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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 19, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN A. SVAHN

FROM: WILLIAM L. ROPER

SUBJECT: Suggested Language

The following is suggested language as noted:

P. 4, change to "One of the consequences of economic statism...."

6, change to "~~Accordingly, in dealing with private organizations or countries which support abortion with non-U.S. government monies, the United States will contribute to such organizations or countries through separate accounts which cannot be used for abortion work, or other means which will clearly segregate the use of U.S. funds for non-abortion purposes.~~"

new language

7, change to "It is time to put additional emphasis on...."

Also there is the additional language for the end.

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.

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

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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Levine

AID + State
Issue Paper
Strongly favors

for International Conference on Population

Introduction

The International Conference on Population (ICP) 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:

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.

Population growth and economic development are closely interrelated. One of the contributing factors to current rapid population growth in developing countries has been declining

mortality resulting from health interventions supported by both LDC governments and donor agencies. A tremendous expansion of health services--from simple inoculations to basic preventive health care education--saved the lives of millions of children each year. Also, increases in LDC food production and improved nutrition contributed to the decline in mortality. Emergency relief, facilitated by modern transport, helped millions survive flood, famine and drought. The sharing of technology, agricultural and technical education, the expansion of women's rights and education, all helped reduce mortality rates, especially infant mortality, and to lengthen life spans.

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. Population growth, as such, is never an "evil." Population pressures become a problem only in conjunction with other factors such as: economic policies which constrain economic growth; social and institutional arrangements which prevent individuals or groups from utilizing their full capabilities; and environmental and natural resource limitations. In this context, the world is experiencing unprecedented population growth in precisely those countries which are already struggling to feed and educate even their current populations.

U.S. support for family planning programs is based on two fundamental principles: enhancing human dignity and strengthening family life. The respect for human life is a basic moral value,

and attempts to use abortion, involuntary sterilization, or other coercive measures in family planning must be shunned. As consistent with U.S. law, U.S. funds will not be used for abortion activities, for involuntary sterilization, or for population activities involving coercion; rather, U.S. population assistance is designed to provide acceptable alternatives to abortion. Such family planning aid will be provided in ways which are consistent with human dignity and religious and cultural values.

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. 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. ~~and~~
~~and, however, remains an individual choice.~~

The Ramifications of Rapid Population Growth

Conservative projections indicate that, in the sixty years from 1950 to 2010, many Third World countries will experience four, five or even sixfold increases in the size of their populations. Even under the assumption of gradual declines in birth rates, the unusually high proportion of youth in the Third World means that the annual population growth in many of these countries will continue to increase for the next several decades.

Population growth--of such dimensions and over such a relatively short time-frame--is contributing to economic, social, and resource pressures which threaten to undermine initiatives for peace, economic progress, and human dignity and freedom in many areas throughout the world. Rapid population growth unmatched by economic growth in many cases limits governmental options in meeting societal needs by diverting resources from capital investment to consumption, retards economic growth, heightens youth and minority dissatisfaction, and can create internal disorder. Thus, the destabilizing aspects of population change and demographic pressures, if unchecked, can lead to the conditions in which democracy is thwarted and repressive regimes are imposed on people. Four aspects of recent population growth and demographic change bear special mention:

- 1) Fast-growing youth populations. The numbers of youth requiring jobs, education, and housing are growing faster than most developing countries can absorb them.
- 2) International Migration. International labor migration, legal or illegal, and refugee movements, are creating growing political and social tensions in Africa, the Near East, Asia, and Central and South America.
- 3) Rapid growth of cities. The combination of rural poverty and high birth rates is bringing unprecedented growth to cities in the Third World.
- 4) Ethnic tensions. Shifts in ethnic and religious composition ~~is~~ *send* an actual or potentially destabilizing influence in many developing countries.

Population, Development, nad Economic Policies

Sound economic policies and a market economy are of fundamental importance to the process of economic development. Rising standards of living contributed in a major way to the demographic transition from high to low rates of population growth which occurred in the U.S. and other industrialized countries over the last century.

The current situation of many developing countries, however, differs in certain ways from conditions in 19th century Europe and the U.S. The rates and dimensions of population growth are much higher now, the pressures on land, water, and resources are greater, the safety-valve of migration is more restricted, and, perhaps most important, time is not on their side because of the momentum of demographic change.

Rapid population growth compounds already serious problems faced by both public and private sectors in accommodating changing social and economic demands. It diverts resources from needed investment, and increases the costs and difficulties of economic development. Slowing population growth is not a panacea for the problems of social and economic development. It is not offered as a substitute for sound and comprehensive development policies. Without other development efforts and sound economic policies which encourage a vital private sector, it cannot solve problems of hunger, unemployment, crowding or social disorganization.

Population assistance is but one essential ingredient of a comprehensive program that focuses on the root causes of

development failures. The U.S. program as a whole, including population assistance, lays the basis for well grounded, step-by-step initiatives to improve the well-being of people in developing countries and to make their own efforts, particularly through expanded private sector initiatives, a key building block of development programs.

Fortunately, a broad international consensus has emerged since the 1974 Bucharest World Population Conference that economic development and population policies are mutually reinforcing. This is why even LDCs with relatively sound, market-oriented economies have found it important to pursue voluntary programs to moderate population growth as part of their overall development strategy.

By helping developing countries slow their population growth through support for effective voluntary family planning programs, in conjunction with sound economic policies, U.S. population assistance contributes to stronger saving and investment rates, speeds the development of effective markets and related employment opportunities, reduces the potential resource requirements of programs to improve the health and education of the people, and hastens the achievement of each country's graduation from the need for external assistance.

The United States will continue its longstanding commitment to development assistance, of which population programs are an integral part. We recognize the importance of providing our assistance within the cultural, economic and political context of the countries we are assisting.

Insert ~~2~~ A

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 contributions to 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 government~~ organizations which perform or ~~actively promote~~ abortions as a method of family planning.

