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U.S. FUNDING FOR THE U.N. POPULATION FUND: THE EFFECT ON WOMEN'S LIVES

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND TERRORISM

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE

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U.S. FUNDING FOR THE U.N. POPULATION FUND: THE EFFECT ON WOMEN'S LIVES

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 2002

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL
OPERATIONS AND TERRORISM,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:20 p.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Barbara Boxer (chairman of the subcommittee), presiding.

Present: Senators Boxer, Brownback, and Enzi.

Senator BOXER. I am glad to see that Senator Brownback is here, and we are going to start pretty much on time. The Subcommittee on International Operations and Terrorism will come to order.

I am going to enter in the record, unless there is objection, a letter that had been written by Senator Smith earlier this year in which he asked for the release of these funds, saying that he shares the concern about China's brutal one-child policy, but he is convinced that the presence of UNFPA in China makes abuses, such as coerced abortion, less likely.

So I would ask unanimous consent that that be placed in the record.

[The letter referred to follows:]

GORDON H. SMITH,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, DC, January 15, 2002.

President GEORGE W. BUSH
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW,
Washington, DC 20500

DEAR PRESIDENT BUSH:

I am writing regarding an urgent issue that has come to my attention involving U.S. contributions to the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). I understand that you have come under pressure to cut back or eliminate funding for this program, despite a bipartisan agreement which set UNFPA's funding level at $34 million in fiscal year 2002. I urge you to fully fund this vital international health program.

Throughout my public life, I have supported policies that both protect the sanctity of human life and prevent the tragedy of abortion. I believe that whether one is pro-life or pro-choice, we all have an obligation to work together to make abortion a rare event. Since 1973, it has been illegal to use U.S. government funds to perform abortions overseas, and a recent U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) study indicates that UNFPA recipients have complied with this requirement. Additionally, all the evidence I have reviewed indicates that international family planning programs have significantly reduced the incidence of abortion worldwide, while improving the quality of life for women in developing countries.

Secretary of State Powell has also supported this position. Speaking before Congress last year, he stated, "UNFPA provides critical population assistance to developing countries and countries with economies in transition." He went on to note that the "activities of the UNFPA are fully consistent with overall U.S. efforts in developing countries to raise the standard of living, reduce poverty, and lessen disparities of wealth within and among countries." Secretary Powell also determined that UNFPA was in full compliance with the U.S. laws against coercive abortion. The State Department then solidified its support for UNFPA activities last November, when the agency was granted $600,000 as a key partner in providing assistance for emergency infant delivery kits and sanitary supplies for Afghan refugee women in Iran, Pakistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan.

I understand—and frankly I share—your concern about China's brutal one-child policy; however, I am convinced that the presence of UNFPA in China makes abuses such as coerced abortion less likely. This conclusion was supported by a recent United Nations investigation. In fact, because UNFPA only funds programs in Chinese counties that have renounced the one-child policy, eliminating funding for these programs risks a return to the policy that would increase the incidence of abortion in China.

Your administration made a laudable public commitment to international health programs last year with substantial budget requests for U.N. AIDS and other global health initiatives, including $25 million for the UNFPA. Given the overwhelming support in both the House and Senate for UNFPA funding and activities, I urge you to fully fund the U.S. contributions to the UNFPA at $34 million.

Warm regards,

GORDON SMITH, *Oregon.*

Senator BOXER. Ladies and gentlemen, I want to welcome you here. Thank you all for coming on both sides of this question. We hope today the hearing will be illuminating.

The U.N. Population Fund, commonly known as UNFPA, is the largest international source of population assistance. Since it began operations in 1969, UNFPA has provided $5 billion in assistance to developing countries. These funds come from 120 countries.

As Secretary Colin Powell has said, the UNFPA "provides critical population assistance to developing countries and countries with economies in transition." I agree with him.

The UNFPA provides assistance to more than 140 nations. In comparison, USAID provides population assistance in less than half as many countries. UNFPA works to prevent teen pregnancy and HIV/AIDS, promote safe pregnancy and delivery, strives to expand reproductive healthcare for the poor and the hard-to-reach groups.

The fund also supports data collection and research to encourage appropriate population and development policies and activities to improve the status of women, such as programs to eliminate female genital mutilation. UNFPA also provides assistance to those in emergency situations, such as the one in Afghanistan. And I am going to concentrate my remarks on the impact of these programs in Afghanistan.

Just last October the administration seemed to acknowledge the critical role of the UNFPA when it provided $600,000 to respond to the reproductive health risks faced by the Afghan people. To put this into perspective, that $600,000, the country of Luxembourg, a nation of 450,000 people, gave $4.5 million. So I want to say that again. To help the women in Afghanistan with their reproductive health risks they did face, the Bush administration made available $600,000. The Country of Luxembourg gave $4.5 million.

UNFPA is working in Afghanistan in the areas of primary healthcare, prevention and management of sexual violence, preven-

tion and treatment of sexually transmitted diseases, protection of mothers' and infants' health, and family planning services that include counseling and literacy courses.

Senator Brownback and I might not agree at the end of the day on this particular issue, but he has worked with me very hard in making sure that the women of Afghanistan are treated with dignity and respect. And I would make the argument to him and all others that the help to the women is desperately needed. And that includes UNFPA.

Afghan women bear an average of 6.9 children and face a 1 in 15 chance lifetime risk of dying in childbirth. Of every 1,000 live births, 17 women die of pregnancy-related medical complications in Afghanistan. And 25 percent of all children die before the age of 5. Overcrowding is such that even Afghan women who are fortunate enough to have access to a medical facility are discharged just 12 hours after giving birth.

This weekend, The Washington Post reported on a clinic in Kabul where there are no epidurals, no Lamaze breathing, and no surgeons for emergency C-sections. Oftentimes there is no water and no lights. This is where UNFPA can help. Next month the UNFPA will provide equipment urgently needed at this facility and others like it in Afghanistan, including operating tables, incubators, anesthesia machine, and a full range of medical supplies. And now we have cut back on money. And that money is needed.

Given the dire need for UNFPA programs in Afghanistan and elsewhere in the world, one would think the administration would be asking Congress to increase the U.S. contribution to the UNFPA. But the administration has done exactly the opposite. President Bush has refused to release $34 million in appropriated funds that has been available since December for the UNFPA and has chosen to effectively zero out funding in his fiscal year 2003 budget request.

UNFPA estimates that $34 million for family planning would be enough to prevent 2 million unwanted pregnancies, eliminate 800,000 induced abortions, 4,700 maternal deaths, nearly 60,000 cases of serious maternal illness, and over 77,000 infant and child deaths. Ultimately, $34 million would provide for 13 percent of condoms needed for HIV/AIDS prevention worldwide.

We know that UNFPA will continue to help Afghan women and children who are in such desperate need. But it is sad to think that they may have to do that without the help of the greatest country in the world, the United States of America. Just think of the good that could be done with that $34 million.

A delay in the U.S. contribution has already forced the UNFPA to alert its regional divisions of funding shortfalls. This means that plans for future and ongoing program have been scrapped. The question is: Why has the administration chosen to withhold this funding? I happen to believe in my heart of hearts—I am known for my direct, straight-from-the-shoulder response—that it is about politics here in this country.

I know that there are small groups that have urged the President to cut off all funding for the UNFPA. And the groups have called for an end to this funding saying that the fund is involved in China's coerced abortion policy. I already put a letter into the

record from a pro-life Senator, Senator Gordon Smith, who says he totally disagrees with this reason.

Let me just go on the record in a very clear way. China's coerced abortion and one-child policy is horrible. I believe that policy is indefensible. And the UNFPA feels the same way. We should all be on the same page here instead of having an argument where there should be no argument. The work performed by the UNFPA is guided by the program of action adopted in the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development.

This document states, "In no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning" and "coercion has no part to play in population and development programs." That is in the UNFPA. That is part of their guide.

Furthermore, these allegations have been refuted by an international review team led by Ambassador Nicolaas Biegman, who is here today. And these allegations are not supported in the State Department's own human rights report. In addition, the U.S. contribution to the UNFPA is held in a segregated account to ensure that no money, underscored, "no money," is spent in China. It has been that way since 1994.

Nevertheless, in light of these findings, the administration still refuses to release funding for the UNFPA. I believe it is time for this administration to look at the facts, time to set aside political interests and act in the best interest of Afghan women, Afghan women and the millions of other men and women whose lives could be saved by the UNFPA funds.

I so admired the First Lady's address on Afghanistan and the condition of women in Afghan. And I remember how pleased Senator Brownback and I were when Laura Bush just got right out there with her words of encouragement and support for the women of Afghanistan.

This is what she said on November 17, "I hope Americans will join our family in working to ensure that dignity and opportunity will be secured for all the women and children of Afghanistan."

I just want to say today, in my opinion, dignity and opportunity is what the UNFPA is all about. If we care about children and we care about women, we do not want them to die needlessly. And that is what is happening because of a lack of this healthcare.

Today we will have the opportunity to hear from the State Department, hear their views on the UNFPA, and also from the panel of private witnesses, who will give their expert testimony on the current situation. I want to give a warm welcome to all of our witnesses this afternoon. I look forward to hearing from you all.

And I would be happy to give 5 minutes now to Senator Brownback for an opening statement.

Senator BROWNBACK. Thank you, Madame Chairman.

First, I would like to thank the Chair for calling the hearing and Congress and those interested in the activities of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities. I raise concerns about their day-to-day activities in countries with policies that result in coerced abortions and coerced sterilizations.

I am looking forward to hearing from some of the witnesses that have eyewitness accounts of what is taking place in some of these

countries and situations. I think this hearing provides a good opportunity to discuss some of these concerns.

First, let me say that I am disappointed that there are no witnesses representing the UNFPA here today. As most of you know and as the members of this committee are well aware, the United States has conditioned its involvement with organizations that perform or promote abortions at home and has also done so abroad. This issue is larger than abortion. And in fact, it is about forced abortion.

The Kemp-Kasten amendment states, "None of the funds made available in this act, nor any unobligated balances from prior appropriations, may be made available to any organization or program, which, as determined by the President of the United States, supports or participates in the management of a program of coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization."

