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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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OA 11844

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. transmittal	Transmittal Note - JR to EM, 1p.	n.d.	PS
2. memo	Mike Horowitz to David Stockman, Joe Wright, Fred Khedouri re OCS Section 8(g) Case, 1p.	6/12/84	PS dls 12/6/00

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 13, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR RONALD I. SPIERS
UNDERSECRETARY FOR MANAGEMENT

FROM: JOHN S. HERRINGTON
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE SECOND
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POPULATION
MEXICO CITY, AUGUST 6-13, 1984

The discussion regarding this delegation has been quite extensive and the following listing represents the White House selections:

Representatives

~~The Honorable James L. Buckley~~
(Chairman)
Director, Radio Free Europe

Former U.S. Senator
Former Counsellor,
State Department
Former Undersecretary
for Security Assistance

Ambassador Alan Keyes
(Vice-Chairman)
U.S. Representative on the Economic and Social Council
of the United Nations
Foreign Service Officer, African Affairs

~~Vincent Barabba~~
~~Former Director~~
~~Bureau of Census~~
~~1979-1981~~

or

Bill Draper, Jr.
President
Ex-Im Bank

Alternate Representatives

~~The Honorable Danny Boggs~~
Deputy Secretary
Department of Energy

Former Special Assistant
to the President
for Policy Development
(Global 2000 report)

Jacqueline Schafer
Member, Council on
Environmental Quality

Ben Wattenberg
AEI Fellow
Author

Senior Advisor

Dr. Jacqueline Kasun
Professor of Economics
Humboldt State University

Private Sector Advisors

David Swoap
Secretary of HHS
State of California

Former Undersecretary
Health and Human Services

(Ben Wattenberg)

Dr. Arthur Dyke
Saltonstall Professor
of Population Ethics
Harvard University
School of Public Health

Senior Government Advisors

James Malone, Assistant Secretary of State
Greg Newell, Assistant Secretary of State or designee
Peter McPherson, Administrator, AID or designee
~~(Jacqueline Schaefer, Member, CEO)~~

Government Advisor

Anne Higgins, The White House (Darman call)

Designated Representative

John Gavin, Ambassador, Mexico

ALAN LEE KEYES

Position for which considered: Representative of the United States of America on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, with the rank of Ambassador

Former Position: Member, Policy Planning Staff, Department of State

Born: August 7, 1950, New York, New York

Legal Residence: Sacramento, California

Marital Status: Married

Family: Wife: former Jocelyn Marcel
Son: Francis

Home Address: 4500 South Four Mile Run Drive, #925
Arlington, Virginia 22204

Education: B.A. 1972, Harvard College
Ph.D. 1979, Harvard University

Language Ability: French (3/3+, tested), Spanish (1+2, tested),
and some knowledge of Italian and Classical Greek

Experience:

Non-Government

1974-78 Teaching Fellow, Harvard University
1978 T.V. - Radio News Secretary, Bell for Senate
Committee, New Jersey

Government

1978 Entered the Foreign Service; FSR
1979-80 Consular Officer, Bombay
1980-81 Zimbabwe Desk Officer, Department of State
1981 Appointed FSO-4
1981-83 Member, Policy Planning Staff, Department
1982 FSO-3
1983 Resigned from the Foreign Service

August 1983

RESUME

ALAN L. KEYES

4500 S. Four Mile Run Drive, #925
Arlington, Va. 22209
Telephone: (703) 578-1872

EMPLOYMENT OBJECTIVE- A foreign policy or foreign policy related position, of Ambassadorial rank or at the Deputy Assistant Secretary level with the Reagan Administration .

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

1981 - present Serving as a MEMBER of the POLICY PLANNING STAFF at the U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. Duties include policy analysis and planning for sub-Saharan and northern Africa, some work on Middle Eastern affairs, especially U.S. Iran policy in the immediate post-hostage period, and some speechwriting for the Secretary. Played a major role in the formulation and implementation of the U.S. southern Africa initiative, including participation in high level diplomatic missions to African and European states.

1980 Served in the U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE'S BUREAU OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN AFFAIRS, as a Desk Officer with subsidiary responsibility for Zimbabwe, and chief responsibility for Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

1979-1980 Served as VICE-CONSUL at the U.S. CONSULATE GENERAL in Bombay, India, functioning as a VISA OFFICER and CHIEF of the AMERICAN SERVICES section.

1978 Served as TV-RADIO NEWS SECRETARY on the BELL FOR SENATE COMMITTEE. Responsibilities included maintaining liaison with major TV and radio stations serving New Jersey, preparation of news releases, and radio actualities, planning of televised debates with opposition candidate, speechwriting, particularly on defense related matters, and acting as surrogate for the candidate at Republican party and campaign functions, including an appearance opposite the opponent, Bill Bradley, before the New Jersey Education Association.

1974-1978 Served as a TEACHING FELLOW at HARVARD UNIVERSITY. Duties included preparing and teaching sections in lecture courses for up to thirty students, preparing and teaching seminars and tutorials, in the area of political theory, American government, bureaucracy and public administration.

1971 Summer employment as a RESEARCH ASSISTANT with ACTION for BOSTON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, federally funded anti-poverty agency in Boston, Massachusetts. Duties involved the preparation and analysis of demographic data to support program - planning activities.

1970 Summer employment as a RESEARCH ASSISTANT in the OFFICE of the VICE-PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES. Duties included political and historical research in support of speechwriting activities.

EDUCATION

1979 Ph.D. in Government from Harvard University. Major studies in the history of Western political thought, U.S. legislative-executive relations, bureaucracy and public administration, with subsidiary studies in American History of the Revolutionary period and European philosophy of the 19th Century (including Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, and Marx).

1972 B.A. from Harvard University - Major in government with emphasis on political thought, subsidiary study of economics, and ancient Greek philosophy and civilization.

HONORS AND AWARDS

1972 - 1978	Ford Foundation Fellowship
1969	Timothy Pence McKibben Memorial Scholarship Cornell University
1968	American Academy of Achievement Golden Eagle Award National Achievement Scholar
1967	National Champion - American Legion Oratorical Contest President- American Legion Boys Nation
1981	Letter of Commendation from the Secretary of State for Contribution to the Review of the Iran Hostage Agreements

UNPUBLISHED WRITINGS

<u>Ambition and Statesmanship</u>	(Doctoral Dissertation on the Political Thought of Alexander Hamilton)
" The Morality of Deterrence "	(an article on the 2nd Draft of the American Catholic Bishop's proposed Pastoral Letter on War, Armaments and Peace)

LANGUAGES:

Read:	French, Spanish, Italian Classical Greek
Spoken:	French, Spanish, Italian



American Life Lobby, Inc.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, P.O. BOX 490, STAFFORD, VA 22554
 703-659-4171 OR METRO DC (703) 690-2510
 GOVERNMENT LIASON OFFICE, 426 C STREET SE, WASHINGTON, DC 20002
 202-546-5550

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June 28, 1984

Hon. James A. Baker
 Chief of Staff
 The White House
 Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Baker,

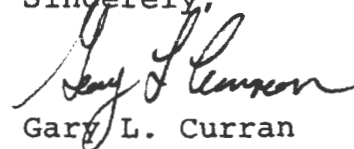
The Population Control Lobby in opposing the White House draft policy statement for the U.N. Population Conference has said - incredibly - that if the U.S. Government adopts the policy of cutting off funds for population control organizations it will be a laughing stock.