Health and Humanitarian Concerns

Perhaps the most poignant consequence of rapid population growth is its effect on the health of mothers and children. Especially in poor countries, the health and nutrition status of women and children is linked to family size. Maternal and infant mortality rises with the number of births and with births too closely spaced. In countries as different as Turkey, Peru, and Nepal, a child born less than two years after its sibling is twice as likely to die before it reaches the age of five, than if there were an interval of at least four years between the births. Complications of pregnancy are more frequent among women who are very young or near the end of their reproductive years. In societies with widespread malnutrition and inadequate health conditions, these problems are reinforced; numerous and closely spaced births lead to even greater malnutrition of mothers and infants.

Lack of voluntary private family-planning programs may result in population measures which infringe upon human rights and dignity.

It is an unfortunate reality that in many countries, abortion is used as a means of terminating unwanted pregnancies. This is unnecessary and repugnant; voluntary family assistance programs can provide a humane alternative to abortion for couples who wish to regulate the size of their family, and evidence from some developing countries indicates a decline in abortion as such services are expanded.

Insert ~~_____~~ A

The basic objective of all U.S. assistance, including population programs, is the betterment of the human condition, improving the quality of life of mothers and children, of families, and of communities for generations to come. For we recognize that people are the ultimate resource--but this means happy and healthy children, growing up with an education, finding productive work as young adults, and able to develop their full mental and physical potential.

U.S. aid is designed to promote economic progress in developing countries through encouraging sound economic policies and freeing of individual initiative. Thus, the U.S. supports a broad range of activities in various sectors, including agriculture, private enterprise, science and technology, health, population, and education. Population assistance amounts to about ten percent of total development assistance.

The Private Sector's Role

A distinctive feature of U.S. family planning assistance is its success in engaging private sector U.S. institutions to work with private sector organizations in developing countries to meet family-planning needs. U.S. assistance demonstrates the effectiveness of non-profit and market-oriented private institutions to make family planning services available to people who are beyond the reach of public sector delivery systems, providing services that respect their preferences, and gaining their financial support for the services. The ultimate

achievement of self-reliant national service delivery networks is in large part dependent on the extensive growth of these private sector family planning activities. At the same time, the U.S. will also continue well designed bilateral assistance programs with governments that request family planning assistance and are ready to make effective use of our assistance.

Technology as a Key to Development

The transfer, adaptation, and improvement of modern know-how is central to U.S. development assistance. People with greater know-how are people better able to improve their lives. Population assistance ensures that a wide range of modern technology related to demographic issues is made available to developing countries and that technological improvements critical for successful development receive support.

The efficient collection, processing, and analysis of data derived from census, survey, and vital statistics programs contributes to better planning in both the public and private sectors.

Under this Administration, U.S. support for population programs abroad aims at strengthening family life and enhancing the freedom of couples in the exercise of responsible parenthood by expanding access to a range of safe, effective, and acceptable family planning methods. The emphasis is on voluntarism, education and informed choice, and individual responsibility.

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.

Notes

(as provided by the Department of State and other agencies)

1. E.g., even with an anticipated decline in the birthrate, the number of young men in Egypt in the 15-to-24 age group will rise from 4.6 million in 1980 to 7 million by 2000; most of these men are already born.
2. If present trends continue, Mexico City may surpass 25 million by the end of the century; Tehran, Karachi, and Cairo may reach 11-13 million; and places like Lagos and Kinshasa, which contained 200-300,000 people as recently as 1950, are headed toward over 9 million.

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. ^{In keeping with this principle,} ~~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. ^{With regard to the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA),} ~~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

will negotiate an arrangement to immediately implement this policy. The U.S. will also require concrete assurances that the UNFPA is not directly or indirectly engaged in abortion or coercive family planning programs; failing such assurances, the U.S. will consider further steps as appropriate under U.S. law.

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, 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. Moreover, the United States will no longer contribute to non-governmental organizations which perform or actively promote abortion as a method of family planning. 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 concrete assurances that the UNFPA is not ~~directly or indirectly~~ engaged in abortion or coercive family planning programs; failing such assurances, the U.S. will consider further steps as appropriate under U.S. law.

policy

ALT. B.

Fortunately, a broad international consensus has emerged since the 1974 Bucharest World Population Conference that economic development and population policies are mutually reinforcing. This is why even LDCs with relatively sound market-oriented economies have found it important to pursue voluntary programs to moderate population growth as part of their overall development strategy. By helping developing countries slow their population growth through support for effective voluntary family planning programs, in connection with sound economic policies, U.S. population assistance contributes to stronger savings and investment rates, speeds the development of effective markets and related employment opportunities, reduces the potential resource requirements of programs to improve health education of the people and hastens the achievement of each country's graduation from the need for external assistance. The U.S. will continue its long-standing commitment to development assistance, of which population programs are an integral part. We recognize the importance of providing our assistance within the cultural, economic and political context of the countries we are assisting.

Jack:

Suggest we make sure, thru NSC,
that Shultz will be on board
w/ what McPherson agreed to.

Then, when we're confident
we have agreement, would be
the best time to call Hyde

I think.

Thanks

Jim C.
4/19

UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON DC 20523

June 13, 1984

THE ADMINISTRATOR

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT MCFARLANE
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House

MR. JACK A. SVAHN
Assistant to the President
for Policy Development
The White House

SUBJECT: Mexico Population Conference - U.S. Position Paper

As promised in my memorandum to you of June 7, 1984 on this subject, attached are AID's specific comments on the draft White House position paper for the Mexico Population Conference. To facilitate review, these comments are presented in the form of a revised draft of the White House paper.

We believe the Mexico conference in August will be an excellent forum to develop an understanding of, and begin to build an international consensus on, this Administration's approach to population efforts. We believe the conference should be used for this purpose. This idea has guided the comments we have made in the attached paper.

The White House draft contains many useful ideas; which have been incorporated in our revised draft. We also think a number of other points should be included in the paper, to describe in a positive way this Administration's policies regarding population efforts and the record of accomplishments to date.

