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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE FIRST LADY

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TO

Betsy Myers

FROM

Evan Ryan

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OF PAGES (including cover)

3

COMMENTS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 24, 1997

MEMORANDUM TO: MELANNE VERVEER
NICOLE RABNER
MARTHA FOLEY
BETSY MYERS
LISA ROSS
JULIA MOFFETT
LYNN HOGAN
JILL BUCKLEY
ANN KITTLAUS
TONY GAMBINO

FROM: ANN LEWIS

Attached you will find the action plan we discussed at yesterday's meeting for the release of the Presidential Finding to the Congress on International Family Planning Funding. Evan Ryan will be following up with everyone. If there are any adjustments to be made to the action plan, Evan may be reached at 456-6751. Thank you.

Presidential Finding to the Congress on International Family Planning Funding
Communications Strategy Options

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 1. Mailing of transcripts of VPOTUS and FLOTUS 1/22 speeches
with cover letter from HRC - contact:Melanne Verveer | Betsy Myers
Lisa Ross |
| 2. Talking Points for use by working groups | Martha Foley
Jill Buckley |
| 3. Monitor Rockefeller Foundation Report | Nicole Rabner |
| 4. Work with bipartisan Members of Congress, including receiving
report from POTUS | Martha Foley
Jill Buckley |
| 5. Transmit report with letter and/or press release
Preferred timing: 1/31 afternoon | Martha Foley
Jill Buckley |
| 6. Options for HRC involvement:- pre or post-report conference call
(w/ Beijing network)
- speaking role
- meeting | Melanne Verveer |
| 7. Closed press, pre-report meeting with legislative representatives
Preferred timing: 1/31 morning | Lynn Hogan
Betsy Myers |
| 8. Editorial boards: Mailing - 1/22 speeches
HRC Bolivia column
Possible POTUS statement re:report | Ann Kittlaus |
| 9. Other options: Conference call or meeting with Brian Atwood
Possible contact with Secretary Albright | Ann Kittlaus |

**DRAFT Presidential Determination on
negative impact of obligation limits for
FY97 population planning appropriation**

Presidential Determination
No. _____

**SUBJECT: Presidential Finding on the Negative Impact of the
Obligation Limitation on the Population Planning
Program Administered with Funds Appropriated by
title II of the Foreign Operations, Export
Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations
Act, 1997**

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 518A(d) of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1997, (the "Act"), I hereby find that the limitation on obligations imposed by subsection (a) of section 518A is having a negative impact on the proper functioning of the population planning program administered with funds appropriated by title II of the Act. Subject to a Congressional joint resolution of approval, to be adopted no later than February 28, 1997 as specified in section 518A(d) of the Act, funds for these activities may be made available beginning March 1, 1997, notwithstanding the July 1, 1997 limitation set forth in section 518A(a).

**DRAFT JUSTIFICATION MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
NOT FOR CIRCULATION**

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: A/AID, J. Brian Atwood

**SUBJECT: Justification for a Presidential Determination on the
Negative Impact of FY97 Obligation Limitations on the
USAID Population Assistance Program**

Section 518A(a) of the FY97 foreign assistance appropriations act provides that USAID cannot obligate FY97 funds for population assistance until July 1, 1997. This provision also requires submission of a Presidential finding by February 1 concerning the impact of the funding delay. The provision further states that if the Presidential finding indicates that the limitation is having a negative impact on the proper functioning of the USAID population program, funds may be made available beginning March 1, 1997, if Congress approves such finding by adoption of a joint resolution no later than February 28, 1997.

This memorandum and the accompanying annex show that the funding delay would have severe negative impacts on the proper functioning of U.S.-supported international population programs and, most of all, on the health and well-being of women, men, and children who are beneficiaries of U.S. assistance. Increases in unintended pregnancies and abortions would be inevitable.

U.S. Population Assistance

Under your Administration, longstanding U.S. leadership on global population issues in the broader context of U.S. foreign policy has been reinvigorated through a comprehensive approach based on the following principles and objectives: 1) promoting the rights of couples and individuals to determine freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children; 2) improving individual reproductive health, with special attention to the needs of women and young adults; and 3) reducing population growth rates to levels consistent with sustainable development. U.S. support for international programs emphasizes voluntary family planning as part of an integrated approach to population and development that includes complementary activities to promote health, the status of women, and strong families. As a matter of law and policy, U.S. funds may not be used either to fund abortions as a method of family planning or to motivate any person to have an abortion.

The Negative Impact of Delaying FY97 Funding From March Until July 1997

USAID has been the principal agency responsible for implementing U.S. global population programs for the last 30 years and currently provides assistance in more than 60 countries through 95 bilateral and worldwide programs. USAID's population program has already been seriously harmed by the 35 percent budget cut in FY96 and by restrictions that delayed access to new funds for nine months. The restrictions further required that population funds be made available only in small monthly installments ("metering"), beginning in July 1996. Implementation of the FY96 restrictions has caused programmatic disruption, inefficiencies, and higher costs for USAID and its development partners.

FY97 legislation continues these restrictions. A four-month delay in FY97 funding from March to July would translate into a reduction of \$123 million in funds available during FY97 out of the total of \$385 million appropriated by Congress. If funds are delayed, at least 17 bilateral and worldwide programs would need to suspend, defer, or terminate family planning service delivery and other critical supporting activities. The consequences of the four-month delay for women and men who need family planning services now would be significant, and could never be completely overcome. The consequences will be manifested in increased unintended pregnancies, more abortions, higher numbers of maternal and infant deaths, and in hundreds of thousands of additional births.

USAID has determined that urgent funding needs caused by the delay could be partially met by shifting some funds within the population program. Negative impacts would still be significant, however. In addition, shifting funds is a measure which itself would carry undesirable programmatic and political consequences, as well as significantly increased administrative costs. The management burden of coping with a possible delay in funding would be added to the administrative costs already resulting from the metering of funds, which has exceeded \$1 million to U.S. taxpayers by the end of FY96.

Recommendation

Based on the information presented in this memorandum and accompanying annex, we recommend that you sign the attached determination and authorize its transmittal along with the accompanying report to Congress.

DRAFT DRAFT DRAFT DRAFT DRAFT DRAFT DRAFT

NOT FOR CIRCULATION

1/10/97

**The Impact of Delaying USAID Population Funding
from March to July 1997**

**Justification for a Presidential Determination
on Section 518A(a) of the FY97 Foreign Operations, Export
Financing and Related Programs Appropriations Act**

January, 1997

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I. Summary

Background. Section 518A(a) of the FY97 foreign assistance appropriations act provides that USAID cannot obligate FY97 funds for population assistance until July 1, 1997. This provision also requires submission of a Presidential finding by February 1 concerning the impact of the funding delay. The provision further states that if the Presidential finding indicates that the limitation is having a negative impact on the proper functioning of the USAID population program, funds may be made available beginning March 1, 1997, if Congress approves such finding by adoption of a joint resolution no later than February 28, 1997. Reflecting the agreement reached by Congressional leadership and Administration negotiators on the FY 1997 omnibus appropriations act, section 518A(e) provides for expedited consideration of the joint resolution, the text of which is included in the section and is not amendable.

This justification shows that the funding delay would have severe negative impacts on the proper functioning of U.S.-supported international population programs and, most of all, on the health and well-being of women, men, and children who are beneficiaries of U.S. assistance. Programs with urgent funding needs during this period would have to suspend, defer, or terminate family planning activities. As a consequence, increases in unintended pregnancies and abortions would be inevitable.

The Role of Population Assistance in U.S. Foreign Policy. Progress toward global population stabilization has been recognized as vital to U.S. foreign policy interests for the past three decades. Rapid population growth undermines economic and social development in poor countries, damages the health of women and children, contributes to environmental degradation, and impedes improvements in the status of women. Countries around the world share these concerns, as reflected in consensus reports from a series of recent international conferences.

U.S. global population policy is based on the following principles and objectives: 1) promoting the rights of couples and individuals to determine freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children; 2) improving individual reproductive health, with special attention to the needs of women and young adults; and 3) reducing population growth rates to levels consistent with sustainable development. To help achieve these goals domestically and internationally, U.S. programs emphasize voluntary family planning and complementary activities aimed at reducing child and maternal deaths; preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases;

improving the social, economic, and political status of women; strengthening the family unit; and improving educational opportunities for girls and boys.

Recent international data show that global population is growing at lower rates due to successful family planning and related health and development programs which the U.S. has led over the last thirty years. Unless these lower growth rates continue to be reduced further, however, world population will double to over 11 billion by 2050. U.S. leadership in addressing this critical global issue must not waver.

The USAID Population Assistance Program. USAID has been the principal agency responsible for implementing U.S. global population programs. With bipartisan political support over the course of three decades, USAID has built up a comprehensive population assistance program, financing voluntary family planning and closely related health efforts in more than 60 countries with a combined population of over 2.7 billion people. USAID provides assistance through 95 bilateral and worldwide programs, which contribute to all of the essential interdependent elements of an effective family planning effort, including service delivery, contraceptive supplies, training for medical and other personnel, information materials, strengthening management skills, policy support, and research.

