

*for internal
family
planning*

Melanne:

Attached are two documents that best summarize the available options. These documents are the most up-to-date paper on this issue.

The first is an excerpt from a February memo from State that describes Gilman-Pelosi and raises 'enhanced' Gilman-Pelosi options that could make it more attractive.

The second is a March memo from State that updates the February memo on legislative options other than Gilman-Pelosi.

(I did not send the full text of the February memo because it does not add much; but if you want the full text, let me know.)

We have also, since March, had some discussions with Pelosi's staff on how to tweak her amendment to make it more salable and we have also taken new looks at possible variations on the lobbying restriction. I can brief you on those, if you would like; but they do not add any substantive alternatives to those discussed in the attached documents.

Let me know what else you need.

Bill

Gilman-Pelosi

option

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FEB

OPTION A: GILMAN-PELOSI AMENDMENT TO SMITH

Accept the Smith language, but with Gilman-Pelosi Amendment that adds language that funding would be available to organizations that "do not promote abortion as a method of family planning and that utilize these funds to prevent abortion as a method of family planning;" defunding of UNFPA if there is a new China program, with the transfer of these funds to U.S. bilateral population programs.

Pros:

- Consistent with International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) language. Emphasizes our commitment to prevent the need for abortion.
- Could help in maintaining funding for organizations currently supported by USAID.
- Came within 5 votes of winning in the House (however we may have lost additional votes due to attrition since September).
- Does not impose any restrictions on lobbying or the performance of abortion.

Cons:

- Could result in lawsuits. The Justice Department believes that the provision could be challenged. DOJ has suggested that there is a risk -- ranging from minimal to 30% -- that a Court would rule against the Administration. If this were to occur, a possible outcome would be to impose severe restrictions on USAID's program and result in a major setback to the Administration's policies vis-a-vis abortion. (See Annex 1 for analysis of Gilman-Pelosi.)
- Given the tendency to reenact the prior year's appropriation language, would likely make Smith language a permanent feature of USG law.
- Rejected in House vote, despite Administration support (albeit not conveyed by the most senior levels, i.e., the Secretary or the President).

OPTION A PLUS: ENHANCED GILMAN-PELOSI

Introductory Note on Options A(1) through A(4)

Options A(1) through A(4) all modify the Smith/Gilman-Pelosi proposal in ways that might make the underlying approach more attractive. These sub-options each impose additional terms that may be appealing to conservative votes. Options A(1) and A(2) impose relatively minimal burdens. Options A(3) and A(4) impose somewhat more significant burdens but may win more support. All four options are subject to the same pros and cons set forth in Option A. Only the pros and cons specifically associated with these sub-options are set forth below.¹

Option A(1): Modified Gilman-Pelosi Amendment to Smith (Optics Approach)

Accept the Smith language together with Gilman-Pelosi, but with modifications that would: 1) make UNFPA ineligible for funding unless it complies with the Smith language and make UNFPA ineligible for the Gilman-Pelosi exception; and, 2) require that organizations that are exempted from the Smith language certification requirement certify that they will not promote abortion as a method of family planning and utilize funds to prevent abortion as a method of family planning. (See Annex 2 for exemplar language.)

Distinguished from Option A: As noted in Annex 1, Gilman-Pelosi creates an exception to the certification requirement contained in the Smith language. This exception would allow organizations to receive assistance even if they provide abortion on demand or seek to alter the laws on abortion (so long as they use their own funds in carrying out either activity). This option would narrow the exception so as to exclude UNFPA. As a result, UNFPA would be obliged to provide the certification called for by the Smith language and would be subject to the lobbying prohibition.

In addition, this option adds a certification requirement to foreign non-governmental organizations that are exempted from the Smith language certification. This certification, however, would only require that the organization not violate the policy promulgated by AID under Gilman-Pelosi.

¹ It was suggested that L focus its efforts on developing slight language changes to Gilman-Pelosi that might make the proposal more appealing to conservative votes -- even if such changes were purely optical. L is reluctant to do so given the nature of Gilman-Pelosi and the basis of its appeal to conservatives votes. Gilman-Pelosi appeals to some conservatives because it creates a litigation risk that a Court will reject the Administration's intended implementation of the language and hamper the Administration's ability to implement its abortion policy. (See Annex 1.) Making even slight language changes -- at least those that would attract conservative votes -- could further increase those litigation risks. Given the negative outcomes associated with that risk, we have instead suggested options that do not inject further ambiguity/litigation risk into the Gilman-Pelosi /Smith proposal.

Pros:

- Largely symbolic in nature; places no additional burdens on existing programs while allowing Congress to argue that additional burdens are placed on UNFPA and AID grantees. (We call this the optics measure because we did not view it as having any negative impact. However, UNFPA may engage in advocacy efforts that arguably may fall within the scope of the Smith prohibition on lobbying.)

Cons:

- Likely not enough to garner conservative votes.

**Option A(2): Modified Gilman-Pelosi Amendment to Smith
(Authorization Approach)**

Accept the Smith language together with Gilman-Pelosi as is (or with the changes noted in Option A(1)) but offer this language as an authorization bill rather than as an appropriations bill.

Distinguished from Option A: By offering it in an authorization bill, it would likely become permanent law, something that would be appealing to conservative votes.

Pros:

- Adds relatively little additional burden not already created by Option A but would be very appealing to conservative House members by making it essentially a permanent feature of foreign operations bills given the inability of Congress to pass regularly authorization bills.

Cons:

- Given the litigation risk associated with Gilman-Pelosi (see Annex 1), this option increases the likelihood that if successfully challenged by a conservative group, the Administration (and subsequent administrations) would be severely restricted in their ability to provide funding to organizations that provide abortion on demand or engage in activities to change the law on abortion (even when using their own funds). See Annex 1 (re litigation rights).
- If the restriction is included in an annual appropriation, the President could veto the bill in a subsequent year if the Administration is unable to successfully defend litigation challenging its interpretation of Gilman-Pelosi. It would be much more difficult to amend an authorization act.

**Option A(3): Modified Gilman-Pelosi Amendment to Smith
(501(c)(3) Hybrid Approach)**

Accept the Smith language together with Gilman-Pelosi but import the 501(c)(3) modified to operate in a manner similar to the narcotics certification legislation. Under this option, proposed legislation would provide that not more than 50% of the funds available for population assistance may be obligated before March 1. To obligate the remainder, the President would be required to determine and report to Congress that foreign nongovernmental organizations, which receive population assistance, do not in the aggregate have "a substantial part of their activities involve carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation" with respect to abortion.²

This option might also provide the President authority to waive the requirement for determination if he finds it in the national interest to do so.

It might further include a fifteen day delay during which Congress would have the authority to pass a joint resolution to disapprove the waiver or determination (depending on the approach selected by the President).

Distinguished from Option A: As noted this option blends elements of both Options A and B together and imposes a limited lobbying limitation.

Pros:

- Addresses one of the major concerns expressed by Representative Smith and his allies, namely that USAID is funding organizations that engage in lobbying on the issue of abortion.
- Provides a new approach to the problem that may be appealing to conservative votes while staying largely within the confines of Gilman-Pelosi.
- Given what we know about the practices of AID grantees and subgrantees, this restriction will not threaten any programs. See Option B pros and cons.
- The waiver provision, if included, allows further protection to existing programs.

Cons:

- Subject to the same cons identified in Option B -- administrative burden and slippery slope argument that this option endorses the concept that lobbying one's government is bad.

² As noted in Option B, this language is drawn from the tax code provision limiting the ability of tax exempt 501(c)(3) organizations to lobby or otherwise influence legislation.

**Option A(4): Modified Gilman-Pelosi Amendment to Smith
(501(c)(3) Hybrid with Specific Agreement Language)**

Identical to Option A(3) but with an additional provision that states in statutory language that agreements granting or subgranting U.S. population funds to foreign organizations must specifically include the provision that "Each agreement will be terminated if a substantial part of the organization's activities involve carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation with respect to abortion."

Distinguished from Option A: Adds a further element to Option A(3) that would apply on an organization-specific basis. (Option A(3) above only imposes a requirement on the President to determine whether in the aggregate organizations are lobbying.)

Pros:

- Addresses one of the major concerns expressed by Representative Smith and his allies, namely that USAID is funding organizations that engage in lobbying on the issue of abortion.
- Looks tough.
- Provides a new approach to the problem that may be appealing to conservative votes while staying largely within the confines of Gilman-Pelosi.
- Given what we know about the practices of AID grantees and subgrantees, this restriction will not threaten any programs. See Option B.

Cons:

- Subject to the same cons identified in Option B and in Option A(3) above.

STATE: Memo
13 pages

MARCH

Possible Legislative Options

The following suggests various options that might be considered in addition to Gilman-Pelosi and the various permutations previously developed.

1. Lobbying

"Lobbying" appears to be at the center of the controversy, with Smith and his supporters asserting that USG funds support international NGO's "lobbying" to change their local laws with respect to abortion. The issue might be resolved by reaching a compromise on the definition of "lobbying." If the scope of "lobbying" could be defined sufficiently narrowly, a compromise could be struck that accepted the Smith language with respect to such activities. Various possible compromise definitions would be as follows:

- Narrow Definition: Limit Lobbying to the "Buttonholing" Paradigm;
- Alternative Narrow Definition: Limit Lobbying to Grassroots Organizing around Specific Legislation but Allow "Buttonholing";
- Moderately Narrow Definition: Limit Lobbying to "Buttonholing" and Grassroots Organizing;
- Broad Definition that Prohibits Lobbying and Certain Forms of Advocacy.

Draft statutory language for each of these possible compromise approaches is contained in a separate paper entitled "Alternative Lobbying Language."

2. Disclosure of "Lobbying" Activity

Enact legislation patterned after the Lobbying Disclosure Act, 2 U.S.C. 1601, that would require "lobbying" activity be disclosed.

3. Phase-out "Lobbying" Activity

Enact legislation under which current grants would be conditioned on NGO's pledging to end "lobbying" by the end of a particular time frame, e.g., three years. During this time, impacted recipients could either cease such activities

or spin them off to a 501(c)(4)-type organization. This approach could include penalties for organizations that continued to "lobby," including refunding past USG receipts, penalties and/or debarment. It might also include funding/assistance to facilitate transitioning such activities to other organizations.

4. Fiscal Incentives Applicable But Not Specific to "Lobbying"

Various compromises could be struck that would encourage, but not compel, NGO's to stop providing abortions or "lobbying" on the issue.

a. Dollar for Dollar Reduction in Funding

Funding could be reduced on a dollar for dollar basis for the provision of abortion services and/or for "lobbying" on the issue of abortion. One approach along these lines might be to enact legislation that mirrors section 307 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended. This provision requires funding to certain programs of International Organizations be reduced by the proportionate share that such programs would devote resources to particular pariah states, e.g., Burma, Iraq, North Korea.

A similar approach might be adopted with respect to NGO's that perform or "lobby" on abortion. AID would gather information from each recipient of USG funds on the proportionate amount of their budgets dedicated to such activities and reduce the USG contribution proportionately.

b. Incentive Plans

Financial incentives could be created to encourage organizations to reduce their level of activity with respect to the provision of abortion and/or "lobbying" on the issue. Under this approach, NGO's would receive a bonus in addition to their customary funding in the event they cease/reduce such activities.

This assumes an overall increase in appropriations. Alternatively, a lower base would be guaranteed to NGO's in order to stay within anticipated appropriations. Depending on how such a program were structured, the bonus might bring recipients up to or beyond existing funding.

5. Affirmative Steps to Prevent Abortion

Enact legislation that discourages abortion. This might be accomplished in any of the following ways:

a. Reverse the Language of Gilman-Pelosi

The optics of Gilman-Pelosi might be improved by reversing its order so that it would read: "or to organizations that utilize these funds to prevent abortion as a method of family planning and do not promote abortion as a method of family planning."¹ Similar changes would be made to the second part of Gilman-Pelosi (that modifies the lobbying ban) as well.

b. Reporting Requirements

Require recipients of USG funds to report on the steps they undertook to "prevent abortion as a method of family planning."

c. Require Counseling On the Issue of Abortion

Current law requires that NGO's providing sterilization services using USG funding ensure that the individual has voluntarily come to the treatment facility and has given an informed consent to the procedure. 48 C.F.R. § 752.7016. Informed consent is defined to include voluntary assent after being advised of:

the surgical procedures to be followed, the attendant discomforts and risks, the benefits to be expected, the availability of alternative methods of family planning, the purpose of the operation and its irreversibility, and the fact that the consent can be withdrawn at any time prior to the operation.

Id. It does not appear that there are similar counseling requirements prior to the performance of abortion -- presumably because abortions are not paid for with USG funds

¹ As originally drafted, the first portion of Gilman-Pelosi reads "or to organizations that do not promote abortion as a method of family planning and that utilize these funds to prevent abortion as a method of family planning."

except in the limited circumstances of rape, incest or where the mother's life is in danger. One compromise might be to require that NGO's provide such counseling in advance of any abortions (even when using their own funds to carry out the procedure).

6. Enact Smith Restrictions with Double Waiver

Accede to the Smith language, preferably by appropriations rather than authorization law, but include a provision for a Presidential waiver on both providing abortion as well as "lobbying" on the issue ("a double waiver").

**7. Enact Smith Restrictions with Single Waiver
(for Lobbying Only)**

Enact Smith language into law with waiver only for lobbying. Absent enactment of Gilman-Pelosi, this would make organizations that provide abortion services ineligible for USG funds.

8. Metering

Return to previous metering regimes.

9. Audit Programs

Establish by law or executive order a requirement for USAID to retain a well-known, independent accounting firm to conduct an in-depth analysis of the issues raised in the on-going international population program debate, i.e. fungibility of USG funding.

10. Target Specific Organizations As Ineligible for Funding

Cut off organizations that seem to be at the center of the controversy, e.g., International Planned Parenthood Federation and/or UNFPA, in order to protect the rest of the program.

11. Voluntary Commitments by Organizations That They will Cease "Lobbying" Efforts

Seek a voluntary commitment from USG fund grantees that they will not engage in any lobbying activities.

Alternative Lobbying Language

The following suggests different ways to legislatively define the term "lobbying." In each case, two versions are suggested, one that modifies the previously proposed Smith language, and another which would be a free-standing provision, i.e., without Smith language. In a number of instances more than one statutory model was used. In each case, the bolded text represents new legislative language.

1. Narrow Definition

Limit Lobbying to the "Buttonholing" Paradigm

The narrow definition for the term "lobbying" would be one which turns on contacts made with government officials to influence legislation. There are two statutory models that might prove useful. The first draws heavily on section 4911(d) of the Internal Revenue Code (IRC), 26 U.S.C. § 4911(d), which defines the term "influencing legislation" as it is used in IRC section 501(c)(3). The second model draws on the Lobbying Disclosure Act (LDA), 2 U.S.C. § 1601, et seq. Draft language using both models follows.

Either approach would permit NGO's to participate in democratic processes up to a point. They could participate in official debates on government policy as well as grass roots organizing. However, they could not "lobby" in the traditional sense of buttonholing government officials and advocating a particular viewpoint.