Specifically, the additional points we have added to the draft are:

- reference to the four development policy pillars on which AID assistance is based, i.e. economic policy dialogue, use of the private sector, technology development and transfer, and training and human resource development;

- the market approach to distribution of contraceptives, as a means of assuring broad distribution and voluntary choice. This has been a major thrust of our programs and has grown to about \$25,000,000 a year;
- the use of natural family planning as an important component of population efforts, as it provides the only method that is consistent with the cultural and religious values of a large portion of the world's population. We have increased this program tenfold; and
- an emphasis on access to family planning information and contraceptive supplies rather than establishing numerical goals for population reductions. This is to underscore the U.S. emphasis on voluntarism and free choice by individual family units.

In the individual position papers that will be prepared on specific agenda items, we would plan to include concrete examples in the U.S. statements on the various ideas that the U.S. will be presenting at the conference, so that delegates from countries facing population problems will have ideas that they can follow up on for their own situations.

I would be very happy to meet with you and others to discuss the paper further. Since population is such a large and important component of the AID program, I want to be personally involved in the arrangements for the Mexico conference.



M. Peter McPherson

Attachment: a/s

A.I.D. Position Paper for
the International Conference on Population
Mexico City - August 5-13, 1984

For many years, the United States has supported, and helped to finance, family planning programs in less developed countries. This Administration has continued support for population assistance, but has placed it within a policy context based on the development experience of the past twenty years.

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. There are now 4.5 billion people in the world, and six billion are projected by year 2000. Such rapid growth places unmanageable pressures on government when out of equilibrium with productive capacities. The problem is not that population growth, as such, is "evil." Population pressures become a problem only in conjunction with other factors such as: economic policies which constrain economic growth; social and institutional arrangements which prevent individuals or groups from utilizing their full capabilities; and environmental and natural resource

limitations. In this context, the world is experiencing unprecedented population growth in precisely those countries which are already struggling to feed and educate even their current populations.

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.

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 a 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 on individual choice.

Thus, the Administration has defined the strategic goal of our population program as working for 80% of the population to have access to a wide range of acceptable contraceptive methods. By this phrasing, we emphasize that our focus is on individual voluntary decisions.

During the 1970s, A.I.D. supported fertility surveys in 42 developing countries, representative of nearly one and a half billion people--an initiative that showed that nearly half of all couples wanted no more children, and a much larger percentage wanted family planning services. The rapid population growth being experienced in many developing countries has had significant impact on the lives of families, and it is the family unit which is at the core of every society.

(President Reagan remarked before the World Affairs Council in Philadelphia in 1981 "Trust the people, trust their intelligence and trust their faith, because putting people first is the secret of economic success everywhere in the world." U.S. family planning assistance is built around this idea. In the 1960s and early 1970s, before most government programs were initiated, A.I.D. was assisting family planning efforts by private institutions to meet the family planning needs of couples and individuals.)

Economic Development and Population Programs

Population growth and economic development are closely interrelated. One of the contributing factors to current rapid population growth in developing countries has been declining mortality resulting from health interventions supported by both LDC governments and donor agencies. A tremendous expansion of health services--from simple inoculations to basic preventive health care education--saved the lives of millions of children each year. Also, increases in LDC food production and improved nutrition contributed to the decline in mortality. Emergency relief, facilitated by modern transport, helped millions survive flood, famine and drought. The sharing of technology, agricultural and technical education, the expansion of women's rights and education all helped reduce mortality rates, especially infant mortality, and to lengthen life spans.

Resulting rapid population growth requires heavy investments in schools, health care facilities, and other infrastructures, thus imposing major demands on resources needed for investment; and, provides a challenge which was perhaps not foreseen and addressed early enough as part of an integrated development strategy by LDC governments and donors alike.

The impact of the current rapid population growth is to sorely strain the resources of LDC's which could be used for

investment for economic growth, but are needed for basic infrastructures and services for burgeoning populations. The economic resources of a country, however, are not finite. The economic policies espoused by many governments have hindered economic growth making the rapidly increasing populations an even greater burden on the assets of those countries.

Slowing population growth is no panacea for the problems of social and economic development. It is not offered as a substitute for sound and comprehensive development policies. Without other development efforts and sound economic policies which encourage a vital private sector, it cannot solve problems of hunger, unemployment, crowding or social disorganization.

Population assistance is but one essential ingredient of a comprehensive program that focuses on the root causes of development failures. The U.S. program as a whole, including population assistance, lays the basis for well-grounded, step-by-step initiatives to improve the well-being of people in developing countries and to make their own efforts, particularly through expanded private sector initiatives, a key building block of development programs.

By helping developing countries slow their population growth through support for effective voluntary family planning programs, in conjunction with sound economic policies, U.S. population assistance contributes to stronger saving and investment rates, speeds the development of effective markets and related employment opportunities, reduces the potential resource requirements of programs to improve the health and education of the people, and hastens the achievement of each country's graduation from the need for external assistance.

The U.S. will continue its long-standing commitment to development assistance of which population programs are an integral part. We recognize the importance of providing our assistance within the cultural, economic and political context of the countries we are assisting. We do not and will not condition development assistance on the adoption of particular population programs.

do it now

The Private Sector's Role

A distinctive feature of U.S. family planning assistance is its success in engaging private sector U.S. institutions to work with private sector organizations in developing countries to meet family planning needs. U.S. assistance demonstrates the

effectiveness of non-profit and market-oriented private institutions to make family planning services available to people who are beyond the reach of public sector delivery systems, providing services that respect their preferences, and gaining their financial support for the services. The ultimate achievement of self-reliant national service delivery networks is in large part dependent on the extensive growth of these private sector family planning activities.

At the same time, the U.S. will also continue well-designed bilateral assistance programs with governments that request family planning assistance and are ready to make effective use of our assistance. The United States welcomes the responsible leadership of governments such as those of Egypt, Indonesia, Kenya, and Mexico in making family planning services available to their people as an integral part of public health programs. Thus, public sector programs and complementary private sector programs will continue to receive U.S. support.

Technology as a Key to Development

The transfer, adaptation, and improvement of modern know-how is central to U.S. development assistance. People with greater know-how are people better able to improve their lives.