As a matter of law and policy, USAID funds may not be used either to fund abortions as a method of family planning or to motivate any person to have an abortion. Both the Congress and the Executive Branch want to decrease the incidence of abortions, and voluntary family planning is the single most effective strategy to achieve this goal.

The Negative Impact of Delaying FY97 Funding From March Until July 1997. The U.S. government's international population program has already been severely affected by FY96 legislative restrictions that delayed access to newly appropriated funds for nine months. The restrictions further required that population funds be made available only in small monthly installments ("metering"), beginning in July 1996. FY97 legislation continues these restrictions. As documented in the accompanying annex and indicated below, a delay in availability of FY97 funds would further compound the negative consequences of FY96 restrictions.

A four-month delay in FY97 funding from March to July would translate into a reduction of \$123 million in funds available during FY97 out of the total of \$385 million appropriated by Congress. At least 17 bilateral and worldwide programs will have urgent funding needs in the March-June period, amounting to at least \$35 million more than will be available from remaining FY96 funds. If FY97 funds are delayed, these programs would need to suspend, defer, or terminate family planning service delivery and other critical supporting activities.

The consequences of the four-month delay for women and men who need family planning services now are significant, and can never be completely overcome. The consequences will be manifested in increased unintended pregnancies, more abortions, higher numbers of maternal and infant deaths, and, of course, in more births.

USAID has determined that urgent funding needs caused by the delay could be partially met by shifting some funds within the population program. Negative impacts would still be significant, however. In addition, shifting funds would carry undesirable programmatic and political consequences, as well as significantly increased administrative costs. The management burden of coping with a possible delay in funding would be added to the administrative costs already resulting from the metering of funds, which have exceeded \$1 million to U.S. taxpayers by the end of 1996.

II. U.S. Population Policy and Programs

1. **Policy overview.** Rapid population growth undermines economic and social development in poor countries, outpaces investment in human capacity and infrastructure, damages the health of women and children, contributes to environmental degradation, and impedes improvements in the status of women. For three decades, the United States has encouraged international cooperation to address this issue around the world. With bipartisan support, these efforts have been aimed at contributing to a number of interrelated foreign policy objectives: protecting the Earth's environment, encouraging worldwide realization of basic human rights and standards of health; encouraging global economic progress and opportunities for exporting American goods and services; promoting international stability; and reducing pressures that lead to refugee flows and migration.

Under the Clinton Administration, the United States has worked to strengthen international consensus on behalf of an integrated and comprehensive policy approach to population stabilization. This approach stresses the interrelated nature of free and informed choice about contraception; provision of services to improve women's reproductive health; reduction of maternal and child deaths; prevention of the spread of AIDS; improvement of the social, economic and political status of women; strengthening of the family unit; and improvement of educational opportunities for girls and boys.

This integrated approach was the principal outcome of the broad consensus reached by 180 countries at the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development, in which the U.S. government was an active participant. At this conference, the global community also agreed for the first time on the urgent need to mobilize substantially increased donor and developing country resources on behalf of population stabilization, within the context of national laws.

The overriding objective of these efforts has been to help families determine freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children through support for voluntary family planning programs and related health services. These programs play a critical role in improving maternal and child health and reducing fertility, thus helping countries buy time to address other development challenges and improve their citizens' standards of living.

Recent international data show that global population is growing at lower rates due to successful family planning and related health programs which the U.S. has led over the last thirty years. Unless these lower growth rates continue to be reduced further, however, world population growth will double to over 11 billion by 2050. U.S. leadership in addressing this critical global issue continues to be essential.

2. **Program overview.** The U.S. has been the leading donor for family planning in developing countries for over thirty years. USAID population programs currently benefit families in over 60 countries with a combined population of over 2.7 billion people. (See Appendix 1 for a current list of USAID-assisted countries.) The developing countries in the group account for over three-fourths of the developing world population outside of China.¹

USAID's program is built on principles of voluntarism and informed choice and supports access to a full range of safe, reliable, modern family planning methods which have all been approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration for use in the United States. Since 1983, USAID has also been the principal donor in support of natural family planning. As a matter of law and policy, USAID funds may not be used either to fund abortions as a method of family planning or to motivate any person to have an abortion.

USAID population assistance is provided through two main channels: 36 bilateral programs, each designed around the needs of a particular country, and approximately 59 worldwide (or regional) programs, which provide a wide range of technical assistance, commodities, and other support across countries.

3. **Program impact.** The program has enabled millions of couples to choose the number and spacing of their children and has helped to slow population growth worldwide, as confirmed by recent international data. Principal beneficiaries of the program have been poor women and men with virtually no prior access to family planning services. By expanding the availability and accessibility of modern contraceptive methods, the program has reduced abortions and high-risk pregnancies, helping to save the lives of hundreds of thousands of women. Specifically, since the start of the program:

- The average number of children per woman in the developing world has fallen from six to four, in large part due to the efforts of organized family planning programs. As the largest bilateral donor, USAID has played a significant role in this achievement.
- Modern contraceptive use in developing countries has risen from under 10% to 35% today.

Experts estimate that without the organized family planning programs of the last three decades, there would be 500 million

¹In this report, China is excluded from analysis because it does not receive U.S. assistance and because its size would distort the apparent effect of global efforts. All references to the "developing world" exclude China.

more people in the world today--almost twice the population of the United States. (Figure 1) In spite of this progress, over 100 million couples still have unmet needs for family planning services, and the momentum of population growth requires continued global cooperation in support of family planning efforts. (See Appendix 2)

4. The consequences of reducing access to family planning services. Access to family planning is universally recognized as a key strategy to improving the health and survival of women and children. In addition, evidence from countries in all regions of the world shows that **increased contraceptive use, by reducing unintended pregnancies, plays a major role in reducing abortions.**

- This relationship has been well documented in the United States and other industrialized countries, South Korea, Chile, and Hungary. Analysts are now finding a reduction in the rate of abortion as a result of increased contraceptive use in countries such as Russia, the Central Asian Republics, Mexico, and Colombia. In Russia, for example, use of contraceptives increased from 19 to 24 percent of women between 1990 and 1994, and resulted in a drop in the annual abortion rate from 109 per 1000 women to 76 in the same time period, a thirty percent decrease.

Based on the well-established causal links between family planning and the health and survival of women and children, any reduction in access (or quality) of family planning services is likely to result not only in an increase in unintended pregnancies, but also in increases in abortions and maternal and child deaths. Even a temporary loss of services for women exposed to the risk of unintended pregnancy implies lasting consequences. As the remainder of this report documents, disruptions in family planning services and other critical supporting activities would occur if FY97 funding for USAID-supported programs is delayed from March to July.

III. FY96 Population Funding

1. FY96 population funding. For 30 years, U.S.-funded population assistance has enjoyed bipartisan political support. Funding for USAID's population assistance program reached a peak of \$548 million in FY95. As part of its deficit reduction package, the 104th Congress reduced FY96 funding for population by 35 percent, to \$356 million. In addition, unrelated to deficit reduction, Congress took the unprecedented steps of delaying access to these funds until July 1996--nine months into the fiscal year--and further restricting the availability of funding to \$24 million/month (6.7 percent per month) over a 15-month period.

2. Program consolidation. During 1995 and 1996, in response to FY96 and FY97 budget reductions, USAID began to reshape the population program through consolidating and cutting activities. Setting priorities for making cuts was facilitated by the completion during 1995 of strategic plans for most Agency units, including clearly articulated objectives and results for USAID-funded population programs.

- The Agency began consolidating worldwide programs in a number of key areas such as: support for family planning through PVO partnerships; breastfeeding; increased involvement of the private commercial sector; operations research; and data collection and evaluation.
- Activities within programs closely related to service delivery were protected, while disproportionate cuts were made in social science research, publications, regional initiatives, and other activities with fewer immediate consequences for service delivery.
- Funding for multilateral activities was cut, and several smaller projects were designated for phase-out without renewal.
- Worldwide contracts and grants with U.S. institutions which provide essential technical support of field programs were protected.
- All programs were required to undertake and report on administrative economies. Staff cuts and hiring freezes were instituted by USAID implementing partners. Other measures taken include consolidating trips, moving offices to less expensive space, sharing field office support staff, and cutting back on mailing and other communications costs.
- A number of country development programs were already in the process of being closed or severely cut back for reasons associated with Agency downsizing and political circumstances in certain countries.

3. Delay and monthly metering of FY96 funds. In order to reduce disruption of critical programs as a result of the delayed access to FY96 funds, USAID made available prior year funds to meet urgent population program needs before July 1996. In addition, to address the monthly metering provision, USAID disbursed funds to each of its population programs on a quarterly rather than annual basis. This was designed to minimize disruption of program activities, but it was accomplished at a significant administrative cost.

As a result of the FY96 population funding restrictions, only a limited number of programs can be funded each month. Programs therefore have had to draw down on reserves, and many are left with very limited cash balances or "pipelines."

