

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Population
1

December 1, 1967

NOTE FOR MR. ROSTOW

Walt--

I think you will be interested in the attached exchange of correspondence between John D. Rockefeller 3rd and Premier Kosygin concerning possible Soviet support for the World Leaders' Declaration on Population. This correspondence was referred to without explanation in Secretary Rusk's memorandum (also attached) for the President in which he recommended that the President formally announce his support for the Declaration.

Spurgeon
Spurgeon Keeny

Atts. (3)

cc: EKHamilton w/atts.

10-5-67

EXECUTIVE

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Dear Mr. Rockefeller, *John D. III*

In addition to my two messages forwarded to you through the Soviet Embassy in Washington I feel it would be useful to set forth a few considerations on the substance of the questions referred to in your letters of last January 9, February 28 and July 31.

As you yourself have pointed out, the population problem presents no difficulties in the Soviet Union. Economic development rates in the USSR are considerably higher than population growth rates; so if any particular demographical problems do appear in our country, they usually involve shortages of manpower in certain regions.

In the meantime the disparity between swift population growth rates and slow rates of increases in the production of material benefits and of cultural growth constitutes a highly topical problem for many nations, especially from amongst the developing ones. In this case the incomplete utilization of natural and human resources leads to falling standards of life for the population and decreases in the share of savings in the national income.

We are convinced that a radical solution of this problem is possible only through fundamental socio-economic reforms which can bring about a general economic uplift, help overcome economic backwardness, achieve industrialization, increase the productivity of labour, expand cultivated areas and raise agricultural yields, and elevate the population's cultural and educational standards.

As such, demographical methods of affecting population dynamics are certainly not substantial, although depending on the specific conditions in each country, they may have a certain effect on changing population growth rates. It goes without saying that in any event the methods of a state's demographical policies must be applied in conformity with the principles of humaneness and respect for man's elementary rights and dignity. One such method of encouraging so-called "family planning" is referred to in the Declaration of Heads of State which you sent to me.

However, the Declaration treats the demographical factor in isolation from other and more important economic and social factors. I find it hard to agree with the Declaration's provision that the preservation of peace will largely depend on how the population problem is resolved. The experience of history shows that the major military conflicts in the world

Nothing else sent to
Central Files as of 10/24/67

including the two world wars, were by no means unleashed by countries with a high birth rate and low living standards. It is well known that the cause of those wars lay not in the population growth but in the imperialist policies of certain developed States.

Such is our approach to the problem mentioned in your letters. Frankly speaking, we did not come to the belief that the Declaration as presently formulated could become a substantial step towards the solution of this problem, the importance of which is beyond question.

Respectfully,

A. KOSYGIN

16 September 1967

October 9, 1967

Dear Mr. Kosygin:

Thank you for your message of September 16th transmitted by Ambassador Dobrynin in regard to the World Leaders' Statement on Population. I read it with much interest and am gratified to note there is no difference between us as to the importance of bringing population increase and socio-economic development into reasonable balance. Our only real difference is in regard to emphasis -- in my opinion family planning is an essential element in the attainment of meaningful socio-economic advancement.

In the fourth paragraph of your message you state that an effective solution of the population problem is only possible where it is accompanied by economic development and educational advancement. I share your view that strenuous efforts must be made to achieve rapid socio-economic development. Ultimately there can be no cure for poverty except production, and to this end our two countries and many others are making considerable, if inadequate, efforts to help the world. These efforts need to be continued and expanded. But today, it is precisely because of the high rates of population growth that such small proportions of the economic growth are available for improvements in health, education and productive equipment. Most economists have recognized that in the poorest countries a reduction of the high rate of population growth is essential if even our best efforts at economic development are to succeed.

Secondly, I agree with you wholeheartedly "that the methods of a state's demographical policies must be applied in conformity with the principles of humanness and respect for man's elementary rights and dignity," This is the reason why it is so important for us to

October 9, 1967

encourage voluntary family planning as we may be the last generation to have the opportunity to solve the population problem through orderly planning. Many leaders seem unaware that there is impressive evidence to show that women the world over do want the knowledge and the means to plan their families. Furthermore, these leaders tend to think of family planning as a negative force rather than as being essential if human dignity is to be really meaningful for their people and if they are to have a chance to attain their full potential.

Lastly, I agree with you that there are other very important factors involved in the maintenance of peace. However, I think you would agree that the pressures of population and the problems caused by too rapid rates of population growth certainly are major contributing factors to the instability of many countries. Moreover, who can forget the evils of "lebensraum" in Germany prior to World War II and similar pressures in Japan which after the war led that country to adopt the severest of methods in stabilizing its population.