Nothing could be farther from the truth.

I enclose a copy of the order paper of the British Parliament, that lists a motion for suspension of 3 million pounds from Her Majesty's government to International Planned Parenthood Federation.

In short the U.S. is not the only Government that is considering the cut off of population control funds.

Sincerely,


 Gary L. Curran

GLC:cp

Hon. Larry P. McDonald
 1935-1983

ALL... for God, for Life, for the Family, for the Nation

"But because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold, nor hot, I will begin to vomit thee out of my mouth" (Rev. 3:16)

787 SUSPENSION OF FUNDS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION

Mrs Ann Winterton
Mr Ken Hargreaves
Mr Nicholas Winterton
Sir John Biggs-Davison
Mr William Shelton
Mr Richard Holt

Mr James White
Sir Patrick Wall

Mr Roy Beggs

Mr Piers Merchant

★ 37

That this House notes with extreme concern the comments in the recent report published by the International Planned Parenthood Federation entitled *The Human Right to Family Planning* which argues that children as young as 10 years of age should be given contraceptives without their parents being consulted ; calls upon the Attorney General to investigate immediately these comments to consider whether they constitute a breach of the law in encouraging individuals to take part in unlawful sexual relationships ; and demands that the payment of funds by the Government to the International Planned Parenthood Federation through the Overseas Development Administration, which currently total nearly £3 million per annum, be suspended immediately, and that no further such payments be made until such time as the Attorney General is satisfied that no offence has been committed and until such time as the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs is fully satisfied as to the purpose for which these funds are used.

791 REPATRIATION OF INDONESIAN REFUGEES

Mr Jerry Hayes
Mr Alfred Dubs
Mr Peter Bottomley
Mr Dave Nellist
Mr Robin Squire
Mr Cyril D. Townsend

Mr Simon Hughes

★ 29

That this House, gravely concerned that the Government of Papua New Guinea intends to return immediately 8,000 refugees who have fled to Papua New Guinea from the Indonesian Province of Irian Jaya and whose lives are in danger if they go back without the involvement of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, calls on Her Majesty's Government as a member of the Commonwealth to press the Governments of Papua New Guinea and Indonesia not to send back any refugees without involving the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and to permit the United Nations High Commission for Refugees to screen refugees so that their exact status may be ascertained.

~~WA~~ Subject File
Population
Control

A United Nations Assessment Project Study

August 27, 1984

31 AUG 1984

THE UNITED NATIONS ' FLAWED POPULATION POLICY

INTRODUCTION

The United Nations' second World Population Conference met for more than a week earlier this month in Mexico City. Predictably, it called for greatly expanded funding for family planning assistance worldwide. The United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), the conference's chief sponsor, will no doubt receive the largest portion of any assistance increase. For those Americans concerned with the rate and size of world wide population growth, the conference results probably appear reassuring. The assumption seems widespread that at least "something" is being done to contain the dimensions of the population explosion.

In the past two years, in fact, Congress has already increased significantly the family planning account in the Foreign Assistance Act. Under the Reagan Administration, spending has risen from slightly more than \$200 million to about \$250 million, with the House of Representatives having authorized more than \$300 million for FY 1985. About \$50 million of this would go to UNFPA. It would appear that Congress has anticipated the U.N. Population Conference request for expanded government support for family planning.

For those who believe that the population explosion is among the most troublesome crises facing mankind, however, the results of the Mexican conference and the congressional action should not be reassuring. Quite the contrary. The Conference results revealed a lack of intellectual honesty by the participants, particularly the family planning boosters. It is not that family planning programs per se are not worthy of support. But the suggestion that their expansion will bring the rate of population growth downward is without foundation.

The U.N. Fund for Population Activities plays a critical role in population-related programs worldwide. While the UNFPA officially takes a neutral stance toward the population policies adopted by its member governments, it is widely assumed by members of Congress and the American taxpayers that the UNFPA was not created to increase the world's population growth but to contain it. Indeed, when members of Congress vote year after year to support these programs they almost certainly do so convinced that the UNFPA, and organizations such as the U.S. Agency for International Development and the World Bank, "are doing something about the problem." In fact, what UNFPA does is not very effective.

This is clear from the proceedings in Mexico City. It should be obvious that economic growth and enhanced economic opportunity, given sufficient natural resources and spurred by free economies, can provide sufficient improvements in per capita living standards so that family size preference drops, in some cases drops rapidly. It should also be obvious that people in the developing world want large numbers of children, usually four to six per couple. Drowning them in contraceptives, therefore, will not suddenly change decades of cultural tradition but will only waste money. As such, the central debate on population policy should be over the extent and adequacy of the natural resources base and how countries can, humanely and voluntarily, change family size preferences. Ignored by the Mexico City Conference was the success of Singapore and South Korea, and to a more limited degree, Sri Lanka and Thailand, in linking social and economic incentives and disincentives to the adoption of the small family norm. In Singapore and South Korea, birth rates that were moving slightly upward were reversed and dropped sharply within five to seven years to where the two-child family is within reach.

It is true that many couples in the developing world want contraceptive service programs, but it is also true that these same couples want families of four to six children. Congress appears to ignore this. This is what makes family planning policy seem so paradoxical. On the one hand, support for family planning rests on the correct assumption that many couples want to use contraceptive services. On the other hand, until there is a major change in family size preferences, population growth rates will not significantly fall, even with massive increases in program funding.

While it may be true, as recent surveys and studies in some developing countries reveal, that many couples desire contraceptive services, they want these services to allow them to space or plan large families and to prevent childbearing after four to six children have been born. The reports of large percentages of women desiring to cease or better plan childbearing, but not now using contraceptive services, are widely interpreted to mean that a large number of "unwanted" children are being born. But this is not necessarily so. The fact that women may want fewer children

does not mean that these sentiments are not necessarily shared by their husbands, who, for reasons of tradition and culture, often make the decisions about childbearing.

The evidence is overwhelming that couples in the developing world prefer families of four to six children; they desire such numbers of surviving children whether or not family planning services are available. The fact that many countries have adopted family planning programs is therefore largely immaterial. The programs will be effective only when people want smaller families. This will happen only when they see the benefits of smaller families. And this requires improved living conditions and a vision of the future that is more hopeful and less fatalistic. Whether or not the natural resources base is sufficient for development in the Third World to proceed at the same pace as in the industrialized world, and whether or not the population explosion is a key obstacle to a more secure and free world, the question for policy makers is whether dramatically increased expenditure for family planning is sound policy for the United States.

In fact, family planning programs in the developing world, illustrated by the countries examined below, are characterized by ineffectiveness, waste, bureaucracy, and misdirection. The UNFPA's own studies acknowledge the failures of programs in Bangladesh, Pakistan, and elsewhere. It is time for an accounting of what the UNFPA does and whether it has had an impact. The American taxpayer no longer should be asked to support population policies that fail.

OVERVIEW

The United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) was established following the 1965 World Population Conference in Belgrade. The United States has been the largest donor to the UNFPA, providing as much as 85 percent of its support during the 1970s.¹ Currently, the U.S. provides about one-quarter of the agency's \$150 million budget. Funding is divided by functions such as data collection, research, educational programs, and the delivery of contraceptives (family planning).²

West Germany and Japan, the next two largest donors, have increased their contributions by 65 percent over the 1979-1982 period, compared to a 14 percent increase during the same period for the U.S. The U.S., however, has contributed over \$1.3 billion

¹ "1979-1983 Report," The United Nations Fund for Population Activities, New York.