- Average pipelines for worldwide population programs have declined from 14 months of funding available at the end of FY95 to 8 months at the end of FY96. They are projected to be at only 5 months by the beginning of July 1997, a dangerously low level and certainly below the minimal levels required for effective planning and management.
- For bilateral programs the decline is from an average of 19 months of funding remaining at the end of FY95 to 13 months at the end of FY96. Pipelines will average 7 months at the beginning of July 1997, which is also less than what is required to maintain commitments to developing country institutions.

As a direct consequence of this reduction in the availability of appropriated funds, a number of USAID-funded program managers have had to lay off service-related staff and avoid subcontracts and other long-term commitments.

- Pathfinder, for example, the largest worldwide family planning service provider funded by USAID, cut back on long-term agreements with host country partners in FY96.
- AVSC International (Access to Voluntary and Safe Contraception), the second largest service provider among USAID cooperating agencies, reduced subcontracts with developing country partner institutions by more than 50 percent in FY96, and reduced short-term technical assistance activities by a comparable amount.

Bulk purchases of equipment, commodities, and supplies have been reduced, with attendant higher unit costs for the U.S. government. All programs have had to allocate more funds to management of metering, thereby reducing funds available for services.

The full impacts of the FY96 restrictions are just beginning to be felt. The lag reflects the time that elapses between USAID's funding of programs, expenditures by program managers for activities, and use of expanded or improved services by clients and other beneficiaries at the country level. Still, the impacts of restrictions are emerging and will become increasingly apparent over time.

- For example, in Bolivia and Peru, countries with dynamic family planning programs, key USAID-funded service delivery activities have been reduced or frozen in place because of metering.

4. Increased inefficiencies and costs to the U.S. government of FY96 restrictions. The FY96 monthly metering restrictions on USAID population assistance are believed to be unprecedented in the administration of government funds. While they might appear at first to contribute to closer oversight and more careful management of government funds, in reality they do not. The metering actually undermines effective program management; jeopardizes the availability and use of family planning services; introduces political and programmatic vulnerabilities, and imposes unnecessary costs on U.S. taxpayers and USAID implementing partners.

- The number of separate funding actions has nearly tripled, from an average of 100 in a year to nearly 300. Each funding action involves dozens of communications among the various participants, including USAID country missions, USAID/Washington regional, technical, and procurement offices, and host country as well as U.S.-based implementing partners.
- USAID officers in the country missions are less able to focus on their technical oversight functions, which include responsibility for the Agency's child survival and other health programs. The population and health officer in Uganda, for example, estimates that because of metering provisions he spent several hundred hours last year working with computerized funding tables to manage population funding flows to the various components of the integrated population and health programs he oversees. This substantially reduced the time he could devote to critical AIDS prevention programs.
- In Bolivia and the Ukraine, progress on planned activities has been more rapid than anticipated, allowing more clients to be reached and served. USAID may not be able to take advantage of this success, however, because with metering there is no "pipeline" to permit a flexible response to changing field needs.

By a conservative estimate, developing and implementing the funding plan for FY96 alone required the equivalent of 27 full-time people's effort, representing an opportunity cost to the government (and taxpayers) exceeding one million dollars. This estimate does not include the substantial additional costs of managing metering for the many U.S. universities, PVOs and commercial firms which are USAID's implementing partners.

- One U.S.-based implementing partner, AVSC International estimates that administrative costs have increased by 12.5 percent as a result of metering. In the words of the President of AVSC, this effective organization is in danger of becoming "a showcase for bad management" as a direct consequence of these metering provisions.

IV. The Negative Impact of a Delay in FY97 Population Funding

1. Urgent funding needs. As is clear from the discussion of the FY96 program, USAID's population programs have drastically reduced funding reserves. If no FY97 funds were received until July, the population program would have available \$123 million less to obligate during FY97 than if funds became available in March.

While some programs will be able to continue with FY96 metered funds, USAID estimates that there is a shortfall of at least \$35 million in the March-June period which would make it necessary to cut or defer obligations to at least 17 out of the approximate total of 95 bilateral and worldwide programs. These 17 programs would need to suspend, defer, or terminate service delivery and other important supporting activities, directly affecting millions of clients. U.S.-based PVOs with worldwide service delivery programs will be among those most seriously affected, as will country programs in every region.

Many programs beyond those caught in the delay of funds would be damaged. If FY97 funds are first made available in July, a number of programs will not receive their funds until considerably later than July because of the metering. In addition, programs other than those with urgent needs in the March-June period will have important funding needs that must be met in July, August, and September. These programs would also be jeopardized if some of the metered funds that become available in the July-September period have to be used to make up the shortfall in the preceding four months. Finally, many more programs would continue to work with very constrained budgets and financial uncertainty, affecting their ability to respond to emergency needs such as contraceptive shortages, to plan ahead and make commitments for technical assistance and training, and to take advantage of unanticipated opportunities where a small expenditure could have a large payoff.

2. Impact at the country level. As noted earlier, while the combined effect of reduced overall levels, deferred budgets and metering is taking its toll on the entire program, there are a number of programs for which the FY97 restrictions are especially harmful. The following is a brief summary of the impact of funding delays until July on these programs. With a few exceptions, all of the countries listed below are experiencing rapid population growth, with annual rates of growth exceeding 2

percent. The exceptions are Turkey, where the annual growth rate is 1.6 percent, and Russia and the Ukraine, which both have low fertility but extremely high abortion rates.

Bolivia - Early in this decade, the Bolivian government made a strong commitment to expand access to family planning. With USAID funding, both the government and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) greatly expanded their delivery of family planning services between 1989 and 1994, resulting in a 50 percent increase in use of family planning methods. If funding is delayed until July 1997, USAID would have to defer ongoing population assistance to the National Social Security Medical System, jeopardizing services for 20 percent of Bolivia's population, and reduce support to local organizations providing family planning services to an additional 30 percent of Bolivia's rural population.

Haiti - By May 1997, the NGOs supported by the USAID population assistance program would need to start laying off staff, leaving thousands of poor Haitian women and men without family planning services. If funds are not available, the process of integrating family planning into CARE's child health and maternal care program and reorienting its well-established humanitarian relief program to development assistance would be delayed and possibly canceled.

Mexico - USAID helps support improved access and quality of care in public and private family planning programs in ten states. If funds are delayed, USAID-funded training in the public sector would be severely curtailed and NGO clinics potentially would close. One of the affected states would be Chiapas, where USAID-supported programs serve 70,000 people annually. Chiapas is the poorest state in Mexico and second highest in level of unmet need for family planning services. Under the current binational agreement, the government of Mexico has fulfilled its commitments to increase support for family planning, despite the economic crisis. If USAID cannot meet its funding commitments, not only would programs suffer, but US credibility would be damaged as would US ability to leverage Mexican resources in the future.

Guatemala - USAID is by far the largest family planning donor in Guatemala, and the only one providing contraceptives. If funding is delayed until July, many USAID partners, including the largest private provider, would have to reduce their family planning services. This provider would close down its rural health promoter program, greatly reducing access to services for rural, indigenous women and children with the greatest health problems. In addition, USAID would be unable to fulfill its part of an

agreement reached with the Guatemalan government to support its program to reduce maternal mortality by 50 percent. This program is a key component of the accord to end a 36-year civil war.

El Salvador - As a result of FY 96 funding delays and metering, the Salvadoran Demographic Association, a major USAID partner in reaching the poorest segments of the population, has had to reduce its family planning and maternal/child health services. Staff have been cut back, paid health promoters have been transformed into "volunteers," and a full service clinic has been downgraded to a satellite clinic. If further funding delays occur in FY97, these cutbacks would continue, crippling programs that served some 800,000 people between 1990-1994.

Dominican Republic - The FY96 funding delays forced USAID to reduce approved funding to four organizations that deliver the bulk of family planning services. The organizations have had to cut back a total of \$350,000 (10% of planned expenditures). Opportunities to increase male involvement in family planning programs and to train staff in institutional strengthening have been lost. Even the current lower levels of service delivery could not be maintained if funds are not available before July 1997.

Russia - Historically, abortion has been the major means of restricting family size in Russia, with the average Russian woman having between two to three abortions in her lifetime. Data for 1990-1994 show an increase in contraceptive use from 19 to 24 percent, while abortions have dropped from 3.6 million to 2.8 million. Continuation of these encouraging trends depends on further progress in support of training of service providers and introduction of modern contraceptive methods. Two of the largest organizations providing this support would run out of USAID funds between March and June 1997, jeopardizing the access of 1.7 million couples to trained service providers and to modern family planning methods as an alternative to abortion.

Ukraine - Because of budget cuts in FY96, progress has already been slowed in reducing abortion rates through increased use of modern contraception. If FY97 population funds are also delayed, the program of training in clinical reproductive health, contraceptive counseling, and prevention of sexually transmitted diseases would not be able to expand as planned from Odessa to other major cities in the country.

The Philippines - Programs that would have to be deferred if there is a funding delay include training of government health personnel in natural family planning by Georgetown

University and technical assistance for voluntary surgical contraception at 200 sites across the country provided by AVSC International. In addition, agreements with three local manufacturers providing oral contraceptives at reduced prices for social marketing might have to be deferred, making contraceptives less affordable to low-income couples.