The reasons for this policy are simple. There are many in these United States who object to abortion in principle. There are many more who object to the performance of forced abortions and involuntary sterilizations. One of the questions that we will address in this hearing today is the extent to which the Government of the United States will force its citizens to subsidize some of the practices of the UNFPA.

I have my own very deep concerns with the UNFPA, apart from some of those that we will discuss here today. One point that I do think we need to discuss today is the very deep concern that many have over the numerous reports, many of which have been substantiated as routine practices rather than isolated instances, that UNFPA officials support the work of officials from the Peoples' Republic of China in carrying out non-voluntary abortions and sterilizations for the purpose of enforcing that country's one-child policy. You will hear from a witness on that today.

And I have to say, Madame Chairman, this is a very personal issue for me. My youngest daughter is from China. She is a beautiful girl. And you do not know the number of nights I have gone in there in prayer, just thanking God that some mother in China saw fit to see her on through—she is a gorgeous child—and to resist the push and the efforts by the Chinese Government—and I want to know if that is also supported by the U.N., and we will have witnesses to testify on that today—in that pregnancy. She is a gorgeous child that we are so fortunate to have in this country and in our family today.

As well, there is now evidence of UNFPA officials being involved in singular and equally offensive policies and practices in Vietnam and Peru. It seems that there is a pattern of cooperation developing between the UNFPA and those countries that used forced abortion or sterilization to meet population targets.

We have a news account that—I want to read a portion of this. "The United Nations Population Fund"—this is dated November 23, 2001, by the Pakistan News Service—saying "The U.N. Population Fund is distributing abortion devices and chemicals disguised in kits marked for safe delivery in Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan. The survey conducted by PNS in refugee camp in Watertown revealed the survey was also endorsed by Population Research Institute here on Thursday confirming the distribution of

abortion devices and medicines and on Afghan women in refugee camps in Pakistan and Iran. Giving the great unmet needs for food, shelter, water, and basic health supplies, along with strong opposition to abortion throughout the Islamic world, the UNFPA's Afghan refugee operations are gaining little ground against the intended recipients, said Steve Mosher, the president of the institute, while briefing the newsmen."

I am asking unanimous consent that the full article be included in the record.

Senator BOXER. Without objection, so ordered.

[The article referred to follows:]

[From the Pakistan News Service, Nov. 23, 2001]

UNFPA DISTRIBUTING ABORTION DEVICES AMONG STARVED AFGHAN REFUGEES

CHAMAN, PAKISTAN, Nov. 23 (PNS): The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) is distributing abortion devices and chemicals, disguised in kits marked for safe delivery in Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan, a survey conducted by PNS at a refugee camp in border town of Chaman revealed.

The survey was also endorsed by London-based Population Research Institute here on Thursday confirming the distribution of abortion devices and medicines among the Afghan women in refugee camps in Pakistan and Iran.

Given the great unmet need for food, shelter, water and basic health supplies along with strong opposition to abortion throughout the Islamic world, the UNFPA's Afghan refugee operations are gaining little ground against the intended recipients, said Steve Mosher, the President of the Institute while briefing the newsmen.

Early reports confirm that war-traumatized refugees, approached by UNFPA workers pandering abortion services, wander away quickly. And a few brave refugees in an attempt to protect their female population and progeny have confiscated abortion pills provided by UNFPA.

"I have informed the authorities concerned about the distribution of pills among the women, but no action has so far been taken in this regard," Malik Khan, an elderly Afghan refugee told PNS.

Still, the UNFPA offers only abortion and "family planning" services to Afghan women and their families. Infant and maternal mortality rates rank among the highest in the world in this refugee setting, yet basic life-saving aid from UNFPA remains in want. The immediate goal for the UNFPA is to break down cultural resistance to abortion and contraception within the refugee camps, Mr. Mosher observed.

UNFPA's long-term goal is to establish permanent operations in Afghanistan. In conjunction with international abortion providers Marie Stopes and the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), UNFPA plans to spend an estimated total of $20 million for abortion services within Afghanistan over the next few years, he contended.

Senator BROWNBACK. I think that this committee needs to hear some answers to some of these allegations today or, at a minimum, start to get to the bottom of some of these issues. Again, I am very disappointed that there is no one here representing UNFPA that might help shed some light on these questions.

Finally, I am looking forward in particular to the testimony of Ms. Josephine Guy, with whom I have had the pleasure of previously visiting. I am interested to hear about her recent trip to China and whether or not she found any evidence to substantiate some of the charges that have been brought regarding the apparent partnership that exists between the UNFPA and the Peoples' Republic of China's aggressive enforcement of the one-child policy.

There are a lot of issues here, and this is one of these uncomfortable discussions and one of these uncomfortable hearings where I and the chairman have worked together on a number of women's

issues, but we are apart on this one. And I am hopeful that we can, perhaps through the witnesses and testimony that is brought forward today, get to the bottom of some answers here to some very serious questions.

Thank you for holding the hearing.

Senator BOXER. Thank you. Thank you so much. We are good friends. We have agreed to disagree on this one.

I would say that, Senator, as you probably—I hope you would know that both the minority and the majority chose the witnesses for today. And it would have been fine if you wanted to ask someone from the UNFPA. The reason we did not do that is because this is about the UNFPA, expect them to say they needed the funding. I thought it would be better to get people from both sides of the issue, who have actually seen what they do, to be more objective on point. But you had every right to ask someone from the UNFPA. I would have said, "Of course."

Senator BROWNBACK. Maybe we can do that at a subsequent hearing——

Senator BOXER. No problem.

Senator BROWNBACK [continuing]. So that we could have this background.

Senator BOXER. I would be happy to do that.

Let me just—I would ask unanimous consent to place in the record an article that appeared in the National Council of Jewish Women Magazine, an article by the head of the UNFPA, which reads in part, "UNFPA does not provide support for abortions or abortion-related services activities anywhere in the world. Neither does the fund promote or provide support for involuntary sterilization or coercive practices of any kind. In fact, the fund is a global leader in working to eliminate the use of coercive family planning practices, including places like China."

[The article referred to follows:]

[From the NCJW Journal, Summer 2001]

THE UNITED NATIONS POPULATION FUND:

GLOBAL CATALYST FOR FAMILY PLANNING AND WOMEN

(By Thoraya Obaid)

We don't seem to hear much about the population explosion these days. In fact we have recently been hearing a lot about the "birth dearth," an apparent shortage of babies in countries like Italy and Spain. Perhaps we don't need international assistance for family planning or for organizations like the United Nations Population Fund. The UN has been working in this area since 1969: isn't that long enough?

In truth there are more births than ever before, about 130 million per year, to be exact, and the population of the world is increasing by about 77 million annually, compared with about 60 million in 1969. At 6.1 billion, there is no dearth of people in the world, and no dearth of new faces arriving at the world's table.

The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) is the global voice for international family planning and the largest internationally funded source of population assistance to developing countries. UNFPA organized and helped to broker the historic agreement reached in 1994 at the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), which created a new framework for international family planning and women's empowerment.

The comprehensive approach adopted at the ICPD shifts the emphasis of population planning from reaching demographic targets to promoting human rights and sustainable development, changing the focus from numbers to people. That is why UNFPA is guided by, and promotes, the principles of the ICPD action plan and its commitments to reproductive rights, gender equality and male responsibility, and to

the autonomy and empowerment of women everywhere. Meeting these goals will contribute to improving the quality of life and to the universally accepted aim of stabilizing world population. These goals are an integral part of all efforts to achieve sustained and sustainable social and economic development that meets human needs, ensures well-being and protects the natural resources on which all life depends.

The United States is an important contributor to UNFPA (providing $21.5 million last year), but far behind the Fund's leading contributors Japan and the Netherlands, which are each contributing almost $50 million annually.

UNFPA provides support to 156 countries, more than any other donor agency, and, in many cases, is an irreplaceable source of funds for many countries. UNFPA has played a key role in countries where few other donors provide population assistance—such as a number of small African countries. Since 1969, UNFPA has provided almost $5 billion for voluntary family planning in developing countries.

Organized family planning, led by UNFPA during the past 30 years, has been one of the most successful development efforts ever. Globally, fertility rates have been reduced from 6 to 3 children per woman, improving the health of mothers and their children. The rate of global population growth has slowed dramatically over the past three decades as a result of international efforts led by UNFPA to provide safe, voluntary family planning around the world. Still, the 48 poorest nations in the world are scheduled to triple in the next 50 years, necessitating continued support for international family planning.

Operationally, UNFPA's three main areas of work are: to help ensure universal access to reproductive health, including family planning and sexual health, to all couples and individuals by the year 2015; to support population and development strategies that enable capacity-building in population programming; and to promote awareness of population and development issues and to advocate for the mobilization of the resources and political will necessary to accomplish its areas of work.

UNFPA does not provide support for abortions or abortion-related activities anywhere in the world. Neither does the Fund promote or provide support for involuntary sterilization or coercive practices of any kind. In fact, the Fund is a global leader in working to eliminate the use of coercive family planning practices, including places like China.

As is its right as a UN member, China has requested assistance from UNFPA. In 1997, after several years of discussion, UNFPA and the Chinese Government agreed upon activities that the UNFPA can undertake in accordance with the principles set at the ICPD (including those associated with human rights, gender equality, and individual liberty). In fact, UNFPA's activities in China represent a significant breakthrough. Before agreeing to provide assistance, UNFPA insisted that China agree to adhere to the principles contained in the ICPD Program of Action in the 32 counties where UNFPA will provide assistance. Importantly, Chinese authorities have agreed to abolish all quotas and targets in those counties.

The four-year program is designed to improve the delivery of voluntary family planning information and services. Specifically, the program focuses on improved counseling services; expanding the range of available contraceptive methods; improving pre- and post-partum care and assisted births; training health workers about the methodologies and advantages of informed consent, and emphasizing the international requirement to do so; and enhancing efforts to prevent and treat sexually transmitted diseases. In addition, the program includes components to enhance the status of women and encourage exchanges with voluntary programs in other developing countries.

UNFPA's efforts in China between 1980 and 1995 have advanced the availability of quality, voluntary family planning; improved maternal health; reduced infant mortality; and advanced human rights. Encouragingly, the U.S. State Department's most recent human rights report on China notes significant progress toward reducing coercive family planning practices. For many years, it has been reported that China's most restrictive practices have occurred in the cities. The State Department's recent report on human rights in China in 2000 states that "the Government was beginning to relax its policies in the cities," including Beijing, Shanghai, Zhejiang Province and parts of Guizhou Province. The report goes on to state, "outside the cities, exceptions to the 'one-child policy' are becoming the norm." Taken together, these findings essentially indicate a countrywide relaxation of restrictive practices.