² Ibid.

in cumulative overall population assistance since 1965, compared to \$63 million for West Germany and \$78.6 million for Japan.³

UNFPA has grown from a small trust fund of the U.N. Secretary-General to an organization with a yearly program budget in excess of \$150 million. From the outset it has been UNFPA policy to respond to virtually any request for population assistance. Although ostensibly established to help less developed nations contain the explosive rate of population growth, the UNFPA does not attempt to influence any country to adopt any particular approach to population policy.

Although recognizing that a decline in fertility will come about only when couples make a conscious choice to have fewer children, the UNFPA operates under the framework of the World Population Plan of Action. This emphasizes the right of all couples to have the number of children they desire,⁴ precisely the underlying cause of the population explosion. Furthermore, the UNFPA maintains strict neutrality with respect to the particular population policy a nation might adopt. It funds programs to combat infertility as well as programs, ostensibly, to combat high fertility. Its policies are little different than those traditionally pursued by both the World Bank and the U.S. Agency for International Development. The goal of UNFPA programs is simply to allow people "of assisted countries...[to] have freedom to control their reproduction as they desire,"⁵ which by and large they do in any case, irrespective of the U.N. confirming this freedom.

The UNFPA has provided assistance to and is currently active in over 140 different nations.⁶ It operates through other U.N. Agencies, most of which have limited expertise on population matters and no organizational commitment to population activities. As a result, a wide number of activities are funded that have little to do with an overall population strategy. In addition, UNFPA loses ultimate responsibility for implementation of many of its own programs. This in turn leads to the virtual absence of evaluative material on the objectives, accomplishments, and results of UNFPA projects. Complicating matters even more is UNFPA's help to over 30 nongovernmental organizations, such as the Population Council, the Population Action Council, the Population Crisis Committee, and International Planned Parenthood Federation. This further diffuses UNFPA's authority and control over projects and activities.

³ Ibid., and "1980 Report," The United Nations Fund for Population Activities, New York.

⁴ See resolution passed by the United Nations Conference on Population, Bucharest, Romania, 1974, upon adoption of the United Nations Resolution on Population and Development.

⁵ Justin Blackwelder, Testimony before the House Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, U.S. House of Representatives, March 31, 1977, p. 398.

⁶ "1980 Report," op. cit., pp. 108-149 and p. 19.

Table 1

UNFPA ASSISTANCE IN 1980, BY EXECUTING AGENCY

	<u>Dollars</u>	<u>Percent</u>
United Nations	\$31.1	20.7
Regional Economic Commissions	6.8	4.6
ILO	6.0	4.0
FAO	3.9	2.6
UNESCO	6.6	4.4
WHO	23.8	15.8
UNIDO	0.1	--
UNICEF	10.2	6.8
UNFPA	42.2	28.0
NGOs	19.8	13.1
Total	\$150.5	100.0

UNFPA POLICY FRAMEWORK

Although the UNFPA boasts that only about 8 percent of its budget is spent on administrative overhead,⁷ the true price is the serious lack of managerial staff in countries in which UNFPA funds family planning and population activities. As a result, there is little review of program expenditures. In some countries, for example, there may be but a single professional UNFPA staff member for all the programs. And because UNFPA funds just about any project, even remotely related to population, there is very little incentive to determine whether the program is meeting any objective.

UNFPA does not advocate a reduction in population growth within any single country.⁸ Indeed, UNFPA supports programs that "ensure that all couples are able to achieve their desired number and spacing of children."⁹ According to the most recent studies, the world's inhabitants are now producing approximately the number of children they desire. This will double the world's population every 35 years.¹⁰ This means that UNFPA is simply helping to ensure that the world's current 4.9 billion people reach 10 billion, and from there to 20 billion. UNFPA aids Bangladesh, for example, not to bring the nation's birth rate down, but because Bangladesh itself provides only limited support to its population programs and policies.¹¹

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ "1979-1983 Report," op. cit., p. 17.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ The Other Side, #14, The Environmental Fund, October 1978, p. 3.

¹¹ Ibid.

UNFPA PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

From the time of its inception, UNFPA has secured over a billion dollars in contributions. It now has about 100 donors supporting its more than 500 projects.

UNFPA's specific population and family planning programs are divided into functional areas, including basic data collection (19 percent of its funds), the study of population change (11 percent), formulation of population policies (5 percent) and their implementation (1 percent), support for family planning/maternal child health programs (42 percent), and educational and communication programs (12 percent). The remaining 10 percent goes for miscellaneous projects and programs.¹²

The UNFPA has designated 40 countries to receive population assistance on a priority basis; their population problems are considered particularly acute. These countries generally have received 42 percent of all assistance.¹³

During 1980 to 1983, UNFPA spent nearly \$30 million annually on basic data collection, including population censuses, vital statistics collection, and demographic and population-related studies.

Basic population research, policy formulation, and implementation form the link between the collection of population data and its subsequent analysis and utilization. Over \$26 million was expended in these areas in 1980, dropping to \$21 million in 1983. This included demographic training and research concerning the economic and social variables associated with fertility, mortality, and migration. The aim of this project is to establish research and training facilities within the developing world to increase the knowledge of the causes, consequences and determinants of population growth. Coupled with such research activities is population policy formulation, which generally involves assistance to national governments in adopting the necessary laws and legal instruments to establish a national family planning and maternal and child health program. Two additional areas are of concern for the UNFPA: (1) insuring that population policies are integrated into overall development activities; and (2) taking into account population factors when formulating national development plans.

Much has been made of UNFPA efforts in this area. Although impressive at first glance, such assistance has resulted in population and family planning activities being buried in various ministries of health or education, primarily focused on maternal

¹² "1980 Report," *op. cit.*, p. 18.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

and child health programs, child spacing, and reducing the incidence of abortion. As a result, efforts to reduce desired family size and birth rates are abandoned. "Taking into account" population factors means mentioning the subject in lengthy "development plans" and acknowledging that, as the population grows, the number of classrooms and teachers, for example, also needs to be increased. The idea that none of this makes any difference never seems to occur to the UNFPA. Both Pakistan and Bangladesh, for example, have had innumerable changes in ministry names and functions and long ago acknowledged population growth as a key development factor. Nevertheless, the birth rates in both countries have remained stationary for the past twenty years, while the population growth rates have increased.

Family planning assistance receives the overwhelming percentage of UNFPA funds, with \$63 million allocated for these purposes in 1980, and \$54 million allocated in 1983. Programs to deliver modern means of contraception are almost universally integrated or folded into existing national strategies for the "reduction of maternal and infant morbidity and mortality" (which will cause the population to grow more rapidly). Thus, family planning services are seen as programs that people and government want, need, or request. The aim of the program administrators is to see that modern contraceptives are "accepted," "accessible," and "safe and effective,"¹⁴ regardless of whether people have four, five, or six children. It is thus paradoxical that the desire for large numbers of children, precisely the central cause of the population explosion which UNFPA is ostensibly trying to slow, is a desire that UNFPA encourages.

Through radio, television, booklets, films, exhibitions, and training materials, UNFPA stresses the importance of using contraceptives or family planning--but not of achieving the small family size norm. Thus the fact that requests keep increasing for UNFPA activities does not necessarily mean that birth rate levels will drop if the requests are honored.

