00            Population and Development  
                           C. AID's Role  
                           - Steven Sinding, Director, Office of  
                           Population, AID
- 12:00 - 1:30            Lunch
- AFTERNOON SESSION
- 1:30 - 2:15            Population and Development  
                           D. Role of the Private Sector  
                           - Sharon Camp, Vice President, Population  
                           Crises Committee, Washington, D.C.  
                           - George Zeidenstein, President, Population  
                           Council, N.Y.  
                           - Phyllis Pietrow, Director, Population  
                           Information Program, Johns Hopkins  
                           University
- 2:15 - 2:45            Preparing for Mexico City  
                           - Werner Fornos, President, Population  
                           Institute, Washington, D.C.  
                           - Richard Benedick, Ambassador
- 2:45 - 3:00            Coffee
- 3:00 - 3:45            Mexico City and Beyond  
                           - Raphael Salas, Exectutive Director, UNFPA,  
                           and Secretary General of the UN Population  
                           Conference
- 3:45 - 4:30            Discussion

\*\*\*\*\*

This symposium will be offered on a tuition-free basis. Call (703) 235-8830 to make arrangements to attend.

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 9, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN A. SVAHN

FROM: WILLIAM L. ROPER *WR*

SUBJECT: United States Delegation to the  
International Conference on Population

According to the Office of International Conferences of the State Department, Presidential Personnel has indicated to them that James Buckley is to be the head of our delegation to this meeting. The remainder of the delegation is still in Presidential Personnel.



February 17, 1983

Dear Sil:

This is in further response to the letter which you and your colleagues cosigned to the President last fall on the importance of international population assistance. As you know, despite existing budget stringencies, the international population assistance programs have held their own and been slightly increased in the Administration's FY 1984 budget proposals.

The Administration is concerned about the problems which rapid population growth create for developing countries seeking to attain social and economic progress. This concern has been reflected, as you noted, in the Ottawa and Versailles Economic Summit Communiques, as well as in the President's recent message to the Western Hemisphere Conference of Parliamentarians on Population and Development. Aid to voluntary population and family planning programs has been an important element and a high priority of U.S. development assistance strategy.

We appreciate Congressional interest in international population activities and look forward to continuing to work closely with Congress in our deliberations on budget matters.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

15/

Kenneth M. Duberstein  
Assistant to the President

The Honorable Silvio O. Conte  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515