Before reaching a final decision as to your endorsement of the World Leaders' Statement, I hope so much you will be willing to take into consideration the points I have made in this letter. What we are attempting to do in the Statement is simply to point out to leaders throughout the world what a meaningful family-planning program can mean in terms of the future of their countries. We do not desire to create the impression that family planning is a panacea for all the world's ills. But we do believe that the opportunity to decide the number and spacing of children is a basic human right and that providing the effective means to exercise this right is in the vital interest of both the nation and the family.

Again my warmest thanks to you for your concern about this all-important problem.

Sincerely,

John D. Rockefeller 3rd

John D. Rockefeller 3rd

His Excellency Aleksei N. Kosygin
Chairman of the Council of Ministers
The Kremlin
Moscow
U.S.S.R.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

1- Henry
2- ret.

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C O P Y

October 9, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: World Leaders' Declaration on Population

Recommendation:

That you sign the enclosed copy of the World Leaders' Declaration on Population.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Discussion:

On June 10 you indicated that you would sign the World Leaders' Declaration on Population and authorized me to tell Prime Minister Wilson and the Prime Minister of Japan and the leaders of several smaller countries then considering signing that you hoped they will join you in signing. You also suggested that Mr. Rockefeller might make further efforts to get Chairman Kosygin to sign.

Prime Minister Wilson and Prime Minister Sato were informed of your decision and hope and both have signed. So have Prime Ministers Holyoake of New Zealand, Krag of Denmark and Borton of Norway.

[Mr. Kosygin, after lengthy and careful consideration, has decided not to sign on the ground that he doesn't agree with parts of the declaration.

A list is enclosed of the twelve leaders whose signatures were announced on Human Rights Day, December 10, 1966, and the additional ten leaders who have since

agreed to sign. Mr. Rockefeller has invitations still out to Prime Ministers Pearson and Holt, President Ayub Khan, General Suharto, President Marcos and a few others.

Mr. Rockefeller has arranged with the Secretary-General to release the names of the additional signers at an opportune time in the next few weeks, but no later than December 10. An official notification from you of your approval of the declaration would be most appropriate. I suggest this may be most simply done by your signature on the enclosed copy of the declaration. I will see that it is forwarded.

Dean Rusk

Dean Rusk

Enclosures:

Copy of World Leaders' Declaration on Population.
List of Signers.



The peace of the world is of paramount importance to the community of nations, and our governments are devoting their best efforts to improving the prospects for peace in this and succeeding generations. But another great problem threatens the world—a problem less visible but no less immediate. That is the problem of unplanned population growth.

It took mankind all of recorded time until the middle of the last century to achieve a population of one billion. Yet it took less than a hundred years to add the second billion, and only thirty years to add the third. At today's rate of increase, there will be four billion people by 1975 and nearly seven billion by the year 2000. This unprecedented increase presents us with a situation unique in human affairs and a problem that grows more urgent with each passing day.

The numbers themselves are striking, but their implications are of far greater significance. Too rapid population growth seriously hampers efforts to raise living standards, to further education, to improve health and sanitation, to provide better housing and transportation, to forward cultural and recreational opportunities—and even in some countries to assure sufficient food. In short, the human aspiration, common to men everywhere, to live a better life is being frustrated and jeopardized.

As heads of governments actively concerned with the population problem, we share these convictions:

We believe that the population problem must be recognized as a principal element in long-range national planning if governments are to achieve their economic goals and fulfill the aspirations of their people.

We believe that the great majority of parents desire to have the knowledge and the means to plan their families; that the opportunity to decide the number and spacing of children is a basic human right.

We believe that lasting and meaningful peace will depend to a considerable measure upon how the challenge of population growth is met.

We believe that the objective of family planning is the enrichment of human life, not its restriction; that family planning, by assuring greater opportunity to each person, frees man to attain his individual dignity and reach his full potential.

Recognizing that family planning is in the vital interest of both the nation and the family, we, the undersigned, earnestly hope that leaders around the world will share our views and join with us in this great challenge for the well being and happiness of people everywhere.

The 12 Signatories of the World Leaders' Declaration on
Population as Released December 10, 1966.

Colombia	Dr. Carlos Lleras Restrepo, President
Finland	Dr. D. Urho Kekkonen, President
India	Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister
Korea	General Chung Hee Park, President
Malaysia	Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister
Morocco	King Hassan II
Nepal	King Mahendra
Singapore	Lee Kwan Yew, Prime Minister
Sweden	Tage Erlander, Prime Minister
Tunisia	Habib Bourguiba, President
United Arab Republic	Gamal Abdel Nasser, President
Yugoslavia	Marshal Josip Broz-Tito, President

Additional Countries Whose Leaders Have Agreed to Sign.