A major accomplishment of UNFPA during 1981, according to its senior officials, was not success in bringing birth rates down, but the convocation of an international family planning conference. The conference decided to "expand the availability, accessibility, and acceptability" of "family planning services," and to "sustain and increase" the national and international financial commitment to family planning programs. In short, more money was to be committed to UNFPA, irrespective of program success. This message was recycled at this month's Mexico City conference.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 24-26.

UNFPA COUNTRY PROGRAMS

UNFPA projects in some of the largest less developed nations illustrate how the U.N. agency spends its assistance funds.¹⁵

Nigeria

Although the government of Nigeria apparently does not see population growth as a detriment to economic development or living standards, the UNFPA is providing \$2 million to Nigeria for the period 1980-1984 (in addition to \$3.7 million provided between 1971 and 1980). In fact, the Nigerian national development plan places primary emphasis upon the reduction of maternal and child mortality, not birth rates.

UNFPA support largely has been limited to computer management, to assist the government in the collection of population statistics, and to conduct a national fertility survey, which will reveal that the average number of children per Nigerian couple is extremely high--something that most observers already know.

Despite no change in the extremely high Nigerian birth rate, however, UNFPA claims that the family planning programs "continued to perform well."¹⁶ After visiting Nigeria in 1980, a UNFPA "needs assessment mission" concluded that additional support was warranted for further expansion of family planning and maternal and child health activities.¹⁷ If past UNFPA efforts have resulted in no change in the national birth rate, why would an expanded UNFPA program be warranted?

Egypt

UNFPA has provided \$20 million to the Egyptian population programs. Nearly \$3 million was awarded in 1978 for a population development program.¹⁸ Its goals include: (1) improving the family planning services offered in the country program, (2) expanding efforts in education, motivation, and communication, and (3) raising the standard of living at the community level in the hope that this will encourage a smaller family size norm.

¹⁵ It should be noted that numbers used here refer to direct UNFPA expenditures by country through 1983 and do not include (1) funds channeled through an intermediary organization, such as the IPPF (International Planned Parenthood Federation) or UNESCO, and (2) funds spent for what are known as inter-regional programs, that is funds spent by various research organizations such as the Population Council or Population Crisis Committee. The funds spent in these regional and interregional programs over the last two years (1982 and 1983) have totaled approximately \$70 million.

¹⁶ "1980 Report," *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁸ "Inventory of Population Projects in Developing Countries Around the World," Population Programs and Projects, United Nations Fund for Population Activities, pp. 122-123.

Though its population problem is recognized by Egypt's leadership as particularly serious, the actual implementation of population policy has not received much attention. It has been directed for considerable periods of time by individuals and organizations hostile to the policies of family planning and the need for population stabilization policies.

Two years ago, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak warned that "the present rate of population increase obstructs economic development and shatters our hopes for securing a prosperous life for every Egyptian." He added that, with the current population of 44 million projected to rise to 70 million by the year 2000, efforts to provide sufficient food, shelter, employment, health, and education for all Egyptians will be crippled unless the population problem is controlled.¹⁹

During early 1980, it appeared that senior Egyptian population policy officials were considering a program that would have awarded economic assistance to those villages with significant declines in birth rates.²⁰ This, however, does not appear to have been implemented.

Population assistance to Egypt was started by UNFPA in 1971. An initial four-year, \$5.8 million program consisted of supplies of contraceptives, establishing new and upgrading existing family planning units, and a number of research and management activities. In 1975, a UNFPA evaluation team visited Egypt to review family planning activities. Despite an increasing birth rate, a new agreement was established with Egypt in 1977, calling for about \$10 million in additional assistance,²¹ with little if any change in program activities.

Mexico

UNFPA assistance to Mexico was initiated in 1972 with a \$1.4 million program. It was expanded in 1975 to \$8,855,000. It funded medical services for maternal and child health and family planning programs, involving about 1,500 health centers, with the aim of assisting in a planned, gradual expansion of such services into the rural areas.²²

In 1979, UNFPA extended its support for the Mexican family planning program with \$6.3 million committed for an additional

¹⁹ "Development Rates Must Match Population Growth," Address by President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, as reported in The Egyptian Gazette, February 14, 1982, p. 1.

²⁰ Report by Ambassador Marshall Green, Egyptian and Pakistan Mission, February 9, 1981, pp. 5-6.

²¹ "Inventory of Population Projects in Developing Countries Around the World," op. cit., p. 121.

²² Ibid., p. 122.

3½-year period.²³ The emphasis of this program is on the extension of services to marginal rural and urban areas, including information, communication, and educational activities. Within a year, UNFPA approved an additional package of assistance in the amount of \$10.56 million for the next five years.

Brazil

The Brazilian government wants to maintain the current rates of population growth as part of an effort to settle the country's north and west regions. UNFPA activity in Brazil therefore has been limited to a demonstration project in Rio de Janeiro, offering maternal and child health, as well as family planning services, to some of the marginal areas of the city.²⁴ The project was approved by the UNFPA in June of 1979, and consisted of \$1.1 million in project support over a two-year period, with the Brazilian government contributing \$1.4 million. (Overall, the UNFPA has spent but \$2.7 million in this country of 120 million.)

Bangladesh

Bangladesh has received \$28.2 million in UNFPA assistance since 1974. The U.N. agency has supported over 40 population and family planning projects of one kind or another. Programs have been renewed regularly, despite the overwhelming evidence demonstrating that there has been no decline in the national birth rate.

UNFPA programs have included maternal and child health and family planning services, sterilization services in hospitals and health centers, and mobile sterilization teams to serve rural and remote areas. One project initiated in 1980 called for an assessment of the demographic impact of the family planning delivery system; this should have been relatively easy since the national birth rate has remained unchanged for the past 20 years.

India

UNFPA assistance to India began in 1974 with a five-year \$40 million grant. By the following year, six family planning projects had become operational; by the middle of the year, other projects had been launched. Objectives have been to establish family planning services and information and education programs within the country's national health care system and within the organized labor sector. Additional activities focused on the local production of contraceptives and the delivery of equipment and supplies.

By far, the greatest UNFPA effort between 1976 and 1979 was the direct support of family planning activities, including the

²³ Ibid., p. 270.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 271.

construction of over 800 rural family welfare planning centers, the training of 5,000 new auxiliary nurse midwives and 1,250 new Lady Health Visitors, and the training of medical officers, supervisors and other workers at both the state and local level for the Primary Health Centers. Over \$47 million was spent solely in training traditional birth attendants in "sound midwifery." A total of \$77 million has been spent by UNFPA over the past decade.

Pakistan

UNFPA so far has spent \$20 million in population assistance to Pakistan. These outlays purchased transport (such as boats, jeeps, scooters, bicycles, and spare parts); contraceptives, medicines, and medical equipment; consultants and advisers; fellowships and study tours; training, research, and evaluation activities; clinical and basic medical research; maternity-centered family planning services; salary supplements for family planning and health field workers and salaries for 5,000 new field workers called lady motivators and lady welfare visitors.

UNFPA PROGRAM COMMENTARY

From 1971 to 1982, the UNFPA spent nearly \$230 million in the ten largest less developed nations, some of which are nations cited in this report. The recipients are an extremely diverse group ranging from Catholic to Muslim, dictatorial to quasi-democratic, capitalistic to socialistic, 50 million population to over 700 million, and a few years to nearly three decades of experience with population programs and efforts. Despite this variety, the UNFPA programs in these countries are strikingly similar.