Egypt - Rapid population growth is viewed by Egyptians as one of the principal obstacles to social and economic development. Egypt's national family planning program, where USAID has been the primary donor, has been extremely successful, increasing use of family planning to 48 percent of couples in 1995 from 30 percent in 1984. If there is no access to population funds before July 1997, USAID's technical and financial support for the program would have to be drastically curtailed. This disruption would not only affect the thousands of women and men now served, but would damage a program crucial to the future development and stability of Egypt.

Jordan - The Government of Jordan recognizes the need to make family planning services available to contain its rapidly growing population. To this end, the Government entered into an agreement with USAID for expansion of family planning services. Several important activities would run out of funding before June 1997. These activities include mass media information campaigns on the availability of family planning and the establishment of model family planning centers in the twelve governorates of the country. Approximately 500,000 couples who are current and expected users of family planning would be left with lower quality services and less access to correct information about family planning methods.

Turkey - USAID is planning to phase out its support for Turkey's family planning program in 1999. Training activities are critical to the sustainability of the program and its ability to expand family planning services for the over four million couples in Turkey who are not currently served. Johns Hopkins University is poised to provide additional training of trainers for nurses and midwives to expand greatly access to a full range of family planning methods. If funding is delayed until July or later, the resulting shortage of trained providers would delay access to services for couples who need and want them, and threaten an orderly phase-out of USAID support.

Mozambique - The public sector network of health facilities in Mozambique has been devastated by 17 years of civil war. Mozambique has some of the highest maternal mortality levels in the world. The almost 4 million women of reproductive age and their families desperately need family planning

services. The delayed funding would substantially reduce activities in four focus provinces with a combined population of over 6 million, including nurse training and development of more effective delivery of family planning and maternal-child health services.

Uganda - If FY97 funds are delayed, programs implemented by Pathfinder through four local NGOs will have to be suspended. These programs have recently begun to provide basic family planning services and community-level education on family planning, HIV/AIDS, and maternal health among a population of about 1.5 million. Programs to train and supervise 900 nurses and midwives implemented by Pathfinder International, the University of North Carolina and CARE in 13 districts comprising about 35 percent of the population of Uganda may also have to be suspended, as would information and communications programs implemented by Johns Hopkins University in 10 of these districts. In all these instances, if staff salaries cannot be paid while activities are suspended, staff are likely to leave, effectively terminating the programs. Supervision of voluntary surgical contraception activities supported by AVSC would also be seriously curtailed, as would the contraceptive social marketing program--the major source of condoms for the country.

Zimbabwe - Zimbabwe's population program is one of the most successful programs in Africa, with forty-two percent of women using modern contraception, principally injectables and pills. Although USAID is phasing out of funding contraceptives in Zimbabwe, it remains the largest donor. If funds are delayed, USAID-funded contraceptives would not be delivered on schedule, resulting in stock-outs for clinics and community-based distributors.

3. Impact across countries. The funding delay would force difficult choices for U.S.-based private voluntary organizations (PVOs), universities, and commercial firms that provide technical support as well as funding and commodities to many different USAID-supported family planning programs.

Service delivery - Support for family planning service delivery activities is the core of USAID's population assistance, accounting for the largest share of all population expenditures in FY95. Critical PVO service delivery programs, including CARE and Pathfinder International, would have to shut down key activities if no FY97 funding is provided to them until July or later.

USAID's natural family planning program, which has been implemented through a five-year cooperative agreement with Georgetown University, ends on June 30, 1997. If the

funding delay is not reversed, the planned new agreement could not begin soon enough to prevent loss of Georgetown's trained staff and suspension of programs serving over 700,000 people annually, including in Bolivia, the Philippines, and Ecuador. USAID's natural family planning program, initiated in 1983, is the only significant program of its kind in developing countries funded by any donor.

Contraceptive supplies - Five U.S. manufacturers and their many subcontractors across the country have continuous production lines dedicated to the supply of contraceptive commodities to USAID family planning and HIV/AIDS prevention programs around the world. As the largest bilateral donor of contraceptive methods, USAID provided \$53.2 million worth of contraceptives to 80 countries in 1995. If a nine-month funding delay occurs in FY97, there could be serious contraceptive shortages across a number of countries in 1998--a gap of up to 50 million condoms, 4.8 million cycles of oral pills, and 500,000 intra-uterine devices (IUDs)--as well as potential loss of jobs at one or more of USAID's contraceptive manufacturers in Alabama, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania.

USAID's large-volume advance purchases enable it to procure contraceptives at low prices. The delivery of products for a given calendar year requires that contracts be funded in the previous fiscal year. Through careful management of metered funds in FY96, 1997 contracts have been funded to ensure continuous supplies of contraceptives through the year.

However, if FY97 funds are not available until July or later, USAID would not be able to fund all of the contracts for deliveries needed beginning in January 1998 without terminating additional field programs. The most directly and immediately affected would be the planned September 1997 contract for condoms. The \$8 million in population funds needed to fully fund that contract would constitute one-quarter of the metered funds available in September. If less than \$8 million were available because of the pressing needs of other programs, USAID would be faced with three undesirable options:

- A first option would be to delay the contract by one or two months until adequate metered funds were available. That would result in disruptions in condom shipments to field programs and require the manufacturer to lay off most of the 200 workers dedicated to USAID contract production.
- A second option would be to renegotiate the contract to allow for shorter-term, lower volume

purchases. This option could result in higher unit costs and a loss of up to \$3 million to the U.S. government.

- A third option would be to fund the contract at the expense of funding other programs that are also critical for accessible, high quality family planning services.

Training - Training programs supported by USAID play an essential role in making services accessible, safe, and responsive to client needs. Many training activities would be indefinitely deferred if there is a funding delay in FY97, including training by the University of North Carolina, Johns Hopkins University, Georgetown University, and Pathfinder International of over 4,500 service providers in Bolivia, Nicaragua, Brazil, Peru, Tanzania, Uganda, India, the Philippines, Turkey, and the Central Asian Republics.

Information and communications - Accurate and timely information is fundamental to informed decisionmaking by couples and to the success of family planning efforts at all levels. Potential family planning users need to know where to obtain services and how to use contraceptives correctly. If there is a delay in funding, however, information campaigns designed to reach millions of women in Bolivia, Ukraine, the Philippines, Kenya, and other countries would be slowed.

Research - Although contraceptive research and development (R&D) constitutes less than 5 percent of USAID's total population assistance program, it is critical to providing new and improved methods, achieving better understanding of current methods, and increasing the overall use of family planning. Research has shown that increasing the number of contraceptive methods available results in increasing use of family planning. USAID's research program is thus an integral element of USAID's comprehensive population program, and it contributes directly to reducing unintended pregnancies and abortions.

USAID has played a unique role among donors in support of contraceptive R&D and has been the primary donor agency concerned about methods appropriate for use in developing country settings, which private drug companies are not prepared to pursue because of the limited profit potential and issues related to product liability. The U.S. National Institutes of Health, understandably, focuses on methods for the U.S. consumer. While aimed primarily at methods for developing countries, USAID research has had direct and important benefits for American women and men, including the

availability of the female condom, improved methods of sterilization for men and women, and extending the use-life of the Cu-380A IUD to 10 years.

Contraceptive R&D, especially the development of better technology, is a long-term investment that relies on consistent and continual funding, and long-term planning. The consequences of cutting off funding to ongoing projects would be felt for many years to come. For example, a simple funding delay to July 1997 would halt the initiation of a large scale clinical trial needed for US FDA approval of a new female-controlled barrier method and would slow down work on several other current leads, including methods that also provide protection against HIV infection and other sexually transmitted diseases. Furthermore, if some ongoing clinical trials need to be suspended because of funding delays, they would have to start over, wasting years of prior investment and the willing participation of participating physicians and study volunteers.

4. The human consequences. In reporting on global and country level consequences of funding delays, it is easy to lose sight of the human dimension. But clearly, the consequences for the clients of many service delivery programs supported by USAID would be immediate. Millions of men and women are served through these programs, and the burden would fall most heavily on impoverished women and men who rely on these services, often with no alternatives.

5. Consequences for U.S. leadership and credibility. A significant delay in funding for a second year in a row would have an impact far beyond USAID's own programs because of the leadership role the U.S. has played. Even more than in other areas of development, other donors look to U.S. leadership in making their own commitments to population activities. In recent years, with U.S. urging, other donors such as Japan, Germany, and the European Union, have begun to take on additional commitments for international population efforts, although their programs are limited in size and scope. There is a real danger that if U.S. programs are curtailed by the delay in funding and other restrictions, other donors will follow the U.S. lead and downgrade the relative importance assigned to international cooperation on population matters.