Overall, the IRC model is the more elegant of the two. However, it focuses only on legislation. By contrast, the LDA focuses on both legislation and executive branch policy making.

a. Using the Internal Revenue Code Model

• With Smith Language

2) LOBBYING ACTIVITIES. - (A) Notwithstanding section 614 of this Act or any other provision of law, no funds appropriated for population planning activities or other population assistance may be made available for any foreign private,

nongovernmental, or multilateral organization until the organization certifies that it will not, during the period for which the funds are made available, violate the laws of any foreign country concerning the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited, or engage in any attempt to influence any legislation through communication with any member or employee of a legislative body, or with any government official or employee who may participate in the formulation of the legislation.

1. For purposes of this section, the term "influence any legislation", with respect to an organization does not include --

a. making available the results of academic or scientific analysis, study, or research;

b. providing of technical advice or assistance (where such advice would otherwise constitute the influencing of legislation) to a governmental body or subdivision thereof in response to a written request by such body or subdivision, as the case may be;

c. appearances before, or communications to, any legislative body with respect to a possible decision of such body which might affect the existence of the organization, its powers and duties;

d. any communication with a government official or employee, other than --

(i) a communication with a member or employee of a legislative body (where such communication would otherwise constitute the influencing of legislation), or

(ii) a communication the principal purpose of which is to influence legislation.¹

- Without Smith Language

Notwithstanding section 614 of this Act or any other provision of law, no funds appropriated for population planning activities or other population assistance may be made available for any foreign private, nongovernmental, or multilateral organization if the organization engages in any attempt to influence any legislation through communication with any member or employee of a legislative body, or with any government official or employee who may participate in the formulation of the legislation.

[Subpart 1 noted above would follow identically in this version]

b. Using Legislative Disclosure Act Model

- With Smith Language

2) LOBBYING ACTIVITIES. - (A) Notwithstanding section 614 of this Act or any other provision of law, no funds appropriated for population planning activities or other population assistance may be made available for any foreign private, nongovernmental, or multilateral organization until the organization certifies that it will not, during the period for which the funds are made available, violate the laws of any foreign country concerning the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited, or engage in any lobbying contact with regard to the formulation, modification or adoption of legislation or any regulation, executive order, program, policy or position of a foreign

¹ Bold language replaces: "activity or effort to alter the laws or government policies of any foreign country concerning the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited."

government regarding the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited.

1. For purposes of the preceding provision, lobbying contact means any oral or written communication with any official of a foreign government.

2. The term lobbying contact does not include a communication that is --

i. made in a speech, article, publication or other material that is distributed and made available to the public, or through radio, television, cable television or other medium of mass communication;

ii. a request for a meeting, a request for the status of an action, or any other similar administrative request if the request does not include an attempt to influence a government official;

iii. testimony given before legislative hearing or submitted for inclusion in the public record of a legislative hearing;

iv. information provided in writing in response to an oral or written request by a government official for specific information;

v. required by subpoena, civil investigative demand or otherwise compelled by statute, regulation, or other action of the legislature or an administrative agency;

vi. made in response to a notice in a government publication soliciting communications from the public and directed to the agency official specifically designated in the notice to receive such communications;

vii. made to an official in an agency with regard to --

(I) a judicial proceeding or a criminal or civil law enforcement inquiry, investigation, or proceeding; or

(II) a filing or proceeding that the Government is specifically required by statute or regulation to maintain or conduct on a confidential basis,

if that agency is charged with responsibility for such proceeding, inquiry, investigation, or filing;

viii. a written comment filed in the course of a public proceeding or any other communication that is made on the record in a public proceeding;

ix. a petition for agency action made in writing and required to be a matter of public record pursuant to established agency proceedings;

x. made on behalf of an individual with regard to that individual's benefits, employment, or other personal matters involving only that individual.²

• Without Smith Language

Notwithstanding section 614 of this Act or any other provision of law, no funds appropriated for population planning activities or other population assistance may be made available for any foreign private, nongovernmental, or multilateral organization if the organization engages in any lobbying contact with regard to the formulation,

² Bold language replaces: "activity or effort to alter the laws or government policies of any foreign country concerning the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited."

modification or adoption of legislation or any regulation, executive order, program, policy or position of a foreign government regarding the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated or prohibited.

[Subparts 1 and 2 noted above would follow identically in this version]

**2. Alternative Narrow Definition:
Define to Include Grassroots Organizing
But Allow "Buttonholing"**

Section 4911(d)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code (IRC), 26 U.S.C. § 4911(d)(1), identifies two distinct activities that constitute "influencing legislation" as that term is used in section 501(c)(3) of the IRC: a) efforts to influence specific legislation through grassroots organizing; and, b) efforts to influence legislation through communication with any member or employee of a legislative body. The options above focused on the second activity, influencing legislation through "buttonholing."

One variation would be to do the reverse -- define "lobbying" to include grassroots organizing but not buttonholing.³

• With Smith Language

2) LOBBYING ACTIVITIES. - (A) Notwithstanding section 614 of this Act or any other provision of law, no funds appropriated for population planning activities or other population assistance may be made available for any foreign private, nongovernmental, or multilateral organization until the organization certifies that it will not, during the period for which the funds are made available, violate the laws of any foreign country concerning the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited, or engage in any attempt to influence any legislation through an attempt to affect the opinions of the general public or any segment thereof.

1. For purposes of this section, the term "influence any legislation", with respect to an organization does not include --

³ Because the Lobbying Disclosure Act does not address grassroots organizing, it does not provide a suitable legislative model here. Accordingly, this approach draws exclusively from IRC Code § 4911(d)(1)(A).

a. making available the results of academic or scientific analysis, study, or research;

b. providing of technical advice or assistance (where such advice would otherwise constitute the influencing of legislation) to a governmental body or subdivision thereof in response to a written request by such body or subdivision, as the case may be;

c. appearances before, or communications to, any legislative body with respect to a possible decision of such body which might affect the existence of the organization, its powers and duties;

d. communications between the organization and its bonafide members with respect to legislation or proposed legislation of direct interest to the organization and such members, so long as such communication does not directly encourage such member to communicate with any member or employee of a legislative body, or with any government official or employee who may participate in the formulation of legislation in order to influence any legislation.⁴

• Without Smith Language

Notwithstanding section 614 of this Act or any other provision of law, no funds appropriated for population planning activities or other population assistance may be made available for any foreign private, nongovernmental, or multilateral organization if the organization engages in any attempt to influence any legislation through an

⁴ Bold language replaces: "activity or effort to alter the laws or government policies of any foreign country concerning the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited."

attempt to affect the opinions of the general public or any segment thereof.

[Subpart 1 noted above would follow identically in this version]

**3. Moderately Narrow Definition:
Limit Lobbying to "Buttonholing"
and Grassroots Organizing**

A somewhat broader definition of lobbying would follow the model contemplated by section 501(c)(3) the Internal Revenue Code ("IRC"). Under this model, lobbying would include not only the button-holing paradigm identified above but also grassroots efforts to promote particular legislation. Thus, it would prohibit grassroots organizing for particular legislation but not for a general position, such as, for example, that abortion should be "safe, legal and rare."

The words of the statute, by themselves, do not make this clear. One must instead look elsewhere in the IRC as well as to the gloss developed by the Internal Revenue Service and Courts in interpreting the statute. Reference in the legislative history to the section 501(c)(3) lineage is important. Language accomplishing this is provided below.

• **With Smith Language**

2) LOBBYING ACTIVITIES. - (A) Notwithstanding section 614 of this Act, or any other provision of law, no funds appropriated for population planning activities or other population assistance may be made available for any foreign private, nongovernmental, or multilateral organization until the organization certifies that it will not, during the period for which the funds are made available, violate the laws of any foreign country concerning the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited, and will not have any part of its activities involve carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation with respect to abortion, or involves participating in, or intervening in (including the publishing or distributing or

statements), of any political campaign with respect to abortion.⁵

Statement of Managers Revision

Activity or effort attempting to influence legislation with respect to abortion. The language is intended to be comparable to restrictions that exist on lobbying activity by tax exempt organizations under 26 U.S.C. § 501(c)(3). Reference should therefore be made to this provision as well as 26 U.S.C. § 4911(d)(1).

• Without Smith Language

Notwithstanding section 614 of this Act or any other provision of law, no funds appropriated for population planning activities or other population assistance may be made available for any foreign private, nongovernmental, or multilateral organization if any part of its activities involve carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation with respect to abortion, or involves participating in, or intervening in (including the publishing or distributing or statements), any political campaign with respect to abortion.

Statement of Managers Revision

Same as above

⁵ Bold language replaces: "or engage in any activity or effort to alter the laws or government policies of any foreign country concerning the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited."

4. Broad Definition That Prohibits Overt Lobbying and Other Forms of Advocacy

One of the concerns posed by the Smith language is that its broad terminology might be construed to extend to activities that one would not ordinarily consider "lobbying." Prior statements made by Representative Smith and others suggest that they may intend their language to extend to such activities as attending a conference that touches on abortion. One approach might be to set out in the statute itself what activities are not considered "lobbying." The language below seeks to do this.

- With Smith Language

2) LOBBYING ACTIVITIES - (A) Notwithstanding section 614 of this Act or any other provision of law, no funds appropriated for population planning activities or other population assistance may be made available for any foreign private, nongovernmental, or multilateral organization until the organization certifies that it will not, during the period for which the funds are made available, violate the laws of any foreign country concerning the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited, or engage in any activity or effort to alter the laws or governmental policies of any foreign country concerning the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited. Such activities do not include sponsoring or attending conferences or other educational programs relating to the topic of abortion, making available the results of academic or scientific analysis, study, or research on abortion, or providing technical advice or assistance to a governmental body or subdivision thereof in response to a written request by such body or subdivision on the issue.

• Without Smith Language

(A) Notwithstanding section 614 of this Act or any other provision of law, no funds appropriated for population planning activities or other population assistance may be made available for any foreign private, nongovernmental, or multilateral organization if the organization engages in any activity or effort to alter the laws or governmental policies of any foreign country concerning the circumstances under which abortion is permitted, regulated, or prohibited. Such activities do not include sponsoring or attending conferences or other educational programs relating to the topic of abortion, making available the results of academic or scientific analysis, study, or research on abortion, or providing technical advice or assistance to a governmental body or subdivision thereof in response to a written request by such body or subdivision on the issue.



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Susan Sechler

Executive Director

May 1, 1996

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff, Office of the First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Melanne:

During extended negotiations on continuing resolutions, the Republican congressional leadership demanded a series of administrative restrictions on U.S. funding for international family planning efforts. These restrictions, combined with budget cuts, will result in an 87 percent reduction in one year in U.S. support for international family planning assistance — consigning countless women and children to suffering and death.

The restrictions will also lead to a minimum increase of 1.6 million abortions. This is especially ironic, since the cuts were championed by anti-abortion extremists who also oppose family planning. And, when Senator Hatfield provided a legislative "fix" to ensure that previously enacted restrictions would not lead to increased abortions around the world, the moral compass of the congressional leadership rejected it.

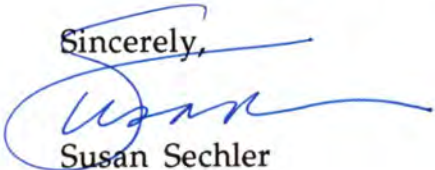
The enclosed 36 editorials are indicative of the broad support around the country — north, east, south and west — for U.S. involvement in family planning and reproductive health activities. This support is based on the fact that family planning saves the lives of women and their children and enables people to have the number of children they want, when they want to have them.

As a member of the U.S. Delegation to the International Conference on Population and Development, I understand the importance of U.S. leadership in implementing that Program of Action — which was dedicated to both individuals' needs and the broad goal of stabilizing rapid population growth.

It is imperative that the President publicly speak out against these congressional actions — and point out the irony in anti-abortion activists gutting support for organizations who provide voluntary family planning services, which in turn help reduce the need for abortions. Congressional negotiators made a moral decision which is counter to the beliefs of the majority of Americans and this Administration — sending many people back to the Dark Ages when high fertility was brutally matched by high mortality.

Please let me know if I can provide any information or be of any assistance.

Sincerely,


Susan Sechler

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Why Slash Family Planning?

THE OMNIBUS spending bill signed by the president on Friday severely undermines American support for family planning assistance in the poorest parts of the world. These programs will take a double hit. First, the total amount of funds has been reduced by 35 percent. Then, the Agency for International Development may spend none of this money until July 1, and thereafter may draw down only 6.7 percent a month for the next 15 months. So the amount actually available is only 15 percent of last year's allocation.

For years, federal legislation has prohibited the use of U.S. funds to pay for abortions abroad. That was not the issue in this case. But foreign aid programs that provide contraceptives and education in family planning have generally received broad support in this country. During the Reagan and Bush years, the United States stopped funding international family planning programs lest money be diverted for abortions. But every penny was simply redirected to the bilateral U.S. AID population programs and used for these purposes under the direction of the American government.

Why is family planning being slashed? There

has been no apparent shift in public opinion about contraception in this country nor any change of heart about the vital importance of family planning in improving economic conditions and the lives of women and children abroad. The cuts may instead be a form of retaliation against specific organizations such as Planned Parenthood, which provide some of these services and also run abortion clinics in this country. It is a bitter irony that abortion opponents were behind this move. Surely if contraceptive information and materials are unavailable, abortions will increase.

If these restrictions have in fact been enacted as some kind of penalty to service providers, it is callous as well as foolish. The United States provides a substantial share of all public funds spent on family planning in poor countries. Without this help, it is certain that untold numbers of children will be born to parents struggling under conditions of extreme hardship to care for and feed the youngsters they already have. These families, not some disfavored nonprofit organizations here, are the true victims of this punitive cutback.

The Des Moines Register

A GANNETT NEWSPAPER

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THE REGISTER'S EDITORIALS

Preserve birth-control help

**U.S. aid for family planning
is under attack in Congress.**

Often tagged the world's policeman, the United States faces vital struggles as the world's social worker.

One flaring issue: U.S. foreign-aid spending on overseas family planning — paying for people in other countries to have access to affordable birth control.

Seemingly a matter of sex, contraception is an economic issue.

And at a personal level, American money has helped families from Peru to Thailand make childbearing choices that strengthen their viability. This provides the basic building blocks for strong local and national economies.

But international family-planning funds are under attack in Congress.

A combination of budget cuts and bureaucratic restrictions could wipe out most of the programs in place, ripping contraception away from an estimated 7 million couples around the world.

The people pushing for funding cuts are anti-abortion members of Congress. They argue that by paying for contraception, America frees money that a country can then spend on abortions — but this is a se-

riously flawed policy approach.

Arguing to keep family-planning funding in place is Oregon Senator Mark Hatfield, a

**His argument boils down to
common sense: Birth control
prevents abortions. Take birth
control away and there will be
more abortions.**

Republican who also is staunchly against abortion. His argument boils down to common sense: Birth control prevents abortions. Take birth control away and there will be more abortions.

Congress should follow Hatfield's lead. Otherwise the world will see a rapid decline in women's health and children's welfare — social issues with damaging economic effects.

And as expanding markets link the globe, other nations' economic health is increasingly important to America.

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Family Planning Fiasco

THE CONTINUING resolution that brought government workers back to the job last January is due to expire at the end of the week. One of the matters that must be settled before that can be done is the future of American assistance to family planning efforts abroad. This has nothing to do with abortion, since no U.S. funds can be spent outside the United States for that purpose. Rather, what is at stake is this country's extremely valuable and long-supported work in the developing world to provide couples with information and materials needed to plan the spacing and total numbers of their children.