The State Department's report indicates that UNFPA has done exactly what it said it would do in the 32 counties in which it is working—getting these counties to eliminate the system of strict, government-assigned birth quotas. Moreover, the report indicates that Chinese authorities are recognizing the greater wisdom of the

non-restrictive approach advocated by UNFPA: "600 counties covering about half the country's population have adopted more liberal policies."

All over the world, UNFPA is forging ahead with its efforts to promote an inclusive, compassionate, voluntary approach to family planning and reproductive health. Already, the Fund's work has made a difference for millions of families. In the future, UNFPA will continue its efforts to realize the hopeful vision agreed upon at the 1994 ICPD and in the process to help improve the quality of life for people everywhere, with special attention to those most in need of assistance.

Senator BOXER. So clearly, there are differences of opinion on this. And we want to explore those differences with our witnesses here today and through our questions. So why do we not just get started on this.

I am pleased to introduce again the Assistant Secretary of State for Population, Refugees, and Migration. Mr. Arthur E. "Gene" Dewey. The PRM Bureau, as it is known, is responsible for U.S. international population policy and promotes its goals through bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

Mr. Dewey.

STATEMENT OF ARTHUR E. DEWEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, BUREAU OF POPULATION, REFUGEES, AND MIGRATION, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, DC

Mr. DEWEY. Thank you very much, Madame Chairman.

Witnesses normally start by saying how delighted they are to appear before a committee, and immediately compromise their credibility in the process. I have to confess in this case, Madame Chairman, that it was a much greater pleasure to appear before you at my confirmation hearing just a few weeks ago. And I appreciate your graciousness at that hearing and your prediction that I would be confirmed, which has been the case. And I am delighted to be on the job, although it may be less of a delight to be here at this hearing today.

The central issue for the hearing is the status of the U.S. funding for UNFPA for fiscal year 2002. There is a short answer to that, and that is that the status is that the funding is under review at the White House level. But the central question that I would like to address in just a few summary remarks, and then I would like to submit a formal statement for the record, if I could, Madame Chairman.

Senator BOXER. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. DEWEY. The central question seems to be: Why is the funding under review, particularly after the administration had requested $25 million for the program for 2002, and then the Foreign Operations Appropriation Act provided $34 million, up to $34 million, for UNFPA and, as you mentioned, Madame Chairman, the provision of what, aside from Luxembourg, is a fairly liberal contribution to UNFPA for the needs of Afghan women in the heart of the crisis which is happening in that country?

So I will—in these introductory remarks, I will try to address this question of "Why is there a review after these other actions would indicate that there was no problem in going ahead with the funding?"

It seems that the new situation is the—the new situation seems to be that the finding of the Population Research Institute, which alleged complicity of the UNFPA in a coercive family planning pro-

gram in China, followed in October of last year by rebuttal from the UNFPA, and was followed by that by a sharp response from Capitol Hill, with a sharp division of opinion as to what the true facts are in this case—it seems that given this response, this new situation, and particularly the sharply divided response from Capitol Hill, where the White House and the State Department have heard very detailed and sharp replies from both sides of this issue, that no responsible person or organization would have the choice but to take another thorough look at this funding question based upon those circumstances which I just described.

For a variety of reasons—and the central issue here is whether the law, whether the Kemp-Kasten amendment in the Foreign Operations Act, is triggered as a result of these allegations. That seems to be the central issue. And I will just review the Kemp-Kasten amendment language for everyone's benefit.

It prohibits U.S. Government funding to any organization, as determined by the President, that supports or participates in the management of a program of coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization. It seems that with the differences that have occurred particularly over the last few weeks on this issue as to whether Kemp-Kasten should be invoked do require and set out a clear responsibility to review the bidding on this issue. And that is what the White House is doing at the present time.

I think that such a high-level review has another benefit for the long term. Let us assume, without prejudging what the outcome of this review will be, that the United States will continue funding of the UNFPA. There is a possibility of setting out through this review greater clarity on what would constitute true UNFPA independence from a program which is in such question, or really is in no question as far as China is concerned with its coercive overtones.

This would seem to be useful in eliminating future ambiguity over whether or not Kemp-Kasten would apply. And there surely is a need for that. If you look at the past administration's determination on Kemp-Kasten, using the same set of facts, two different administrations came up with different conclusions.

I think another reason for needing to get such clarity is the recent enactment of the Population and Family Planning Law by the Peoples' Congress in China at the end of December of last year. This is a very ambiguous law that seems to codify current practices, especially the one-child policy, with only problematical exceptions to that one-child policy.

An outside evaluation could suggest for UNFPA that an appropriate role would be an independent neighborhood watch kind of role to deal with reports of abuse and to work to change abusive practices in the countryside, as well as the ambiguous policy which exists in the capital itself.

So this kind of independence seems to be needed. It seems, without that, we are going to continue to have a chain of confusion in determining whether the provisions of the law are triggered with respect to U.S. funding. And this is what I hope certainly will come out of the review which is now underway.

With that, I will conclude and be prepared to take your questions. Thank you, Madame Chairman.

Senator BOXER. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Dewey follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. ARTHUR E. DEWEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR POPULATION, REFUGEES, AND MIGRATION

Madam Chairman and members of the Committee, I am pleased to be here today to represent the Administration in discussing the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and to reaffirm the Administration's commitment to international family planning.

Throughout its more than 30-year history, the U.S. international family planning program has had strong support from the American public as well as Congress. This program is recognized worldwide as an important component of our foreign assistance. The United States remains the largest bilateral donor of population assistance in the world, with programs in nearly 60 countries. We have also been the largest bilateral donor to UNFPA, providing more than $610 million since UNFPA was founded in 1968. American generosity over the past three decades has enabled couples to choose when and how many children to have, enhanced maternal and child health, and enabled parents to better provide for their children. As President Bush has said, "One of the best ways to prevent abortion is to provide quality voluntary family planning services." And we know that reproductive health care and family planning saves lives by reducing pregnancy-related deaths around the world.

The Administration's commitment to international family planning remains strong, as reflected in the President's FY 2003 budget request of $425 million for USAID's population program.

When President Bush signed into law H.R. 2506, the "Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2002," (Public Law 107–115, January 10, 2002) he stated:

> The Act does not interfere with our policies regarding bilateral international family planning assistance, and ensures that U.S. funds are not made available to organizations supporting or participating in the management of a program of coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization. The Act provides additional discretion to determine the appropriate level of funding for the United Nations Population Fund.

In particular, because the Act stated that "not more than $34 million for fiscal year 2002 shall be made available for the United Nations Population Fund," the Administration has substantial discretion in determining any appropriate level of UNFPA funding, within the $34 million cap.

I know that Secretary Powell has testified before you and your colleagues on the good work UNFPA has done in so many areas around the world. We support the work UNFPA is doing worldwide to provide safe and voluntary family planning, enhance maternal and infant health, and prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Yet, at the same time, we remain mindful of our important obligations under the Kemp-Kasten amendment to the annual Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs Appropriations Act, which provides that no U.S. funds can go to an organization that supports or participates in the management of a program of coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization.

We are particularly attentive to periodic reports of abuse and coercion in China's family planning program, and have frequently dispatched officers from our embassy or consulates in China to investigate the credibility of these reports. Since 1998, when the UNFPA Executive Board—of which the U.S. is a member—approved a new four-year pilot project in 32 Chinese counties, the U.S. Mission to China has continued to monitor UNFPA's work closely.

Allegations of UNFPA's complicity in coercive family planning practices in China have been recently brought to our attention and to Congress' attention. And while we are aware of UNFPA's response that it is not involved in coercive practices and is, in fact, supporting a program that stresses the importance of voluntarism and non-coercion, it is incumbent upon us to look further into this matter.

In closing, let me reiterate this Administration's strong commitment to international family planning. As I mentioned, we are, and continue to be, the largest bilateral provider of voluntary family planning and related primary health care. The President's FY 2003 budget supports our position as the leading donor.

Senator BOXER. Do you want to start with questions, Senator?

Senator BROWNBACK. If I could make sure that I understand where the administration is, you are just saying you got a report—

you got conflicting opinions from out on Capitol Hill. And so you are saying, "We need some more time to review this," is the essence of where the administration is today. Is that correct?

Mr. DEWEY. That is exactly right, Senator.

Senator BROWNBACK. OK. And then over a period of time, you will make your own investigation, you will do your own investigation within the administration to determine whether or not the Kemp-Kasten is being complied with our not. Is that correct?

Mr. DEWEY. The modalities of the review are really out of my hands, out of the State Department hands. Those modalities are in the White House itself.

Senator BROWNBACK. Have you had a chance to review, then, on the coercive abortion issue and coercive abortion policy, whether it exists in China today? You have not personally, nor the administration has had a chance to review that issue. Is that correct?

Mr. DEWEY. My Bureau has had discussions with China at the reinvigorated human rights meeting just last fall where we have pressed the issue on making changes in the course of family planning practices. As you know, the stated policy of China, even though it is a one-child policy, asserts that there is no coercion. But the practices seem to be different out in the provinces.

And so we have brought it up in that forum. The Embassy in Beijing also engages Chinese officials, particularly the head of the State Planning Commission on Family Planning, on this very issue. So yes, there is a dialog going on where these issues are raised with the appropriate officials.

Senator BROWNBACK. So you are getting it raised, though—what I am hearing you say is you are getting it raised to you in China. The mission is being—it is being raised there at the—that this coercive policy is still taking place, at least out in the provinces.

Mr. DEWEY. That is right, yes. These are reports that we are getting. And these reports are not denied by Chinese officials. They explain them in terms that they cannot control all the practices that are going on throughout the country and that, of course, they decry those practices where they do exist. And they have promised to follow up and to punish the offenders, those who are guilty of abuses.

So this is the line of the government. But our concern is that the abuses seem to continue.

Senator BROWNBACK. Have you had a chance, or has the State Department officials had any chance, to have firsthand evidence interviewing women that have had coerced abortion or sterilizations, and these interviews not be conducted in front of Chinese officials?