6. Increased inefficiencies and costs to the U.S. government of the FY97 funding delay. Because of a tighter overall budget in FY97, construction and implementation of a metering plan would be likely to result in even higher levels of management burden than in FY96 as well as continued diversion of attention from technical program oversight. With or without the delay, the effort required to keep programs going under "metering on top of metering" is enormous, and the risk of severe

disruption of program activities at all levels is high. If FY97 funding is delayed, however, there would be even less capacity to shift funds among programs to make the FY97 metering plan workable. This would add further to the considerable administrative costs already incurred by USAID and its development partners.

V. Mitigation Measures

Recognizing the severity of the impact of a delay in FY97 population funding detailed above, USAID has explored every option to mitigate the impact of the legislation on the millions of people whose health depends on the services provided through USAID's population programs. These include: (1) shifting funds on a temporary basis among selected Agency population programs; (2) shifting funds from other development programs; (3) further termination of programs; and (4) approaching other donors to step in to meet urgent program needs.

1. Shifting funds on a temporary basis among selected USAID population programs. USAID has analyzed the current funds on hand of each of these programs; many have reserves that are already dangerously low compared to previous years. The Agency review of pipelines identified only \$15 million which could be shifted temporarily--through de-obligations or adjustments in FY 96 commitments--without immediate negative program impact. Funds shifted would have to be "repaid" later, however, so as not to jeopardize bilateral commitments. There could, of course, be political impacts as even temporary shifting of funds could damage relationships with host governments and institutions as well as USAID's ability to negotiate future commitments.

2. Shifting funds from other USAID development programs. Pursuing this approach would not be possible because of the large cuts in USAID's overall budget in recent years. Prior year, de-obligated funds for non-population programs have already been reallocated to meet urgent needs in other sectors.

3. Further termination of programs. USAID, as noted in earlier sections of this report, has already made significant adjustments in its population assistance program to reflect new budgetary realities while continuing to provide the high quality, comprehensive population assistance program that has had such an impact on health and fertility to date. Congress has set a level of funding of \$385 million for FY97, and USAID has budgeted for effective use of this amount. Further termination of activities which would be supported at the Congressionally-approved \$385 million level simply to accommodate funding delays is unwise.

4. Approaching other donors. With the State Department, USAID has undertaken concerted efforts since 1993 to work more closely with other donors and encourage them to allocate more

resources to population-related assistance. While there has been some program expansion by several other donors recently, only a few of the 21 donors are currently projecting any substantial increases. And, while USAID has been working closely with donors to coordinate programs, especially in countries where USAID is or will be terminating its assistance, no donor is able to provide the emergency funding needed by USAID programs which are most immediately affected by the funding delay.

VI. Conclusion

USAID wants to implement the \$385 million program which Congress has approved for FY97, and it wants to do so in the most efficient and effective manner possible. The evidence presented here demonstrates the significant harm that would be caused by a delay of FY97 population funding until July 1997. The impact of reduced obligations in the period between March and July 1997 would fall heavily on those countries and programs where funds are running short -- and most heavily on the individuals immediately served by those programs. The delay in funding would also affect worldwide activities such as training, communications, contraceptive procurement, and research, thereby having a ripple effect throughout the program. Further, the delay contributes to the administrative burden and greatly increased costs already experienced at all levels of the population program in coping with the monthly metering of funds, and with no discernible benefit.

No alternative measures exist to eliminate the negative impact of this delay other than the legislative remedy created in the FY97 appropriations bill. Temporarily moving funds out of other programs would reduce the shortfall in funding somewhat, but would carry its own negative consequences. Harm to the individual women and men served by USAID-funded programs would be inevitable.

Advancing the monthly disbursement of population funds from July to March 1997 would make an additional \$123 million already provided by Congress available for obligation to the population program during FY97. A March start to metering would make adequate funds available to meet the urgent funding needs of a number of critical programs and allow all programs to avoid the delays, reductions, and suspensions of activities that they would otherwise carry out. In addition, earlier funding would enable managers to plan and make commitments to the partner organizations that are responsible for programs in the field.

USAID has demonstrated that it has the expertise and the experience to help meet the global population challenge and enable millions of couples in poor countries to build better

lives for themselves and their children. The key missing ingredient is access to appropriated funds on a timely basis.

Appendix 1
Recipients of USAID Population Assistance in FY96

Africa

Benin
 Botswana
 Cote d'Ivoire
 Eritrea*
 Ethiopia*
 Ghana*
 Guinea
 Guinea-Bissau
 Kenya*
 Madagascar*
 Malawi*
 Mali*
 Mozambique*
 Niger*
 Nigeria
 Senegal*
 South Africa*
 Tanzania*
 Uganda*
 Zambia*
 Zimbabwe*
Population Subtotal:
426 million

Asia/Near East

Bangladesh*
 Cambodia*
 Egypt*
 India*
 Indonesia*
 Jordan*
 Morocco*
 Nepal*
 Oman
 Philippines*
 Sri Lanka
 Yemen*

Population Subtotal:
1.508 billion

*Bilateral population programs.
 A number are part of larger
 integrated bilateral health
 programs. Remaining countries
 on this list receive assistance
 through worldwide and regional
 programs.

Europe/Newly Independent States

Albania
 Belarus
 Central Asian Republics:
 Kazakhstan
 Kyrgyzstan
 Tajikistan
 Turkmenistan
 Uzbekistan
 Caucasus
 Moldova
 Poland
 Romania
 Russia
 Slovakia
 Turkey
 Ukraine

Population Subtotal:
419 million

Latin America & Caribbean

Bolivia*
 Brazil
 Colombia
 Dominican Republic*
 Ecuador*
 El Salvador*
 Guatemala*
 Haiti*
 Honduras*
 Jamaica*
 Mexico
 Nicaragua*
 Paraguay
 Peru*

Population Subtotal:
386 million

**Total Population Size in
 Countries Receiving USAID
 Population Assistance: 2.739
 billion**

Appendix 2

The challenge ahead

Despite the progress that has been made, the need for population assistance continues to increase. Although the world population growth rate has declined, about 81 million people are added to the world population each year. Developing countries are still growing at close to 1.8 percent annually -- a rate which, if continued, would double their population in 38 years. Both the United Nations and the U.S. Census Bureau project that without continued declines in the growth rate, the world population, currently 5.8 billion, will double to over 11 billion by 2050.

Without significant fertility decline now, there will be large increases in the number of people and dramatic effects on their quality of life later on. The global community thus faces a dual challenge.

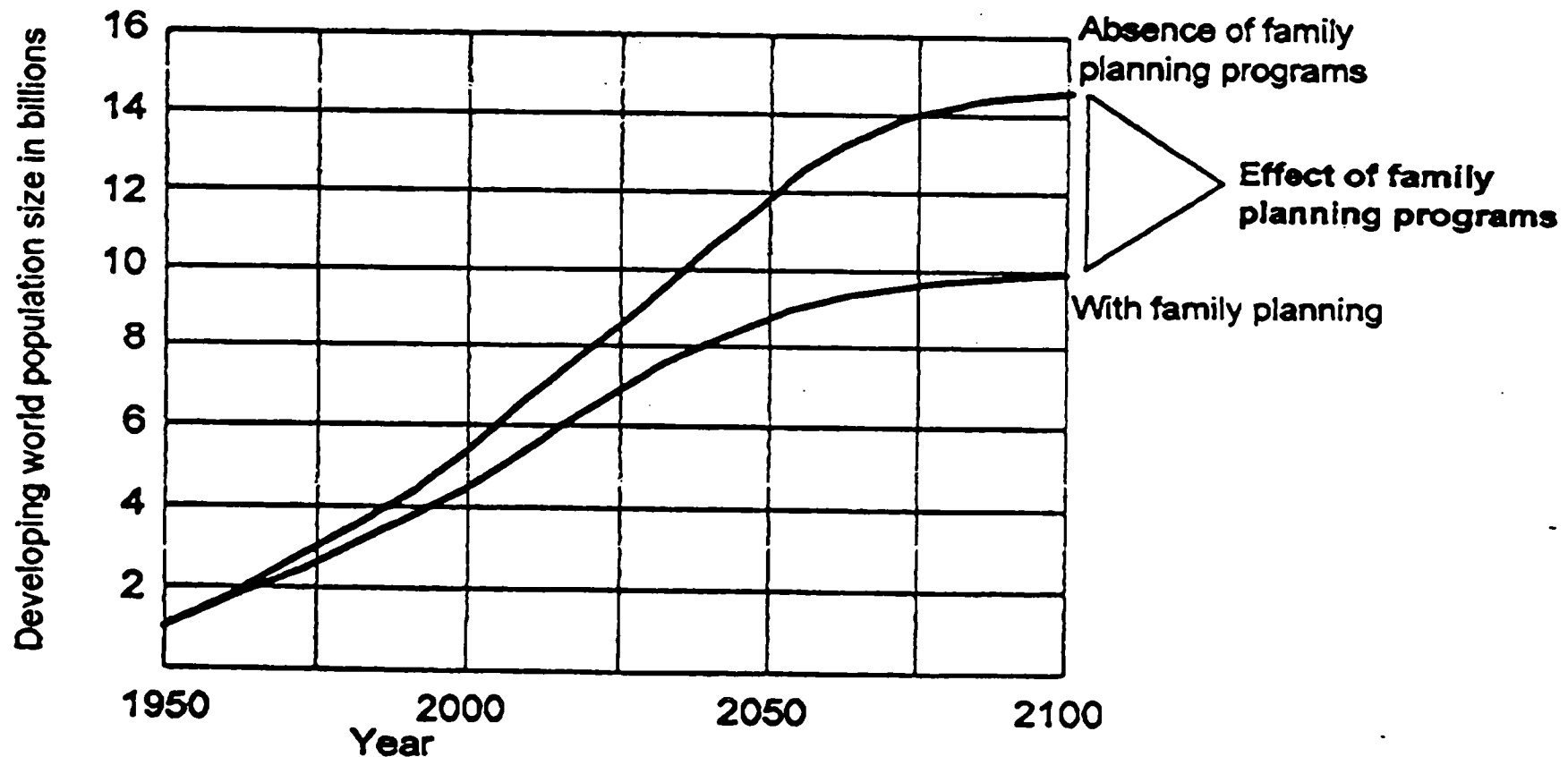
The first challenge is to **catch up with the current need for family planning**. Survey data show that over 100 million women in the developing world (excluding China) want to space or limit childbearing but are not using contraception, largely because of lack of access to quality family planning services.