Barbados	The Right Honorable Mr. Errol W. Barrow, Prime Minister
Denmark	Prime Minister Krag
Ghana	Lt.-General J. A. Ankrah, Chairman of the National Liberation Council
Japan	Prime Minister Sato
Jordan	King Hussein
Iran	Shah M. R. Pahlavi
New Zealand	Prime Minister Holyoake
Norway	Prime Minister Borten
United Kingdom	Prime Minister Wilson
United States	President Johnson

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20523

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ASSISTANT
ADMINISTRATOR

September 13, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HON. WALT W. ROSTOW
The White House

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SUBJECT: Population Programs in East Asia

You recently received a round-up of information concerning population programs in East Asia. I thought you would be interested to know that we now have three population officers in training at the Population Center of the University of North Carolina School of Public Health. Two will study for two semesters and be assigned in June as full-time population officers in Thailand and the Philippines. The third will head our population branch in Washington after a full year's training. Our Health Officer in Korea will be brought back in February for one semester's training.

The training is divided into three semesters: the first fills in gaps in the students' basic background; the second gives specific courses in family planning; the third consists of working with an agency in the field. When timing only permits one semester, as in Korea, we give the second. When we have time for only two semesters, we omit the third.

We have chosen officers who we think can get population programs moving with the minimum of formal training so that we can get started quickly. Once the program is well underway, however, we will give future population officers a full year's training.

We are not, of course, waiting for these men, to move ahead with programs. We plan to commit at least \$1.5 million for population programs this year, in Indonesia, the Philippines, Korea and Thailand.



John C. Bullitt

Assistant Administrator, East Asia

cc: William Jorden

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ROSTOW'S OFFICE

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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STATE 5225 CIRCULAR

SUBJECT: Trip of General William H. Draper, Jr. on
on Population Matters

REF: CA-9914

1. General William H. Draper, Jr., departs Washington
July 21 following itinerary indicated paragraph 2.
Mr. Draper is National Chairman of Population Crisis
Committee, a private committee endeavoring stimulate
private and governmental activity on population problem
in US and abroad. Mr. Draper identified critical character
of population problem as author of the so-called Draper
Report on Foreign Economic and Military assistance in
1959. In period since 1962 Mr. Draper has had wide
contacts with UN agencies and all parts of Executive
Branch and Congress concerned with problem and is perhaps
most influential of public personalities who have been

Drafted by: EA:RWBarnett:evc:js 7/11/67

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

EA Mr. Barnett

Clearance:

EA:WWWoodbury

EUR/RFE - Mr. Katz

NEA/RA - Mr. Ennis

GER - Mr. Crowley (informed)

UNCLASSIFIED BHI - Mrs. Seasword (informed)

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urging President Eisenhower, President Kennedy and President Johnson to authorize US Government to deal actively with population problem.

He has made advance preparations for interviews he plans to have in addressee countries. Mission should, however, be prepared to advise Mr. Draper as to key personalities in government and private sector concerned with population matters and assist him as appropriate in making arrangements he may desire. Mr. Draper does not need to be met or assisted in finding accommodations.

2. Itinerary: (General and Mrs. Draper)

Friday July 21	Lv National AA 355(F)	1455
	Arr Chicago	1537
Monday July 24	Lv Chicago UA 123(F)	1000
	Arr San Francisco	1210
Thursday July 27	Lv San Francisco PA831(F)	1100
	Arr Honolulu	1255
Sunday July 30	Lv Honolulu PA 1(F)	1230
Monday July 31	Arr Tokyo	1515
Saturday August 5	Lv Tokyo NW 3(F)	1030
	Arr Seoul	1235
Monday August 7	Lv Seoul JL 952(F)	1230
	Arr Tokyo	1410
Thurs Aug 10	Lv Tokyo JL 711(F)	0900
	Arr Singapore	1745
Saturday August 12	Lv Singapore LH 691(F)	1915
	Arr New Delhi	2355

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Friday Aug 18	Lv New Delhi AF 199(F)	2055
	Arr Karachi	2205
Wed August 23	Lv Karachi LH 693(F)	0240
	Arr Frankfurt	0800
Friday August 25	Lv Frankfurt BE 607(F)	1850
	Arr London	2010
Monday August 28	Lv London PA 107(F)	1430
	Arr Dulles	1745

END

RUSK

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4/29/67

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Mr. Rostow,

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Ed Hamilton said Gaud is making a tape on Monday for the newspapers on population. He needs some guidance.

LN

April 27, 1967

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Mr. Rostow,

Mr. Gaud says you told him you were referring attached to Ed Hamilton? Did you? Ed Hamilton is in Boston today. Evidently AID wants to know if you have any objection.