Population assistance ensures that a wide range of modern technology related to demographic issues is made available to developing countries and that technological improvements critical for successful development receive support.

The efficient collection, processing, and analysis of data derived from census, survey, and vital statistics programs, contributes to better planning in both the public and private sectors. A wide range of modern family planning technology has been developed with U.S. assistance and made available to developing countries together with operations research that improves the effectiveness of family planning delivery systems. U.S. assistance also helps countries to acquire the technical capacity for contraceptive manufacture.

(The U.S. statement at the Conference should give concrete examples of the variety of technology transfer supported by the U.S., including the African census program and follow-up efforts to ensure the availability of needed software for data collection and analysis, research to improve natural family planning methods, and technology related to improved family planning management.)

Institution Building in Less Developed Countries

A primary thrust of the U.S. program is strengthening local institutions so that less developed countries have the capacity within country to implement population programs. Lessening

reliance on external support, both technical and financial is a goal of the U.S. This is particularly important since the population programs of developing countries must be designed and implemented within their own political, cultural and economic context and therefore should be established and maintained by local entities, either private or public.

Accomplishments of the Reagan Administration

This Administration has emphasized two program areas which represent valuable means of extending the accessibility and acceptability of voluntary family planning in developing countries.

The first program, Contraceptive Social Marketing (CSM): involves the use of market distribution methods for family

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.

The second 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 make 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.

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

throughout the world. We believe that inclusion of these methods will enhance the effectiveness of the family planning programs we support because they will be able to serve a wider group of people with varying cultural and religious values.

Abortion

U.S. policy prohibits U.S. government support for abortion-related activities in other countries. In fact, we believe that voluntary family planning services are an effective, humane alternative to abortion.

(While abortion is legally permitted, in some degree, in the great majority of the countries taking part in the Conference, none of the draft recommendations before the Conference encourage abortion as a method of family planning. One Recommendation - 13(e) - urges assistance "to help women avoid abortions, and, whenever possible, to provide for the humane treatment and counseling of women who have had recourse to illegal abortion.")

(The U.S. supports Conference approval of Recommendation 13(e). Urging couples to avoid abortion minimally implies that abortion is not encouraged as a method of family planning and that government funds should not be used to provide abortion services. - The proposed Recommendation puts a UN intergovernmental population conference on record for the first time as not favoring abortion, a position fully consistent with U.S. policy. Securing an explicit Conference condemnation of abortion, on the other hand, is unlikely because of the legally approved status of abortion in most countries. The U.S. should therefore seek to limit debate on this issue to ensure necessary support for the draft Recommendation.)

(The draft statement provides:

"...and will not contribute to those (programs) of which (abortion) is a part. Nor will (the U.S.) 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.")

(By focusing on what an organization advocates, as contrasted with what it does, the statement will be extremely, and in our view unnecessarily, controversial. We agree that it is important for the U.S. to stand witness for its position on abortion and to make it clear that AID funds must be separate from assistance to abortion-related activities.)

U.S. Strategy for Implementation of Population Assistance

The implementation of U.S. family planning assistance is based on four policy cornerstones.

First, we are working with developing countries to establish policies and programs that are supportive of smaller families and the spacing of births, including:

- increasing schooling for girls;
- increasing employment opportunities for women;
- lowering the high levels of infant mortality that perpetuate the vicious cycle of high fertility, poor maternal nutrition, low birth-weight babies and high infant mortality.

Second, we are helping to strengthen institutions in developing countries themselves so that they can deliver the basic services which their citizens need.

Third, we support the development of promising new technologies and methods of family planning, including natural family planning. We also support research to improve the safety and effectiveness of family planning under actual developing country conditions.

Fourth, we are building on the strength of the private sector by providing a relatively large proportion of our assistance through United States and indigenous private and voluntary organizations. We are also encouraging the private sector in developing countries to become involved in family planning service delivery, contraceptive research, and the commercial marketing of contraceptives.

The AID paper is little more than a justification for substantially increased funding for AID population activities. Obviously, the Mexico City conference will be used as an excuse to promote high increases in appropriations and it was precisely this type of budgetary pressure on U.S. foreign assistance which the original statement sought to avoid.

The AID paper sets a goal for U.S. assistance to double the number of people in the Third World who "have access to a wide range of acceptable contraceptive methods."

The paper commits the Administration to increased assistance to private population control organizations at a time when the activities of many of these organizations in promoting abortion is increasingly controversial.

Nonetheless, the portions of the statement highlighted on pages 9 through 11 could be incorporated into the original paper should you find it appropriate.

POPULATION AND WORLD ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Mr. DENTON. Mr. President, during the last several days, there have been press reports about a White House policy paper on population policy and international economic development. Reporters and columnists have quoted freely from it. Organizations seem to have copies, both to praise and to oppose. Some Members of Congress, it is reported, have received copies through the courtesy of two former Members, Senators Robert Taft and Joseph Tydings, who have worked closely on this matter with the Population Crisis Committee.

In short, everyone seems to have information on the controversy except the taxpayers, who annually are billed one-quarter billion dollars just for the population account at the Agency for International Development.

~~I think that it would, therefore, be appropriate to have the administration's proposed policy paper on population and world economic development appear in the RECORD. In my opinion, it is quite good, but I will welcome the judgment of others.~~

~~To assist us all in assessing the document, I submit along with it copies of three documents that take a different position:~~

~~An alternate policy statement prepared at the Department of State;~~

~~An alternate policy paper prepared at the Agency for International Development;~~

~~A "Critique of the White House Draft Position Paper" prepared by Peters Willson of the Alan Guttmacher Institute.~~

Those documents, Mr. President, will form the basis, during the next several days, for one of the most important decisions our Government will make this year. ~~It could turn out to be an extremely expensive decision for the taxpayers, if it results in the expenditure of still more money for population control.~~

The alternatives to the White House policy paper raise more than financial questions. Why, for example, do some in the State Department still speak about "terminating unwanted pregnancies."