The second challenge is to **keep up with emerging needs for family planning**. The number of women of childbearing age in the developing world (excluding China) is growing by 21 million women per year--roughly the total number of women of childbearing age in the states of California, Texas, New York, and Florida combined. As a consequence, the number of individuals at the peak of their reproductive years is the largest in human history, with serious consequences for population growth over the next generation.

Equally important are the health consequences of lack of access to family planning services and high fertility. Data from Demographic and Health Surveys show that on average, infants born less than two years after a previous birth are twice as likely to die as those born after intervals of two or more years. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), almost 600,000 women die annually of causes related to pregnancy and childbirth, mostly in the developing world. Of the 190 million pregnancies worldwide each year, a high proportion are unintended. Surveys indicate that many women in every country -- more than 50 percent in some -- say their last birth was unwanted or mistimed. According to WHO, every year approximately 50 million of these unintended pregnancies, mostly in the developing world, end in abortion.

FIGURE 1

Slowing Population Growth by Meeting Family Planning Needs, 1950-2100



.....
Evan Ryan
.....

01/29/97 05:30:18 PM
.....

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc: Kevin S. Moran/WHO/EOP

Subject: Conference call

The International Family Planning conference call has been changed to 8:30 a.m. tomorrow morning. Call 66755 and the code is:6219. Thanks-

Message Sent To:

Ann F. Lewis/WHO/EOP
FOLEY_M @ A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY
Elizabeth A. Myers/WHO/EOP
Lisa O. Ross/WHO/EOP
Nicole R. Rabner/WHO/EOP
Lyn A. Hogan/OPD/EOP
Barbara D. Woolley/WHO/EOP

Evan Ryan

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Lyn A. Hogan/OPD/EOP
Barbara D. Woolley/WHO/EOP

Interest Groups

Possible Make-Up of International Family Planning Working Group

Lead International Organizations Most Interested In This Issue

Susan Cohen
The Alan Guttmacher Inst.

Vicky Markell
Population Action Council

Karen Wilson Ringde
Planned Parenthood

Zero Population Growth
Peter Kosmyer

Women's Reproductive Health/Choice Groups

NARAL
Women's Legal Defense Fund
National Women's Law Center
CARE
NAFRA
ACOG
InterAction

Other Key Women's Groups

Nancy Zirkin
American Association of American Women

International Center For Research On Women

Environmental Groups

National Wildlife Federation

National Audubon Society

Sierra Club

Environmental/Population Think Tanks

Jonathan Lash/Donna Wise
World Resources Institute

Lester Brown
World Watch

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

To: Distribution
From: Lyn Hogan
Date: Jan. 10, 1997
Re: International Family Planning Report

Attached please find a copy of the most recent draft of the USAID/State report on international family planning **for use in Monday's meeting at 2:00 p.m. in room 211.**

We will discuss the report content, message and roll out strategy as well as any other issues that emerge.

Thank you.

*Funding cut
impact on abortion
pre-natal services.*



AMERICAN
ASSOCIATION OF
UNIVERSITY
WOMEN

International Family Planning

U.S. funding for international family planning provides millions of women and families access to reproductive health care and information to help plan and space births. Planning and spacing births reduces the incidence of maternal and infant mortality and improves the overall health of families worldwide. International family planning efforts also help to foster self-sufficiency, promote preventive health care, and educate people on how to protect themselves and their families from the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. The American Association of University Women (AAUW) supports international family planning and is deeply concerned about the devastating consequences of the FY 96 and FY 97 funding cuts.

International family planning funds were drastically cut in both FY 96 and FY 97. In FY 96, Congress imposed severe restrictions on how the money could be spent, including a nine-month delay in making the funds available, effectively cutting international family planning funds by 85 percent.

Disproportionate cuts and funding conditions were repeated in the FY 97 bill, with an additional requirement that Congress must vote by February 28, 1997, whether or not the program will receive funding on March 1, 1997, instead of July 1. This upcoming vote will not allocate any new money to family planning overseas, but simply release funds which have already been appropriated. AAUW supports the release of funds on March 1.

385
123
by delay.

Why International Family Planning Funding Is Important

Women are the primary caretakers and household managers throughout much of the developing world, and their health and well-being determines how their children will fare in life. Enabling women to have the number of children they want, when they want them, is central to the quality of their lives and the well-being of their families.

- **There Is a Worldwide Need for Effective, Modern Contraceptive Methods.** The use of effective contraceptive methods has increased rapidly over the past 30 years throughout the developing world. Yet nearly 230 million women worldwide--roughly one in six women of reproductive age--are still in need of modern contraceptive methods to postpone or avoid future childbearing.
- **Improving Women's Health.** According to a 1996 report from the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), almost 600,000 women die

during pregnancy and childbirth each year; 75,000 of these women die attempting to abort an unwanted pregnancy themselves or with the help of an untrained and unsafe provider. Providing quality family planning and reproductive health services to all who want them in the developing world is one of the most effective strategies for improving the health and status of women, and that of their children as well.

- **Family Planning Improves Child Survival Rates.** Family planning overseas allows women to time and space births, which reduces the incidence of low birthweight and improves overall child health.
- **Family Planning Funds Are Not Used for Abortion.** The use of U.S. funds for abortion has been prohibited by Congress since 1973. No U.S. dollars are used to provide abortion services either in the U.S. or abroad. Access to family planning services reduces the number of unplanned pregnancies and therefore reduces the incidence of abortion.
- **Less Than One Percent of the Federal Budget is Earmarked for International Aid** and only a small portion of that goes to family planning overseas.

Contact: Nancy Zirkin, Director of Government Relations, 202/785-7720
Cindy Brown, Senior Legislative Associate, 202/785-7730

Program and Policy Department
January 1997

Agenda

International Family Planning Meeting
Wednesday, November 20, 1996
1:00 p.m.-2:00 p.m.

- I. Introductions
- II. Walk-Through of Draft Report (USAID)
- III. Comments On Report
- IV. Next Steps
 - A) Finalize Report
 - B) Talking Points to Ensure Coherent Message
 - C) External Strategy and Time Table
 - Hill
 - External Groups
 - Establishment of Working Group?
- V. Other

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Vice President

For Immediate Release

January 22, 1997

Transcript of the Vice President's Remarks Before NARAL
January 22, 1997

Thank you. Thank you ladies and gentlemen. Tipper and I are delighted to be here. She whispered to me just now to remind you that the reason we were five minutes late for the Inaugural ceremony is that we stayed longer than we were supposed to in church that morning. (Laughter and applause). Thank you very much.

It is great to be here. And Kate thank you as others have thanked you for your extraordinary leadership and your untiring advocacy of the rights of women. I also want to thank Nancy Rubin, a longtime effective leader and advocate of the rights of women and for her leadership in setting up this event. To Barbara Silve (phonetic) and the other members of the NARAL Board. And especially today to Robin Chandler Duke. Tipper spoke today for me and for all of us with her words straight from the heart about how strongly we feel about your lifetime achievement Robin. Thank you for your personal friendship to Tipper and me for so many years and may I add my words to those that have already been well spoken here.

Let me also acknowledge, even though I understand that they have been mentioned, I want to also acknowledge the members of the House and Senate who are here because it takes great courage in many cases for these individuals to take the stands that they have taken. And I want to single out Senator Bob Kerrey, Senator Chuck Robb, Senator Ron Wyden, Senator Barbara Boxer and other Senators who are not here. And in the House of Representatives, Rep. Ken Bentsen, Rep. Lloyd Doggett -- both from Texas, Rep. Bob Filner, Rep. Elizabeth Furse, Rep. Jane Harmon, Rep. Tom Lantos, Rep. Nita Lowey, Rep. Nancy Pelosi, Rep. Adam Smith and again other members of the House who are not here.