LN

Cy of this cc sent to
Hamilton - 4/24

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON

April 10, 1967

OFFICE OF
THE ADMINISTRATOR

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Family Planning Policy

Last week I testified on the FY'68 Foreign Assistance Program before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. My prepared statement for the Committee included a brief section on family planning programs which caught the attention of Congressman Zablocki.

Zablocki asked me during the hearings if A.I.D. was planning any changes in its population policy. I told him we had one change under consideration: the removal of a prohibition against the financing of contraceptives and material for their manufacture which had been on the books since the late 1940's. I explained further that we expected to receive a firm request to finance contraceptives from a number of countries and that when such a request came in, I'd be inclined to honor it.

The Congressman indicated to me that he had no problem with this change. After the hearings he said the same thing to a reporter who pursued the point with him.

We got a fair amount of good press coverage on this point, all of which gave the impression that the changed policy had been put into effect. I think it should be followed up quickly with the actual change. I plan to do this unless you have an objection. ||


William S. Gaud

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 2, 1966

To: Walt Rostow
From: Douglass Cater

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Moyers, McPherson, and I will meet with Califano in the morning to go over this. We plan to send word to the President after we have conferred. If you get a chance, I hope you will put in a word with the President.

Attachment

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Friday, December 2, 1966
11:30 a.m.

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Douglass Cater

The attached is a letter from John D. Rockefeller 3rd and a draft statement to be signed by world leaders on the problem of population.

The background is this:

Last July, I informed you of Rockefeller's desire to contact personally a number of heads of government, particularly of under-developed countries, who have taken a positive stand on the population problem. The intent was to voice a concern about this which would encourage other world leaders to follow their example.

You indicated approval of the recommendation to give Rockefeller "general encouragement to pursue the matter without making a positive commitment until we learn how successful he has been."

Now Rockefeller has obtained the endorsements of the heads of government in India, Malaysia, Singapore, Japan, United Arab Republic, Tunisia, Colombia, Sweden, and Finland. Within the next few days, he hopes to have several more, possibly including South Korea, Pakistan, Turkey, Kenya, and Chile (the head of the government in Colombia, Dr. Carlos Lleras, is a Catholic).

U Thant has given enthusiastic support to Rockefeller's project and is willing to release the attached statement with his endorsement on Human Rights Day which is December 10.

Rockefeller feels that your endorsement is highly important. He has been in touch with President Eisenhower who is willing to support the statement. He has given Rockefeller the following statement:

"I am delighted that the United States Congress has just given strong bipartisan support for family planning programs here and overseas. The time has now come for a world-wide effort by all interested private organizations and by governments. Such a crusade deserves the wholehearted support of all informed citizens. "

I am sending Rockefeller's letter and statement along on the courier plane. Meanwhile, Califano, McPherson Rostow, Moyers, and I will confer on the matter. I have also sent a copy to Secretary Rusk for his comment.

I will report to you by cable as soon as we have these reactions.

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10020

Room 5600

December 1, 1966

Dear Mr. President:

As you know, during the past year or two, significant progress has been made in regard to the population problem. If I may say so, your own leadership has been an important factor in the attainment of this result both in this country and abroad.

In spite of such progress, the heads of Government in a great majority of the countries of the world are still hesitant to undertake meaningful action programs. This is, I believe, largely due to the sensitivity that continues to surround the problem. My associates and I feel that a forthright public statement by those national leaders who do recognize the seriousness of the population problem and who are actively facing up to it would give heart and encouragement to the many who are still uncertain as to their course. Hence, a paper was prepared (a copy is attached) which was sent to the leaders of those countries where such a positive approach has been taken.

To date, we have received endorsements of the statement from the heads of Government in India, Singapore, Malaysia, Japan, United Arab Republic, Tunisia, Colombia, Sweden and Finland. Pakistan, Turkey, Kenya and Chile have expressed reservations but we are following up with them. As yet we have not heard from South Korea, Ceylon, Morocco, Peru and Yugoslavia but are hopeful as to their response.

Recognizing the importance of how the statement is made available publicly, we approached the Secretary General of the United Nations, U Thant, and asked him to release it suggesting that it might be particularly appropriate on Human Rights Day which is December 10th. Believing that the right of parents to have the knowledge and the means to limit the size of their families was a basic human right, U Thant agreed to our proposal including the December 10th date. As you may know, the Second Committee of the United Nations has before it a resolution on the population problem which will be coming up shortly. The Secretary General and his associates indicate that the issuance of our declaration prior to the Committee's further deliberations could help importantly in moving forward the population question in the United Nations.

Thus, may I emphasize the importance of your endorsement of this declaration not only in its effect on the other leaders approached

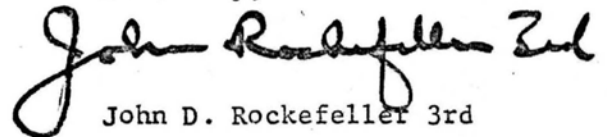
but also - and most importantly - in adding very substantially to the meaningfulness and impact of the statement.