Moreover, on the basis of what evidence did some in the State Department ascertain that "violent demonstrations and mass riots over food or sectarian causes in the recent past" in various large cities are manifestations of growing demographic pressures?

Both the State paper and its AID counterpart stand in stark contrast to the policy statement developed at the White House. That statement sounds so much like our President—candid, optimistic, humane, sensible, unafraid to challenge time-worn shibboleths—that it may already bear the imprint of his hand, as it surely reflects his head and heart.

So that we all may compare these sharply distinct, and even divergent,

documents, I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the documents were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHITE HOUSE 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 overre-

action 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 toward 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 shortsighted 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. 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 reserve 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 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 families 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.

STATE DEPARTMENT DRAFT U.S. SCOPE PAPER FOR THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POPULATION

INTRODUCTION

A demographic watershed occurring in many Third World countries of vital concern to U.S. interests has critical implications for political stability, economic development, and health and humanitarian concerns. For this reason, international population policy is of high priority to U.S. foreign policy.

The International Conference on Population (ICP) 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:

"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."

NATIONAL SECURITY CONCERNS

Conservative projections indicate that, in the sixty years from 1950 to 2010, many Third World countries of strategic or economic importance to the U.S. will experience four-, five-, or even sixfold increases in the size of their populations. Even under the assumption of gradual declines in birth rates, the unusually high proportion of youth in the Third World means that the annual additions to the populations of many of these countries will continue to grow larger for the next several decades.

Population growth—of such dimensions and over such a relatively short time-frame—is contributing to unusual economic, social, and resource pressures which threaten to undermine U.S. initiatives for peace, economic progress, and human dignity and freedom in many areas throughout the world. Intelligence analyses identify four destabilizing aspects of population change and demographic pressures that can be exploited by communism and extremist movements which breed on frustrated aspirations.

(a) Fast-growing youth populations.—The numbers of youth requiring jobs, education, and housing are growing faster than most developing countries can absorb them. For example, even with an anticipated decline in the birth rate, the number of young men in Egypt in the 15-to-24 age group will rise from 4.6 million in 1980 to 7 million by 2000; most of these men are already born. It is

men in this age group, increasingly frustrated and angry, ready recruits for a cause, who have fueled unrest in Kenya, India, Lebanon, the Philippines, Iran, and elsewhere.

(b) International migration.—International labor migration, legal or illegal, and refugee movements, are creating growing political and social tensions in Africa, the Near East, Asia, and Central and South America.

(c) Explosive growth of cities.—The combination of rural poverty and high birth rates is bringing unprecedented growth to cities in the Third World. If present trends continue, Mexico City may surpass 25 million by the end of the century; Tehran, Karachi, and Cairo may reach 11-13 million; and places like Lagos and Kinshasa, which contained 200-300,000 people as recently as 1950, are headed toward over 9 million. The combination of overcrowding, unmet expectations, and different ethnic, religious, and social groups makes a politically volatile mix. Violent demonstrations and mass riots over food or sectarian causes in the recent past in cities as varied as Tunis, Bombay, Sao Paulo, Cairo, Rabat, Karachi, and Rio de Janeiro, are manifestations of these growing pressures.

Ethnic tensions.—Shifts in ethnic and religious composition are an actual or potential destabilizing influence in many developing countries.

Although rapid population growth is only one factor contributing to rising dangers of social unrest, political instability, and potential international conflicts over land, water, or resources, its influence should not be ignored. Moreover, the next few years will see many more people entering their child-bearing ages than leaving: the number of young adults in the 20-to-39 age category will increase by 20 million in the North between 1980 and 2000—in the Third World, the increase will be 600 million, all of them already born. Thus, unless birth rates decline rapidly, demographic pressures in many countries will cumulate in the coming generations.

2. POPULATION, DEVELOPMENT, AND ECONOMIC POLICIES

Sound economic policies and a market economy are of fundamental importance to the process of economic development. Rising standards of living contributed in a major way to the demographic transition from high to low rates of population growth which occurred in the U.S. and other industrialized countries over the last century.

The current situation of many developing countries, however, differs in certain ways from conditions in 19th-century Europe and the U.S. The rates and dimensions of population growth are much higher now, the pressures on land, water, and resources are greater, the safety-valve of migration is more restricted, and, perhaps most important, time is not on their side because of the momentum of demographic change.

The problem is not the population growth in itself is bad. The problem is that rapid population growth compounds already serious problems faced by both public and private sectors in accommodating changing social and economic demands. It diverts resources from needed capital investment to consumption, and increases the costs and difficulties of economic development.

Population and family assistance policies and programs alone will not achieve economic miracles. They are no substitute for sound economic policies. Nevertheless, the governments of many developing countries now believe that rapid population growth has itself become, in many cases, an obstacle to the economic progress which should in

time lead to smaller family size and slower population growth. A broad international consensus has emerged since the 1974 Bucharest World Population Conference that economic development and population policies are mutually reinforcing. This is why even LDC's with relatively sound, market-oriented economies have found it important to pursue voluntary programs to moderate population growth as part of their overall development strategy.

3. HEALTH AND HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS

Perhaps the most poignant consequence of rapid population growth is its effect on the health of mothers and children. Especially in poor countries, the health and nutrition status of women and children is linked to family size. Maternal and infant mortality rises with the number of births and with births too closely spaced. In countries as different as Turkey, Peru, and Nepal, a child born less than two years after its sibling is twice as likely to die before it reaches the age of five, than if there were an interval of at least four years between the births. Complications of pregnancy are more frequent among women who are very young or near the end of their reproductive years. In societies with widespread malnutrition and inadequate health conditions, these problems are reinforced; numerous and closely spaced births lead to even greater malnutrition of mothers and infants.

The World Population Plan of Action, adopted at the Bucharest Conference in 1974, states: "All couples and individuals have the basic human right to decide freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children and to have the information, education and means to do so; the responsibility of couples and individuals in the exercise of this right takes into account the needs of their living and future children, and their responsibilities towards the community."