Contraceptive services are made available through clinics; teams of midwives, bureaucrats and motivators are hired to encourage people to use contraceptives, and depots and vehicles are provided to store contraceptives and disburse them through the community. These programs change very little from year to year, despite the noticeable lack of progress in such countries as Nigeria, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Egypt, and India. In Brazil, meanwhile, UNFPA ignores what has been happening as the national birth rate has been dropping from 40 to 32 per thousand without government supported family planning (services were available largely through commercial outlets).

The pattern of UNFPA programs is not surprising; they mirror the U.S. AID programs of the past 20 years. From 1965 to 1977, for example, AID was dominated by the "contraceptive inundation" theory of population limitation. Family planning enthusiasts, chagrined at the noticeable lack of progress in reducing birth rates, decided on a novel approach. Their most noted advocate, R.T. Rayenholt, the former director of AID's Population Office, argued that inundating the developing world with condoms, pills, and IUDs would result in everyone using the devices.

AID launched such a program in Pakistan in 1976. Condoms were produced in red, white, and blue in celebration of the U.S. bicentennial. "Try a new experience" was emblazoned on them. AID supplies of contraceptives sent to developing countries were often doubled, even if existing supplies were not being utilized. This was described as "programming for success." UNFPA policies are simply the legacy of this inundation philosophy.

Despite the failure of UNFPA programs to significantly affect birth rates in Bangladesh, Nigeria, Pakistan, India, Egypt, and Mexico, UNFPA continues to support programs that differ little from the failed policies of the early 1970s. Even after detailed assessments in the late 1970s of Bangladesh, India, and the Philippines, UNFPA program support continued unchanged despite evidence that project management, implementation and formulation were seriously deficient.

In addition, the June 1979 recommendation in the Indonesian program assessment that community incentive policies be adopted to spur fertility decline was not followed up by UNFPA. Similarly, the Bangladesh assessment of September 1978 notes that community participation in incentive programs was critical for program success. However, the UNFPA simply continued its previous contraceptive distribution schemes without an assessment of whether sufficient demand existed for their utilization.

Although the impact of population growth on economic development has been established for decades, additional millions have been spent on research on the "interrelationships between development and population." Despite the obvious connection between a rapidly increasing population and major increase in a nation's labor force, scarce resources are spent demonstrating this relationship over and over again. One program entitled "Strengthening of the National Family Planning Communication," begun in 1977, was to be "strengthened" again, just two years after being established. And communication programs, designed to complement and assist the family planning service aspects of population policy, are being shifted to focus "real support to such programs," raising the question of what it was these communication programs were doing in the first place.²⁵

UNFPA recommendations and policy objectives often appear to be couched in equivocations and meaningless generalities. Typical was a key recommendation following a 1979 assessment of the Indonesian population program:²⁶

Complementary action should also be taken to train and direct the attention of anthropologists/rural sociologists in concerned institutions and the social science

²⁵ "Inventory of Population Projects in Developing Countries Around the World 1979-1980," *op. cit.*, pp. 340-343.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 414-417.

research training centers to the potential use of micro-study data for communication planning and strategy development to the quantitative information needs of the population/family planning communication program and to the consequent new training and research directions to be developed by the institutions concerned.

Such assessments indicate that UNFPA program administrators are far removed from the serious population problems facing developing nations and generally oblivious to the new directions in which population policies should move. UNFPA staffers apparently believe that they have made an important decision regarding communication activities when they change projects using film to ones which use synchronized slide-sound systems or transparencies. Such policy and program recommendations are the rule rather than the exception.²⁷

CONCLUSION

UNFPA Executive Director, Rafael Salas, concedes that family planning programs do not succeed. Even in those Third World countries in which birth rates declined modestly between 1960 and 1980, UNFPA acknowledges that the "family planning programs have merely reinforced an already existing trend toward fertility decline." Further, UNFPA questions why "couples in developing countries are not taking full advantage of the [contraceptive] services offered" and provides the right answer: "The high levels of fertility prevailing are the legacy of a long cultural tradition which has encouraged large-sized families. However, we have tended to assume that couples who want large families are behaving in an irrational fashion, in fact, they merely do not share our values regarding family size."

And in a remarkable display of candor, UNFPA declares, again correctly, that "population policies are too often confused with family planning," explaining that "It is important that we not look at family planning programs as the panacea to the world's population problems. While family planning programs...will help couples to have the number of children they wish, other economic and social factors lie behind their ideas of desired family size." In another statement, UNFPA concludes: "It has been clear for a long time that family planning campaigns are largely ineffectual in producing a lower rate of population growth."

UNFPA population and family planning service programs have been operating for more than a decade in most of the countries surveyed in this report. Despite growing evidence that these programs do not control population growth, UNFPA appears unwilling

²⁷ Ibid., p 415.

to change policy or to move in new directions. The data illustrate the meager impact of UNFPA population programs:²⁸

Table 2

<u>Country</u>	<u>UNFPA Program Start</u>	<u>Year(s)</u>	<u>Births (per 1000)</u>	<u>Growth Rate (percent)</u>
Bangladesh	1974	1974	46	2.6
		1980-1981	46	2.8
Brazil	1977	1977	32	2.4
		1980-1981	31	2.3
Egypt	1971	1971	38	2.3
		1980-1981	42-43	3.0
India	1974	1974	38	2.2
		1980-1981	37-38	2.3
Indonesia	1972	1972	41-42	2.1-2.3
		1980-1981	35-38	2.3
Mexico	1972	1972	43	3.6
		1980-1981	38-41	3.5
Nigeria	1975	1975	49	2.7
		1980-1981	49	3.2
Pakistan	1970	1970	45	2.7
		1980-1981	45	2.9
Philippines	1972	1972	41	2.7
		1980-1981	36	2.7

* Growth rate figures used in this table refer to rates of natural increase and exclude emigration figures. Birth rate figures refer to benchmark data or rates calculated from comparisons of rates of natural increase with estimated death rates.

As Table 2 illustrates, UNFPA family planning assistance programs appear to have had little impact on the birth rate levels in Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, Egypt, Brazil, and Nigeria.

²⁸ U.S. Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, "World Population Reports in 1975"--1977--1979 and--1981; and "Demographic Estimates of Countries With a Population of 10 Million or More: 1981," U.S. Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. See also "Country Demographic Profiles," (Mexico, Thailand, India, Indonesia, Brazil, Pakistan, and Bangladesh), U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce.

As far as Mexico, Indonesia, and the Philippines are concerned, birth rates there appear to have declined during UNFPA program activities. However, birth rate declines prior to family planning program initiatives by UNFPA appear to have generally matched subsequent declines:²⁹

Table 3

<u>Country</u>	<u>UNFPA Program Date</u>	<u>Birth Rate History</u>	
		<u>1972-1980</u>	<u>1964-1972</u>
Mexico	1972	43-38 5 pt. drop	49-43 6 pt. drop
Indonesia	1972	40/1-35/8 2-6 pt. drop	46-40/1 5-6 pt. drop
Philippines	1972	41-36 5 pt. drop	47-41 6 pt. drop

In the case of Mexico, for example, a drop of 5 points in the national birth rate between 1972 and 1980 appears to have been matched by the drop in the national birth rate in the eight years prior to the initiation of UNFPA family planning programs. In Indonesia and the Philippines, the birth rate appears to have decreased prior to the initiation of UNFPA family planning programs at a rate equal to or greater than those rates of decline subsequent to program establishment (over the same period of time).