Mr. DEWEY. I do not have any indication of that or recollection of any such interviews.

Senator BROWNBACK. Of whether or not they have had or have not occurred, the interviews——

Mr. DEWEY. No, I am not aware of any.

Senator BROWNBACK. Interviews that have occurred?

Mr. DEWEY. I am not aware of any.

Senator BROWNBACK. If I could just request that the administration look into these aggressively, because I know from my own personal experiences the number of suggestions that this is taking

place are very high, that coerced abortion is occurring, that that continues to be an active, aggressive policy in China, that that is taking place, continues to be a high level number of those being suggested. To the degree that the administration can interview and try to follow into some of these rumors or leads to find if they are substantiated or not would be a valuable bit of information in this debate.

I think you are quite wise to hold up on distribution of funds until we can get to the bottom of this. I think it would be helpful in the exchange and the discussion if the administration, when you get a number of these reports to you, could start following in to those and see if these are actually taking place or not.

Mr. DEWEY. Well, we will certainly take that suggestion into account in the course of this review, which is being undertaken.

Senator BROWNBACK. Do you know if China will permit people to openly come in and conduct interviews with women who have alleged that they have gone through coerced abortion or sterilization? It is my understanding they will not.

Mr. DEWEY. I cannot give you a definitive answer on that. I know that interviews have occurred, but I am not sure under what auspices.

Senator BROWNBACK. It is my understanding that the officials, Chinese officials, will not let those take place and have sanctioned the matter. But I do not—I wondered if you had a verification of that or not.

Mr. DEWEY. No, I do not. I do not know to what extent that has been tested.

Senator BROWNBACK. Thank you very much.

Senator BOXER. Thank you very much.

I just want to make it clear that this hearing is not about forced abortion in China. I do not think there is any disagreement from anyone that forced, coerced abortion goes against a woman's right to choose, in my opinion. And it should be condemned, and it is condemned. And that is not what this hearing is about. We could have a hearing on that, if the members want.

This is about the UNFPA. And the UNFPA's own guidelines prohibit them to be involved with coerced abortions in China or anywhere else. I want to make the point clear of what this hearing is or is not about. And I have joined with my colleague in his pursuit of the truth as far as what goes on in China. He has a personal passion about it. And I must tell him that I share that passion. Although I may not have a beautiful child of Chinese heritage as my own, I share that passion.

This is about the UNFPA. So I just want to make sure we know what the hearing is about.

I want to say that, just to correct the record, Mr. Dewey, you said that Luxembourg gave more than we did to the UNFPA in that special drive. Let me name the countries that gave more than we did, just so you know: U.K., the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, and Italy. So I just wanted to make that point. We should have done more than $660,000. I am so happy we did that. But if I had a chance, I would have helped more, because the Afghan people deserved it.

But moving on, just to make sure, Mr. Dewey—and I appreciate your remarks, and I know from the tenor of your remarks, I hope, that maybe an investigation can yield us a good outcome. And I certainly will work with you as hard as I can, if you need me to help you get facts from the field, that these funds will be released.

I know I have hope, given the tenor of your statement, that you are investigating this, and you feel this is your duty. And I hope that you will investigate it, and I hope you will do it soon. And I hope you release these funds.

Frankly, the issue of next year's funds, which there are not any in the budget, is another matter. I do not want to get into that. That is a travesty from my personal point of view. But right now I am looking at the funds that were duly appropriated. As you pointed out, we appropriated more funds in a bipartisan way in this Congress than the administration asked for the last year. And those funds are sitting there locked up.

So I want to know: Have you looked over the UNFPA's guidelines, their program of action, that they adopted in the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development, which states in no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning, and "coercion has no part to play in population and development programs"?

Have you looked at those guidelines? Are you familiar with those guidelines?

Mr. DEWEY. I have indeed looked at them, and I am familiar with them. And I believe that UNFPA sincerely believes that that is their policy and that they are practicing that policy of not condoning coercive methods of family planning.

Senator BOXER. Well, do you think somehow they may be duped? Is that what is going on? Who is duping them and taking your money and doing the wrong thing with it? Who might be duping them?

Mr. DEWEY. It ties back to the language of Kemp-Kasten as to how closely—how close is the support? What does support consist of, to a program, which we know in China does include coercive family planning measures? That seems to be the ambiguity, which, as I said, I am hoping that a review can clear up.

Senator BOXER. Are you aware that there was a review of just this issue by an international review team led by Ambassador Nicolaas Biegman, who is here today? Have you seen his review?

Mr. DEWEY. I have, Madame Chairman. I have seen that review.

Senator BOXER. Do you have respect for the work that he's——

Mr. DEWEY. Yes, and I have respect for his judgment and the work they did. I would say that the findings of that rebuttal were no more dispositive, however, than the findings of PRI were definitive in stating that Kemp-Kasten ought to be invoked.

Senator BOXER. OK. Well, we are going to find out, because we have the Ambassador here. That is not my understanding, but we will see.

Have you seen the State Department's human rights report on this subject?

Mr. DEWEY. The State Department human rights report will be released this evening or tomorrow on this subject. So it has not been released yet.

Senator BOXER. Well, we are talking about last year's. Hang on a second.

[Pause.]

Senator BOXER. Well, I am going to put into the record, from last year's human rights report, information which looks like these are moving in the right direction.

[The following information was subsequently supplied:]

COUNTRY REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES—2000

RELEASED BY THE BUREAU OF DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND LABOR—FEBRUARY 23, 2001

In late 1998, the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) on an experimental basis launched a 4-year pilot project in 32 counties to address family planning and reproductive health issues solely through the use of voluntary measures, emphasizing education, improved reproductive health services, and economic development. The SFPC worked closely with the UNFPA to prepare informational materials and to provide training for officials and the general public in the project counties. Although it was still too early for an overall assessment of this program, visits to selected counties by foreign diplomats indicate that progress in implementing the program has been mixed. Some counties have made appreciable progress in implementing the program, while others have made relatively little. Notably, some counties have informed the general public about the UNFPA program and have eliminated the system of strict, government-assigned birth quotas (allowing couples to choose without authorization when to have their first child); other counties have not yet done so, or have only begun to do so. In Sichuan Province a couple can legally have a second child without applying for permission if they meet all the requirements; however, regulations and implementation vary from town to town. The Government has welcomed foreign delegations to inspect the UNFPA project counties. Although access to these areas has varied from province to province, foreign diplomats visited several counties during the year.

Senator BOXER. I wonder if you are aware that the same group that wrote—that gave the information for the Pakistani news people, that said the UNFPA was involved with doing terrible things in terms of promoting abortion, do you know what that same group said about UNFPA that they had worked closely with Slobodan Milosevic to target Kosovars and accuse them of genocide in Kosovo?

I wonder if you are aware. It seems like this particular group is making these charges about UNFPA continually. Are you aware of that?

Mr. DEWEY. Yes, I am, Madame Chairman. I am aware of that. And I know that that has been used as a way to get at the credibility of that particular team.

Senator BOXER. Well, yes. And I think it is important because we need to know the track record of people who seem to be so powerful that they could prevent thousands and thousands of women from getting help. And what we went through to show you what $34 million will do, this is what I want to leave you with, because I know that you are part of a team here. And I do not want to be unduly harsh on you at all. First of all, because it would not be fair. Second of all, because I hope you are going to release the money. And I want you to come away from this hearing with good feelings about that, because if you do that, you are going to save lives. You are not going to cause injury or harm.

This good you are going to do with the $34 million, you will prevent 2 million unwanted pregnancies, nearly 800,000 induced abor-

tions, 4,700 maternal deaths, 60,000 cases of serious maternal illness, and over 77,000 infant and child deaths.

So, Mr. Dewey, this $34 million in the scheme of our budget is not terribly large, as you well know, in the numbers that we deal with. But when you apply it to real human beings, it does a lot of good. I hope that your review goes well and quickly and that you find, in effect, we will save lives by releasing these funds.

In particular, I hope you will keep the picture of the Afghan women in front of your mind, because we made this promise. And the administration worked so hard with me and Senator Brownback, as did Kofi Annan, to make sure we had women in the Afghan transitional government there overseeing health, making sure that women get the help they need. But they are so short of funding. And this means a tremendous amount.

Yes, other countries stepped up to the plate. But I would be ashamed if we did not step up to the plate, because I would view it as a big mistake.

Again, coerced abortion in China or anywhere else is deplorable. It has been deplored by this Congress and everyone. It is deplored by the UNFPA in their own words. And we cannot use our money in any way for abortion, coerced or otherwise. That has been in place for a long time.

And I just, you know, hope—my colleague and I come after it in a different way. He looks at holding back the money as a way to save life. And I look at it as harming life and causing death. You know, someone will judge who is right and who is wrong. Right now, you are one of the judges.

And I thank you very much for coming. And I hope you could stay and listen to the debate. If not, we will send you a transcript, because I know you are busy and have a lot to do. We thank you for taking the time to appear before the committee.

Mr. DEWEY. Thank you very much, Madame Chairman.

Senator BOXER. Thank you so much, Mr. Dewey.

Now we will call for our second panel, the Honorable Nicolaas Biegman, former Ambassador of the Netherlands to NATO; Mrs. Phyllis Oakley, former Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research, also former Assistant Secretary of State for Population, Refugees, and Migration, and adjunct professor at Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC; and Ms. Josephine Guy, director of Governmental Affairs, America 21, from Louisville, Kentucky; Dr. Nicholas Eberstadt, the Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC.

So if you all would take your chairs as soon as our wonderful staff has provided your nameplates, that would be great.

Now, what we are going to do is we are going to start with you, Ms. Oakley, if you want to just come up. We would ask the others to please take a chair, if you would do so. Thank you.

We are going to use the clock. I think we are going to give each of you—did you prepare 5 minutes? OK; we will put 6 minutes up for you. And that would give you an extra minute in case you want to take a breath along the way. So we are going to go this way, this way, this way, this way, right down the row.

And we will start with you, Mrs. Oakley, and thank you very much for being here.

STATEMENT OF MRS. PHYLLIS E. OAKLEY, FORMER ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH; FORMER ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR POPULATION, REFUGEES, AND MIGRATION; ADJUNCT PROFESSOR, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, DC

Ms. OAKLEY. Thank you, Senator. In contrast to my successor, Gene Dewey, I am delighted to be here. I have written testimony that I will submit for the record. And I would like, in the interest of time, to simply address two other points.