In January, one regular appropriations bill was attached to the continuing resolution by the House. It cut international family planning money 35 percent below 1995 levels, and it put two additional restrictions on these expenditures: Nothing can be spent before July 1, and thereafter the funds would be doled out at the rate of 6.7 percent a month until the new fiscal year begins on Oct. 1. This amounts to an effective cut of 85 percent in a single year, which is a terrible idea. Sen. Mark Hatfield, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, has put a saving clause in the pending bill that would allow the president to spend appropriated funds without these two restrictions if he can demonstrate that they will have

the effect of reducing demand for family planning services and lead to a significant increase in abortions. That won't be hard to do. An effort will be made, probably today, to strike the Hatfield language and retain the restrictions.

The United States contributes about 17 percent of all public funds spent on family planning in the developing world outside China, which does not receive this kind of aid. Various organizations have made estimates on what would follow a cut of 85 percent—how many unplanned children would be born, how many women would die in childbirth or having abortions, for instance. Predictably, these figures have been challenged by others who believe that the poorest people in the world will simply buy their own contraceptives or remain abstinent. But the exact numbers don't matter, for the damage will be severe. American foreign aid has been instrumental in the developing world's increasing family planning success. This, in turn, has spurred economic progress and brought about tremendous improvement in the health and welfare of women and children in recipient countries. Legislators more interested in pleasing an extreme slice of the American electorate than in saving lives and reaching out to the poor of the world should not be allowed to succeed.

FEBRUARY 25, 1996

Boston Sunday Globe

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Families matter, worldwide

Largely unnoticed in the resolution President Clinton signed last month to avert a second government shutdown is a measure slashing 35 percent from the family planning budget of the US Agency for International Development. The effective cut will be much worse, since antiabortion forces in the House also succeeded in freezing any expenditures until July 1 and then dribbling them out monthly at a rate of just 6.7 percent.

The work US AID does in developing countries to help women have smaller, healthier families has been a favorite complaint of abortion opponents for years. But since 1973 the United States has been prohibited from directly funding abortion services overseas. The real target of this budget maneuver is not abortion but contraception and reproductive health for millions of women and babies who could die without it. About half a million deaths a year are attributed to poor maternal health conditions, including botched and illegal abortions. Indeed, the number of abortions in developing countries is apt to increase if pregnancy prevention programs disappear because of a loss of aid from the United States.

Antiabortion absolutists of the type who singled out the foreign aid budget used to be outnumbered by moderates in both parties who took a broader view of the US role overseas. But the 1994 elections ushered in the most aggressive congressional attack on reproductive freedoms in decades. The shift has been dramatic: Seventy-three percent of the 1994 freshman class received a zero rating from the abortion-rights group NARAL; nearly half of them replaced House members who had established 100 percent ratings.

Rather than forcing women to bear children they cannot care for at grave risk to their own health and the lives of the babies, Congress and all who profess to revere life should be working to reduce the number of unwanted pregnancies, sexually transmitted diseases and babies born too early and too sick. What Congress has done it can undo. When this budget resolution expires on March 15, House members should reverse these pernicious restrictions. They hobble every nation's struggle to provide for the health of its women and children.

U.S. AID FOR VOLUNTARY FAMILY PLANNING

Don't slash this

Many of the worst ills afflicting the developing world are only symptoms.

To a significant extent, poverty, violence, political repression and instability, environmental decline, plague and famine are effects. The common cause is uncontrolled population growth. And the United States is on the wrong side of the issue.

The numbers tell a stark tale. In 1960, there were 3 billion people on Earth. Today, we approach 6 billion. In another 30 years, if nothing is done, there will be more than 6 billion in Africa and Asia alone.

In the developing world today, 40 percent of the population is under 15. As these young people enter their childbearing years, a new round of population growth will be unleashed. Widespread misery will result.

Already, 600 million women in developing countries are living in poverty. A like number want family-planning help and can't get it. Each day, 1,500 women die from complications of unwanted pregnancies and abortions.

For many years, there was bipartisan support in the United States for family-planning aid that developing countries desperately want. Both Barry Goldwater and Lyndon Johnson, for instance, thought family-planning aid for the Third World was money well-spent.

The American people are still in favor. Polling by the Gallup organization shows that 80 percent of Americans believe in the teaching and practice of family planning. And 84 percent favor the supplying of family-planning aid to developing countries by industrialized nations.

Yet such aid is being blocked in Congress. Those organized against family-planning fight it on the basis of disinformation. First, it is argued that family-planning aid forces abortions on women in the Third World.

In fact, if family-planning supplies and education are available, the demand for abortions is reduced. That's why Sen. Mark Hatfield, R-Ore., a longtime pro-life legislator, is also a leading advocate of family-planning assistance.

Second, it is argued that we are running a huge deficit because of all the foreign aid we hand out, therefore we can't afford family-planning assistance. In reality, all foreign aid amounts to only about 1 percent of the federal budget. Family-planning assistance comes to less than one-tenth of 1 percent.

In a real sense, we can't afford not to supply such aid. If Third World population grows unchecked, we aren't immune from the consequences. We will face mounting immigration pressure, a degrading environment, a less-stable world.

Yet Congress in January cut funding by 80 percent for 1996. Hatfield and other senators are fighting to restore the money. Sen. John Warner voted against the aid. Sen. Chuck Robb voted in favor.

There are many votes in Congress, but for the long-term safety, stability and decency of the world, few are more important than these. Providing aid for voluntary family planning to the developing world offers a slim hope that it really will get a chance to develop. Failing to supply such aid can only hasten an immense human tragedy.

**In 1960, there were
3 billion people
on Earth. Today,
we approach
6 billion.**

A blow to family planning aid

■ **Ideologues win:** *Budget train wreck leaves population programs devastated.*

THE FEDERAL budget debacle has handed right-wing ideologues a victory long denied them in the normal legislative process. Faced with escalating pressure to re-open the government last month, Congress and the White House agreed to a foreign aid budget that imposes cuts and restrictions that could disrupt family planning efforts around the world.

The result also shows the true colors of the small House band that stymied attempts at compromise. These people, led by Rep. Chris Smith, R-N.J., are known for their ardent opposition to abortion, legal or illegal. But what their maneuvers illustrate in dramatic fashion is the lengths to which they will go to confuse the separate issues of abortion and family planning.

In doing so, they are subverting efforts to provide the contraceptives that will allow families in poor countries to plan the number of children they will have, space them far enough apart to give them a decent chance of survival and help preserve the health of the mother.

As a direct result of the disruptions in aid, women's health and contraceptive services may well be interrupted in many parts of the

world. That, in turn, will put at risk the lives of thousands of women and children.

Pregnancies will increase, as will the number of illegal and unsafe abortions — already a huge problem in poor countries. Mothers who cannot physically or financially afford another pregnancy will risk their lives to terminate it in an attempt to preserve the often-precarious welfare of children already born. If the mothers die or, as frequently happens, survive with permanent disabilities, their children will suffer a loss of stability and, in many cases, the economic mainstay of the family.

But when it comes to anti-abortion (and anti-family-planning) zeal, arguments about real people fall prey to ideology. Mr. Smith is fond of railing against family planning aid — a small percentage of a foreign aid agenda that is itself less than 1 percent of the federal budget. He frequently points to reports of coerced abortions in China, charging that such efforts are aided and abetted by the United States.

The truth tells a different story. The United States does not provide any family planning assistance to China, and U.S. law has long prohibited the use of foreign aid for abortion anywhere. Alas, truth — and the lives of women and children — are secondary to concerns that contraception services are nothing but a step toward the slippery slope leading to abortion. That's a cruel perversion of "family values."

EDITORIALS

Reversing Leadership In Family Planning

THANKS LARGELY to the urgent need to provide economic aid to Israel, Egypt and the Palestinians, the year-long battle over U.S. foreign assistance was effectively resolved last week when Congress attached the Foreign Operations bill to the latest stopgap measure to keep the government open until March 15.

That agreement ensures that foreign aid, although reduced to a 10-year low of \$12.1 billion, will flow through the end of the fiscal year next September, and that it will be free of the Republican's abortion and family planning-related restrictions, which had led to the original impasse.

The cuts could result in as many as 10 million unwanted pregnancies and 3 million abortions

But hold the applause. In an irony as grotesque as anything Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms ever dreamed up, the abortion-related restrictions were dropped in favor of cuts to population assistance programs that are likely to result in as many as 10 million unwanted pregnancies and perhaps 3 million additional abortions.

That estimate comes from Population Action International, one of the largest independent groups in the world working on international family planning issues. It notes that in the hurly-burly of last-minute

budget compromises, \$200 million of requested population funds — 35 percent of the total — was sacrificed on the alter of House Republicans who had insisted on abortion restrictions that went far beyond the 1973 Helms amendment, which already prohibits funding overseas abortions.

In a further twist, the legislation singles out the population programs operated under the U.S. Agency for International Development — Helms' favorite punching bag — for special abuse. AID will not be allowed to spend any of its population funds until July 1, and then only at a rate that guarantees that only a small fraction of the total will be spent this fiscal year.

Population and family planning experts estimate that a one-third cut in U.S. assistance could translate into the possible loss of access to contraceptives for an equal portion of the 50 million couples in the developing world who depend on U.S. family planning and women's health programs.

The estimated toll in unwanted pregnancies and likely abortions is based on historical data gained from some 35 years of U.S. leadership in international population efforts — leadership which has been largely responsible for the 12-fold increase in Third World contraceptive use and the commensurate slowing of population growth.

To abandon that leadership now, while proclaiming concern for children and families, is the height of hypocrisy. And it suggests that contraception — if not sex itself — rather than abortion, is the real target of the congressional reactionaries shaping foreign aid policy.

Honorable William J. Perry
Secretary of Defense
Washington DC

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I want to thank you and the Department of Defense for your support in ensuring the success of my recent trip to Bosnia. Your commitment to enhancing the quality of life of our servicemembers and their families is reflected in the dedication of the Defense Department's employees.

I particularly want to highlight the support I received from Ms Carolyn Becraft, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Personnel Support, Families and Education and her staff. Requests from my office were enthusiastically received and immediately acted upon. Ms. Becraft's presence and advice on the Germany/Bosnia leg of my trip was invaluable. She was able to provide keen insights into life in a military community overseas as well as the conditions and needs for deployed servicemembers.. Her dedication to your commitment to improving the quality of life for all military personnel and military families was evident in the planning and execution of the agenda for the military portion of my trip.

It was an unforgettable experience visiting the troops in Bosnia. Accompanied by USO entertainers, we visited base camps bringing messages from loved ones and providing much needed entertainment to our servicemembers. We had the privilege to meet children from a school in Tuzla and to present them with gifts and letters from their sister school in Baumholder.

I consider the time spent with troops and military families to be truly memorable. Without your support this trip would not have been possible. Thank you for your long-standing dedication to our servicemembers and their families. They truly are the backbone of our nation.

Sincerely,

Hillary Rodham Clinton

AN MLWK9607801273
SE News
HD Cuts in population funding mean higher costs in unsafe abortions
WC 338 Words
CC 2244 Characters
PD 03/16/96
SN The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel
ED Final
PG 11
CY (Copyright 1996)

LP * It astounds me that the recent gouging of U.S. international
* family planning funding was not even considered newsworthy by your publication.

On Jan. 25, the House passed a continuing resolution that included the fiscal year 1996 foreign operations appropriations. It slashed population funding.

TD This all happens at a time when the government is firming up our borders to stop the rush of immigrants.

It is a shame that we would prefer spending billions shoring up our borders instead of a few million helping to ensure that

population pressures do not push people to leave the country they love to come here.

These cuts demonstrate the callousness of this Congress and the apathy of the U.S. public.

The resolution which provides no funding for population programs until July, and then only at 6.7% per month for 15 months will actually move budget dollars away from helping the people they were meant to support to supporting the offices that administer the program.

This will move dollars away from the people and over to the bureaucracy.

The real costs will be an increase in unintended pregnancies by those who are too sick and too poor to bear more children. The real costs will be an increase of 200,000 unsafe abortions worldwide.

The real costs will be 5,000 women dying in 1996 as a result of these budget cuts. The real costs will be the living children who will struggle to survive without a mother to love, help and guide them.

If Congress had voted to drop a bomb that would kill 5,000 people, it would have made front page news. For the first time in recent

history, U.S. foreign policy will result in an increase in the number of abortions, but your publication did not think it was newsworthy.

I hope the media and the public will wake up and realize that

government programs that assist those in other countries also assist us by reducing migration, reducing border strife and increasing our presence as leaders of the world.

Wendy Broekema

Milwaukee

I0607 * End of document.

AN SYRC9607500001

SE Editorial

HD POOR PLANNING

* HOLDING UP INTERNATIONAL FAMILY PLANNING AID DOES MUCH MORE HARM THAN GOOD.

WC 339 Words

CC 2599 Characters

PD 03/14/96

SN The Post-Standard Syracuse, NY

ED Metro

PG A10

CY (Copyright 1996)

CX March 15, 1996 An editorial Thursday reported U.S. Rep. James Walsh was on a list of House-Senate conference committee members that will work on the Foreign Assistance Act. Walsh is not currently on the list.

LP Members of Congress who are opposed to abortion do their cause little good by trying to eliminate or hold up funds for

* international family planning programs.

Earlier this year, the Senate beat back House efforts to kill

all such aid. Legislation now in Congress would cut back

* international assistance to groups like the United Nations Population Fund by 35 percent.

TD That reduction will result in an additional 200,000 illegal and unsafe abortions worldwide, estimates Nils Daulaire of the U.S.

* Agency for International Development. Why? Because the cutbacks

* will limit contraception, family planning and other health services that reduce the number of unplanned and unwanted pregnancies.

U.S. law already prohibits any foreign aid to be used for abortion services.

Daulaire also estimates cutbacks would result in the deaths of 5,000 more women as a result of unsafe abortions and other complications. And there would be a half-million additional births, he predicts, in a world straining to cope with 100 million newborns each year. Most of those babies would be born in developing nations where their parents can least afford the added burden.

The 35 percent reduction may be the best this Congress can do. But until a foreign-aid budget is in place, all spending for such programs has stopped. If agreement is not reached by July 1, Congress will start releasing a stingy 6.7 percent of budgeted

money per month.

That may suit those who want the United States to abandon all foreign-aid programs. But such a stance hardly characterizes Central New York's U.S. Rep. Jim Walsh, who in the past has

* demonstrated deep concern for international child and family health issues.

Walsh is on the list of House-Senate conference committee members assigned to put together the Foreign Assistance Act. In approaching that task, he might bear in mind the words of his Republican colleague, Sen. Mark Hatfield, who like Walsh opposes abortion: "All the anti-abortion speech this chamber can tolerate will not reduce the number of pregnancies as swiftly or as surely

* as our support for voluntary family planning."

I0607 * End of document.

LEVEL 1 - 27 OF 101 STORIES

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→ The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

February 16, 1996, Friday, CONSTITUTION EDITION

SECTION: EDITORIAL

LENGTH: 610 words

HEADLINE: CARE;

Cutting money, costing lives;

International family planning programs represent only a few hundredths of; 1 percent of the U.S. government budget. But they have been extraordinarily successful.

BYLINE: Maurice I. Middleberg (CARE)

BODY:

Last July, I snapped a photograph of a couple who had become family planning providers in the remote Andean village of Cushtandahy, Peru, 11,000 feet in the mountains. Their modest home displayed a sign: "Planificacion Familiar Aqui (Family Planning Here)."