Yet, throughout the world, hundreds of millions of families lack the information and means to exercise this right to have the number of children they desire. Because of the unprecedented and growing numbers of people moving into and through their child-bearing years, the need for information and assistance is great. Even now, there is unmet demand for such services, and requests from developing countries for assistance from the U.S., UN, and other donors exceed current budgets (population assistance is currently less than two percent of worldwide Official Development Assistance). Because of the demographic momentum and the numbers involved, delays in offering voluntary programs may result in desperate governments resorting to measures which infringe upon human rights and dignity.

It is an unfortunate reality that in many countries abortion is used as a means of terminating unwanted pregnancies. This is unnecessary; voluntary family assistance programs can provide a humane alternative to abortion for couples who wish to regulate the size of their family, and evidence from some developing countries indicates a decline in abortion as such services are expanded.

4. U.S. POPULATION ASSISTANCE

It seems clear that ignoring demographic realities or delaying practical responses to these conditions runs the risk of perpetuating poverty and human degradation and undermining the stability of the family and of society. Hence, the U.S. has considered population to be one important component of a balanced development assistance strategy.

The basic objective of all U.S. assistance, including population programs, is the betterment of the human condition, improving the quality of life of mothers and children,

of families, and of communities for generations to come. For we recognize that people are the ultimate resource—but this means happy and healthy children, growing up with an education, finding productive work as young adults, and able to develop their full mental and physical potential.

U.S. aid is designed to promote economic progress in developing countries through encouraging sound economic policies and freeing of individual initiative. Thus, the U.S. supports a broad range of activities in various sectors, including agriculture, private enterprise, science and technology, health, population, and education. Population assistance, while important in concept, amounts in monetary terms to only about ten percent of total development assistance.

As population factors had been neglected in early aid programs, the U.S. has in recent years taken an international leadership role in encouraging other donors and international organizations to support voluntary population programs, as an important, cost-effective component of development aid. There is now substantial evidence, from countries with widely varying economic, social, and religious backgrounds, that relatively inexpensive family assistance programs can improve maternal and child health, bring down birth rates, and contribute to economic development.

Under this Administration, U.S. support for population programs abroad aims at strengthening family life and enhancing the freedom of couples in the exercise of responsible parenthood by expanding access to a side range of safe, effective, and acceptable family planning methods. The emphasis is on voluntarism, education and informed choice, and individual responsibility.

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

Aid will be provided in ways which are sensitive to human dignity and local cultural values;

U.S. funds will not be used for abortion or abortion-related activities, for involuntary sterilization, or for population activities involving coercion;

U.S. development aid will never be conditioned on a country's acceptance of any particular population policy;

U.S. population assistance will be provided only in the context of an overall development program.

5. THE U.S. AT MEXICO CITY

Because nearly all major LDC's have themselves adopted positions on population matters advanced by the U.S. and its Western allies over the past twenty years, the U.S. delegation need not be out front in Mexico City. Other countries will, however, look for our support in strengthening the broad consensus on population and development that has emerged over the past several years.

Based on the above discussion, the following principles should be drawn upon to guide the U.S. delegation at the ICP.

1. 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.

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 numbers.

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 local values and customs, the U.S. favors offering couples the widest practicable variety of medically approved methods, including natural family planning.

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

5. National and international resources addressed to population issues should be commensurate with the growing dimensions of the problem.

6. The status, education, and employment of women should be strengthened.

7. There should be higher international priority for biomedical research into safer and better methods of fertility regulation, including natural family planning, and for operations research into more effective service delivery and program management.

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

9. Problems of aging populations also merit international attention.

10. The U.S., in cooperation with other concerned countries should resist intrusion of polemical or non-germane issues into Conference deliberations. In particular, a draft recommendation on disarmament and the arms race, proposed by the Soviet Union, should be rejected, although we can accept suitable language on the need for peace and disarmament in an appropriate preambular clause.

AID POSITION PAPER FOR THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POPULATION MEXICO CITY—AUGUST 5-13, 1984

For many years, the United States has supported, and helped to finance, family planning programs in less developed countries. This Administration has continued support for population assistance, but has placed it within a policy context based on the development experience of the past twenty years.

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. There are now 4.5 billion people in the world, and six billion are projected by year 2000. Such rapid growth places unmanageable pressures on government when out of equilibrium with productive capacities. The problem is not that population growth, as such, is "evil." Population pressures become a problem only in conjunction with other factors such as: economic policies which constrain economic growth; social and institutional arrangements which prevent individuals or groups from utilizing their full capabilities; and environmental and natural resource limitations. In this context, the world is experiencing unprecedented population growth in precisely those countries which are already struggling to feed and educate even their current populations.

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.

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 percent of the population of developing countries has access to accepta-

ble 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 a 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 on individual choice.

Thus, the Administration has defined the strategic goal of our population program as working for 80% of the population to have access to a wide range of acceptable contraceptive methods. By this phrasing, we emphasize that our focus is on individual voluntary decisions.

During the 1970s, A.I.D. supported fertility surveys in 42 developing countries, representative of nearly one and a half billion people—an initiative that showed that nearly half of all couples wanted no more children, and a much larger percentage wanted family planning services. The rapid population growth being experienced in many developing countries has had significant impact on the lives of families, and it is the family unit which is at the core of every society.

(President Reagan remarked before the World Affairs Council in Philadelphia in 1981 "Trust the people, trust their intelligence and trust their faith, because putting people first is the secret of economic success everywhere in the world." U.S. family planning assistance is built around this idea. In the 1960s and early 1970s, before most government programs were initiated, A.I.D. was assisting family planning efforts by private institutions to meet the family planning needs of couples and individuals.)

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND POPULATION PROGRAMS

Population growth and economic development are closely interrelated. One of the contributing factors to current rapid population growth in developing countries has been declining mortality resulting from health interventions supported by both LDC governments and donor agencies. A tremendous expansion of health services—from simple inoculations to basic preventive health care education—saved the lives of millions of children each year. Also, increases in LDC food production and improved nutrition contributed to the decline in mortality. Emergency relief, facilitated by modern transport, helped millions survive flood, famine and drought. The sharing of technology, agricultural and technical education, the expansion of women's rights and education all helped reduce mortality rates, especially infant mortality, and to lengthen life spans.