Two weeks ago, I returned from a 10-day trip to Ghana wearing one of my former State Department hats. And I was doing programs on media-government relations in a democracy for the U.S. Embassy. On Saturday, my day off, I was able to visit something organized by the African Youth Alliance made up of the U.N. Population Fund Path and Pathfinder. And it is an AIDS prevention program for adolescents.

The clinic does some testing and counseling but is mainly focusing on education among young people. They are using social groups, videos, and an Internet facility to reach the young people of one particular sprawling and crowded area of Accra. It is very impressive, particularly the enthusiasm and the commitment of the young and in charge and the doctor.

And I am convinced that this type of outreach is absolutely essential in getting control of the spread of AIDS. In talking about their future, they do not want a larger or a grander center. What they want is to replicate that kind of thing around the country. And I might add that the AID mission of the embassy, working with a lot of other groups, has plastered the city of Accra, every bus, SUV, car, chimney, whatever, with a yellow slogan. And it says, "Don't forget your ABCs: Abstain, be faithful, use condoms." The ABCs are taking over there. And I thought it was quite a terrific message.

Now I would like to say something about Afghanistan, because I dealt with Afghanistan for 6 years. I want to show you, Senators, what a safe delivery kit looks like. This is a U.N. Population Fund safe delivery kit. There is a batch number on it, a bar of soap, a razor, a surgical blade, umbilical tape, plastic sheeting, and a gauze bandage.

I was very interested to hear about this report of other safe delivery kits that would include things involved in abortion. I certainly hope you will be able to see an authentic copy or an authentic safe delivery kit like that that was reported. I am absolutely amazed and doubtful that it exists.

Dr. EBERSTADT. If I could, Madame Chairman, I would like to give you a copy of an——

Senator BOXER. Well, if we could just—could we just stop the time?

Dr. EBERSTADT [continuing]. Article. And then you could look at it.

Mrs. OAKLEY. Yes.

Dr. EBERSTADT. And then you would have a copy of this article. And then you can look at it. And maybe we can comment during the question and——

Senator BOXER. Yes.

Mrs. OAKLEY. But I think we would all like to see such a kit.

Let me just say that I think everybody knows from the papers and television what the situation of Afghan women is like and how desperately poor they are. I was so impressed with that article about the hospital. And I love the name, the 52 Beds Clinic. I think that we have to remember that those are the lucky women. Those are the women who get to some sort of facility.

I have been in too many refugee camps, too many places where perhaps the facility was a tent. And these things did not exist. I cannot tell you how important they are.

I also want to add to what Senator Boxer said about the potential happy ending for this story about the 52 Beds Clinic, that in early March, a UNFPA-chartered cargo jet loaded with medical supplies is due to arrive in Kabul from Copenhagen. And with the support of the Government of Italy, the UNFPA is planning a complete renovation of that clinic, along with others in Kabul.

UNFPA has been asked by the new woman Director of Public Health to help across the board with these programs because, again, it may be bad enough for the women in Kabul, but just think of what it is like for the people outside the country.

Anyway, I just wanted to comment on these two very personal, very real experiences I have had. I have seen the positive results of UNFPA and their activities. I certainly urge, not only from my experience in the government but from my role as a world citizen, as a professor, that the funding be released.

Let me stop there. And I will be glad to take your questions. Thank you.

Senator BOXER. Thank you so very much.

[The prepared statement of Mrs. Oakley follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. PHYLLIS OAKLEY, FORMER ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH AND FORMER ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR POPULATION, REFUGEES, AND MIGRATION; ADJUNCT PROFESSOR, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

Good afternoon to you Madame Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee. As most members of this Subcommittee may know, I served in the United States Foreign Service for most of my professional life, including stints as desk officer for Afghanistan, as Deputy Spokesperson under Secretary George Schultz, as Assistant Secretary for Population, Refugees, and Migration and my final assignment as the Department's Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Research. During the past several years of my retirement, I have been teaching at Mt. Holyoke in Massachusetts and on Massachusetts Avenue at the John's Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. I also serve on the boards of several organizations concerned with education and foreign affairs, including, for the past year, the Board of the U.S. Committee for UNFPA. As always, it is a pleasure to be with you today and I welcome the opportunity to share with you my perspectives on international family planning issues and the work of the United Nations Population Fund.

I have been engaged in foreign policy work longer than I might like to admit—over 40 years. So much has changed in that time. I was involved when the Cold War began in earnest, and was there when the Berlin Wall came down. I experienced the transformation of that bipolar world and the emergence of an age of increasing interdependence, where issues, challenges, opportunities and threats transcend national boundaries. Economists have talked of this transformation in terms of the era of globalization. For those of us working on the front lines of diplomacy to protect American interests, we have seen this transformation in terms of an altered landscape of security threats and challenges. Issues like international crime, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, growing numbers of refugees, global environmental challenges, and, of course, the emergence of worldwide networks of terror—these have all emerged from the sidelines to the mainstream of American foreign policy.

My experience in the Foreign Service has taught me many things. And one of the most important is that rapid population growth and associated poverty are dangerous, crosscutting trends that must be addressed through international cooperation. To ignore them is to ignore some of the driving forces underlying the global issues that are so prominent today. Mine is the first—and hopefully it will be the only—generation to have lived through more than a tripling of global population. When I was born, there were about 2 billion people on the Earth, today there are more than 6. That is a whole lot of change—and it is profound. Today, there are 2 billion people who live on less than $2 a day.

Now, I am no expert on whether the Earth's environmental systems can sustain that kind of growth or the demand for resources associated with 6 or 7 or 8 billion people. But what I can tell you is this:

First, that population growth has made the world a much more complicated place—exponentially so. Demographic forces are not divorced from issues of state power, and help to shape not only our bilateral relations with other nations, but also our global priorities.

Second, I have learned—because I have seen it—that rapid population growth and persistent, jaw-dropping poverty are a dangerous mix. That was true in Pakistan when I lived there; in Zaire; it was true in Afghanistan when I was a desk officer; it was true in the dreadful refugee camps that I visited after the genocide in Rwanda; and it is true in so many places today.

In the early 1990s, I was working on Humanitarian Assistance programs on the border of Afghanistan and Pakistan. The discrepancy between rapid population growth and the ability of governments to respond was striking. In overstretched infrastructure, heroic efforts were made to try and get people into school. Those lucky enough to get through school were rudely awakened by the reality that the society could not produce enough jobs to keep up with growing numbers. There is little surprise, then, that strident, fundamentalist religious schools became popular with the uneducated and the underemployed.

I don't want to belabor the point, suffice it to say that my own experience has led me to the belief that rapid population growth should be and must be considered as an important factor influencing America's engagement around the world.

The question is, what can we do about it? I understand that nobody wants to talk about these issues, involving as they do sensitive personal, social and religious issues. But we can't ignore them, so we have to talk about them. That is one of the reasons why we are fortunate to have the United Nations Population Fund as an institution and forum for confronting these issues in a civilized, adult manner.

I was somewhat familiar with UNFPA's work for many years, but learned much more about them when I became Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration. At that time, UNFPA was coordinating preparations for the International Conference on Population and Development, which was held in Cairo in 1994. And they did a wonderful job, not only in the logistical preparations for that conference, but in working with the world to create a remarkable new vision for international population policy.

They listened to the world—hearing from representatives of all regions, diverse religious and cultural backgrounds, NGOs and individuals from all over the world. Because they listened, the bedrock principle of the action plan reached at the ICPD is that population policies should be pursued with full respect for not only national sovereignty, but also diverse religious and ethical values and in accordance with universally recognized human rights.

They moved the world away from a fixation on the number of people on the planet and towards a needs-based approach—focusing on the fact that if people, especially women, have access to family planning and other health services, if they are educated, if they have economic opportunities, if human rights are respected, and if men will recognize their responsibilities for homelife, if all these conditions are met, the global population will stabilize on its own, and we need not focus on numbers.

This new approach, forged through UNFPA leadership and agreed at the ICPD, was all aimed at addressing concerns—held especially by women and NGOs around the world about the use of demographic targets and certain situations in which coercion was encouraged. This is a very important point Madame Chairman, and I want to underscore it. The United Nations Population Fund was the leading advocate, *the* force that moved international population policy away from numeric targets and other tactics that could encourage coercion. UNFPA championed a human rights based approach to population policy.

All of us who were at Cairo recognized what a wonderful achievement this was. And all of us on the U.S. delegation were thrilled to be a part of it.

After Cairo, I became more and more familiar with UNFPA's work in the field. Not only its ongoing efforts in more than 140 countries around the world. But especially its efforts in areas that overlapped with other responsibilities I carried, particularly in crisis situations in refugee camps around the world.

In Goma, I saw how important UNFPA's work was in providing emergency supplies for pregnant women. You all will recall the honor of those vast numbers moving so quickly, the outbreak of cholera, camps organized amazingly overnight when hundreds of thousands of people fled the massacres occurring in Rwanda and crossed over into what was then Zaire. These were difficult and dangerous situations. Ethnic tensions were high. Thousands of women had been raped as an instrument of terror. Gangs were commonplace and security in the camps almost nonexistant in the beginning because the Government of Zaire could supply none. In the midst of all of this, brave international public servants from UNFPA worked tirelessly to provide the most basic supplies so that pregnant women would have a chance to deliver a child safely.

They supplied soap, plastic sheeting, a razor blade to cut the umbilical cord, sutures for complications, rape treatment kits and basic contraceptive supplies.

In Kosovo, several years later, UNFPA was there as part of the United Nations humanitarian response team when hundreds of thousands of Kosovars fled mass killings and the systematic use of rape. Again, brave international civil servants responded and helped to provide emergency supplies and such things as underwear for girls and women.

For their efforts, a handful of organizations, including the Population Research Institute, chose to go on the attack, going so far as to make the outrageous accusation that UNFPA was conspiring with Mr. Milosevic in a campaign of genocide.

Those same organizations have been giving UNFPA a hard time over Afghanistan, where the Fund is again working to meet the needs of those displaced by 20 years of civil war and the welcome efforts of the United States and others to rid that country of terrorists and the harsh rule of the Taliban.