²⁹ The Census Bureau, from which these data are taken, generally projects birth rate estimates on the assumption that trends generally are moving downward. This report prefers to rely upon "benchmark" data contained in the Census Bureau reports and publications, as they are usually based upon actual data rather than optimistic assessments of what might be happening. Where a range of estimates has been given by the U.S. Census Bureau, the midpoint has been used, e.g., in the case of Bangladesh, the birth rate estimates range from 44-48 per 1000. The table uses 46 per 100 as the midpoint between these two estimates. Where birth rate estimates were unavailable for a particular year, an estimate was used that was roughly midway between available estimates before and after a particular year.

Of particular importance are recent census results from such countries as India, Indonesia, and the Philippines, which have revealed population totals significantly higher than previous estimates had assumed would be the case. For example, the Indonesian 1980 Census revealed that the Indonesian population had grown by 28.2 million between 1971 (the year of the last census) and 1980, with a corresponding average growth rate of well in excess of 2 percent a year between 1975-1980, despite optimistic projections that showed a decline to below 2 percent.

The desired family size in nine of the ten countries in Table 4 exceeds four children. As a result, should family planning programs be 100 percent successful, and eliminate all unwanted child bearing, the populations of each of these nations would double each generation. The story is similar for other nations. Between 1970 and 1983, for example, according to AID testimony before House Appropriations Committee during the hearing on the FY 1984 Foreign Assistance Act, the birth rates of twelve African, Asian, and Latin American countries increased even though the governments supported family programs. In an additional nine nations receiving U.S. family planning assistance, birth rates remained unchanged.

More important, however, the world's annual average rate of population growth between 1980 and 1983 was 1.8 percent annually, up from 1.7 percent during the previous decade. In the developing world, excluding Mainland China, population growth rates remained at 2.4 percent annually between 1960 and 1977, during which time family planning programs greatly expanded. Since then, despite the increased expenditures for family planning, Third World population growth rates may have increased to the 2.5 to 2.6 percent level, the first such increase in nearly 25 years.

Of great significance, however, is that desired family size has remained unchanged in the great majority of Third World countries:³⁰

Table 4

Desired Number of Children Per Couple

	<u>1960-1965</u>	<u>1975-1980</u>
Indonesia	4.3	4.3
Thailand	3.7	3.8
Philippines	5.0	4.4
India	4.1	4.2
Pakistan	4.0	4.2
Brazil	4.0 (est.)	4.4
Egypt	4.0 (est.)	4.0 (est.)
Nigeria	--	6.0
Mexico	4.5 (est.)	4.5 (est.)
Bangladesh	3.5	4.1

Population assistance programs in most areas of the developing world are limited in scope and effectiveness, for they are primarily family planning programs. Family planning programs can succeed if desired family size norms substantially and significantly change from the current level of four to six children per couple to two or less children.

³⁰ See Population Reports International, "To Inherit the Earth; An Inquiry into the Population Explosion and the Future" (Washington, D.C., 1984).

Unfortunately, it remains a common assumption--at the UNFPA, at the World Bank, and within the population community--that birth rate declines that have occurred in the developing world are a result of family planning service programs, and more of the same will lead automatically to further declines. Such an explanation, however, is a mere tautology, more accurately, an explanation in the accounting sense only.

A more realistic assessment of family planning programs is provided by Paul Demeny, Vice President of the Population Council, who notes that those family planning programs firmly established in such countries as Taiwan, Thailand, and Indonesia, for example, are more "a reflection of underlying fertility determinants" than an explanation of the fertility changes in these countries.³¹

Because of the widespread pervasiveness of this faith in family planning, the United Nations Fund for Population Activities is a prisoner of population policies that cannot work. The organization could be particularly effective if it would lead nations in the direction of encouraging the small family norm. Unfortunately, the process of moving toward population stabilization is viewed by the UNFPA and its member governments as the inevitable result of the right amount of modern contraceptive delivery and family planning programs, without the necessity of conscious policy decisions toward establishment of the small family norm goal. One way of moving toward this norm, of course, is to encourage those market economic policies that trigger growth and a rising standard of living.

To narrow substantially the economic gulf separating the rich from the poor nations, a "decisive decline" in fertility over the next two decades is imperative.³² Without the initiation of new and creative population policies, the existing conditions of poverty, environmental deterioration, and resource scarcities will worsen, and with them, the lives of hundreds of millions of people. However, should incentives for small families be implemented, if coupled with decisions to spur free and open economies, mankind may be able to harness the intellectual genius of the human mind and insure progress for a more moderately sized human family rather than a menial existence for infinitely expanding numbers.

Prepared for The Heritage Foundation by
Peter R. Huessy*

³¹ Paul Demeny, "On the End of the Population Explosion," The Center for Policy Studies, The Population Council, No. 39, March 1979, p. 32.

³² Ibid., pp. 3-4, 12, 32, 33.

* Peter R. Huessy is President of PRHCO, a firm specializing in government relations, natural resource economics, and national security studies. He recently concluded a four year population study, on which this study is based.

18 JUN



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

DATE:

TO: *ED MESSER*

FROM: *J. WRIGHT*

*Ed - Thought you
might be interested
in attached.*

A handwritten signature, likely of J. Wright, consisting of a stylized, cursive script.

OMB FORM 38
Rev. Aug 73

EM:

I believe you saw
this before last week's
Cabinet meeting.

JR



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

MEMORANDUM

June 12, 1984

To: Dave Stockman
✓ Joe Wright
Fred Khedouri

From: Mike Horowitz **MH**

Subject: OCS Section 8(g) Case

1. As you know, the District Court opinion represents bad and (in Justice' and my opinion) clearly reversible law. (See attached letter from Justice.)
2. Beyond that fact, however, there is a generic concern which in my opinion should be emphasized before the CCNRE and the President. This Administration will need not to blink at decisions of individual District Court judges that set national policy or otherwise determine major resource allocations.
3. There are now approximately 560 District Court judges, almost 40% of whom were appointed by Carter under circumstances where "public interest" and allied groups played a leading role in the screening and appointment process. (In the case in question Judge Robert Parker is a Carter appointee; as is Judge Shadur, who this week awarded \$100 million plus to Chicago as a follow-up to last year's broad spending injunction placed on DoEd; as is Judge Sarokin, the Newark judge who recently ordered reverse discrimination layoffs but also held that laid-off white employees were entitled to federal compensation under the "taking" provision of the Fifth Amendment; etc., etc.)
4. In other words, until there is a Reagan Supreme Court and further Reagan Circuit Court appointments, we need to be very careful about failing to take appeals from major, adverse District Court opinions lest we encourage individual judges to do more of the same.



U.S. Department of Justice

Office of the Deputy Attorney General

JUN 8 4:58 PM

The Deputy Attorney General

Washington, D.C. 20530

June 7, 1984

SECRET

David Stockman
Director
Office of Management
and Budget
Washington, D.C. 20503

Dear Mr. Stockman:

Yesterday you requested the Department to prepare a summary of litigation relating to section 8(g) of the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act and an assessment of the federal government's position on appeal. Pursuant to your request, the following is submitted for your consideration.