And of course I want to acknowledge a great friend to Tipper and

me who was here earlier in your luncheon and acknowledge the First Lady's leadership on this issue all around the world. I think especially the way she represented the United States of America and those who believe in the values for which our nation stands when she traveled to Beijing and spoke truth to power in that conference. I thought it was an extraordinary achievement, one which she has replicated in many places around the world and in this country.

She spoke about the events of earlier today. I will not comment on them. I do want to say that on Thursday we witnessed the horror of two bombs being detonated at a family planning clinic in Atlanta -- the second bomb maliciously planted for the specific purpose of harming the brave Americans who were attending to the victims of the first explosion. Counter-terrorists experts point out that this is a pattern that first emerged in some other places in the world known for endemic terror and hatred. It could not have been an accident in their view. On Sunday a clinic in Tulsa, Oklahoma was struck by two bombs. The same clinic had been firebombed not three weeks earlier.

To those who committed the horrible deeds of Tulsa and Atlanta I say this on behalf of President Clinton and the American people: The American people will not tolerate your cowardly crusade. We Americans resolve our differences with civilized discussion and spirited debate and elections and constitutional processes not with pipe bombs, hand grenades and instruments of hate. You will not prevail. (Applause)

These emotions we feel are fresh and strong in the immediate aftermath of the majestic and peaceful transition from one four year presidential term to the next. A peaceful transfer of power that has taken place over and over again without violence ever for more than 200 years.

The reason we are able to feel this way as Americans on Inauguration Day -- regardless of which party wins, regardless of who we voted for, regardless of our feelings about the individual who is up there taking the oath of office -- the reason we feel an enormous swell of pride is because we know that we have the capacity of a free self-governing people to deal with differences peacefully. By talking with one another, arguing with one another, but arguing peacefully.

Let there be no doubt we will find the terrorists who committed these horrible acts of the past week and we will punish you to the full extent of the law. We will not let you terrorize America's women or their doctors. (Applause) We will not let you deface our Constitution. (Applause) We will not let you destroy the spirit of brotherhood and

sisterhood that is America. (Applause) We'll find you. (Applause)

America's women have the right to choose. And no one will ever steal that right away. The right to choose is fundamental lodged in our Constitution affirmed by our Supreme Court. And on behalf of President Clinton, I vow to you here and to all listening that we will never ever let anyone take that right away. (Applause)

The anti-choice cause did not win in the nation's courts. They did not win in the court of public opinion. They did not win in the nation's elections. And its advocates will not prevail by trampling our traditions or trafficking in terror. These appalling attacks are assaults not merely against a single building or a single gender but against America's deepest principles.

In nations with different traditions, they believe that power comes out of the barrel of a gun. But in this nation we know that true power comes out of disparate voices of a free people.

I want to say one other word to those who have committed these deeds. If you claim religious convictions compelled your attempts to scare, your attempts to kill, you have committed an appalling act of hypocrisy. No interpretation of God in any religious tradition condones -- let alone calls for -- terror. (Applause) Speaking from the perspective of my own religious tradition, I say that that the Bible offers no ballast. I quote from 1 John, Chapter two, verse 9: "Anyone who claims to be in the light but hates his brother is still in the darkness."

We can disagree on some things, but women and men of goodwill must agree that violence has no place in our dialogue of democracy. Christian, Jew or Muslim or follower of some other tradition, all Americans must work to ensure that light triumphs over darkness. Billy Graham said it well earlier this week on the steps of the U.S. Capitol when he asked God, and I quote, "help us to learn our courtesy to our fellow countrymen, that comes from the one who taught us that whatever you want me to do to you, do also to them."

And Martin Luther King, Jr., whom we honored on the same day as Inauguration Day, offered similar counsel. Listen to his words: Violence...is immoral because it seeks to humiliate the opponent rather than win his understanding; it seeks to annihilate rather than convert. Violence is immoral because it thrives on hatred rather than love. It destroys community and makes brotherhood (and sisterhood) impossible.

The pro-choice movement, I'm proud to say, has never resorted to violence. You have relied on reason. You have worked withing the system. And for that, I thank you and the American people thank you. NARAL has built a tradition of tolerance, and every one of you has made our country stronger. I thank you for standing up for America's women and for their right to choose.

Those who support women's rights and the right to choose should also take care to avoid the language of violence. In condemning those who have now resorted to violence on the other side of this argument, let us acknowledge respectfully and gratefully all of those who while disagreeing on this issue also abhor the resort to violence. Yes, there are those who silently welcome it though not participating in it themselves. But let us not pretend that that is the majority. It is not. The majority within this group that holds a minority opinion also deplore the violence.

Coming out of the events of this week, I mentioned that these emotions are fresh and strong because of what we have experienced as a nation this week. And the desire for renewed attempts to reach out for common ground is also strong and fresh. Cardinal Bernardin was a leader among those who passionately disagree on this issue but nevertheless attempted to construct a dialogue aimed at mutual understanding.

I remember Cairo so well, primarily because it was an occasion in which the entire world came together in search of mutual understanding. I remember, I remember my cast and the crutches and going over there the week after my operation. Some of you may recall it was my Achilles tendon and you probably heard me explain that it was injured doing a helicopter dunk on the basketball court. (Laughter) I caught my elbow on the rim (laughter) coming down. (Laughter). I still have to wear the full body cast (laughter and applause). But as I started to remember those meetings it all came back to me. But I remember meeting with individuals of from different religious traditions, from different political cultures, from different ways of life, and talking in-depth about what is involved for all of us as human beings as we confront this issue.

For me, the basic truth is this. When a woman faces a situation that is so impossibly complicated -- for her, her family, her relationship to God, her deepest beliefs, and feels that she understands what's going on her life in a way that no one else does -- how can we as Americans, schooled in the deepest respect for a proper relationship between the individual and the awesome power of the state, how can we say that the government of the United States of America with all of its power, with all of its resources, with all of its distance and insensitivity to

these fragile and complex circumstances pressing in upon that individual women, how can we say that the government must come in and order her to do what it has decided is the right thing and not her? It is wrong. It is wrong. (Applause)

I respect deeply those on the other side of this debate. And the truth is, of course, that the vast majority who agree with NARAL and the vast majority who agree with Cardinal Bernardin and others who hold the opposite -- who have held and hold the opposite view -- appreciates some, some aspects of each others positions.

Four years ago, exactly four years ago, when these emotions in the immediate aftermath of the Inauguration that I've referred to twice were fresh then, I personally reached out to individuals. I will not call their names because the conversations were and shall remain private. But I reached out to individuals who are leaders on the other side of this issue and asked, is there a way to make common cause in the effort to reduce the number of times women find themselves in a situation where they go through this process of choosing?

The private response was, you're right. There are a lot of things we can do together. Upon reflection, the response some weeks later was, ôwe just can't do it. Why?

Here's my interpretation. I know I'm on thin ice here. There's no way to discuss these issues without venturing out on to thin ice. The truth is that a minority within the minority also believes that family planning, in the form of birth control and even the giving of information about birth control, is morally wrong. Of course I don't agree with that. I disagree strongly as everyone here -- I assume everyone here -- does. But the way coalitions are built and maintained is that sometimes deference is inappropriately given to a mistaken view, clearly understood as mistaken, for the purposes of cohesion. And so the vast majority of those who are opposed to choice, and yet believe in their hearts that of course giving birth control options is sensible, refrain from ever saying that. And quietly support a unified opposition to birth control as well.

If they were willing to abandon that aspect of their common front then there would be much that we could all do together to make abortions rare. We believe they should safe, legal and rare. Those who disagree on the first two believe that they should be rare. There is a way, and we saw some of the outlines in Cairo, to fashion such a common approach here in the United States.

I would like to renew the comments I made privately almost exactly four years ago to my friends who are in the opposite camp. To in the spirit of Cardinal Bernardin, to reach out with understanding as Americans, to heal our land, to say to all of our people, in the aftermath of these bombings, regardless of our views on the issue, we will not let this issue tear us apart as a country, We must not. We will not.

In any event, we will not allow a women's right to choose to be taken away. I say that firmly, plainly, so it is clearly understood that it is not going to happen. But we do believe that there is much we can do together.

In closing let me say, especially today, thank you, NARAL, for pushing through the important legislation that must be the bulwark against this violence -- legislation like the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act -- and thank you for being such staunch defenders of a women's right to choose, for standing so tall even at a time when an anti-choice Congress has threatened some important freedoms.

And on this anniversary of Roe v. Wade when some will try and tug us backward to a time before that historic moment, we must commit ourselves to moving forward beyond a debate about just abortion. We are not and we never have been pro-abortion obviously. We are pro-choice, pro-reproductive health, pro-education, pro-strong families, pro-women, pro-Constitutional rights, pro the spirit of the United States of America which will forever stand.

Thank you and may God bless you all.