I have been to Afghan refugee camps and I have seen UNFPA's contribution to international humanitarian response efforts. I wish that all those who take potshots at the UN, who think that international cooperation is about bloated bureaucracy, or who cavalierly attack UNFPA could experience these heart-rending situations. If they did, they would have their hats off to these brave individuals and the hard-working organizations they represent. And if I have not been clear enough, let me just say that I resent and take great offense to those who have attempted to ruin the reputation of UNFPA and international family planning in such a reckless fashion.

Nowhere has this been more evident than in the endless campaign that has been waged to suggest that UNFPA is complicit in the very serious and disturbing violations of human rights that occur in China. As a woman, and one who has seen the anomalous gender ratios in China, I am not about to defend China's one-child policy, the incidence of coercion or female infanticide. The facts are pretty clear, and very upsetting.

It is equally clear that UNFPA has absolutely nothing to do with these practices, nor does the United States contribution to UNFPA. U.S. law has prevented even one cent of the U.S. contribution to UNFPA from being spent in China for years. More fundamentally, the clear evidence is that the UN Population Fund is aware of the problems in China's program and that it is attempting to work with the Chinese to demonstrate the greater wisdom and effectiveness of voluntary, non-coercive population policies. Reflecting the consensus it championed and forged at the Cairo Conference, UNFPA has insisted that Chinese authorities agree to discontinue to the use of targets, quotas and other coercive means in each of the 32 counties in which it is providing assistance to the Chinese. This does not mean that UNFPA's staff of four people in China has taken over China's program—it means that UNFPA is having a positive influence. And that fact is being born out in the reporting of our own foreign service officers.

Last year's Human Rights report—not known for pulling punches—found clear evidence of UNFPA's positive influence in China. Let just quote a few passages:

> 600 counties covering about half the country's population have adopted more liberal (population) policies.
>
> The Government was beginning to relax its policies in the cities. Other jurisdictions, such as Minglan village in Yandu County, have reportedly followed the earlier example of Beijing and other cities, abolishing birth permits and allowing couples to decide on their own when to have a baby.

The evidence from others, including the many monitoring teams that have been sent to observe progress of the UNFPA program echo these sentiments.

There is only one place in the world where UNFPA's activities are questioned—and that is right here in Washington. I was the relevant Assistant Secretary of State for three years. During that time, I have to tell you that never, not once, did I hear from another government, from my forceful colleagues in the human rights bureau, from the intelligence community, or from any reputable human rights organization expressing concerns about UNFPA's work in China or anywhere else. Not one cable, not one letter, not one phone call. Nothing.

Why?

Because this is only an issue of American domestic politics—not of foreign policy or of the actions of an international organization. UNFPA is a good organization caught in the vise of American politics. That is what makes this issue so sad, so frustrating, so Kafkaesque. Hours and hours are wasted at the Department, on the Hill and throughout Washington in an annual fight that is based on smear, innuendo and hatefulness.

All of us who have worked on this issue have been tempted to throw up our hands, to give up, to become frustrated by the groundless nature of this debate. But if it is tempting, it is also wrong.

For to give up would not only abandon the architecture that has been put in place for addressing common global issues, but it would also abandon those women and children who depend on UNFPA in refugee camps, it would be to give up on the 350 million couples that want to plan their families but don't have access to modern family planning services, and it would be to abandon those people in China and elsewhere who yearn to realize their basic human rights as individuals. This is not a debate about what words are put in an appropriations bill. This is a fight for the most impoverished and repressed people in the world, it is about truthfulness, and it is about American leadership on the great issues of this new century unfolding.

I thank the Subcommittee for inviting me hear today. And I hope that you will endeavor with your colleagues to put this issue behind us—where it belongs—once and for all.

Senator BOXER. Mr. Ambassador, please go ahead for 6 minutes.

STATEMENT OF HON. NICOLAAS H. BIEGMAN, FORMER AMBASSADOR OF THE NETHERLANDS TO NATO, AMSTERDAM, THE NETHERLANDS

Ambassador BIEGMAN. Madame Chairman, I would like to thank you for the opportunity to testify this afternoon on the work of the U.N. Population Fund and specifically on its activities in China.

I am truly pleased and honored to share with you what I know today.

Senator BOXER. Can you move closer to the microphone? Thank you.

Ambassador BIEGMAN. Is this all right?

Senator BOXER. Much better. Thank you very much. I just want you to be heard.

Ambassador BIEGMAN. So do I.

Before I start, let me tell you just a little about myself. I served my country, the Netherlands, for 38 years in the Foreign Service. I was Ambassador to Egypt, to the United Nations and, until recently, to NATO. And I managed our foreign assistance program between 1988 and 1992.

As U.N. Ambassador, I was very actively involved in the International Conference on Population Development in Cairo in 1994. I was vice-chair of the preparatory process, chairing many sessions of the main committee.

UNFPA is the main international agency working on the implementation of the program of action of which you have cited, already quoted some of the principles. It is committed to a range of internationally agreed human rights standards, UNFPA is, including the right of all couples and individuals to decide freely and respon-

sibly the number, spacing, and timing of their children; to have the information and means to do so; and to make decisions free of discrimination, coercion, and violence.

The UNFPA provides financial, technical, and program assistance to 140 governments to help them carry out effective maternal and child health, reproductive health, and voluntary family planning programs. UNFPA is active in HIV/AIDS education and prevention. And all these activities are watched very closely by an executive board composed of representatives from 36 governments among which the United States is an active and longstanding member.

The U.N. Population Fund is prohibited from providing support for abortion or abortion-related activities anywhere in the world. That has been said already, and I do not have to repeat it. It is one of these policies which have been spelled explicitly out in the program of action, which I was proud to help negotiate.

So in this context I was asked to lead this independent international review team to investigate allegations linking the U.N. Population Fund to human rights abuses in China, allegations which were brought forward by a group called the Population Research Institute at the hearing before the House Committee in October 2001.

I would like to state for the record that I accepted this invitation with an open mind, an open mind. I am familiar with the U.N. Population Fund. I believe that they have been extremely helpful in the developing world. But I know that everyone knows that the possibility for abuses exists and that it must be vigilantly guarded against. So I traveled to China with my team, prepared to uncover and weigh the facts impartially and to respond fairly and accurately to whatever we might find.

So the investigation in China started on October 22 of last year and lasted a total of 5 days. Apart from myself, the team consisted of diplomats, all female, from the Missions at the U.N. of Honduras, the Czech Republic, and Botswana. To aid our investigation and help our departure, we requested some specific information from the organization making the allegation, especially about the places where they—which they had visited in the county of Sihui. Unfortunately, they were either unwilling or unable to provide a response.

So our job was to look for evidence that UNFPA is linked to a coercive family planning policy in China. I was not asked to simply look for human rights abuses. The U.S. State Department documents an extensive array of human rights abuses in its annual human rights report for China. These allegations of abuse are horrendous and should be addressed as forcefully as possible.

The mission I led had a single goal, to see if we could uncover any credible evidence that the U.N. Population Fund violated the human rights of Chinese citizens or was complicit in any way in helping the Chinese Government violate the human rights of its citizens.

During our 5-day investigation in China, we met with officials for UNFPA and the Chinese Government and with officials from the U.S. Embassy. We visited a total of seven family planning clinics, service centers and hospitals in the county from which the allega-

tions stemmed, and also in another county that receives funding from UNFPA. As far as time permitted, we interviewed Chinese citizens at random, on the street, in family planning and mother and child health clinics, in villages, using two independent interpreters and without Chinese Government officials present.

Senator BOXER. Mr. Biegman, I will give you another minute. I will give each of the next speakers an additional minute.

Ambassador BIEGMAN. Another minute, Madame. That is very short. But it is safe to say——

Senator BOXER. Well, we could be here a long time. But what I need you to do is summarize, and then we will have questions.

Ambassador BIEGMAN. Very well.

OK. In short, let me say that we found absolutely no evidence that the U.N. Population Fund supports coercive family planning practices in China or violates the human rights of the Chinese in any way. We found that the quality of care had improved in the counties we visited, which coincided with the findings of the journalist of the Wall Street Journal, which were published in the Wall Street Journal in February, on February 2, 2001.

We did find that the UNFPA is a positive force for change in China away from the alleged abuses, as you will find in the PRI report, and toward a client-based voluntary approach. The practice followed in the pilot counties where UNFPA is working, 32 of them has been followed up now in 600 of the about 1,700, I think, counties in China. It is meant to be followed in the rest of the country as well.

So let me conclude, Madame Chairman, by saying that the U.N. Population Fund is doing what needs to be done in China, as far as it can, spending $3.2 million a year in a country of 1.3 billion people.

Are the results perfect? No. But is the effort worth it? I think the answer to that would be a resounding yes. And I think the worst the UNFPA could do is take the easy way and walk out of that country.

Thank you very much.

Senator BOXER. Well, thank you, Mr. Ambassador, very much.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Biegman follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. NICOLAAS H. BIEGMAN, FORMER AMBASSADOR OF THE NETHERLANDS TO NATO

Madame Chairman, members of the Subcommittee, I would like to thank you for the opportunity to testify this afternoon on the work of the United Nations Population Fund and specifically on its activities in China. I am truly pleased and honored to share what I know with you today.

Before I start, let me tell you a little about myself I served my country the Netherlands for 38 years in the Foreign Service. Among many postings, I have been Ambassador to the United Nations and to NATO. From 1988 to 1992, I was the Director-General for Netherland's International Cooperation, managing and overseeing our foreign assistance program.

While I knew the work of the United Nations Population Fund before I became Ambassador to the UN in 1992, I became better acquainted with UNFPA through my active involvement in the 1994 lnternational Conference on Population and Development. I was the Vice-Chair of the preparatory process and I chaired many sessions of the Main Committee at the Conference itself in Cairo, where the last-minute negotiations took place. After much push and pull, 179 governments, including the United States, approved a program of action, which continues to guide the work of United Nations Population Fund to this day.

The United Nations Population Fund plays a very specific role in developing countries. It helps them to provide reproductive health and family planning services on the basis of informed individual decision. This is the central guiding principle of the Programme of Action of the 1994 Cairo Conference, which, in effect, shifted the focus of population policy away from achieving demographic targets and quotas to promoting human rights and meeting the individual needs of women and men.