Section 8(g) of the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act, 43 U.S.C. 1337(g), establishes a mechanism under which the Secretary, when leasing federal lands within three miles of the state's seaward boundary, is required to consult with the Governor concerning which tracts may contain oil and gas pools or fields in common with the state. The consultation is to enable the state and federal governments to enter into an agreement for the "fair and equitable distribution" of lease revenues. In the absence of an agreement, leasing may proceed and the distribution is determined by a federal court. Although the statute does not use the word "drainage", we believe it is clear from the legislative history that Congress intended this procedure to protect states from drainage of hydrocarbons by federal lessees. This construction is also supported by the statute's focus on common pools, since the primary reason to achieve an agreement regarding common pools is to prevent or compensate for drainage of resources.

Judge Parker, in Texas v. Watt, agreed that the statute encompassed drainage but expanded the compensation available. He articulated a "bonus enhancement" theory which is based on the assumption that where oil or gas is found, nearby unleased acreage becomes more valuable. Under this theory, he permitted Texas to recover the alleged increase in value of federal tracts which were leased after there had been a discovery on a state offshore lease. While he purports to limit this recovery to leases where the state shows there is a common pool, he construes the term "pool" so broadly as to impose no real limitation.

18471

Moreover, allowing recovery on the basis of "bonus enhancement" is a variation of the theory that coastal states should be "repaid" for the contribution they have made to the development of the federal OCS. For example, if Texas can recover because it "enhanced" the value of federal leases by leasing and developing adjacent state lands, other states will argue for compensation on the grounds that onshore support facilities or other alleged contributions to the federal program similarly "enhanced" the value of federal tracts. This is the approach being taken by Louisiana in its litigation.

We believe our chances of a reversal on appeal of the bonus enhancement award are quite good. The matter is a relatively straightforward issue of statutory construction. Judge Parker's statutory analysis is not founded on the normal principle of construction which looks to legislative intent. Instead, Judge Parker strains to avoid the relevant legislative history. Moreover, because the opinion is based upon a strained reading of the statute, we believe it is highly unlikely that an appeal would result in an opinion more harmful to the government than the current status. Accordingly, because the government's position has largely been vindicated in this litigation and because we perceive a substantial likelihood of further vindication at the appellate level, this Department continues to hold to its view that a fair and equitable settlement of pending Section 8(g) litigation would lie in the range of 5-10% of the common pool 8(g) bonuses.

The time for filing a notice of appeal of the Texas decision expires on July 23, 1984. The Louisiana court has entered certain preliminary rulings that follow the Texas decision and which may be certified for immediate appeal within the same time frame. We believe the fundamental legal issue can be presented for appeal by the end of July. It is likely that the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit will dispose of the cases within one year. It is our view that an adverse decision would be appropriate for Supreme Court review, and that this could be completed in approximately 1 1/2 additional years.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if we can furnish additional information.

Sincerely,



Carol E. Dinkins
Deputy Attorney General

cc: Honorable William P. Clark
Secretary
Department of the Interior

18471

6-14-84

~~Ken:~~
Ken:

Yesterday's discussion focused on omitting blue-lined wording in order to avoid problems with word "indirectly" and its implications. There is easier way to avoid this but still preserve points made in rest of language: omit only the words "directly or indirectly" from 2^d sentence.

This preserves our position on not contributing (directly, by implication) to programs that use or advocate abortion for family planning or population control.

If this comes up, would you present this option? Yesterday discussion (EM + JS) seemed to settle on omission of all in blue.

Note: EM met yesterday with Jim Buckley; this may be reason to return to this topic since Buckley chairs delegation.

JR

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: ED MREESE

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

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

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

JACK

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

3775
Add On

May 30, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES HILL
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: International Conference on Population

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

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


Robert M. Kimmitt
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Position paper

cc: John A. Svahn

bcc: Carl Anderson, OPD
Anne Higgins
Becky Norton Develop

DRAFT Statement

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

First and most important, in any particular society today, population growth is, of itself, a neutral phenomenon. It is not

necessarily good or ill. It becomes an asset or a problem only in conjunction with other factors, such as economic policy, social constraints, need for manpower, and so forth. The relationship between population growth and economic development is not a negative one. More people do not mean less growth; that is absurd on its face. Indeed, both in the American experience and in the economic history of most advanced nations, population growth has been an essential element in economic progress.

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

Among the less developed nations, a coincidental population increase was caused by entirely different factors, directly related to the humanitarian efforts of the United States and other western countries. A tremendous expansion of health services -- from simple inoculations to sophisticated surgery -- saved millions of lives every year. Emergency relief,

facilitated by modern transport, helped millions to survive flood, famine, and drought. The sharing of technology, the teaching of agriculture and engineering, the spread of western ideals in the treatment of women and children all helped to drastically reduce the mortality rates, especially infant mortality, and to lengthen the life span.

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

The first of these factors was governmental control of economies, a pathology which spread throughout the developing world with sufficient virulence to keep much of it from developing further. As economic decision-making was concentrated in the hands of planners and public officials, the ability of average men and women to work towards a better future was impaired, and sometimes crippled. Agriculture was devastated by government price fixing that wiped out rewards for labor. Job creation in infant industries was hampered by confiscatory taxes. Personal industry and thrift were penalized, while dependency upon the state was encouraged. Political considerations made it

difficult for the economy to adjust to changes in supply and demand or to disruptions in world trade and finance. Under such circumstances, population growth changed from an asset in the development of economic potential to a peril.

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

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

The second factor that turned the population boom into a crisis was confined to the western world. It was an outbreak of an anti-intellectualism, which attacked science, technology, and the very concept of material progress. Joined to a commendable and long overdue concern for the environment, it was more a reflection of anxiety about the unsettled times and the uncertain future and disregard of human experience and scientific

sophistication. It was not unlike other waves of cultural anxiety that have, over the centuries, swept through western civilization during times of social stress and scientific exploration.

The combination of these two factors -- counterproductive economic policies in poor and struggling nations and a pseudo-scientific pessimism among the more advanced -- provoked the demographic overreaction of the 1960's and 1970's. Doomsday scenarios took the place of realistic forecasts, and too many governments pursued population control measures that have had little impact on population growth, rather than sound economic policies that create the rise in living standards historically associated with decline in fertility rates. It was the easy way out, and it did not work. It focused on a symptom and neglected the underlying ailments. For the last three years, this Administration has sought to reverse that approach. We recognize that, in some cases, immediate population pressures may make advisable short-term efforts to meliorate them. But this cannot be a substitute for the economic reforms that put a society on the road toward growth and, as an aftereffect, toward slower population increase as well.

Nor can population control substitute for the rapid and responsible development of natural resources. In responding to certain Members of Congress concerning the previous Administration's Global 2000 report, this Administration in 1981 repudiated its call "for more governmental supervision and control. Historically, that has tended to restrict the

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

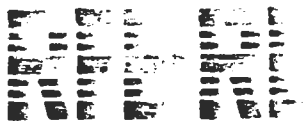
Those principles underlie this country's approach to the United Nations Conference on Population to be held in Mexico City in August. In accord with those principles, we reject compulsion or coercion in family planning programs, whether it is exercised against families within a society or against nations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

control is not a panacea. It will not solve problems of massive unemployment. Jobs are not lost because there are too many people in a given area. Jobs are created by the conjunction of human wants and investment capital. Population growth fuels the former; sound economic policies and properly directed international assistance can provide the latter. Indeed, population density may make the latter more feasible by concentrating the need for both human services and technology. But as long as oppressive economic policies penalize those who work, save, and invest, joblessness will persist.