Thanks in part to funds from the U.S. Agency for International Development, CARE has trained more than 1,400 workers and introduced family planning services to thousands of people in Peru, from the Amazon basin to the Andean mountaintops.

Unfortunately, the efforts of CARE and other humanitarian agencies to bring family planning to villages around the globe have been jeopardized by the congressional resolution of the budget impasse. The funds available for family planning were cut by 35 percent. Even worse, a set of unprecedented procedural requirements threatens to reduce the actual flow of funds to a trickle.

Meanwhile, here are the facts:

Some 120 million women in the developing world want to stop or postpone childbearing but do not have access to family planning services.

Women in the developing world are 100 times more likely than American women to die as a result of childbirth. Half a million women a one every minute of every day a die each year from complications of pregnancy and childbirth; 5 million women suffer serious illnesses or trauma.

In developing countries, more than 10 percent of births end in the death of the infant before his or her first birthday, a rate more than 10 times as high as in the United States. High infant mortality is in part attributable to the fact that many births are high risk; that is, they occur to very young women, to women over age 35, to women who have already had many pregnancies or who have given birth in the preceding 24 months. In many countries, simply spacing births could reduce the infant mortality rate by one-fifth.

The Atlanta Journal, February 16, 1996

Ten million to 12 million illegal abortions occur each year in the developing world. CARE does not support abortion services directly or indirectly. Reducing funding for family planning services means that fewer women will be able to avoid the unwanted pregnancies that too often conclude in abortion.

We find the action by Congress particularly puzzling in view of its laudable decision to protect other child health programs such as immunization. It may be a simple lack of understanding of the health benefits of family planning.

The cuts in family planning programs are disproportionate a three times the 11 percent cut in foreign aid overall. In addition, agencies cannot get the funds until July 1, nine months into the fiscal year and five months after Congress appropriated the money. Thereafter, the funds will be doled out at a rate of one-fifteenth of the appropriation each month.

As we were entering the village of Cushcandahy, the local health worker said to me, "In these villages, they say that only God and CARE come to visit." The truth is that God and CARE have relied on the compassion and enlightened self-interest of the American people to build the links between Atlanta and Cushcandahy.

International family planning programs are of virtually no budgetary significance, totaling only a few hundredths of 1 percent of the U.S. government budget. They also have been extraordinarily successful: In 1965, 10 percent of women in the developing world used contraceptives; today, more than 50 percent do.

Congress should rethink the excessive cuts and burdensome rules it has mandated and restore a program that reflects American interests and generosity.

Maurice I. Middleberg is director of the population unit for CARE, which is based in Atlanta.

LOAD-DATE: February 18, 1996

LEVEL 1 - 68 OF 727 STORIES

Copyright 1996 McClatchy Newspapers, Inc.
The Fresno Bee

February 21, 1996 Wednesday, HOME EDITION

SECTION: METRO, Pg. B4, EDITORIAL

LENGTH: 386 words

HEADLINE: Family planning fiasco;
Ignorance drives an ill-advised cut in U.S. funds for programs overseas that seek to avoid unwanted pregnancies.

BODY:

House Republicans have forced a huge cut in family planning funds distributed by the U.S. Agency for International Development to overseas agencies -- even those that provide only abortion counseling and not abortion itself. To call such legislation a well-intended effort to preserve human life is tantamount to saying that the proponents' ignorance vastly exceeds their compassionate concern for human life.

President Clinton, shortly after he took office, reversed the policy of his Republican predecessors by restoring U.S. assistance to international family planning agencies. Rather than try to overturn that policy, a move that Democrats strenuously opposed, Republicans settled for compromise legislation that will continue U.S. aid to overseas groups but cut their funding by 35 percent. That figure is stunning given that the United States provides about 45 percent of all international family planning funds.

The net effect, according to responsible members of Congress and the United Nations Population Fund, whose support from Washington is being cut nearly in half, will be to bar access to family planning counseling for an estimated 17 million couples, most of them so impoverished that likely further effects will be millions of unwanted pregnancies, risky abortions and, by U.N. estimates, 60,000-plus additional deaths among pregnant women.

Incredibly, Rep. Christopher Smith of New Jersey, sponsor of the amendment to an appropriations bill already signed by President Clinton, says that too much money is being spent on population programs. "Is there really a population crisis?" he asks. Indeed there is: World population is nearing 6 billion, with projections of 9 billion by 2025 and 14 billion by the middle of the next century, absent measures to curb the birth rate -- measures that ought to be non-coercive but that, if the scramble for scarce resources reaches desperate levels, could be Draconian.

The demographic crisis is most severe in poor countries whose efforts to assist families in limiting their size have just been made much more difficult by U.S. lawmakers. Indeed, the money now denied would have been used primarily to advise families on how to avoid unwanted pregnancies rather than to terminate them via abortion. What a tragic irony. What callousness.

LOAD-DATE: February 22, 1996

Capital Times, February 21, 1996

born is a wanted child born.

LOAD-DATE: February 22, 1996

Stance will add to abortions

US. pro-life leaders are about to make life miserable for millions of poor women across the globe. Tucked away in the tentative budget agreement reached in Washington last week is a six-month suspension of all U.S. family planning assistance programs around the world.

This was a compromise between pro-life House Republicans who wanted to end the program permanently on one side, and the administration and a majority in the Senate who want to continue the program on the other side.

What makes this damaging pro-life assault downright ridiculous is that it would not reduce abortion in the world, it would increase it. It is already against U.S. law to use any of our family planning aid for abortions. Instead, for a cost of less than three dollars per American per year, these funds help millions of the poorest women in the world have access to basic contraceptives to plan pregnancy and limit family size.

Currently, most of the world's population growth is occurring in its poorest regions, where more and more people are having to compete for less land to grow their crops, depleting water supplies and having fewer trees to get their firewood for cooking.

According to U.N. surveys, hundreds of millions of women living there want to limit their family size but do not have access to contraception. For them, the only alternative to having an unwanted child is an unsafe abortion. Millions of them take that risk and

200,000 of them perish each year from doing so. U.S. family planning assistance is trying to reach these women to help keep them from getting pregnant in the first place.

Pro-life critics of the U.S. population program have protested that we do not need to help these women, they can always abstain from sex or use natural family planning methods to stop having children. Unfortunately, in many parts of the world the status of women is so low that abstinence and natural family planning that requires a partner's cooperation are not viable options.

Recently, U.S. family planning assistance has also been helping these women with literacy and economic development programs to enhance their status within their culture. We only provide this assistance when it is needed and welcomed by the women involved and by local governments.

These needed programs may go without funding for the next six months, thanks to our domestic pro-life lobby. We can expect this action to result in more unwanted pregnancies, more desperate poverty, more environmental degradation, more human misery, and ironically, more abortions. By taking away the only reliable means many women have of avoiding unwanted pregnancy, more women will seek unsafe abortions and more women will die from doing so.

Mark Rodgers
Salem

Family planning issue before congressmen

While world population may seem a distant matter to local residents, two of Louisiana's congressmen will have an important say in the incidence of abortions in foreign countries.

U.S. Rep. Bob Livingston, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, and U.S. Sen. J. Bennett Johnston serve on a congressional conference committee that is scheduled to meet this week to consider restoring U.S. aid for international family planning.

A conservative estimate is that at least 1.5 million more abortions will occur in one year if Congress does not restore funding for international family planning. Also, a study issued this month by a group of population organizations estimates that cuts in U.S. funding would mean 7 million couples would be shut off from family planning methods, leading to 4 million unintended pregnancies, the deaths of 134,000 infants, and the deaths of 8,000 more women in childbirth and pregnancy, including from unsafe abortions.

The numbers have led Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.) and others in the U.S. Senate to renew efforts to restore the overseas family planning funds. Members of the House of Representatives have been reluctant to do so.

Opponents to family planning funding have challenged the figures. They say the poorest people in the world will simply buy their own contraceptives or remain abstinent. They also argue that, despite the Helms Amendment which prohibits the United States from paying for abortion services elsewhere in the world, the money for family planning will free up other money that can be used for abortions.

But Hatfield and others with strong anti-abortion views contend that family planning assistance is the most effective way to reduce abortions.

"I am unabashedly pro-life...But let me say this: There is a way to reduce abortion and the demand for abortion, and that is contraception," Hatfield said. "I cannot believe that anyone who claims to be pro life and opposed to abortion would support a funding restriction that may lead to increases in abortion."

"All the anti-abortion speech this chamber can tolerate will not reduce the number of unintended pregnancies as swiftly or as surely as our support for voluntary family planning," he said on the Senate floor last month.

The United States contributes about 17 percent of all public funds spent on family planning in the developing world outside China, which does not receive this kind of aid. American foreign aid has helped increase family planning success, which has in turn spurred economic progress and has brought about great improvements in the health and welfare of women and children in recipient countries.

We hope our congressional delegation will see the bottom line is saving lives — the life of the unborn child as well as those of the whole family.

Abroad at Home

 ANTHONY LEWIS

The Angry Man

WASHINGTON

Pat Buchanan is not likely to be the Republican nominee in the end. Too many influential voices in the party think that would deliver the election to President Clinton. But his strong showing in the Iowa caucuses still matters a lot.

It reminds us, first, of the strength of the Christian right in the country — and its fixation on the issue of abortion.

In Iowa, Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition controls the Republican Party. Members were at first divided among the several far-right candidates. But by caucus day most were for Mr. Buchanan, with his call to outlaw abortion under any and all circumstances. In his view, if a woman who was raped has an abortion, both she and the doctor should be criminally punished.

Extreme opposition to abortion is of course not limited to conservative Christians in Iowa. That viewpoint has more influence in Congress now

U.S. law already forbids spending aid money for abortions. But House Republicans attached to the aid bill a proviso barring funds for any family planning organization that gives information on abortion. The Senate rejected that amendment.

Then Congress passed and President Clinton signed a "compromise" that actually guts the population funding. No money can be spent until next July 1. In the 15 months that follow, the program is to have \$356 million — a cut of 35 percent from the last annual appropriation.

The bill would allow the funding cuts to be lifted if by July 1 Congress passes a foreign-aid authorization bill. But the insistence of House Republicans on anti-abortion language makes that unlikely; Mr. Buchanan's showing in Iowa will if anything stiffen their position.

The Iowa vote for Pat Buchanan was, second, a signal of economic distress. Iowa is actually hurting less than many other states from the slide in real wages and the downsizing of business. But there are evidently economic fears there as elsewhere.

Alone among the Republican candidates, Mr. Buchanan has been running as an all-out economic nationalist. He attacks free trade and says he would pull the U.S. out of the World Trade Organization. He sounds a populist cry against heartless corporations, and he calls for stopping all immigration for five years.

Republicans from Newt Gingrich to Bob Dole and Phil Gramm have opposed the notion that the United States can prosper by building economic walls around itself. Big businessmen who support and finance the party mostly disagree, too. But some voters respond when Mr. Buchanan says he will stop American jobs going to Mexico and China.

Of course there is more to Pat Buchanan than policy. There is anger. Like George Wallace 30 years ago, he expresses the resentments of some working-class people, mostly male and white, at those they consider the elite. Or perhaps a better comparison is with Howard Beale, the character played by the late Peter Finch in the 1976 movie "Network," with his cry: "I'm mad as hell, and I'm not going to take it anymore."

However Mr. Buchanan does in New Hampshire and after, he will be a force in the Republican campaign. Indeed, Bob Dole is already expressing more concern about economic losers. And in Iowa both he and Lamar Alexander, disgracefully, supported an anti-homosexual rally organized by Christian rightists.

At the 1992 Republican convention in Houston, Pat Buchanan and Pat Robertson made fire-eating right-wing speeches that turned out to hurt George Bush. Some party leaders had hoped to avoid such excesses this year, and to calm down the abortion plank, and thus appeal to moderates. But it looks now as though the two Pats and their ideas will play a prominent part in San Diego next August. □

G.O.P.'s far right shows its strength.

than ever before, with important consequences.

Last month, for example, in an action that has not had sufficient attention, Congress drastically limited American support for family planning in poor countries. The United States provided \$548 million for population programs abroad last year. With many poor countries suffering under the burden of rapidly growing populations, those funds may be the most important part of American aid.

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12/29/95

A vital, urgent mission: Contain population growth

Congress fiddles as world's fertility flourishes

THE WORLD'S population is growing on two tracks, and the whole subject may seem abstract and distant to Western New Yorkers. Unfortunately, it isn't. The problems bred by exploding population are real and pressing.

Americans, in fact, need a substantially greater sense of urgency in efforts to counter overpopulation now in order to avoid vastly more menacing problems in the future.

The Population Institute, a private group that tracks demographic trends, reports that the world population grew by a record 100 million people this year. Ninety percent of that growth came in the poorer nations.

Think of it: 100 million more mouths to feed (that's substantially more than the population of the reunited Germany) — with most of them in those nations least able to clothe, shelter and feed them.

In all, the world's population has swollen to 5.7 billion people. Without attention, the institute warns, the population could grow to 14 billion people in just two decades.

It's true that ominous population growth doesn't show up in the industrialized nations. There, population has generally stabilized. Not so, though, in developing nations. The institute estimates populations there could double in about 35 years.

Why should Western New Yorkers worry?

Misery, poverty and starvation are never pretty. Such hardship demands a compassionate response. Moreover, much of the adversity that strikes developing nations will damage developed countries as well.

Uncontrolled population growth means destructive pollution of air and water. That

can affect everyone, wherever they live. The demand for firewood in poor nations like Nepal, for example, erodes farmland and, thus, cuts food supplies. The resentment of billions of impoverished people toward others in prosperous nations can fuel conflicts ignited by the demands of expanding populations for more space, more land. Eventually, that can affect Americans alive today and those yet unborn.

**It's a daunting
problem, but one
that can be solved
if those with the
knowledge and
resources will act
decisively to help.**

Fortunately, none of this need occur. Studies show that when family planning services are available — in poor nations, as in affluent ones — women take advantage of them. Birth rates decline. So the challenge, while daunting, is not hopeless.

But those who can act must act. Regrettably, Washington's productive program for fostering family planning

abroad is now snarled in benighted opposition from conservatives in Congress, particularly the House.

It marks a frightful turn of events. In the last full budget year, Washington invested close to \$600 million, a record, in voluntary family planning services abroad.

Today, congressional conservatives are holding up funding and, at best, cutting its size by 20 percent from last year's level.

The bleak outlook involves questions of abortions abroad. This, even though no U.S. family planning money has gone for abortions abroad since the 1970s, and even though effective family planning services reduce pressures for abortions.

Congress should free up this money now. Rather than decreasing the amounts involved, it should increase them. They're a productive investment today in the prevention of wider hunger and misery tomorrow.

JUDY MANN

Extracting Their Pound of Flesh

Congressional opponents of family planning scored a major victory last week by passing legislation that will strangle U.S. support for international contraceptive services.

Led by House Republicans and backed by the Christian Coalition and other right-wing groups that oppose abortion, these efforts ironically will lead to an additional 200,000 illegal and unsafe abortions, according to Nils Daulaire, deputy assistant administrator for policy and child health policy adviser at the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Damage to family-planning programs will be far more extensive than it appeared from early news reports about the temporary budget agreement. The legislation will decrease by 35 percent the amount of money available to spend on international family-planning programs—that is, it will cut the budget by nearly \$200 million. USAID will not be permitted to spend any of its appropriation for family planning until July 1, nine months after the start of the fiscal year, which, in Daulaire's words, will cause a "tremendous disruption in services." It is the only international assistance program that is restricted in this way. After July 1, spending cannot exceed 6.7 percent per month of the total appropriated, which means that only a small amount of the whole will actually be spent before Oct. 1, when a new fiscal year begins.