Resulting rapid population growth requires heavy investments in schools, health care facilities, and other infrastructures, thus imposing major demands on resources needed for investment; and provides a challenge which was perhaps not foreseen and addressed early enough as part of an integrated development strategy by LDC governments and donors alike.

The impact of the current rapid population growth is to sorely strain the resources of LDC's which could be used for investment for economic growth, but are needed for basic infrastructures and services for burgeoning populations. The economic resources of a country, however, are not finite. The economic policies espoused by many governments have hindered economic

growth making the rapidly increasing populations an even greater burden on the assets of those countries.

Slowing population growth is no panacea for the problems of social and economic development. It is not offered as a substitute for sound and comprehensive development policies. Without other development efforts and sound economic policies which encourage a vital private sector, it cannot solve problems of hunger, unemployment, crowding or social disorganization.

Population assistance is but one essential ingredient of a comprehensive program that focuses on the root causes of development failures. The U.S. program as a whole, including population assistance, lays the basis for well-grounded, step-by-step initiatives to improve the well-being of people in developing countries and to make their own efforts, particularly through expanded private sector initiatives, a key building block of development programs.

By helping developing countries slow their population growth through support for effective voluntary family planning programs, in conjunction with sound economic policies, U.S. population assistance contributes to stronger saving and investment rates, speeds the development of effective markets and related employment opportunities, reduces the potential resource requirements of programs to improve the health and education of the people, and hastens the achievement of each country's graduation from the need for external assistance.

The U.S. will continue its long-standing commitment to development assistance of which population programs are an integral part. We recognize the importance of providing our assistance within the cultural, economic and political context of the countries we are assisting. We do not and will not condition development assistance on the adoption of particular population programs.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR'S ROLE

A distinctive feature of U.S. family planning assistance is its success in engaging private sector U.S. institutions to work with private sector organizations in developing countries to meet family planning needs. U.S. assistance demonstrates the effectiveness of non-profit and market-oriented private institutions to make family planning services available to people who are beyond the reach of public sector delivery systems, providing services that respect their preferences, and gaining their financial support for the services. The ultimate achievement of self-reliant national service delivery networks is in large part dependent on the extensive growth of these private sector family planning activities.

At the same time, the U.S. will also continue well-designed bilateral assistance programs with governments that request family planning assistance and are ready to make effective use of our assistance. The United States welcomes the responsible leadership of governments such as those of Egypt, Indonesia, Kenya, and Mexico in making family planning services available to their people as an integral part of public health programs. Thus, public sector programs and complementary private sector programs will continue to receive U.S. support.

TECHNOLOGY AS A KEY TO DEVELOPMENT

The transfer, adaptation, and improvement of modern know-how is central to U.S. development assistance. People with greater know-how are people better able to improve their lives.

Population assistance ensures that a wide range of modern technology related to demographic issues is made available to developing countries and that technological im-

provements critical for successful development receive support.

The efficient collection, processing, and analysis of data derived from census, survey, and vital statistics programs, contributes to better planning in both the public and private sectors. A wide range of modern family planning technology has been developed with U.S. assistance and made available to developing countries together with operations research that improves the effectiveness of family planning delivery systems. U.S. assistance also helps countries to acquire the technical capacity for contraceptive manufacture.

(The U.S. statement at the Conference should give concrete examples of the variety of technology transfer supported by the U.S., including the African census program and follow-up efforts to ensure the availability of needed software for data collection and analysis, research to improve natural family planning methods, and technology related to improved family planning management.)

INSTITUTION BUILDING IN LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

A primary thrust of the U.S. program is strengthening local institutions so that less developed countries have the capacity within country to implement population programs. Lessening reliance on external support, both technical and financial is a goal of the U.S. This is particularly important since the population programs of developing countries must be designed and implemented within their own political, cultural and economic context and therefore should be established and maintained by local entities, either private or public.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION

This Administration has emphasized two program areas which represent valuable means of extending the accessibility and acceptability of voluntary family planning in developing countries.

The first program, Contraceptive Social Marketing (CSM): involves the use of market distribution methods for family planning and has grown to about 10 percent 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.

The second 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 make other methods of family planning unattractive to larger 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.

NFP is an important component of worldwide population assistance since it provides a method which is consistent with the cultural and religious values of many individuals throughout the world. We believe that inclusion of these methods will enhance the effectiveness of the family planning programs we support because they will be able to serve a wider group of people with varying cultural and religious values.

ABORTION

U.S. policy prohibits U.S. government support for abortion-related activities in other countries. In fact, we believe that voluntary family planning services are an effective, humane alternative to abortion.

(While abortion is legally permitted, in some degree, in the great majority of the countries taking part in the Conference, none of the draft recommendations before the Conference encourage abortion as a method of family planning. One Recommendation—13(e)—urges assistance “to help women avoid abortions, and, whenever possible, to provide for the humane treatment and counseling of women who have had recourse to illegal abortion.”)

(The U.S. supports Conference approval of Recommendation 13(e). Urging couples to avoid abortion minimally implies that abortion is not encouraged as a method of family planning and that government funds should not be used to provide abortion services. The proposed Recommendation puts a UN intergovernmental population conference on record for the first time as not favoring abortion, a position fully consistent with U.S. policy. Securing an explicit Conference condemnation of abortion, on the other hand, is unlikely because of the legally approved status of abortion, in most countries. The U.S. should therefore seek to limit debate on this issue to ensure necessary support for the draft Recommendation.)

(The draft statement provides: “. . . and will not contribute to those (programs) of which (abortion) is a part. Nor will (the U.S.) 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.”)

(By focusing on what an organization advocates, as contrasted with what it does, the statement will be extremely, and in our view unnecessarily, controversial. We agree that it is important for the U.S. to stand witness for its position on abortion and to make it clear that AID funds must be separate from assistance to abortion-related activities.)