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

It is time to concentrate upon those root problems which frequently exacerbate population pressures. By focusing upon real remedies for underdeveloped economies, the United Nations Conference on Population can reduce demographic issues to their proper place. It is an important place, but not the controlling

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



FOR THE DIRECTOR OF THE FBI
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535
TELEPHONE (202) 352-7000

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
FBI

7 May 1984

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

Dear Mrs. Dunlop:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sincerely yours,


James L. Buckley

Enclosure



DEPARTMENT NOTICE

April 20, 1984

TO ALL EMPLOYEES
STATE, IDCA, USIA, ACDA

POPULATION AND THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY

May 15, 1984

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

* * *

MORNING SESSION

8:45 - 9:00	Coffee and Registration
9:00 - 9:05	Welcome <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Leo Moser, Director, Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs
9:05 - 9:10	Introduction <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Richard Benedick, Ambassador, State Department Coordinator for Population Affairs
9:10 - 9:25	An Historical Perspective <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Phil Claxton, Project Manager, The Futures Group
9:25 - 9:40	What Happened at Bucharest (1974 World Population Conference) <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Phil Claxton
9:45 - 10:30	Population and Development <ul style="list-style-type: none">A. Foreign Policy Perspective<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Edwin Martin, Ambassador (Ret.)- Richard Benedick, Ambassador
10:30 - 10:45	Coffee
10:45 - 11:15	B. Ethical/Human Rights Concerns <ul style="list-style-type: none">- James McHugh, Monseigneur, Sacred Heart Cathedral, Newark, N.J.

(Continued on reverse)

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

12:00 - 1:30 Lunch

AFTERNOON SESSION

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

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

2:45 - 3:00 Coffee

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

3:45 - 4:30 Discussion

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

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F0003-02

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 13, 1984

Dear Bishop Quarracino:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

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

May 30, 1984

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

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

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

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

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

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

RR:WELLS:

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

To Mr. Darman

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

25 JUN 1984
Wash Times

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WF

Population Control

WHITE HOUSE GETS ABORTION APPEAL

Agency Asks White House to Rethink Plan on Aid Cutoff

By PHIL GAILEY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 19 — The Agency for International Development has urged the White House to reconsider a proposal to eliminate family planning assistance to governments and organizations that support abortion.

The White House position, outlined in a draft statement being circulated within the Administration, could cost developing countries and organizations as much as \$100 million of the \$240 million the United States now contributes annually to population control programs.

Congress since 1974 has banned the use of American funds to pay for abortion, or abortion-related activities, abroad. Under the change that aides say President Reagan is determined to make, aid could be withheld from developing countries and family planning groups that use funds other than those from the United States for abortion services.

'Unnecessarily Controversial'

In its comment on the White House draft paper, the development agency warned that the such a reversal of United States policy could be "extremely, and in our view unnecessarily, controversial" at the United Nations Population Conference in Mexico City in August. The White House has asked former Senator James L. Buckley of New York, who shares Mr. Reagan's opposition to abortion, to deliver the Administration statement at the conference.

As an alternative, the agency urged the White House to support a resolution before the conference that calls for family planning assistance to help

"women avoid abortions." To build support for that recommendation, it added, the United States should try "to limit debate" on the abortion issue. The agency's comments were not officially released, but Senator Jeremiah Denton, Republican of Alabama, had a copy published in the Congressional Record on Monday.

The adoption of such a resolution, the agency added, would put "a United Nations intergovernmental population conference on record for the first time as not favoring abortion, a position fully consistent with U.S. policy."

The White House paper also is reportedly encountering opposition at the State Department, where some officials are concerned that the policy change would needlessly complicate Washington's relations with such countries as India and China. The department has prepared a position paper for the Mexico City conference that is basically a restatement of present policy. The United States stance, the paper says, should be guided by the precept that its assistance "will never be conditioned on a country's acceptance of any particular population policy."

Political Consequences

White House officials have said the draft statement is certain to undergo some revisions, but they added that the President was determined to bring Administration policy on this issue into line with his own views on abortion. They also point out that the Mexico City conference ends a week before the Republican National Convention opens.

With anti-abortion groups warning of political consequences if the White House backs off, one Reagan aide said: "You don't want major questions

raised about the position the U.S. Government is taking a week before the convention. We don't want to have to explain it to a convention with a number of people who have strong views on the subject."

Members of Congress and population control groups who oppose the policy change contend that the language in the White House position paper would not be well received by many developing countries. The document blames "governmental control of economies" and "anti-intellectualism" in the Western world for the problems of overpopulation, and says that free-market economies are the solution.

"The whole tone of the statement will be insulting to many of the countries meeting in Mexico City," said Sharon Camp, vice president of the Population Crisis Committee. "One of the real concerns of the people I talk to at the State Department is that we could make fools of ourselves in Mexico City."

20 JUN 1984
NYT

Population Control

End Urged to Aiding Population Control

By Cristine Russell
Washington Post Staff Writer

A draft White House paper proposes elimination of U.S. support for many international population control programs, saying that "technological advance and economic expansion" should be stressed instead in assistance to developing countries.

The paper, prepared by the White House Office of Policy Development in coordination with the National Security Council, says rapid population growth might even help create jobs if "oppressive economic policies" were overturned in favor of free market policies.

The document also states that the United States does "not consider abortion an acceptable element of family planning programs" and will not contribute to governments or private organizations that pay for abortions with private or non-U.S. money. Present rules permit U.S. contributions to such organizations' family-planning programs but ban use of U.S. funds for foreign abortion services.

The eight-page statement, prepared as a draft position paper for an International Conference on Population in Mexico City in August, is seen by government and interest groups as a dramatic reversal of U.S. policy, responsive in part to demands by anti-abortion groups that have fought the international population assistance program in Congress and the executive branch.

A vigorous lobbying effort is under way by both sides to influence terms of the final document.

"This is a war for the heart and soul of the president on foreign policy vis-a-vis population control. The big question is will the president see the National Security Council policy statement before the State Department gets to him with their policy," said Gary Curran of the anti-abortion American Life Lobby.

Curran said right-to-life leaders had assurances yesterday from an

aide to chief of staff James A. Baker III that the "White House is going to hang tough on this one."

Two former senators, Robert Taft Jr. (R-Ohio) and Joseph D. Tydings (D-Md.), both affiliated with the Population Crisis Committee, decried the White House draft in a recent letter, saying it would represent the "adoption of a 'fundamentalist, know-nothing' political philosophy with respect to population and development in the less developed nations."

They said it "represents a 180-degree reversal" and is "a potential foreign policy embarrassment of serious proportions."

A Population Crisis Committee staff member said implementation of the new restrictions on abortion would "cripple U.S. assistance efforts" by cutting out nearly half of the \$240 million spent annually on population assistance to countries such as India and organizations such as the U.N. Fund for Population Activities and International Planned Parenthood Federation.

The May 30 draft emphasizes that population growth "becomes an asset or a problem only in conjunction with other factors, such as economic policy" and that it is "government control of economies" that change it "from an asset in the development of economic potential to a peril."

The draft says there has been an "overreaction" to the worldwide population problem and that "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 But as long as oppressive economic policies penalize those who work, save and invest, joblessness will persist."

There is a question about who will lead the U.S. delegation to Mexico City. Former senator James E. Buckley, a strong abortion foe, is considered by many to be the leading candidate.