Daulaire projects that as many as 5,000 more women will die over the next year as a result of unsafe abortions and mistimed pregnancies, and that roughly 500,000 additional births will result, putting further stress on child-survival programs that are strained already. Further, he says, the piecemealing restrictions imposed by Congress will increase administrative costs by four to five times, costing U.S. taxpayers \$750,000 to \$1 million more.

Most of the campaign against family planning has been carried out in the guise of preventing U.S. foreign aid funds from paying for abortions, although that practice has been banned since 1973. This current fight began last year when House Republicans voted for a measure sponsored by Rep. Christopher H. Smith (R-N.J.) that would have prevented any foreign nongovernmental organization from receiving any U.S. family-planning money if it attempted to provide information about abortion or lobby its own government to change regulations regarding

abortion. The Senate refused to go along with the Smith language, the White House said it would veto any bill with this language, and a stalemate on the whole foreign aid package ensued.

Pressure to get a foreign operations appropriation bill mounted steadily after Oct. 1, when checks to Israel and Egypt weren't delivered, foreign aid missions weren't getting their funding, their contractors weren't being paid and population programs weren't being funded at all, according to Victoria Markell, vice president of Population Action International, a nonprofit, research-based advocacy organization that receives no federal funding.

The Smith language was cut out of the final bill last Thursday in the face of growing public outrage over the prospect of yet another government shutdown. "The ideologues had to come up with some formulation that will restrict population-planning spending as much as they could," Markell says. Neither the Senate nor the White House wanted the blame for another government shutdown.

"It's such an attack on women and children," Markell says. "How in the world can you pretend to care about child survival when we know that women and mothers are going to die without access to family planning?" She cites a World Health Organization statistic that 90 percent of children in developing countries who lose their mothers in delivery will die by their first birthday. "We know that if women have fewer children, the children they have live longer and are healthier and everyone benefits."

"One of the key priorities of our family-planning program is to reduce abortions worldwide," Daulaire says. Yet when it became clear that the Smith language gutting family-planning services would not pass, "they decided that the way to extract a cost was by severely restricting AID's ability to provide family-planning services around the world. They understood very clearly that this language would mean not just a 35 percent reduction in funding but was really much harsher."

What is clear from this exercise is that the conservative Christian bloc of House Republicans is targeting international contraceptive and family-planning services, not just abortion services. And the people who will suffer are women and children in the poorest parts of the world. Is that the Christian way?

JUDY MANN

Is There a Doctor in the House?

The Republican conservatives who control the House, and particularly the freshmen who gave the GOP its majority, have been remarkably ignorant about what various government programs do. No big surprise here. A lot of them had resumés that flaunted their lack of "insider" experience.

But there are some things grown men are expected to know about affairs of the flesh, even if they are still learning about affairs of state. This group, however, is acting as if it didn't get its requisite sex ed in the schools. As the Senate and House conferees prepare to meet on the omnibus appropriations bill this week, House members could benefit from a lesson on the birds and the bees.

Thanks to Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.), they can get it from someone in Congress who, as he stated on the floor last week, has voted for abortion rights "probably more than 90 percent" of his career. His credentials as far as the antiabortion crowd is concerned are impeccable. Maybe he's just the one to give them a little medical education.

He's got his work cut out for him. "I do not think this House is going to budge one inch on this issue," Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) said in a floor debate Thursday, as the Senate argued about the 85 percent cuts to federally funded international family planning programs that a handful of members of the House inserted into the continuing resolution passed on Jan. 26.

The House's stealth attack on international family planning put both the Senate and the administration in the position of accepting the House version of the foreign aid appropriations package or shutting down the federal government again. Hatfield expressed concern that the cuts and spending restrictions would only increase abortions. He started efforts to restore funds after reading, in this space, that a top official in the U.S. Agency for International Development was projecting that cuts would lead to an additional 200,000 abortions and 5,000 maternal deaths. On Feb. 26, he wrote to the Alan Guttmacher Institute to ask it to prepare an estimate of the worldwide impact of the cuts.

On March 4, Guttmacher President Jeannie I. Rosoff replied: "The net result of these provisions is to reduce funding for this year from \$547 to \$72 million. . . . [causing] enormous stress and chaos."

The International Planned Parenthood affiliates estimated that 250,000 couples would lose access to

family planning in Brazil as would 200,000 couples in Peru. A very conservative estimate, Rosoff emphasized, is that 7 million couples in developing countries who want services will not have access to them. "As a result, there will be 4 million more women experiencing unwanted pregnancies, leading in turn to 1.9 million more unplanned births and 1.6 million more abortions (the remainder of the unintended pregnancies ending in miscarriages) and 8,000 more women dying in pregnancy and childbirth."

Hatfield, who chairs the Senate Appropriations Committee, then attached a measure to the Senate's version of the new omnibus funding bill that would authorize the president to spend funds if "he determines and reports to the Congress that the effects of those restrictions would be that the demand for family planning services would be less likely to be met and that there would be a significant increase in abortions."

An amendment to strip the bill of Hatfield's language, sponsored by McConnell and Sen. Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) (note where the likely GOP presidential candidate stands on international family planning), was defeated Thursday evening by a 52 to 43 vote. So as the conferees get ready to meet, possibly as early as today, the Senate version of the bill would allow money to be spent while the House version would gut the programs. The Clinton administration has written Hatfield to express its support.

For a genuine abortion rights position, Hatfield has come under attack from the Christian Coalition and other members of the right wing as being pro-abortion. The level of ignorance—or worse, political jousting at the expense of women's lives—is appalling. The only connection that international family planning has to abortion is a clear agenda to reduce the need for it. Even the antiabortion Population Research Institute estimated that the cuts would lead to 450,000 more abortions, according to Hatfield.

The opposition to family planning from the antiabortion crowd is the strongest clue yet that their target is contraception, not just abortion. If that were not the case, the House would be busy right now restoring funds for family planning. Hatfield said that anybody who has taken "Biology 101 understands" the connection between reducing abortions and contraception. "It is pretty obvious," he said. It is to most of us, but he's going to have to school the House in the facts of life—and politics.

CORRECTION

Sen. Mark O. Hatfield's position on abortion was incorrectly reported by The Washington Post in Judy Mann's column yesterday. The Oregon Republican is a longtime opponent of abortion.

Births and the nations

Only by holding the federal government hostage were anti-abortion zealots in the U.S. House of Representatives able to gut funding for family planning assistance abroad. A measure with that result was included in the continuing budget resolution that ended the federal government shutdown in January.

The fanatics had tried before to promote the preposterous notion that contraception is the same as abortion. The ploy almost worked in October, when a bill was passed that would have cut funds for family planning in the United States. A few days later, Congress reversed itself.

The chance came again during the January government shutdown. With that leverage, the president and Senate accepted the cuts.

A 55 percent reduction in funds, plus

other complicated restrictions, means only 13 percent of the money allocated last year will go to programs that help poor women in other countries space the births of their children.

A new study says the cuts will lead to 1.6 million abortions — a contested figure. Unquestionably, though, having children too close together leads to increased infant mortality and maternal deaths and to sicker babies.

The continuing resolution expires Friday. Sen. Mark Hatfield, R-Ore., who opposes abortion, is leading the fight to restore the family planning funds. He put in a clause that would let the president release more funds if he can demonstrate that reduced funding will lead to more abortions.

The Hatfield clause represents an uncommon opportunity for Congress: to undo a bad mistake. ■

OUR OPINION

Turn back the zealots

One of the things that has served to polarize the debate over abortion in this country to such seemingly irreconcilable extremes is the suspicion on the part of many people — and not just pro-choice activists — that some on the anti-abortion side of the issue are after much more than abortion.

Even people who are personally troubled by the concept of abortion are more troubled by the notion that some of the more zealous of the pro-life forces would gladly move directly from any victory on the abortion front to a more aggressive assault on all reproductive freedom — i.e. the banning of artificial birth control.

Those well-founded suspicions were hardly dispelled by the action of the Republican-controlled Congress in January in which funding for the U.S. Agency for International Development's overseas family planning program was cut by 35 percent and restrictions imposed that further limit spending in this fiscal year to only 13 percent of last year's level.

The cut-off was slickly engineered by radical pro-life forces in Congress who used a last-minute rider on legislation to re-open the government after the federal shutdown.

These extremists knew that they could not pass this incomprehensibly backward and inhumane bill through the ordinary legislative process because Americans overwhelmingly support the program. So they exploited the sense of urgency in the wake of the shutdown to slip the measure through.

But the issue here is not abortion; it is contraception. In fact, since 1973, the United States has been prohibited from directly funding abortions abroad. The AID planned-parenthood program helps parents in poor and developing countries by allowing them access to counseling, medical services and birth control, thus permitting them to have smaller and healthier families. By any measure, that is good for poor parents, good for impoverished countries, good for overburdened regions of the world, good for the planet and good

for the United States.

According to a report by the non-partisan Alan Guttmacher Institute, this drastic reduction in U.S. family-planning assistance will mean that 7 million couples worldwide will be denied access to family-planning services; 8,000 women will die in pregnancy and childbirth for want of counseling and/or contraceptives; 134,000 infants will die because of an increase in high-risk births. And the loss of basic reproductive health services could lead to an additional 1.6 million abortions. How can such a policy be called pro-life?

Reason tells us that contraception prevents unwanted pregnancies, which means fewer abortions. But pro-life zealots reflexively reject the notion that gutting family-planning efforts abroad is anything but a good thing. They should be called upon to explain that peculiar logic, as well their ultimate intentions as far as family-planning services in this country are concerned.

Sen. Mark Hatfield, himself a pro-life Republican, decried the AID family-planning funding cut, saying, "All the anti-abortion speech this chamber can tolerate will not reduce the number of unintended pregnancies as swiftly or as surely as our support for voluntary family planning." As chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, he is leading the fight for restoration of the funding. Some responsible pro-life groups are backing his effort.

That fight climaxes Friday, when Congress must approve a new continuing resolution to keep the government operating. There was no need, and no justification for this draconian, ideologically driven legislation to be included in the January resolution. Congress has a chance to rectify its misguided capitulation to anti-abortion radicals in the upcoming vote.

We hope Staten Island Rep. Susan Molinari, who voted for the cuts two months ago, sides this time with the voices of reason, rather than increasingly right-wing party doctrine, and votes to restore full funding for the AID overseas family-planning program.

editorial

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The high price of zealotry

A combination of anti-abortion zealotry and mindless budget-cutting in Congress has devastated U.S. government aid for family-planning programs overseas. The result, a nonpartisan think-tank now reports, will be a huge increase abroad in unplanned births, abortions and maternal deaths.

A pro-life faction in Congress, prominently including our own Rep. Chris Smith, attempted to revive the so-called "Mexico City" policy, which bans U.S. aid to organizations that provide abortion services even when U.S. funds aren't involved. This effort failed, but, as part of a last-minute deal to end the government shutdown in January, family-planning aid was virtually eliminated. The programs were singled out for a 35 percent budget cut; however, complex spending restrictions mean their budgets actually will be cut by 87 percent this year.

Sen. Mark Hatfield, R-Ore., chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, asked the Alan Guttmacher Institute to estimate the impact of this action. The Institute responded with a two-page analysis, which it effectively summed up in a few words: "enormous distress and chaos."

The Institute, limiting its estimate to the 35 percent budget cut ALONE, produced these stark assessments:

- Seven million Third World couples who would have used modern contraceptive methods will be unable to do so.
- As a result, there will be four million more women experiencing unintended pregnancies, leading in turn to: 1.9 million more unplanned births; 1.6 million more abortions (the remainder of the unintended pregnancies ending in miscarriages), and 8,000 more women dying in pregnancy and childbirth.

Most startling is that estimate of 1.6 million more abortions, a figure the Guttmacher Institute calls "conservative." That's roughly the number of abortions performed in the United States each year. Yet the budget cuts were championed by opponents of abortion. Why do they do it? How do they rationalize the results of their tactics? Why aren't they clamoring for huge INCREASES in U.S. family planning assistance instead of trying to demolish the program?

In our opinion

"It is the duty of a newspaper to become the attorney for the most defenseless among its subscribers."

-- Col. Harry M. Ayers, President and Publisher, 1910-1964

H. BRANDT AYERS
Editor and Publisher

P.A. SANGUINETTI
President

Page 4A, The Anniston Star, Monday, February 19, 1996

The Anniston Star

Poor planning

Short sight on Capitol Hill

ONCE AGAIN, the Republican House of Representatives has proved itself long on ideology and short on practicality.

In its latest flight in the face of the facts, the House has voted to cut U.S. aid for international family planning by 35 percent. The reason is both standard and shortsighted — their usual claim that "family planning" is just shorthand for "abortion funding."

To their credit, Senate Republicans were against the cut. But their less-pragmatic counterparts down the hall fail to recognize the broad scope of family planning efforts and their importance for our planet's future.

Only a small amount — far less than 35 percent — of international family planning funds have anything to do with medical abortion services. The vast majority of the funding is targeted to the health of baby and mother, and to providing birth control to help preventing unwanted pregnancy.

At its best, family planning actually reduces abortion demand and slows too-rapid world population growth — projected just last week to increase from 5 billion people at the turn of the new century to 12 billion people by 2050.

In underdeveloped countries where child mortality rates are high, mothers often have more

children than they can afford — as a kind of insurance that at least a few will grow to adulthood. This stresses the resources of the individual families as well as the areas where they live. Disease, hunger and rampant poverty are a direct result.

On the other hand, those mothers who have access to family planning — with its emphasis on healthy children and healthy families — feel less compelled to produce child after child as a hedge against an uncertain future. Their future and that of their children is made more secure through immunization, health care and nutrition programs.

THE STRAINS of the population explosion and unhealthy nations are felt far beyond Third World borders.

Each year, foreign food aid is requested from Washington. Our national budget — already being stretched thin for domestic priorities — must also cover international problems as well. As world populations increase, with the attendant rise in disease and hunger, demands on richer nations will increase as well.

AMERICA IS looked to for succor and salvation. That aid must begin before the emergency. But the House GOP's political attack on family planning funds only ensures that the emergency will arrive.

The Seattle Times

THE SEATTLE TIMES **OPINION** WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6, 1996

Conservatives target family planning

BY GORDON W. PERKIN
Special to The Times

IN WHAT was initially viewed as a tactical anti-abortion victory, the U.S. Congress voted to cut off family-planning assistance to some 20 million of the world's poorest women.

A hastily crafted amendment was attached to the most recent resolution (House Resolution 2880) to continue government operations. Without debate or discussion, the amendment rode through to approval. Its full impact is only now being realized. The amendment restricts the amount of foreign assistance that can be devoted to family-planning programs in fiscal year 1996 to 65 percent of fiscal year 1995 levels (a reduction of \$200 million).

It further strangles U.S. family-planning efforts by halting any funds for family planning until July '96, ironically nine months into the government's current fiscal year. Beginning in July '96, the reduced funds available would have to be metered out evenly over a fifteen-month period. At what cost?