I am just back from a visit to Colombia and Chile to study the progress of their family planning programs. It was the most heartening experience I have had in a long time. I believe that the world is on the threshold of a breakthrough in terms of effective national programs. Our statement may well be a major step forward in the attainment of this breakthrough. The timing of its release seems just right.

Your participation will mean so much.

With warmest best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "John D. Rockefeller 3rd". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "John" being the most prominent.

John D. Rockefeller 3rd

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Potential signers of the World Leaders Statement

Heads of Governments of:

India
Pakistan
South Korea
Ceylon
Singapore
Malaysia
Japan
Nepal

United Arab Republic
Tunisia
Turkey
Morocco
Kenya

Chile
Colombia
Jamaica
Peru
United States

Sweden
Finland
Yugoslavia

The peace of the world is of paramount importance to the community of nations, and our governments are devoting their best efforts to improving the prospects for peace in this and succeeding generations. But another great problem threatens the world - a problem less visible but no less immediate. That is the problem of unplanned population growth.

It took mankind all of recorded time until the middle of the last century to achieve a population of one billion. Yet it took less than a hundred years to add the second billion, and only thirty years to add the third. At today's rate of increase, there will be four billion people by 1975 and nearly seven billion by the year 2000. This unprecedented increase presents us with a situation unique in human affairs and a problem that grows more urgent with each passing day.

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As heads of governments actively concerned with the population problem, we share these convictions:

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We believe that the great majority of parents desire to have the knowledge and the means to plan their families; that the opportunity to decide the number and spacing of children is a basic human right.

We believe that lasting and meaningful peace will depend to a considerable measure upon how the challenge of population growth is met.

We believe the objective of family planning is the enrichment of human life, not its restriction; that family planning, by assuring greater opportunity to each person, frees man to attain his individual dignity and reach his full potential.

Recognizing that family planning is in the vital interest of both the nation and the family, we, the undersigned, earnestly hope that leaders around the world will share our views and join with us in this great challenge for the well being and happiness of people everywhere.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Tom Farmer called re attached.

Item B is on birth control amendment.
Congressman Zablocki is giving them
a hard time on this issue, saying in effect
that this is new policy, etc.

Dave Bell has signed a letter to Zablocki,
enclosing this old memo to prove the
policy is not new.

Farmer wants to know if you would clear
the old memo as an attachment to Bell's
letter.

Yes
I called
H2

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M. Scott → *Please return to LPS*

November 25, 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. ROBERT HENRICH
The White House

SUBJECT: Addendum to My November 24 Memorandum on House-Senate Conference

In my haste to get you a memorandum yesterday afternoon, I neglected to mention three additional amendments which should be brought to the attention of the President. I list them below in descending order of their importance:

a. Anti-aggression amendment. The House and Senate have approved with identical language a provision which would bar aid to any nation which the President determines is engaging in or preparing for aggression. We believe it essential that there be an understanding by the Congress that this provision will not automatically bar aid to the U.S.A. or any other nation, that it must be carefully and cautiously interpreted and that any determination, which would necessarily involve a definition of "aggression", would have profound and far-reaching legal and political implications. A colloquy on the House floor, which supported this interpretation, was subsequently amplified during Senate debate.

In order to clarify the situation we are proposing language to support the foregoing interpretation (a) in the Conference Committee report, (b) on the floor of both houses when the report is being considered and (c) by the President, when he signs the authorization bill.

b. Birth control amendment. A Senate amendment proposed by Senator Fulbright would authorize the use of funds for research on population growth and technical and other assistance for programs of population control. The language would confer no authority not now in the legislation. House conferees are likely to oppose the provision. The Executive Branch has been, and we believe should remain, neutral.

c. Public advisory committees for country programs. A Senate amendment, initiated by Senator Cooper, would require the President to appoint advisory committees -- of which a majority would be public members, each of which would review a country assistance program to determine its conformity to legislative criteria and any other matters

- Casey amendment
- \$100 M amendment
- TO - 2nd bill and
- ...

which it believes would be of use to Congress. Further, the language would prohibit authorizing or appropriations legislation for foreign assistance in fiscal year 1966 and beyond until Congress has received and considered the reports of such committees. A key reason in Senator Cooper's mind for supporting this provision is his belief that it will, through more widespread understanding, mobilize greater public support for the program.

We are opposing the provision because (a) country programs are already subject to considerable external review (Inspector General, GAO, Alliance for Progress panel of experts, MAC, plus several public committees already advising A.I.D.); (b) such committees, it is our experience, can become so wedded to a particular country that their recommendations do not take into account world-wide priorities and realistic funding availabilities; (c) the provision would encourage recipient countries to make special appeals for assistance outside existing channels and (d) the advisory committees could block Congressional action on the foreign aid program by failing to file a report.