Since the United Nations Population Fund is guided by and promotes the Programme of Action, it is committed to a range of internationally agreed human rights standards, including the right of all couples and individuals to decide freely and responsibly the number, spacing and timing of their children; to have the information and means to do so; and to make decisions concerning reproduction free of discrimination, coercion and violence. The ICPD Program of Action also states, and I quote: "In no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning."

The countries that provide funding to the United Nations Population Fund, including the United States, insist that UNFPA follow these principles and that it carefully monitor its activities to ensure that all activities are not only in line with the ICPD Programme of Action, but that they are producing positive results. In the case of the United States, its contributions are kept in a segregated account and not one cent of the U.S. contribution to UNFPA is spent in China.

UNFPA provides financial, technical and program assistance to 140 governments to help them carry out effective maternal and child health, reproductive health, and voluntary family planning programs. In recent years, HIV/AIDS education and prevention has also become an important component of UNFPA's programs in many countries. All of the activities of the UN Population Fund are watched very closely by its Executive Board, which is composed of representatives from 36 governments. The United States is an active and longstanding Board member.

The involvement of the United Nations Population Fund in any country is based on a written agreement between UNFPA and the government that must meet the internationally agreed standards and principles of the Cairo Conference. These country work plans are carefully reviewed and approved by the intergovernmental Executive Board to ensure that they make efficient use of scarce resources to meet the pressing needs of recipient countries, and that they comply with the strict standards and policies that the world's governments and the Executive Board have set for UNFPA.

The United Nations Population Fund is prohibited from providing support for abortions or abortion-related activities anywhere in the world. Written policy clearly states that the Fund is "not to provide assistance for abortion, abortion services, or abortion-related equipment and supplies as a method of family planning." The Fund is also prohibited from promoting or providing support for involuntary sterilization or coercive practices of any kind. All of these principles and policies are spelled out explicitly in the Cairo Programme of Action and I vividly remember the negotiations that led to their final approval.

It is within this context that I was asked by the UN Population Fund to lead an independent international review team to investigate allegations linking the UN Population Fund to human rights abuses in China. The crux of these allegations is whether UNFPA is violating its commitments under the Programme of Action of the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development and acting directly against the express wishes of its intergovernmental Executive Board and its donors, including the United States.

The allegations were brought forward by the group Population Research Institute at a hearing before the House Committee on Foreign Relations on October 17, 2001. They alleged that abuses had taken place by family planning workers in one of the counties in China that receives assistance from the UN Population Fund.

I would like to state for the record that I accept this invitation with an open mind.

Although I am familiar with the UN Population Fund and believe that its work has, on balance, been very helpful in the developing world, everyone who works on these types of issues understands that the possibility for abuse exists and must be vigilantly guarded against. I traveled to China prepared to uncover and weigh the facts impartially and to respond fairly and accurately to whatever I might find. I also believe that the delegation that accompanied me was open-minded and quite ready and able to identify any and all possible complicity by UNFPA in violating human rights.

Our investigation in China began on October 22, 2001 and lasted a total of five days. I was accompanied by Ms. Noemi Ruth Espinoza-Madrid, the Deputy Ambassador of Honduras to the United Nations; Ms. Jana Simonova, Minister Counsellor of the Czech Mission to the United Nations, and Emolemo Morake, First Secretary of the Botswana Mission to the United Nations.

In preparation for this mission we endeavored to collect as much information as we could about the specific allegations that had been brought forward about the UNFPA program in China. To aid our investigation, we requested specific information from the organization making the allegations via a direct telephone conversation and also through a written statement that they requested. Unfortunately, they were either unwilling or unable to provide a response, so we had to rely upon the evidence and allegations made at the October 17th hearing.

I also entered this mission with a very clear view of what my job was. I was asked to look for evidence that UNFPA is linked to a coercive family planning policy in China. I was not asked to simply look for human rights abuses. The U.S. State Department documents an extensive array of human rights abuses in its annual Human Rights Report for China. These allegations of abuse are horrendous and should be addressed as forcefully as possible. The mission I led had a single goal: to see if we could uncover any credible evidence that the *UN Population Fund* violated the human rights of Chinese citizens or was complicit in any way in helping the Chinese Government violate the human rights of its citizens.

Our investigation found absolutely no evidence that the UN Population Fund supports coercive family planning practices in China or violates the human rights of Chinese people in any way. After we returned, we prepared a detailed report of our activities and findings, which is publicly available and I believe the members of the Subcommittee have copies of this report.

During our five-day investigation in China, we met with officials from UNFPA and the Chinese government, and with officials from the United States Embassy. We also visited a total of seven family planning clinics, service centers and hospitals in the county from which the allegations stemmed and also in another county that receives UNFPA funding. As far as time permitted, we interviewed Chinese citizens at random—on the street, in family planning and mother and child health clinics, in villages—using two independent interpreters and without any Chinese government officials present. Our random interviews with people on the street included over three hours of discussions.

Responses varied, but generally people believed that family planning policy in their area had been relaxed considerably in recent years and that the quality of care had improved. No one expressed any grievances or complaints or knew of any abuses in recent years. Such abuses had occurred in the past, they said, but not in the present.

The team also asked nearly every government official and family planning/reproductive health service provider whether they knew of recent abuses. None said he did. The team also asked these people if such abuses were possible. They all said yes, such abuses were possible, but that those responsible would be punished in accordance with the severity of the abuse because Chinese law now forbids such abuses. I took this to be a very positive sign.

Madame Chairman, our goal was to uncover the truth, and to determine if the reported abuses are true. But in some cases it became quickly apparent that the allegations were simply wrong. For example, the desk that supposedly comprised the UNFPA office in Sihui County that was constantly referred to in the testimony before the House Committee simply does not exist. That purported UNFPA office, which formed a central part of the testimony of the Population Research Institute, is a complete and utter fabrication. UNFPA has no offices in China outside Beijing.

Now that I have told you what we did *not* find, let me tell you what we *did* find.

Our investigation found that the UN Population Fund's program in China, which took two years to establish, appears to be playing a positive and catalytic role in the reform of reproductive health services—*away* from an administrative approach *to* a client-oriented approach that promotes informed choice of contraceptive methods through information, education and counseling.

Voluntary, quality family planning services are not yet the norm throughout China. However, our investigation found that UNFPA's program, which operates in a limited number of counties in China, is helping to show Chinese officials that voluntary family planning programs are the best way to reduce population growth.

The overall impression that the team came away with was that the Chinese approach had changed in the two project counties we visited and that the people we met were aware of, and benefiting from, this change.

It was also apparent that the United Nations Population Fund does *not* support the Chinese Government's one-child policy in name or practice and does not take any part in supporting or managing the Government's program. In fact, assistance from UNFPA is less than 0.1 percent of the $3.6 billion annual cost of China's national family planning program.

The UNFPA program, which exists in 32 counties, is meant to demonstrate the efficacy of the client-based approach, which is based on voluntary family planning,

and is purposefully designed to eliminate the sort of abuses alleged. The principles and non-coercive policies in these demonstration projects are now being adopted by the Chinese Government on a larger scale in the future.

I would like to stress that this view was reinforced by officials at the United States Embassy in Beijing who noted during a lengthy discussion that UNFPA was definitely a positive force in moving China away from precisely the kinds of practices and abuses alleged by the Population Research Institute. The U.S. officials further noted that the UN Population Fund had had a direct, positive effect on the language of new legislation on family planning and reproductive health—a point that was reinforced by the Vice-Chairperson of the National Congress.

Madame Chairman, let me be clear: the UNFPA program in China is not a panacea, it is not by itself going to change China's policies overnight. That is unrealistic and naive. But I would argue it is far better for the UNFPA to stay engaged and promote dialogue, better laws and better services than taking the easy route and packing their bags. The UN Population Fund is doing what needs to be done, one step at a time, to assist China in moving away from coercive policies and practices. Are the results perfect? No. But is the effort worth it? I think the answer to that is an overwhelming yes. The UN Population Fund represents the world's interests in helping China to move in a direction that is in line with international human rights standards.

The investigation I led was by no means the first visit by foreign government officials to UNFPA project sites in China. As I mentioned earlier, the United Nations Population Fund relies on rigorous monitoring visits by foreign diplomats, its Beijing-based staff, independent experts and delegations of its 36 member intergovernmental Executive Board to ensure that human rights standards are maintained. Since 1997, nearly 60 diplomats from some 30 countries, including the United States, have visited project counties and found no evidence of any wrongdoing by the United Nations Population Fund.

Thank you Madame Chairman and members of the Subcommittee for the opportunity to share my knowledge with you today of the UN Population Fund and its activities in China. I am pleased to answer any questions you may have.

Senator BOXER. I am very happy that the ranking member has arrived. And he and I—he was just at another hearing, playing an important role. He is going to get his papers together, his thoughts together, listen to the main panelists, and then give his opening remarks. And then we will resume the questioning.

So, Ms. Guy, welcome. And let me—I should reintroduce you, since it has been awhile since we have heard about you.

Ms. Guy is head of Governmental Relations at a non-governmental organization called America 21. And I understand that you also work as a consultant to the Population Research Institute.

Ms. GUY. I do not work as a consultant, no.

Senator BOXER. Do you have any affiliation with them at all?

Ms. GUY. Officially?

Senator BOXER. No, not officially.

Ms. GUY. Yes. I have a relationship with——

Senator BOXER. OK. As a non-official relationship with the Population Research Institute. But I think it is important, because we are going to have a discussion about this.

So, please proceed, Ms. Guy. Welcome. And we have given you an extra—you have 7 minutes for your presentation——

Ms. GUY. Thank you.

Senator BOXER [continuing]. As does Mr. Eberstadt.

STATEMENT OF MS. JOSEPHINE GUY, DIRECTOR OF GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS, AMERICA 21, LOUISVILLE, KY

Ms. GUY. I would like to thank each of you for inviting me here today. To make this precise, I am simply going to read, so we can move along, because we have a video we would like to show you.

Senator BOXER. Sure.

Ms. GUY. My investigation in China began last September 27, 2001. With two translators and a photographer, my investigation lasted 4 days.

I volunteered for this assignment and sought no assistance from the PRC. Had such assistance been sought, the PRC Government would likely have obstructed our investigation or influenced the testimonies provided by the victims in this UNFPA county program.