Present estimates indicate that some 50 million couples in the developing world benefit from family-planning programs funded by the U.S. government. The cutbacks would result in one-third or more losing access to services. A conservative estimate suggests that the outcome would be as many as 10 million unintended pregnancies annually, accompanied by some 3 million abortions that never would have happened if access to family-planning services had been maintained.

This profound impact does not take into account the thousands of women who will die from their unsafe abortions or the million additional deaths among infants and young children who will lose their mothers or suffer the effects of malnutrition and disease as limited resources are stretched even farther.

Yet, the anti-abortion members of Congress who crafted this amendment are



BARBARA CUMMINGS: OP ART

celebrating their victory — having contributed to the destruction of the U.S. government's most successful and visible foreign-assistance program. At an annual cost of less than \$2 per U.S. taxpayer, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) has for the past 30 years led the world in providing safe, quality and voluntary family-planning services to the world's poorest. A chance for a better life; access to the means to have only the children that were wanted and could be cared for; healthier, empowered women and better-educated girls were all the consequence of this effort.

Republican Sen. Mark Hatfield has said that "the family-planning language in HR 2880 is not pro-life, it is not pro-woman, it is not pro-child, it is not pro-health, and it is not pro-family planning. It inflicts the harm of a profound misconception on very poor families overseas who only ask for help in spacing their children through contraception, not abortion."

Now, ironically, those who have sought to destroy this program in the mistaken belief that it somehow was associated with

abortion have created their own monster. Since 1973, the Helms amendment has prohibited the use of U.S. foreign-assistance funds for abortion-related activities. Denying family-planning services will lead to a certain dramatic increase in the number of abortions. The saddest outcome of this latest political and religious bigotry is the innocent women and children whose lives will be summarily shortened while the conservative Republicans in the Congress savor their misguided and mean-spirited accomplishment.

The present continuing resolution will expire at midnight on March 15. We can only hope that conservative members of Congress will show through action and not just rhetoric that they are truly "pro-life" by voting to reinstate funding for international family planning.

Gordon W. Perkin, M.D. is president of PATH, the Program for Appropriate Technology in Health, a Seattle-based, international, nonprofit organization working to improve the health of women and children.

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Family planning funds in jeopardy

Through their handiwork on a spending bill that warded off another government shutdown, congressional anti-abortionists have stupidly guaranteed that what they profess to abhor — more abortions — will actually result.

In a vote set for tomorrow, Congress can and must undo the terrible injustice it did through an obscure rider that severely reduced the population assistance budget of the Agency for International Development.

AID is this country's prime agent in providing access to basic reproductive health services to millions of foreign couples.

In this fiscal year, the slash-and-burn treatment of the invaluable public health program effectively leaves it with about 15 percent of the money it received in 1995. That's because of two particularly punitive provisions that put a moratorium on any funding from Oct. 1, 1995, to July 1, 1996, and require that the funds then be meted out equally by month, ensuring that most of the money will be held over until the 1997 fiscal year.

Such budgetary shenanigans will wreak immediate and ever-lasting havoc on couples who depend on a variety of birth control measures to lengthen the amount of time between children or avoid having any more at all.

By conservative estimates, 7 million

couples would be shut off from family planning methods, leading to 4 million unintended pregnancies, 2 million unplanned births, 1.6 million abortions, the deaths of 8,000 women during pregnancy and childbirth and the deaths of 134,000 infants.

That abortions would be caused by the deliberate actions of pro-life legislators is a profoundly sad commentary on how misguided some of them can be. Since 1973 the Helms Amendment has prohibited the United States from paying for any abortion services elsewhere in the world.

On the grand scale, the United States has been at the forefront of population research and planning in the world for three decades. Our commitment has encouraged developing countries to accept the concept of family planning and then to join us in providing workable birth control methods to their citizens.

Such dire cuts in AID's budget send an ominous message to our international partners at a time when it's projected that the world population will double in 40 years.

Our congressional delegation in its entirety should join Oregon Sen. Mark Hatfield, who has described himself as "faithfully and assertively pro-life," as he attempts to "restore, with rhetoric and with resources, support to AID's family planning program."

The Boston Globe

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A better way to fight abortion

Congressional negotiators debating a new spending resolution to keep the government running have a chance to correct an egregious restriction on US support for family planning programs overseas. Language offered by Sen. Mark Hatfield, chairman of the Appropriations Committee — who describes himself as “faithfully and assertively prolife” — redirects the emphasis of US policy toward where it belongs: helping women in developing countries have smaller, healthier families.

Antiabortion zealots in Congress succeeded in slashing family planning funds for the US Agency for International Development by 35 percent in the current spending resolution, which President Clinton signed to avoid a government shutdown in January. Even the reduced funds, alone among all international assistance programs, were frozen until July 1. This despite the fact that US AID does not pay for abortions: Since 1973 the United States has been prohibited from directly supporting abortion services overseas.

Already the freeze is restricting access to re-

productive health care for millions of women around the world. In Kenya, 10 new family planning clinics are on hold. In northeastern Brazil, 250,000 poor couples rely on US-funded agencies for advice and contraception. Without these services, nearly 85 percent of those women can be expected to become pregnant within a year; at least a third of them may resort to abortion.

The fallacy of cutting birth control programs in an attempt to reduce abortion is perfectly captured by Hatfield in his committee's report: “The terrible irony,” he wrote, is that the cuts “will result in, at a minimum, hundreds of thousands more abortions and tens of thousands of deaths among women and young children annually.”

Hatfield's proposed resolution merely allows the president to authorize spending family planning funds if he can demonstrate to Congress that cutting them will result in “a significant increase in abortions.” Every one of the 49 senators and 224 House members who purport to oppose abortion should be able to back this change.

JUDY MANN

A Battle in the War for Reproductive Rights

Supporters of reproductive rights got a rare victory in the Missouri House on Monday when they defeated attempts to derail \$5.3 million in state and federal family planning money to local health clinics to be used solely to provide alternatives to abortion for pregnant women.

It was an unusually bold strike against family planning from the antiabortion movement, which for several years has targeted the Planned Parenthood affiliates in the state because two of its clinics provide abortions. Planned Parenthood has been barred by the legislature from receiving family planning funds, although the constitutionality of that is in dispute. The current attack on the family planning package came after the governor refused to promise that none of the money would go to Planned Parenthood.

"The argument was if you commit [family planning] funds to Planned Parenthood, it frees up other funds that can be used for abortion services," says Crystal Williams, executive director of Planned Parenthood Affiliates of Missouri. But, she notes, committed funds cannot be used for services other than what they are designated for. Moreover, she says, women pay a fee for abortions. The real target is Planned Parenthood, she says.

"The Catholic Conference and Missouri Right to Life and the Christian Coalition all hate our organization because we've had an effective lobby against them for many years."

The state began paying for family planning services in 1993, after the election of Gov. Mel Carnahan, a Democrat who proposed the program as a way of reducing abortions. Between 1993 and 1994, abortions dropped 9 percent and the number of women giving birth to babies spaced less than 18 months apart decreased 20 percent.

The attack on family planning ties in with another bill, Williams says. "We call it the 'permission slip' bill. It requires a woman seeking an abortion to go and meet with a volunteer counselor to make sure she's not making the decision coercively. The way the bill is written, none of those [counselors] can be pro-choice.

"It is a victory that we beat them" Monday, she says, "but we only beat them by 70 to 81. That is pathetic."

The vote was, in the words of Colleen Kivlahan, director of the Missouri Department of Health, "not terribly reinforcing." Nevertheless, she takes it as a signal that the legislature is "firmly behind family planning services." She points to measurable successes

of the family planning program that serves 25,000 women in the state, although an additional 60,000 low-income women need those services.

"Family planning is really the Achilles' heel of the anti-choice movement," says Kathryn Kolbert, vice president of the Center for Reproductive Law and Policy. "Their movement splits over this. Some people really believe that sex outside of marriage and [not] for procreation is immoral, but no one wants to say that. . . . At some point, politicians understand you can't take these positions because most people think they are absurd.

"You never hear them say, 'I'm against family planning,'" Kolbert says. "You hear them say it will increase promiscuity, it will increase teenage sexuality." The attack on family planning services in Missouri should serve as a warning about what will happen if federal Medicaid and family planning funds are block-granted to the states and they can restrict their use, she notes.

Roger Evans, director of litigation for the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, says that in the early days of the antiabortion movement, its proponents made it clear "that limiting access to family planning services is a long-range goal."

So far, what they've mostly succeeded in doing is financially punishing family planning organizations that also provide abortions.

Evans sees permission slip bills such as the one pending in Missouri as a new wave of the movement. In Utah, women who want abortions already are forced to watch a state-produced video about the procedure beforehand.

"My theory is this is something that is organically evolving," Evans says. "As the battle for family planning unfolds, they will begin to disqualify organizations like Planned Parenthood and then push it around the bend so money is not used for family planning at all.

"They are just nibbling around the edges of it now," he says. "They'll go after minors first, then women who are indigent next and then move on to other categories of women, who will be left exposed after those first two are attacked. And Missouri leads the way."

Missouri is an early example of how the efforts to destroy U.S. support for the international family planning movement is coming home. It's a window onto the war zones of the future, where the sex police are battling not just abortion rights but also the legal family planning that lets women control their destinies.

A Pro-Life Shot in the Foot

By Mark O. Hatfield

PRO-LIFE members of the US House of Representatives recently caused funding for international voluntary family planning to be cut by 85 percent for this fiscal year, ostensibly to reduce abortions worldwide. The Senate had to pass this drastic cut without benefit of debate or amendment to avert another government shutdown. The cuts reflect a rejection of common sense about preventing unwanted pregnancies and abortions; a denial of decades of scientific, social, demographic, and statistical analysis; and a measure of contempt for the poor.

The US Agency for International Development (AID) has played an integral role in promoting international voluntary family-planning efforts. American funding has helped to enable people to decide the number and spacing of their children, to improve reproductive health, and to reduce population-growth rates to more sustainable levels. More important, the US program has proven highly effective in reducing the abortion rate in countries that previously had high rates.

For example, in Hungary, where voluntary family-planning services were introduced eight years ago, the abortion rate has dropped by 60 percent and continues to fall. Although programs in Russia and in the new independent states, where women on average have between four and eight abortions, are too new to be reliably assessed, we expect similar success. Unfortunately, drastic funding cuts jeopardize these accomplishments.

The 85 percent cut will result in, at a minimum, 4 million more unintended pregnancies every year, tens of thousands of deaths among women and young children annually, and 1.6 million more abortions, according to a recent analysis by a coalition of experts, including the Alan Guttmacher Institute.

A concern has been raised that funding is being used to promote abortion. However, AID is explicitly prohibited by law from per-

forming or counseling for abortions. This has been true since 1973, and AID has been scrupulously faithful to this constraint. There is no evidence to the contrary.

Some people believe that no money, public or private, should be spent on any aspect of abortion. They complain that some agencies that partner with AID, notably hospitals, allow for abortion counseling or services, albeit with private money. They accuse AID of complicity, though no AID funds are used for such activities. This "fungibility" discussion has been going on for some time.

The difference now is that the House has embraced the probability of increased abortions and maternal and child deaths worldwide while compromise is sought. This is clearly not pro-life.

Rep. Christopher Smith (R) was recently quoted as stating that family-planning money could be better spent on child-survival programs. But UNICEF's "State of the World's Children" report asserts that "family planning could bring more benefits to more people at

less cost than any other single technology now available" World Health Organization statistics also support this view.

In order to avert a disastrous outcome, I have included a provision in the upcoming Omnibus Appropriations Act of 1996 to allow the president to make full funding for voluntary population-planning activities available if he determines and reports to Congress that the funding restrictions would significantly increase the number of abortions. This provision was retained by the Senate in a recent vote, but will be open for discussion next week in the House-Senate conference.

I welcome the support of those who believe as I do that abortion is wrong. We can't allow our international voluntary family-planning program to become a victim to the politics of abortion. Too many lives are at stake.

■ Mark O. Hatfield (R) represents Oregon in the US Senate.

OPINION/ESSAYS

In countries with voluntary family-planning services, abortion rates have dropped by up to 60 percent.

A step forward

The U.S. Senate has taken a step toward undoing the mischief Congress created in January when it slashed funds for international family planning aid and placed harsh restrictions on the spending of that money. Conservative projections of the potential impact indicated that 7 million couples could lose access to U.S.-funded birth control services and, in the absence of such services, face 4 million unintended pregnancies, of which about 1.6 million would end in abortion.

Last week the Senate inserted language in a new omnibus spending bill that would authorize the president to ignore the statutory restrictions on funding these aid programs "if he determines and reports to the Congress that the effects of those restrictions would be that the demand for family planning services would be less likely to be met and that there would be a significant increase in abortions than would otherwise be the case in the absence of such restrictions."

The Senate provision faces a tough fight in the House, which is a hotbed of anti-abortion zealots who cannot seem to understand, or don't care, that to curtail family planning is to promote abortion. We hope rationality will prevail this time.

SECTION: News; Pg. 22A

LENGTH: 462 words

HEADLINE: Family planning;
A pro-pregnancy, pro-abortion flop

BODY:

Fifty years hence, when the world population reaches an Earth-smothering 11 or 12 billion, it's doubtful that the huddled masses will know whom to blame. By then the culprits will be smiling in their graves, gleeful even in death over their success in dismantling international family-planning programs. They will smile, at least, unless the U.S. Congress reverses the outrageous funding restrictions inflicted on the pregnancy-prevention budget of the U.S. Agency for International Development. The cuts threaten the health and happiness of millions.

This fiasco dates back to January, when anti-abortion lawmakers slipped a foreign-aid appropriations bill into the continuing resolution that brought government workers back to work. The bill slashed international family-planning funds 35 percent below last year's level, and threw two extra wrenches into the works as well: It barred any spending on pregnancy prevention until July 1, and thereafter required that funds be spooned out at a miserly monthly rate of 6.7 percent of the total outlay. The upshot is an astonishing 85 percent funding drop for this fiscal year.

Backers of this plan say the aim of such slashing is to reduce abortions overseas. But if that is their purpose, they couldn't have chosen a sillier tactic. U.S. law already bars spending aid money on abortion. Crippling family-planning programs will fuel, not dampen, the international demand for abortion.

That's just the tip of this disastrous iceberg. Demographers from U.S. population groups predict that even a straight 35 percent funding cut would mean 1.9 million more unplanned births, 1.6 million more abortions, 134,000 more infant deaths and 8,000 additional maternal deaths every year.

This heartbreak isn't inevitable. Averting it is a simple matter of noticing, and correcting, a terrible strategic mistake. That's the intent of a measure by Sen. Mark Hatfield, R-Ore., who calls himself "faithfully and assertively prolife." Approved by the Senate last week and attached to the Senate's omnibus spending bill, Hatfield's plan would permit the president to restore funds to family-planning programs if he finds that not doing so will increase abortions.

Who could object to that thoughtful proposal? Fretful abortion opponents in the House of Representatives apparently do. Though the Hatfield plan's explicit goal is to minimize the incidence of abortion, House leaders will have none of it. They seem unconcerned that their preferred "prolife" approach strategy is a prescription for human misery. It will condemn millions of poor women to unwanted pregnancies and deepen destitution in the developing world. Such folly must not prevail. If Congress can't stop it, the president must.