Lester E. Gordin
Acting Assistant Administrator
for Program

cc: Mr. Bell
Mr. Dutton
Mr. Dentzer
Mr. Miller
Mr. Pinar

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Robert W. Barnett
State:FE x2170

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POPULATION: POLICY AND PROGRAM

Policy Progression

1. The world has seen an almost volcanic eruption of awareness by governments of the growing magnitude and complexity of its population problem during the past five years.

2. United States public opinion responded with tolerance if not actual agreement when President Eisenhower declared in 1959 that government had no role to play in handling population problems. The government could support the United Nations Population Commission and participate in other national and international demographic research activity so long as the purpose was descriptive and without prescriptive intent at home or abroad. Private American individuals and institutions had not been deterred by the government's limited interest in population matters. The Planned Parenthood Federation, the Population Council, the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, the Population Reference Bureau were some of the organizations which were creating a body of knowledge and experience in the field of population studies. They were moved by conviction that a grave problem existed, that means existed to deal with it and that governments should move towards mobilizing the vast efforts needed to cope with the ramifications of a world population problem.

3. Shortly after the inauguration of President Kennedy in 1961, the United States Government began to acknowledge publicly the reality of population problems in many parts of the world. This fact alone gave encouragement to greater concentration upon research and programs to participants in private organizations in the United States and abroad, to the United Nations and to foreign governments. President Kennedy declared his concern over the population problems of Latin America. Under Secretary Ball spoke about the problem as related to economic growth prospects in developing countries to a meeting of World Bank and Fund representatives in Vienna. President Kennedy and Secretary Rusk acknowledged the reality of a population problem in press conferences. In December 1962 the United States made a forthright statement of support of United Nations activities devoted to study of the nature and scope of population problems and of possible solutions.

/4. Until

4. Until January 1965 no United States official advocated either specific policy or specific program for dealing with population problems acknowledged to be serious, diverse and sensitive for the United States and other countries.

5. A major advance in United States readiness to move from examination towards action was made by President Johnson in his January 5, 1965 State of the Union message. He said: "I will seek new ways to use our knowledge to help deal with the explosion in world population and the growing scarcity in world resources." President Johnson expanded on this statement of intention in his June 25 address on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the United Nations. He pled for the entire world to "face forthrightly the multiplying problems of our multiplying populations and seek the answers to this most profound challenge to the future of the world. Let us act on the fact that less than \$5.00 invested in population control is worth \$100.00 invested in economic growth."

6. The Congress and the general public in the United States has approved - when it was not urging greater movement - this progression of United States Government policy. President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon have called for inclusion of family planning in United States foreign aid programs. In June 1965 President Eisenhower wrote Senator Gruening: "If we now ignore the plight of those unborn generations which, because of unreadiness to take constructive action in controlling population growth, will be denied any expectations beyond abject poverty and suffering, then history will rightly condemn us." Senator Gruening has been joined by Senators Clark and Ellender in taking leadership to focus the attention of the Congress upon population problems. Senator Fulbright called for and obtained amendment of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1964 to make possible expanded research in this field. The Congress has appropriated funds specifically for family planning clinics in the District of Columbia. It has acquiesced in modest use of public money for family planning activities by the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Defense, the Agency for International Development, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Department of Interior.

Program Response

No elaborated United States population program, as such, exists.

/Government

Government agencies have dealt with population problems, including that of family planning, pragmatically. Government agencies have in general been guided by several principles with respect to family planning:

1. Participation in the family planning components of programs must be entirely voluntary.
2. Use of family planning services must not be a prerequisite to receipt of benefits or participation in any other program or activity funded by government agencies.
3. Such programs must provide and make known to participants the availability of advice and assistance on a variety of family planning methods and techniques sufficient to insure that persons may make choices consistent with their personal beliefs.
4. Programs must conform to medical standards and be supervised by qualified medical personnel.
5. Materials used must not contain propaganda promoting a particular philosophy, technique or method.
6. Programs must not conflict with local or state law.

The Supreme Court has ruled upon a number of cases affecting availability of family planning facilities for the American citizen, most notably the decision on June 7, 1965 to strike down a Connecticut ban on use of contraceptives by married couples. Laws differ widely through various United States jurisdictions but family planning clinics supported by federal money are in operation in 26 states.

The achievements of the United States Government in contributing to effective family planning programs in developing countries abroad have been relatively modest.

Prior to the President's State of the Union Address in January, 1965, the Agency for International Development provided assistance in the development of health services, population censuses, population surveys and vital statistics. Subsequent to the President's speech,

/A.I.D.