LEE H. HAMILTON, Indiana
Raising Democrats, Nov 8/9

BILL G. DE WIGMORE, Connecticut
 TOM LANTIERO, California
 ROBERT L. TOFFENKUPF, New Jersey
 HOWARD L. BERMAN, California
 CARY L. ACKERMAN, New York
 HARRY JOHNSON, Florida
 JIM F. FOLENDAVECELA, American Samoa
 MATTHEW Q. MARTINEZ, California
 DONALD M. PAYNE, New Jersey
 ROBERT C. ANDREWS, New Jersey
 ROBERT WINDENBERG, New Jersey
 KEVIN J. HENRY, Kentucky
 CYNTHIA A. WICKINS, Delaware
 ALICE L. HASTINGS, Florida
 ALBERT RUSSELL WYNN, Maryland
 JAMES P. MORAN, Virginia
 VICTOR O. FRAZER, West Virginia (Died)
 CHARLIE PROBE, Maryland
 PAT DANIELLE, Michigan

MICHAEL H. VAN DI
DOMESTIC CHIEF OF BUREAU

Under current law, Foreign Assistance Act funds may not be used to support abortions

- 2 -

or abortion-related services. Section 518 also prohibits these funds from being used to motivate or coerce any person to practice abortions, to pay for involuntary sterilizations, perform research on abortions/involuntary sterilizations, or to support governments or organizations which violate the prohibitions listed above.

With regard to these issues, GAO's objective review of the impact of these restrictions and the options before Congress under recent legislation on the actual programs administered by AID would assist the Congress in considering the resolution to be voted upon in February. In this light, I would like GAO to answer the following questions with regard to AID's voluntary family planning program:

1. What is the effect of the FY97 \$385 million limitation on AID's voluntary family planning program? If the limitation did not exist, what additional contracts, grants or cooperative agreements would AID support? What key countries or programs would receive funding without this limitation?
2. Is there a link between AID's programs providing voluntary family planning services and reductions in abortion? If the link exists, do the current funding limitations restrict AID voluntary family planning programs from preventing further abortions?
3. What is the effect of the delay, until July 1, 1997, in the President's ability to provide FY97 voluntary family planning funds? If the limitation was advanced to March 1, 1997, what contracts, grants or cooperative agreements would the President be able to support?

Given the deadline of the President's certification under the Act, I would request that the GAO deliver the report by February 1, 1997.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

BENJAMIN A. GILMAN
Chairman

Attachment

**International Population Assistance Issues
United States Senate
105th Congress (Projected)**

Pro -- 46

Akaka (D-HI)
Baucus (D-MT)
Bingaman (D-NM)
Boxer (D-CA)
Bryan (D-NV)
Bumpers (D-AR)
Byrd (D-WV)
Campbell (R-CO)
Chafee (R-RI)
Cleland (D-GA)*
Collins (R-ME)*
Daschle (D-SD)
Dodd (D-CT)
Durbin (D-IL)*
Feingold (D-WI)
Feinstein (D-CA)
Glenn (D-OH)
Graham (D-FL)
Harkin (D-IA)
Hollings (D-SC)
Inouye (D-HI)
Jeffords (R-VT)
Johnson (D-SD)*
Kennedy (D-MA)
Kerrey (D-NE)
Kerry (D-MA)
Kohl (D-WI)
Landrieu (D-LA)*
Lautenberg (D-NJ)
Leahy (D-VT)
Levin (D-MI)
Lieberman (D-CT)
Mikulski (D-MD)
Moseley-Braun (D-IL)
Moynihan (D-NY)
Murray (D-WA)
Reed (D-RJ)*
Robb (D-VA)
Rockefeller (D-WV)

Pro, continued --
Sarbanes (D-MD)
Snowe (R-ME)
Specter (R-PA)
Stevens (R-AK)
Torricelli (D-NJ)*
Wellstone (D-MN)
Wyden (D-OR)

Leans Pro -- 2

Conrad (D-ND)
Dorgan (D-ND)

Mixed -- 4

Biden (D-DE)+
Reid (D-NV)
Roth (R-DE)
Thomas (R-WY)

Leans Con -- 5

Domenici (R-NM)
Frist (R-TN)
Gorton (R-WA)
Thompson (R-TN)
Warner (R-VA)

* = New Members

Con -- 43

Abraham (R-MI)
Allard (R-CO)*
Ashcroft (R-MO)
Bennett (R-UT)
Bond (R-MO)
Breaux (D-LA)
Brownback (R-KS)*
Burns (R-MT)
Coats (R-IN)
Cochran (R-MS)
Coverdell (R-GA)
Craig (R-ID)
D'Amato (R-NY)
DeWine (R-OH)
Enzi (R-WY)*
Faircloth (R-NC)
Ford (D-KY)
Gramm (R-TX)
Grams (R-MN)
Grassley (R-IA)
Gregg (R-NH)
Hagel (R-NE)*
Hatch (R-UT)
Helms (R-NC)
Hutchinson (R-AR)*
Hutchison (R-TX)
Inhofe (R-OK)
Kempthorne (R-ID)
Kyl (R-AZ)
Lott (R-MS)
Lugar (R-IN)
Mack (R-FL)
McCain (R-AZ)
McConnell (R-KY)
Murkowski (R-AK)
Nickles (R-OK)
Roberts (R-KS)*
Santorum (R-PA)
Sessions (R-AL)*
Shelby (R-AL)
Smith (R-OR)*
Smith (R-NH)
Thurmond (R-SC)

+ -- Opposes U.S. funding of UNFPA/ opposes Mexico City Policy

INTERNATIONAL POPULATION ASSISTANCE HEAD COUNT

99th to the 105th Congresses

HOUSE

	PRO+	PRO	LEANS PRO	MIXED	LEANS CON	CON	CON+	?
105th CONGRESS (PROJECTED)	4	178	14	13	16	203	3	4
104th CONGRESS (1995-1996)	7	169	15	13	19	206	6	
103rd CONGRESS (1993-1994)	9	191	23	26	21	158	7	
102nd CONGRESS (1991-1992)	29	170	21	20	25	158	12	
101st CONGRESS (1989-1990)	24	151	24	32	22	175	5	
100th CONGRESS (1987-1988)	27	121	47	22	23	183	8	
99th CONGRESS (1985-1986)	27	109	57	18	22	190	7	

SENATE

	PRO+	PRO	LEANS PRO	MIXED	LEANS CON	CON	CON+
105th CONGRESS (PROJECTED)	9	37	2	4	5	41	2
	48				48		
104th CONGRESS (1995-1996)	13	35	4	4	6	36	2
	52				44		
103rd CONGRESS (1993-1994)	11	42	2	4	5	34	2
	55				41		
102nd CONGRESS (1991-1992)	11	45	1	6	4	32	1
	57				37		
101st CONGRESS (1989-1990)	8	44	3	2	10	30	3
	55				43		
100th CONGRESS (1987-1988)	16	27	9	11	8	26	3
	52				37		
99th CONGRESS (1985-1986)	10	34	7	9	9	29	2
	51				40		

FY 1997 INTERNATIONAL POPULATION ASSISTANCE FUNDING

As part of the omnibus spending bill for FY 1997 (H.R. 3610) passed on September 30, the conservative Republican leadership in Congress—while failing to impose new policy restrictions on U.S. family planning assistance—succeeded in compounding the devastating funding squeeze put in place in FY 1996.

Under the legislation, the funding level for FY 1997 bilateral population assistance is capped at \$385 million with no new money available until—at the earliest—March 1, 1997 and then only obligated or spent at a rate of eight percent per month over the following twelve and a half months. In order for funds to be available on March 1, however, the President must issue a finding certifying that the delayed release of funds “is having a negative impact on the proper functioning” of the program, and both houses of Congress must approve the finding.

The presidential determination, which must be submitted by February 1, triggers a vote in both the House and Senate either confirming or rejecting this finding which must occur by February 28th. If Congress votes to reject the finding, the FY 1997 money is not available until July 1 and the same metering formula applies. The \$385 million in bilateral funds appropriated in the omnibus spending bill is 30 percent less than the \$547 million appropriated in FY 1995.

The funding for the U.S. international family planning program in FY 1996 was held hostage to similar spending restrictions. The \$356 million appropriated was not released until July 1, 1996 (nine months into the fiscal year), and its disbursement is being metered at a rate of one-fifteenth of the total (6.7 percent) per month over 15 months. The FY 1996 population funds carried over into FY 1997 will continue to be available through September 30, 1997.

White House and Senate negotiators, however, were successful in blocking the imposition of a version of the Mexico City Policy restrictions, which were in place during the Reagan and Bush administrations, and worked hard to increase the funding level for population assistance up from the level of \$356 million proposed by the House. And the UN Population Fund (UNFPA) may receive up to \$25 million under the reasonable restrictions contained in the original Senate version of the foreign operations appropriations bill. U.S. funds are to be maintained by UNFPA in a separate account, none of which can be spent in China, and the contribution is to be reduced dollar-for-dollar by the amount UNFPA spends in China.

The human cost of this two-year effort to strangle the U.S. population program will be borne by the families around the world for whom U.S.-supported programs are the only source of contraception, and the family planning funding cuts of roughly one-third can only result in more unintended pregnancies, more abortions, and more deaths to women and their young children. The votes in February will be critical, not only in deciding the availability of FY 1997 funding, but in determining the future and long-term political viability of the population program.