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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News & Record (Greensboro, NC)

March 24, 1996, Sunday, ALL EDITIONS

SECTION: EDITORIAL, Pg. F2, LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

LENGTH: 277 words

HEADLINE: GIVE FOREIGN AID MORE CONSIDERATION

BODY:

As part of the budget process last January, Congress passed a continuing resolution which included a reduction in funding for overseas family planning assistance and drastically set back disbursement of funds previously allocated to the Agency for International Development. AID provides funds and information to countries which request assistance with implementing family planning programs and population control.

Sen. Mark Hatfield, R-Ore., who has solid pro-life credentials remarked to his colleagues: "We embraced the probability of at least four million more abortions that could have been averted if access to voluntary family planning services had been maintained." More abortions will inevitably result from the withholding of family planning assistance. An unwanted pregnancy can end in abortion but a prevented pregnancy, a pregnancy that did not happen, cannot be terminated.

Lobbying by anti-abortion groups and the Christian Coalition had more influence on the legislative outcome than the budget cutters. The effect on the budget was almost negligible in comparison with the overall budget reduction goal.

The United States has been barred from funding abortion services overseas since 1973. A small number of abortions have occurred in the past from misapplication of funds, but closer monitoring of programs virtually assures that funds go to pregnancy prevention only.

A Christian Coalition spokesman recently stated, "If this (defunding of family planning programs) proves to be something that does increase abortion, we would take another look at our position." Congress should do the same. Harry E. Temple Thomasville

LOAD-DATE: March 26, 1996

6TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1996 The Denver Post Corporation
The Denver Post

March 17, 1996 Sunday 2D EDITION

SECTION: PERSPECTIVE; Pg. D-03

LENGTH: 714 words

HEADLINE: Uncontrolled births hurt children

BYLINE: Dottie Lamm

BODY:

Their faces stare up at me from my clipping files: a sick and starving infant in Somalia. A gaunt 9-year-old weaving carpets in Pakistan. A 12-year-old prostitute in Bangkok.

The causes of these children's misery and potential death are as diverse as lack of food and clean drinking water; epidemics of rubeola, diarrhea, pneumonia, cholera; AIDS; parental neglect; and industrial greed. A UNICEF 50th anniversary report states that most of these causes are "preventable."

Yet one causative factor is scarcely mentioned. And that is the fact that the biggest enemy of children's health and survival in the less-developed world could be the sheer and growing numbers of more children.

Right now 30 percent of the world's population is under age 15. In some African countries almost 50 percent of the population is under 15. This huge demographic groundswell causes governments, and even parents, to treat their young ones as "dispensable" and "disposable." For example:

In Rio de Janeiro police shoot down gangs of street urchins as they would nuisance rodents or packs of wild dogs.

In Pakistan, where the average woman has a total of 5.88 children, the child slave-labor pool is inexhaustible and increasingly exploitable.

In Cambodia a poverty-stricken mother of seven sells her 9-year-old daughter to a man who promises to find her a good job as a housekeeper with a wealthy family in Bangkok. We know, and she probably knows, that her child will end up in a brothel. But she is desperate, so she sells.

International human rights groups and children's health groups work tirelessly against these abuses, curbing governments and industries when they can, educating parents where they cannot.

And the developed world responds positively to a sick or starving child. Ninety-five percent of Americans would, in a minute, send aid to save a child. That's why child survival funds are being protected by Congress even in a growing "anti-foreign aid" climate.

But what about preventing unwanted children from being conceived in the first place? Consider the following:

Ninety percent of newborns in the less developed world whose mothers die in childbirth die themselves within a year.

Approximately 22 percent of all births are unwanted. Children who are unwanted are more likely to die or be neglected, abused or abandoned.

Some 150 million couples in the less developed world want to have no more children and need the technology to help them. They understand the link between overpopulation, poverty and desperation - they see it right in their own families. What's wrong with us?

Almost as if to prove how shortsighted and inhumane we can be, Congress, led by its ultraconservative anti-abortion Republican faction, recently took a number of actions that would reduce 1996 U.S. overseas family planning assistance monies from \$ 547 million to a mere \$ 72 million.

By the time you read this column, a coalition of Democrats and moderate Republicans, lead by Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Oregon), may have restored these funds in a March 15 vote. If they did, thank them. If they did not, write President Clinton - also a strong supporter of family planning - and ask him to veto any legislation that doesn't restore these funds.

Family planning assistance is not a budget breaker. Even at the maximum it would cost each American the price of one Big Mac a year.

Hatfield, a strongly anti-abortion senator who "gets it," predicts that U.S. family planning cuts over one year could mean an additional 14 million unintended pregnancies and an additional 4 million abortions.

Cuts also could mean tens of thousands of maternal fatalities and up to 1 million infant deaths.

As painful as it is, we also need to remember that to a family just barely making it, even one additional child born "healthy" is a potential threat to its other children and its financial security.

Unfortunately, in a world where exponential population growth confronts rapidly diminishing resources, the more children born, the more become "disposable."

Dottie Lamm, a social worker and former first lady of Colorado, was a U.S. delegate to the 1994 Cairo Conference on Population and Development and the 1995 Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women. She writes on this page twice monthly.

TYPE: COLUMN

LOAD-DATE: March 19, 1996

10TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1996 Guy Gannett Communications, Inc.
Portland Press Herald

March 12, 1996, Tuesday, CITY EDITION

SECTION: EDITORIAL, Pg. 6A

LENGTH: 197 words

HEADLINE: SENATE SHOULD PROTECT NEEDED INTERNATIONAL AID;
HELP MAKE LIFE BETTER, NOT BLEAKER, FOR PEOPLE OVERSEAS.

BODY:

The abandoned baby girls pictured here testify eloquently to the need for U.S. support of voluntary international family planning programs.

A key vote on that support is expected in the Senate today.

The babies shown here, abandoned in India, are far from alone. World population expands by nearly 100 million people a year. Ninety percent are born in developing countries. Countless are desperately poor and unwanted.

Family planning programs, long supported by U.S. aid, provide assistance that can break the desperate cycle. They give families the power to plan. They do not provide abortions. U.S. law has forbidden use of foreign aid funds for abortion for two decades.

Even so, opponents continue to attack the funding on that basis. That's why the Hatfield Amendment coming before the Senate is so important. It would enable the president to override restrictions now in place on family planning aid if he can report to Congress that they unwisely "will result in significantly more abortions, as well as a greater unmet need for family planning services." That is an amendment in the best interest of everyone involved.

The Senate should approve it.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: b&w, File photo The world's children deserve better.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 13, 1996

SAVAGING FAMILY PLANNING

St. Louis Post Dispatch

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08566105 SAVAGING FAMILY PLANNING St. Louis Post Dispatch (SL) - Wednesday, March 6, 1996 Edition: FIVE STAR LIFT Section: EDITORIAL Page: 06B Word Count: 367

TEXT: Buried in legislation signed last month to keep the government going is a barely noticed cut in funds for family planning. The Clinton administration was forced to accept a gargantuan reduction in funds to help poor people all over the world plan their families because the Republican right is against abortion. This wrongheaded policy must be reversed.

The House, led by GOP Rep. Christopher H. Smith of New Jersey, wanted a total ban on aid to any organization that delivers family planning services if it has anything to do with abortion counseling. This was a naked attempt to restore the Reagan-Bush policy of eviscerating American support for slowing the growth of population by helping to give women effective choice over reproduction. The Clinton administration reversed that policy, returning to the previous arrangement where no U.S. funds go for abortion services, but are allowed to go to groups to fund other family planning activities. That's not enough for anti-abortion absolutists.

Fortunately, even the Republican-led Senate said no to Mr. Smith and his allies. But it was forced to agree to a major cut in family planning funds. Hence, the Agency for International Development will have only \$360 million to spend this year as against \$550 million last, and won't be able to spend any of it until July. Estimates vary, but the consensus is that some 18 million couples will do without family planning assistance, producing millions of unwanted births, not to mention more abortions than might otherwise have occurred.

Not only is the absolutist right fixated on abortion, it doesn't even believe there is a population crisis in the first place. Mr. Smith asked the following questions at a recent congressional hearing, "Is there really a population crisis? Is there any hard evidence we are in imminent danger of not having enough resources for the world's population? Or is fewer people just an aesthetic preference of the West?"

Where has he been? How has he missed the evidence of exploding population? Does he not know that even if the world can feed double today's numbers or more, that the natural environment, not to mention the economic livelihood of billions, depends on limiting population growth?

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INFORMED CHOICE BASIS OF SOUND FAMILY, STATE

(Baltimore) Sun

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08567131 INFORMED CHOICE BASIS OF SOUND FAMILY, STATE BALTIMORE MORNING
SUN (BS) - Thursday March 7, 1996 Edition: Final Section: Editorial (Morning) Page: 14A Word
Count: 1,033

MEMO:

COLUMN: Letters

TYPE OF MATERIAL: COLUMN, LETTER

TEXT: Your editorial of Feb. 11, "A blow to family planning," is right on the mark.

Cutting funds for international family planning programs is not the way to decrease abortions, nor is it the way to protect the health of mothers and children.

Family planning programs provide many benefits. In addition to the obvious health benefits of spacing and limiting family size and the obvious environmental benefits of reducing rapid population growth, family planning programs serve another important function.

Informed choice, the basis of couples' and individuals' decisions about family planning, is also the basis for a well-functioning free-market system and a democratically governed state.

People learn to make responsible choices at home in matters that affect them most directly.

Unless people can make these choices about their own families, and the number and spacing of their own children, surely it is unrealistic to expect that nations will be successful in managing free markets or running free elections.

Informed individual choice is a sound basis for reproductive health in the family and for sound economics and politics in the state.

The language in the recent continuing resolution that would cut family planning funds is both punitive and self-defeating.

Population growth, like the deficit, accumulates problems that are compounded over time.

The statesman-like act is to support voluntary family planning programs strongly, both in the United States and overseas.

Phyllis Tilson Piotrow

Baltimore

The writer is director of the Center for Communication Programs, Johns Hopkins University School of Hygiene and Public Health.

AN RNKE9606600021
SE EDITORIAL
HD EXPECT MORE LIVES TO BE LOST
WC 285 Words
CC 2135 Characters
PD 03/04/96
SN Roanoke Times & World News
ED METRO
PG A-6
CY (Copyright 1996)

LP THE RELIGIOUS right's crusade against abortion rights in the U.S. House of Representatives can claim a victory. But there will be some collateral damage:

TD An additional 200,000 illegal, unsafe abortions.
5,000 women dead from the effects of unsafe pregnancies or abortions.

500,000 births that would not have been, had women in developing countries had access to birth control.

The child health policy adviser at the U.S. Agency for
* International Development projects these devastating consequences

from the budget compromise that averted yet another government shutdown - but that forced the more moderate Senate and President Clinton to accept an amendment, offered by Rep. Christopher Smith,
* R-N.J., cutting nearly \$200 million from international
* family-planning programs.

The cut will be even worse than it sounds because most of the money appropriated will not be able to be spent because of restrictions contained in the amendment.

Rep. Bob Goodlatte, R-Roanoke, unfortunately supported the funding cut, voting against amendments that would have deleted the Smith amendment, or replaced its provisions with current restrictions that prohibit U.S. funds from paying for abortions.

That's right. The United States has banned use of its foreign-aid funds to pay for abortions since 1973. The objective of the anti-abortion purists is to cut off funds to any organization that, with money from other sources, even provides information about abortions or lobbies its own government to change abortion laws.

* That action drastically impedes family-planning agencies that receive funds from AID, the largest supporter worldwide. And in

* denying women family-planning programs, "pro-life" advocates are ensuring unwanted pregnancies, with all the negative consequences listed above.

As Congress and the president once again start wrestling over a

AN CTG9607300158
HD * FAMILY PLANNING FUNDING SHOULD BE RESTORED

WC 367 Words

CC 2644 Characters

PD 03/13/96

SN the Charleston Gazette

PG P4A

CY (Copyright 1996)

LP REPUBLICANS in Congress can be the most nonsensical bunch. They might be comical if they weren't doing so much damage.

- * For instance, regarding international family planning aid to other nations, House Republicans forced through a cut practically abolishing funding on the pretense that they did not want to support abortion.

TD

- * One big problem: U.S. law already prohibits the use of family planning funding for abortions. All of the money goes for things like contraceptives, mother and baby health, nutrition and other worthwhile efforts to keep families in Third World countries small and healthy.
- * Of course, some of the family planning agencies that receive U.S.

— funding provide legal abortions, but they must do so with money from other sources.

Apparently, House Republicans are so blinded by their opposition to abortion that they'll limit a program that drastically improves the lives of women and children around the globe.

- * On paper, the measure cuts 35 percent from the international family planning budget. But because of complex spending restrictions on appropriations for the program, the actual cut for fiscal 1996 will be 87 percent.

These severe reductions will undoubtedly lead to an increase in

- * abortion as poor women lose access to contraceptives and other family planning information.

- * According to Population Action International, the aid cuts could be responsible for an additional 1.6 million abortions.

- * There is a chance, though, for calmer minds to prevail. The cutback in U.S. aid for international family planning was part of the last continuing resolution on the budget. That resolution expires Friday, and a new one must be worked out, or the federal government will shut down once more.

Rep. Alan Mollohan, D-W.Va., is a member of the conference committee

working on the continuing resolution. Although Mollohan almost always votes against pro-choice measures, we hope he will see that providing

- * full funding for international family planning is a pro-life vote in the truest meaning of the phrase.

final budget compromise, they should kill the Smith amendment, and save lives.

I0607 * End of document.

If House Republicans and conservative Democrats like Mollohan truly care about the well-being of children and mothers in all countries, they
* will reinstate the funding for international family planning.

If they don't, then everyone will know that their true agenda is different, and darker, than what they profess.

I0607 * End of document.

Abortion issue may bog down the '97 agenda

By Marcia Gelbart

Abortion, which has delayed several 1996 spending bills and has emerged as one of the most sensitive presidential campaign issues, could be an even bigger issue in 1997, bogging down an already-tight appropriations schedule.

With Congress tentatively set to adjourn on Oct. 4 and with the 1996 appropriations process still ongoing, the timetable for consideration of next year's bills is quickly elapsing. No single issue is more responsible for the delays than abortion.

Overall, provisions limiting abortions were included in six of the 13 spending bills — and much the same could be expected for next year.

"The point at this stage is to try to get as many pro-life riders through as possible," said Mike Franc, press spokesman to Majority Leader Dick Armey (R-Texas). "The Republican Congress is overwhelmingly pro-life."

However, he explained, "We want to keep the fiscal year 1997 bills as clear as possible. We don't want to have the kind of delays we had this year."

Three abortion-related provisions included in the House version of the Labor, Health and Human Services spending bill have stalled the measure, possibly for good, in the Senate.

Disputes over a ban on all federal funding for overseas family-planning programs that provide abortion counseling held up the Foreign Operations bill for over three months. The Defense spending bill was delayed for 10 weeks as lawmakers clashed over a ban on funding abortions for women in the military who are stationed overseas.

"We won't undo what we've already done," said Elizabeth Morra, communications director of the House Appropriations Committee. But she did note, "There's an overall effort to keep legislative provisions to a minimum for 1997 because of the accelerated schedule we're on."

Although that means there will be fewer policy riders, most of the anti-abortion provisions will be retained because they are year-to-year limitations.

That news has alarmed pro-choice Republicans. "I'm very fearful that this will negatively impact our opportunities in the 1996 election cycle and could lose us the majority," said Susan Cullman, chairman of the National Republican Coalition for Choice.