A.I.D. issued a memorandum on population supporting a positive role for A.I.D. in the area of population programs. Concomitantly, A.I.D. organized a Population Reference and Research Branch in its health office, created a population unit in the Latin American Branch, and established consultative and training programs to prepare its own staff and Mission Directors for an extensive program of family planning.

Current A.I.D. policy provides at the request of recipient nations, family planning advice and services. The Agency does not plan to provide contraceptive devices or the machinery for their manufacture.

A.I.D. budgets for FY-65 included \$1,230,000 for the Population Reference and Research Branch and \$950,000 for the Latin America Population office. Of these funds, approximately \$200,000 was spent for organizational development and in-service training with half again as much programmed for FY-66. The remainder of the funds were spent through grants of two types: 1) to educational and research institutes within the U.S. for studies relating to family planning, demography, etc. and 2) grants to operational agencies, primarily in recipient countries, to aid in the establishment and maintenance of family planning services, demographic studies, research in reproductive biology, etc.

As a result of its new and explicit policy, A.I.D. anticipates five or six major requests in FY-66 from countries which already have national programs of family planning. A.I.D. is unable to estimate the size of such requests, although the countries most likely to make them have programs of their own ranging from one to six million dollars.

The Future

From August 31 through September 10, 1965 a World Population Conference was held under United Nations auspices in Belgrade. Over 1,000 participants attended, some 100 from the United States. The last such conference was held 10 years ago in Rome. At that time the United Nations Secretariat did not dare to schedule a session on family planning for fear of exciting criticism by Roman Catholic representatives

/from

from participating countries. Representatives from Communist countries declared that inasmuch as all value, under the labor theory of value emanates from man there could be no "population problem". At the 1965 Belgrade meeting Soviet and other Communist bloc scientists contributed actively and without conspicuous contentious purpose in all sessions. A Roman Catholic priest from France presented views on the necessity of removing risk from the practice of the rhythm method of contraception. Another Roman Catholic priest from the Philippines declared that family planning in that country was an urgent necessity. The Holy See itself was represented at sessions. Scientists in Chile, Hungary and Czechoslovakia presented essays on abortion, legitimate and illegitimate. At Belgrade discussion of the population problem was being defused ideologically. *The World Health Assembly of the WHO and the ECOSOC of the UN both took action in the spring + summer of 1965 moving UN concern*

*with the problem down the path from research
to action programs.*

Looking to the future the United States could now, as a government, be guided by the following principles:

1. It can treat the population problem scientifically without anxiety that to do so will provoke obfuscating ideological dispute as to propriety of that activity.
2. It should advocate no specific or elaborate national policy with respect to population questions beyond the policy of stating readiness to respond to requests for help originating at home or in foreign countries with needed resources, financial, scientific, technical and personnel.
3. It should seek to make greatest impact upon foreign countries by demonstrating:
 - a. medical advances in improving and diversifying methods of contraception; and
 - b. humane and effective organization of family planning activity in areas within the United States jurisdiction itself; e. g., in impoverished areas of our urban complexes, the Trust Territories, the Indian reservations, Alaska, etc. Scrupulous documentation in depth of this experience over the coming years would have profound teaching value both in the United States and in foreign countries.

/4. It

4. It should draw upon public monies as needed to finance all family planning activities responsive to actual need in the United States and in foreign countries and not embarrass beneficiaries or complicate needed operations by embarrassing distinctions as to the propriety of financing one or another of the elements.

The Human Element

Population is living people: babies, their mothers, their fathers. Its problem is deeply human and presents infinite aspects - as many, in fact, as does mankind itself.

The population problem is often viewed in the terms of those who are aware that:

1. To obtain a 1% increase in GNP in a less developed country requires something like a 3% rate of saving. A concurrent 1% increase in population will, consequently, cancel the per capita welfare benefit of that saving. For the many societies where per capita income is less than \$150 per year, even a 3% rate of saving brings hardship. These are often countries with the highest rates of population growth.

2. One-third to one-half of all the people in a large part of the less developed world now suffer from hunger, malnutrition, or both. Even if birth rates decline continuously and substantially, food production will have to be quadrupled in Asia and more than doubled elsewhere by the end of the century if growing national populations are to attain the minimum dietary targets of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization.

3. Industrialization and rapid urbanization have brought, for both affluent and less developed countries, distortions in urban-rural economic relationships, and an upheaval in social tradition; large families, historically economic assets and a source of joy in the countryside, burden the resources and often bring profound human anguish to the city family.