U.S. STRATEGY FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF POPULATION ASSISTANCE

The implementation of U.S. family planning assistance is based on four policy cornerstones.

First, we are working with developing countries to establish policies and programs that are supportive of smaller families and the spacing of births, including:

Increasing schooling for girls;
Increasing employment opportunities for women;

Lowering the high levels of infant mortality that perpetuate the vicious cycle of high fertility, poor maternal nutrition, low birth-weight babies and high infant mortality.

Second, we are helping to strengthen institutions in developing countries themselves so that they can deliver the basic services which their citizens need.

Third, we support the development of promising new technologies and methods of family planning, including natural family planning. We also support research to improve the safety and effectiveness of family planning under actual developing country conditions.

Fourth, we are building on the strength of the private sector by providing a relatively large proportion of our assistance through United States and indigenous private and voluntary organizations. We are also encouraging the private sector in developing countries to become involved in family planning service delivery, contraceptive research, and the commercial marketing of contraceptives.

CRITIQUE OF THE WHITE HOUSE DRAFT POSITION PAPER FOR THE MEXICO CITY CONFERENCE

GENERAL

The paper does not repudiate U.S. support for international family planning aid. However, because of the way it is written, the draft virtually dismisses the importance of family planning. Instead of discussing the enormous unmet need for family planning services around the world, the paper focuses exclusively on the need to deregulate developing nations' economies. It leaves the reader with the impression that if only developing nations would encourage free market economies, they would experience rapid economic development that would take care of their population growth.

In addition to de-emphasizing family planning, the paper also would stop U.S. government funds to family planning programs that use non-U.S. government monies (private funds or contributions from other governments) to pay for abortion-related activities. Current law and policy do not do that.

In short, the paper leaves itself open to interpretations that clearly conflict with U.S. foreign aid law and the Reagan administration's own policies on population assistance. It seeks to pre-empt Congress, which for 20 years has spelled out U.S. policy on population aid, and it threatens to spark confusion and controversy at the Mexico City Conference.

QUOTES FROM THE PAPER

The following quotes from the paper illustrate the problems it could create:

“The relationship between population growth and economic development is not a negative one. More people do not mean less (economic) growth.” (p. 2)

While the paper is correct in suggesting that population growth, in and of itself, is neutral, it leaves the impression that the very rapid population growth of developing nations today is not a problem. However, the U.S. Agency for International Development's 1982 policy paper on population aid states: “Continued high rates of population growth significantly increase the cost and difficulty of achieving basic development objectives by imposing burdens on economies presently unable to provide sufficient goods and services for the growing population.”

“That historic pattern (the gradual decline in population growth that accompanied the industrialization of Europe) would 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.” (p. 4)

The paper gives the impression that the historical experience of Europe, whose population growth rate gradually declined over

the past two centuries of modernization, is comparable with the demographic situation in developing nations. Yet, today's developing nations are experiencing rates of population growth far greater than ever experienced in Europe, with far less time and capital to generate economic development on a massive scale. Between 1830 and 1930, the world's population increased from 1 billion to 2 billion. In contrast, during the next 16 years the world's population is expected to grow by 1 billion, and 90 percent of that growth will occur in the developing nations. At current rates of growth, some of those countries are experiencing growth that could double their populations every 20 years or less.

“. . . 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.” (p. 5)

While it is true that not all nations' commitments to population and family planning have been equally effective, it also is true that family planning programs, well integrated into larger efforts to improve the economic opportunity and well-being of people, have proven to be effective. The U.S. Foreign Assistance Act makes this point explicitly in Sec. 104: “Large families in developing countries are the result of complex social and economic factors which change relatively slowly among the poor majority least effected by economic progress, as well as the result of a lack of effective birth control. Therefore, effective family planning depends upon economic and social change as well as the delivery of services . . . voluntary population planning programs can make a substantial contribution to economic development, higher living standards, and improved health and nutrition.”

“. . . 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. 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.” (p. 6)

Currently, U.S. law and policy prohibit the use of U.S. population aid to pay for abortions, abortion research, or lobbying for abortion. They do not deny funding to family planning programs that use non-U.S. government funds for abortion-related activities. The 1981 conference report on the Foreign Assistance Act made this point by saying the existing abortion funding prohibition “effectively sets necessary limits on U.S. support for international population planning programs with respect to concerns about adequate directives against promotion of abortion-related activities.”

THE BEST PATH TO DEFICIT REDUCTION

Mr. KASTEN. Mr. President, this week House and Senate conferees will continue meeting to resolve the differences in their deficit reduction plans. This comes after many months of wrangling over deficits, spending cuts, and tax increases.

Unfortunately, it's the tax increases in each of the plans that are sailing through Congress. The spending cuts are the problem. This shouldn't be.

FO 006

OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

FG 011

F = ...

WE 003

MEMORANDUM

Copy

DATE: 5/31/84 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: fyi

SUBJECT: INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POPULATION - draft position paper

Casey B. ... from Robert Kinnitt, NSC

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UHLMANN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WALTERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ANDERSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ADMINISTRATION/	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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BRADLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	DRUG POLICY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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COY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OFFICE OF POLICY INFORMATION		<input type="checkbox"/>
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SWEET	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

RESPONSE TO:

John A. Svahn
Assistant to the President
for Policy Development
(x6515)

Roger B. Porter
Director
Office of Policy Development
(x6515)

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
Robert M. Kimmitt
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Position paper

cc: John A. Svahn

TAB A

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.

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

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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

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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~~ → 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

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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."

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Substitute

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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.

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It is time to ^{put additional emphasis} ~~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. ^{with} ~~Most~~ ^{in conclusion} 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 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. ^{and} ~~NOT~~

moreover will the United States ^{will no} ~~any~~ longer contribute to ^{non-governmental} ~~private voluntary~~ organizations which perform or ^{actually} ~~promote~~ abortion as a method of family planning.

also the U.S. will insist that no part of its contrib to UNFPA be used for abortion and is discussing means of achieving this end with UNFPA

AID - ADDITION

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.

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.

new

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.

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.

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.