"I do not believe Republicans were sent to Washington to work on anti-choice legislation," she added.

But pro-life Republicans dispute the notion that the abortion issue may have a negative impact on the elections. "The pro-life vote had a great deal to do with creating the Republican majority, and they certainly don't want to go back and have to explain why after two years nothing has changed," said Douglas Johnson, legislative director for the National Right to Life.

In the Senate last year, 16 different pieces of legislation, including the spending bills, were drafted with anti-choice language, according to the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League. Similarly, in the House, 21 measures taken up would in some way restrict abortions.

Jim Dyer, staff director of the House Appropriations Committee, explained how the appropriations process looks for next year: "What we start from here is with a number of bills the president has signed. There is a belief on our part that language identical to what we carried in 1996 is acceptable to this White House."

Rep. Bob Livingston (R-La.), House Appropriations Committee chairman, has met several times in recent weeks with the Republican leadership to express his opposition to attaching policy riders to the spending bills. The leadership, according to Dyer, "seemed to indicate informally that the system became overloaded, and hopefully that will lead to more discipline next year and more of a desire to resolve these in the authorizing committees."



*free incl
Family Planning*

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April 1, 1996

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Hillary,

It was wonderful to see you March 19 at the Council on Foreign Relations event. As you suggested, I talked to Melanne. She suggested I send you a letter conveying our thoughts. So here goes...

Your presentation to the Council was superb in content and delivery. Your capacity to fit the message to the audience is quite remarkable. The transcript reminds me just how forceful a spokesperson you are for the kind of U.S. foreign policy that we and our colleagues in the U.S. and around the world would like to see. While your references to women's economic lives were right on target, I felt that your statements on population and family planning policies and programs did not fully reflect the recent significant shift in thinking on these issues.

As you know, at the Cairo Conference on Population and Development, the U.S. led the world's governments to a fundamentally transformed vision of the scope of population and family planning policies and programs and their importance for women, for families and for countries. The "Cairo paradigm" is centered on women's health, empowerment, and rights, especially reproductive health and rights. While recognizing demographic and environmental concerns, the Cairo agreement, reinforced and extended in Beijing, makes individual well-being and rights the central concern, emphasizes the quality of information and services, and disallows coercion, discrimination and violence in matters of reproduction and sexuality.

Further, these agreements recognize that family planning services are not sufficient, especially when they are poor quality as so many are. Governments concluded in Cairo that contraceptives are best delivered, and most likely to be utilized effectively, in a context that supports women's and children's health, and men's responsibility for their own sexuality and fertility, as well as the well-being of their partners and children.

Letter to Mrs. Rodham Clinton

April 1, 1996

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Melanne explained that you had to shorten your Council speech while you were giving it, and that references to Cairo were in the original text. I certainly understand the need for shortening, but describing family planning only as a means to stabilize population growth in over-populated developing countries, to reverse environmental degradation, and to reduce abortions in the developing world is not where the understanding and consensus currently are in the international community. Rather, individual rights and well-being are the dominant themes for population policies, themes that are proving programmatically more effective and that are garnering broader political will. The current U.S. Congress hasn't internalized this consensus yet, but they will as their constituents bring pressure to bear.

In informal meetings as well as focus groups across the country, IWHC has found that this new understanding of "population" resonates extremely well among U.S. women of different backgrounds. The Cairo paradigm shift significantly broadens the constituency to include not just those concerned about "population" and the environment, but also health professionals, human right activists, women's organizations and movements, and the broader social justice and development communities that have never supported "population control."

At several Council on Foreign Relations sessions, and in other fora, we have worked to foster this new understanding. Your voice on these issues is critically important. As Melanne suggested, here is some language that may be useful to you when discussing the issues:

- We support family planning programs to ensure that all individuals and couples, especially women, enjoy their basic right to decide freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children.
- The Clinton Administration and most of the world's governments have agreed that family planning services, while necessary, are not sufficient. What is needed are good quality reproductive health services that are accessible and affordable. These include services to ensure that pregnancy and delivery are safe and that infants are healthy; family planning information and services; information and services to prevent sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS; and programs to eliminate violence against women.
- These investments in reproductive health save women's lives, protect their health, and are essential for women's full enjoyment of their human rights. They also help to achieve population stabilization and environmentally sustainable development.

Letter to Mrs. Rodham Clinton

April 1, 1996

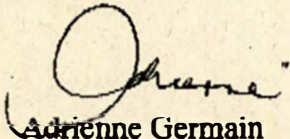
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Of course, many variations on this theme, including facts and anecdotes, could be developed for particular audiences. As an example, I enclose a copy of Joan Dunlop's recent speech to the League of Women Voters.

IWHC is continuing to work on development of messages to extend and effectively engage the broad constituency of women who will enthusiastically support this agenda. We're thrilled that you are speaking about the realities of women's lives around the world, as you have experienced them... and that you are such a forceful and committed advocate for women's rights. We believe the Cairo Consensus is one of the most important accomplishments of the Clinton Administration, and we are doing all we can to make sure it is implemented. We would be delighted to talk with you further.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Adrienne", with a large, stylized initial "A" that loops around the first part of the name.

Adrienne Germain
Vice President and Program Director

Enclosure

REMARKS BY JOAN DUNLOP

"The Beijing Conference: Can Political Energy Make a Difference?"

March 20, 1996

27th Annual Symposium on International Relations

Presented by the League of Women Voters of Connecticut Education Fund

Yale University Law School

Good morning. I am very pleased to be here, and want to thank the League of Women Voters of Connecticut and in particular, Carolyn Green, who worked so hard to put this program together. I am so pleased to see so many young people here today. Your interest and energy and commitment are truly wonderful to see.

I will speak this morning about the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing last September, and about what the conference agreements mean for women -- and men -- throughout the world, and here in the U.S. Then I will offer some ideas about how to keep the passion, the solidarity, the commitment and the strength of the women's movement as I experienced it in Beijing alive here, in our workplaces, families, communities, on campuses and in the corridors of policy-making power in statehouses and in the U.S. Congress and White House.

Let me start by telling you something about the International Women's Health Coalition. We are a nonprofit organization of 20 people, based in New York City, with an international Board and a mandate to work with individuals and groups in Asia, Africa, and Latin America to promote women's reproductive and sexual health and rights. We make grants to reproductive health service providers and advocacy groups in Cameroun, Nigeria, Brazil, Chile, Peru and Bangladesh.

We publish books and reports. We convene meetings on new or neglected issues like reproductive tract infections. And we work to influence the work of population and health professionals, national governments, and international agencies.

Why do we do this work?

100 million women who should be alive are not, according to Harvard economist Amartya Sen. These women are missing. Where have they gone? They died as little girls because they didn't get enough food. They weren't immunized. They were victims of violence. They were left to die. Or, they were aborted when their parents discovered they weren't going to be boys.

Each year, between six and seven hundred thousand women die from pregnancy-related causes -- nearly all in the developing world. These deaths could be prevented if women had access to safe, high quality sexual and reproductive health care.

At least six million young people worldwide have been infected with HIV, the virus that causes AIDS. Nearly half of all HIV infections in the world have occurred to people younger than 25.

By age 18, girls worldwide have received an average of 4.5 FEWER years of education than boys. In Uganda, only 5 percent of girls reach high school.

Women's lives closer to home aren't always better. In the U.S., between 40 and 50 percent of women in homeless shelters are there because of domestic violence in their homes. And nearly 20 percent of women who give birth in the U.S. each year do not receive adequate pre-natal care. Many of these women are teenagers, women of color, or women with low or no incomes.

The International Women's Health Coalition does the work it does because we know the realities of women's lives. We know the power women have to change their lives, their communities, their countries and the world.

What is our work? We provide small grants -- often seed money. But more importantly, our program officers provide moral support, managerial and financial expertise, and a sounding board. This is intensive work. And in countries like Nigeria, we're one of the few organizations doing it. At the global level, we work with international agencies, like the World Health Organization and the World Bank, to make sure that they are accountable to the world's women. Our staff attend meetings, write position papers, and advise senior-level policy-makers.

The best example of this global work was at the International Conference on Population and Development -- better known as the Cairo Conference -- held in September, 1994, and in Beijing at the Women's Conference. There, we were part of a 25 person lobby of long-time colleagues of ours -- women from Bangladesh, Peru, Mexico, Poland, India, Kenya, Argentina and Russia. We worked as a coordinated lobby, the pace of which sometimes exhausted even the most tireless advocates for women's rights, including me.

In Cairo, and in Beijing, we met every morning at 6:30 to share information and plan strategy. And we often didn't get to bed until the early hours of the next morning. We were on delegations, working the "floor" of negotiating rooms, and in the corridors talking to the press, both U.S. and international. The press was critical. They listened to us, they understood our message, and they quoted us in their stories. The media helped generate tremendous interest in these conferences, throughout the world. And tremendous energy. We're still feeling that six months after Beijing.

Now, let me give you two examples from Beijing of the power of the international lobby we coordinated, the power of these women from Nigeria, Chile, Cameroun, Pakistan, Mexico, South Africa and other countries. I'll start with Amparo Claro, a long-time colleague from Chile....

...This lobby also made a difference in making sure that the Platform of Action agreed in Beijing includes a chapter on the girl child. This chapter defines the rights of girl children to have equality with boys -- in education, training, economic opportunity and human rights. The African women, including our colleagues from Nigeria and South Africa, were determined to fight and win this chapter for their daughters. They were also determined that the right of girls to equal

access to inheritance would be proclaimed in Beijing. And they got that too, at the 11th hour, but they got it. The true heroines of Beijing were the African women. They were extraordinary in their focus, determination and tirelessness. I stood in awe.

What did women achieve in Cairo and in Beijing? What do these conferences mean to the lives of women in Kenya or India? What do they mean for us, for women in this country, in this room?

In Cairo, the world agreed that individuals are central to the question of population, and any solution requires commitment to human rights and to women. The numbers game is over. This is a question of rights and of women's equality. This is a sea-change, a benchmark. We like to say that the world will never be the same after Cairo and it's true.

In Beijing, governments went beyond what they agreed in Cairo. In Beijing, governments of the world agreed that human rights standards and international laws cannot be applied differently to women than to men, even if culture and tradition may seem to sanction restrictions on women's rights. Many of you probably remember Hillary Rodham Clinton saying with conviction, "Women's rights are human rights and human rights are women's rights."

The final agreements made in Beijing also say clearly that adolescents have the right to reproductive and sexual health education, information and services, taking into account the evolving capacity of the child or adolescent. This language is true to the basic premise that the needs of the child come first, as expressed by the international community in the 1990 Convention on the Rights of the Child

And perhaps the most critical achievement of Beijing is that women's sexual rights were placed firmly within human rights. This is much more than the right to say no to sex -- that infamous *New York Times* headline. Sexual rights mean that women have the right not to be raped, or have their genitals mutilated, or to be sold as a wife or prostitute. It's a crucial building block of individual freedom.

These agreements were reached in Beijing through a new dialogue, unprecedented in international policy-making. And this centered, not surprisingly, on women. More countries were represented by women than at any previous conference. And these women were not tokens -- there because of whom they married. In Beijing, women served as delegates because they were professionals, experts, elected officials, activists and leaders of women's organizations. Many of these women had participated, as government delegates or NGO observers in previous global conferences, and therefore were skilled in the process and substance of U.N. negotiations. Without question, their expertise and experience were critical to the outcomes of the conference.

The overall messages from the Beijing conference to the world are: first, equality is not for debate; it is desired, essential, and will come about. Second, coercion, discrimination and violence must be eradicated from the lives of women, wherever they occur -- in economics, politics, health care and within communities and families. Third, the vision of population and

development adopted in Cairo in 1994 is truly global policy. And fourth, women's rights are human rights. Governments and non-governmental organizations must now deliver, and the women of the world, working in partnership with men, will hold them accountable.

Now, we want to build on the energy, the strength and the determination of women in Beijing that I've described. Some of you I know were in Beijing, so you know what I mean. The vitality, the diversity, and the commonality of our experiences was extraordinary. I believe that we need to build on that energy, that commitment, that power.

I believe that women who care about the world need to take hold of foreign policy in this country. I believe that women need to design foreign policy so it makes sense in the 21st century. We need to make sure that U.S. foreign policy holds to the ideas and ideals of Cairo and Beijing. In short, we as women need to presume. And we need to raise our collective voice.

I don't believe we want isolationism. I don't believe that is where the majority of the women in this country are. I don't believe we want to pull up the drawbridge and live in a fortress U.S.A. I believe that what we need is a women's lens on foreign policy and foreign assistance.

What do I mean by a women's lens? I mean a way of looking at the world, a way of transforming how a problem is viewed. A way of coming up with a better, smarter and more humane solution. The international women's health movement has done this with the question of "population." Now it's time to get the women's lens focused on foreign policy, here in this country.

Why? Because there's no hiding place from diseases like AIDS and other infections and viruses. There's no hiding place from a deteriorating environment. It affects the air we breathe and the water we drink. And there's no hiding place from the issues of migration and refugees. It's an illusion that the U.S. can retreat from these issues. It's not possible. We live in a global world, getting smaller and closer to each other all the time. I realize this everyday when my staff tries to get me on-line on the Internet.

I believe that in this global world, our voices need to be heard. Because when we vote, we must vote not only for ourselves, but also for the women whose lives are affected by the policies our elected officials adopt.

We have an opportunity now to mobilize together. To bring pressure on the media. On our communities. In our classrooms and in boardrooms. And eventually on the Congress of the United States to change the conventional wisdom on foreign policy.

The International Women's Health Coalition is in the process of forming a National President's Council to join us in making our presence felt in the five cities: New York, Washington, Chicago, Atlanta and Los Angeles. The New York City and Washington President's Councils are already off the ground.

What is the President's Council all about? It's about women having an influence on foreign policy and foreign aid. It's about women being in the room, and heard. When I go to Capitol Hill, staffers tell me, "nobody lobbies on women's issues. There are no women's voices here." And I want to change that. I want to challenge the conventional wisdom. I want to create a new vision, a women's vision, for the 21st century.

What the Beijing conference showed is that change can come about through intense collaboration, discipline and a shared purpose. That change may not be immediately visible; it will be at least a 10 year process. Still, I am convinced that the Beijing agreements will have an impact. Such a diverse assembly *will* effect change, large and small, in public and private arenas.

Positive energy pervaded the negotiations in Beijing -- an intensely political conference about women's lives. This energy will be kept alive by non-governmental organizations and by women like you and me, as we work for the realization of the commitments made, remade, and extended in Beijing.

You've heard me say a lot of things this morning. Now I'd like to hear from you. What do you think about women's voices on foreign policy? What do you think about the role of American women, and young American women -- so many of whom I see here today -- in an increasingly global world? What do you think is the best way to keep alive the energy generated in Beijing, and to hold our governments accountable to what they said in Beijing. How can we assure that the Beijing Conference makes a difference in our lives, in our daughters' lives, and in the lives of women in Bangladesh, Peru, India, China, Zimbabwe, and South Africa -- and in Hartford and New Haven and Boston and Kalamazoo?

I believe that if we work together, if we keep our eye on the prize, if we are tough-minded and passionate, and if we presume that we CAN change the world -- the world in which we live our daily lives and the global world in which we all live -- that we will. In fact, I know it.

Thank you.