The mother who destroys the unwanted child she bears, the over crowded classroom, delinquents in the city slum, the empty stomach, the hysteria hovering over the national planner who sees greater and

/greater

greater collective effort yield often smaller and smaller return in human welfare are all symptoms of the population problem. A million abortions in the United States, a million abortions in Japan, an excess of abortions over live births in Hungary, twice the number of abortions as live births in some Latin American cities are cruel proof of the immediacy and tragedy of the problem in personal terms. For families, communities, nations and continents there is no more compelling problem on earth today.

Population
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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Population: Visit by Draper-Rockefeller Group

I am happy to hear that you have consented to see General William H. Draper, Jr., Robert Anderson, Eugene Black, John J. McCloy, John D. Rockefeller III and, I believe, William D. McElroy, during the first week in December to discuss the population problem. Here are some views on what I believe may be the purpose of their visit.

Mr. Rockefeller lunched with me at the Department on November 5 and expressed what is likely to be the view of some in Draper's group. Mr. Rockefeller said that the time has come for the U.S. Government to assume leadership in dealing with the population problem. Specifically, he wants the White House to create a Commission to report on the implications of population growth for the United Nations, United States foreign aid, the war against poverty, urban renewal, the need for greater medical research, and so forth. Such a Commission was proposed in resolutions introduced during the last session of Congress.

There is, of course, room for honest difference of opinion on how the U.S. Government should apply its resources to this problem. I myself feel that a formal Commission is not needed, and might indeed stir up unnecessary controversy.

At least one issue seems to have become politically noncontroversial: the need for research. Declines in quality of family life and rising rates of abortion in many Latin American, European and Asian societies,

not

not to mention its rise in the United States itself, have caused members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to give serious consideration, during recent meetings of the Ecumenical Council in Rome, to the linked problems of responsible parenthood and techniques of birth control, of which only the so-called "rhythm method" is now to them acceptable. Roman Catholics, following a lead from Pope John, are calling for expanded medical and scientific investigation of human fertility.

President Kennedy gave his support to making the results of research available to the world, and the United States has announced in the United Nations that it was prepared to help other countries find sources of assistance for dealing with their population problems. Meanwhile, former President Eisenhower has publicly reversed his earlier opposition to government activity in this field. Former Vice President Nixon has called for the inclusion of family planning in the aid program. And during the recent campaign, the Republican Citizen's Committee endorsed the U.S. statement of policy on population presented before the U.N. General Assembly two years ago by Richard Gardner. The Republican Citizen's Committee also called on the U.S. Public Health Service to "provide appropriate leadership and assistance to state and local health departments in offering help to disadvantaged citizens in the regulation of births by means which accord with their religious beliefs and individual preferences."

By what he said in several speeches and press conferences, President Kennedy made the subject of population a matter proper for urgent and responsible public consideration, and did so without having to lend explicit support to particular programs -- except research. By moving a little further along this line it is possible, I believe, for our Government to avoid becoming a target for attack, and still encourage responsible research and program activity on many fronts, both governmental and private.

Recommendations:

Recommendations:

Accordingly, I recommend that you not support the creation of a Presidential Commission on Population, but indicate that:

1. You are deeply concerned about the implications of population trends for the success of U.S. foreign and domestic programs for fighting poverty and contributing to peace and stability.
2. You will manifest this concern in your State of the Union Message. (A possible draft is at Annex A.)
3. You are prepared to assign to someone on the White House staff responsibility for following population matters.
4. You are prepared to direct the National Institutes of Health to explore ways to collaborate more effectively with the nation's scientists and medical specialists in responding to the increasing demand for more knowledge about human fertility.
5. You are also prepared to direct other agencies of the Executive Branch to make every effort to expand research, training and health services related to the population problem, and to cooperate with the efforts of other countries in this field.

/s/ Dean Rusk

Dean Rusk

Attachment:

Annex A.

DRAFT STATEMENT
FOR
STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE

We cannot successfully wage war on poverty abroad or at home if we are indifferent to the unprecedented increase in man's numbers. As the National Academy of Sciences has declared, this problem is no less grave for the technically advanced nations than for the less developed. This is why I have asked that the appropriate agencies of our Government help us find solutions to this problem by expanding research, training and health services, and cooperating with other countries.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
IN

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✓ 9
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10020

Room 5600

January 14, 1965

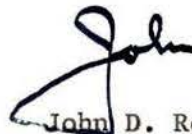
Dear Mac:

I am off for Asia and will be in touch with you on my return about March 2nd. If I could see the President then, I would be very appreciative.

This question of population is one in which, by necessity, the President will be increasingly involved, and I sincerely feel that I can be helpful to him - at least in focussing up the problem and hopefully considerably beyond that.

The sentence on population in the State of the Union message was a good start I thought. But, as I indicated to you before, White House leadership in relation to the problem is essential if progress is to be made commensurate with its seriousness.

Sincerely,



John D. Rockefeller 3rd

Mr. McGeorge Bundy
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.