We interviewed over two dozen victims and witnesses of coercion in this so-called model county program. During primary interviews, some choked back tears as they spoke of the abuse they suffered. Others flocked to tell us of their stories of coercion.

Interviews were recorded in notebooks, on audio and videotape. Additional photographic evidence was obtained. The abuses we documented are recent. They are rampant and unrelenting. And they exist in a program where the UNFPA claims that women are free to determine the timing and spacing of pregnancy.

On the first day, we interviewed women about a mile from the office desk of the UNFPA representative in Sihui, at the Dasha Hospital. A 19-year-old there told us she was too young to be pregnant, according to the law. While she was receiving a non-voluntary abortion in an adjacent room, her friends told us that she desired to keep her baby, but she had no choice, since the law forbids.

In a residential area within this UNFPA so-called model county program, a woman testified that she became pregnant despite an earlier attempt by family planning officials to forcibly sterilize her. She was forcibly sterilized a second time. Had she refused, she told us on videotape, family planning crews would have destroyed her home.

We asked, "What happens if you want to give birth to another child? Would someone come and take you in by force for an abortion?"

She responded, "Yes."

"And if you don't go?" we asked.

"They would tear down my house," she said, adding "Right now things are very strict."

We were told that many women hide their pregnancy so they can give birth to a child they desire and escape retribution from officials.

We asked a group of women in another residential area within this UNFPA county program about 5 miles from the Sihui Office of Family Planning, "Do you know of anyone whose houses have been destroy for not following an order to have an abortion?"

"Yes, many," was the response.

We were told of the punishments inflicted on those who wish to freely determine the timing and spacing of pregnancy. We were told of the forced use of IUD's and mandatory IUD exams.

In another residential area, we asked a couple, "Did they tell you that you have to go in regular to have your IUD checked?"

The woman responded, "Yes, absolutely. We have to have it checked four times a year. The birth control workers come and tell you it's time."

We asked this couple, "If someone in the village had more than one child, would there be consequences for the entire village?"

The man told us, "Those who have additional births will be fined. Whether the birth control work is done well affects how much money the village birth control workers get."

In another residential area, we interviewed a victim who had heroically escaped forced abortion by hiding in a nearby village. As punishment, three people in her mother's family and six people in her mother-in-law's family were thrown into prison. They were released after 4 months, only after a crippling fine of 17,000 RMB, about $2,000 U.S., equal to about 3 year's wages. And it was paid to the family planning officials. Today this woman's black child is about 14 months old, and she must pay another 17,000 RMB before her child can be legally registered.

Of the family planning workers who extracted the fines, this woman said, "These people embezzle the money. They are corrupt. The district family planning officials take the money back home. The majority of the women have their children without proper spacing and suffer consequences."

When this woman's relatives were in jail, the Office of Family Planning sent a crew of officials to their homes. And they destroyed their homes and belongings with jackhammers. One of her relatives testified, "The whole family was arrested. Everything in the house was stolen. The houses were completely emptied. We didn't have anything left inside."

All interviews were conducted within a few miles from the desk of a UNFPA representative, in a county where UNFPA contends that coercion does not exist.

Through contact made with local officials, we located the county government building. And within this building we located the Office of Family Planning. And within the Office of Family Planning, family planning officials showed us the location of the UNFPA desk. We were told that a UNFPA representative works with, in and through the Sihui Office of Family Planning. We photographed the UNFPA office desk—and you can see over here on the podium—which faces, in fact touches, a desk of the Chinese Office of Family Planning.

All of the locations of the interviews that were conducted fell within this county and under the governance of the county bureaucracy housed in the county government building.

Prior to my arrival in China, research had been done to reveal that volunteerism does not exist in at least two more UNFPA so-called model counties in China, in Korla, in Xianjiang Province, and in Jianou—you have to forgive me—Fujian Province. But due to the information already obtained, and mindful of potential risks and dangers to the individual interviewed, it was decided that I should return home.

Honorable chairman, members of this committee, in this county where the UNFPA operates, where UNFPA insists that only volunteerism exists, we were told by victims of coercion themselves that there is in fact no trace of volunteerism in this county. There is only coercion in abundant supply in this county where UNFPA operates, from within the Office of Family Planning.

And before I add the video, I would like to add that if we seem uncooperative in trying to assist the interviews that were conducted earlier, I made a promise to these women that we would not develop a path where it could be used to come back to them. And I just want that to be understood.

Senator BOXER. Well, we are going to—we will show your video after we go through the panel, because we have—you got 7 minutes.

Ms. GUY. OK.

Senator BOXER. I want to be fair. So let us go—and thank you. So let us——

Ms. GUY. The video is very short.

Senator BOXER. All right.

Ms. GUY. OK. Good.

Senator BOXER. Thank you very much for your eloquence.

Ms. OAKLEY. We have a video, too. I did not bring it up in the——

Senator BOXER. Is it very short?

Ms. OAKLEY. Three minutes—in the interest of time.

Senator BOXER. How long is yours?

Ms. GUY. Under three.

Senator BOXER. Good. Well, that is a fair deal. So we will show both at the end of this.

Ms. GUY. OK.

Senator BOXER. So thank you for your eloquent testimony.

Dr. Eberstadt, welcome back. I have had you before me before. We welcome you.

STATEMENT OF DR. NICHOLAS EBERSTADT, HENRY WENDT CHAIR IN POLITICAL ECONOMY, AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE, WASHINGTON, DC

Dr. EBERSTADT. Thank you very much, Madame Chairman, distinguished members of the committee and esteemed guests. It is always an honor to be back before your committee.

Madame Chairman, I thought that I might best use my time this afternoon to provide a little bit of background on UNFPA. The U.N. Population Fund, UNFPA, is a runaway agency, an institution that has been hijacked, diverted from its original mission, and subsequently infused with a radical and ambitious demographic ideology.

If one takes a look back at early documents from the UNFPA, this is what one reads. In its 1975 annual report it says, "Serious warnings have been issued from time to time in the population situation, but the fund has advisedly avoided making apocalyptic statements since that would be contrary to its mandate to influence government decisions in any way."

Today, by contrast, the UNFPA speaks of its mandate for promoting what it calls a "universally acceptable goal of stabilizing world population." Now "stabilizing world population" is code language. And it is also a bit of a misnomer. Russia's population, for example, is declining by about 1 million people a year due to the excess of deaths over births. But UNFPA does not indicate any great interest in stabilizing Russia's population decline.

Instead, "stabilizing world population" or "stabilizing population" means depressing birth rates worldwide, or, as the former execu-

tive director of UNFPA put it, "achieving the lowest level of population in the very shortest time."

That objective, by the way, is shared by current executive director of the UNFPA, Dr. Obaid. She was quoted this month during a visit to Pakistan as saying, "Yes, Pakistan has been doing well to slash its population growth rate, but it still has more to do in this regard." I think that is quite a fair exegesis of the self-directed mandate.

To justify this anti-natal posture, UNFPA has repeatedly invoked disaster and purported impending catastrophe, often against received scientific knowledge or through a skewed and partisan reading of scientific data. I will not go through chapter and verse, but I will read you a few headlines that the UNFPA has garnered over the years.

"The United Nations yesterday asked people everywhere to pause July 11 and contemplate the bleak future of Baby 5 billion, the child whose birth will push the Earth's population over the 5 billion mark."

"Nutrition levels are dropping and infant mortality may once again be on the rise."

"'The world's population is growing by three people every second. And unless this is curbed, most gains so far achieved and improving the quality of life will be swept away,' the U.N. Population fund said today."

"U.N. report warns of population 'catastrophe.'" And on and on and on.

From 2001, "U.N. says 4 billion will be living in hunger by the year 2050." That is many times higher than the FAO would claim or project.

The UNFPA's extreme view is disavowed even by other branches of the United Nations. Thus we hear from Joseph Chamie, the Director of the U.N. Secretary's Population Division, "The UNFPA is a fund. They have an agenda," Chamie said, distinguishing his work from theirs.

The UNFPA's infatuation with coercive population control goes back at least to 1983. In that year, the UNFPA awarded its first population prizes, one to Indira Ghandi, the other to the chief of China's State Family Planning Commission at that time.

At that time, there was no doubt, no disagreement among objective observers, that China's program was coercive. Indeed: the respected American Nobel Laureate Economist, Theodore W. Schultz, resigned in protest from the UNFPA Advisory Commission, which was supposedly awarding these prizes, but had no actual say in granting them.

The tone deafness toward coercive population control of the UNFPA thus is really nothing new.

One or two extra points which I would submit for consideration: There is a fungibility question. Funds granted to organizations can be used in different ways to advance their purposes. The UNFPA funds in support of China's program can be used by that government to support its own priorities, just as ostensibly segregated U.S. funds to UNFPA will advance other priorities.

There is the human rights question, of course, which we have already touched on, and the abuses in China's population program.

And I would encourage us all to engage in a further thought experiment. In many areas of the world, the appalling practice of female genital mutilation is still implemented. What would we think if the UNFPA involved itself in a country where this practice was occurring, with the argument that by improving the health quality of such procedures, women's lives could be saved? I think we would not want to legitimize that practice. We would not want to ratify that practice. We would not want to go there.

Finally, Madame Chairman, let me say I have no doubt the UNFPA has supported very many worthy activities. An organization which has dispensed over $5 billion surely should have some achievements to claim. But the ideologizing of the leadership of UNFPA risks degrading the quality of the organization's work and of making that leadership insufficiently attentive to possible human rights abuses committed in the service of the agenda that it prefers.

I will stop there. Thank you.

Senator BOXER. Thank you so much.

I think what we will do is hear from our esteemed ranking member. Then we will go to the videos. And then we will take the questions.

You are welcome to be here, and we are happy to hear from you.

Senator ENZI. Thank you very much. And again I apologize for not being here earlier. I was in an OSHA hearing across the hall. We were trying to reduce the number of injuries and deaths among immigrant workers. And that was one of my first committee assignments when I came to the Senate.

Senator BOXER. Great.

Senator ENZI. And I do appreciate your holding this subcommittee hearing. And I do not want to destroy the flow of it. I will submit a statement for the record. I would rather do that, and then move onto some questions.

Senator BOXER. Thank you so much, Senator. You are very gracious.

[The prepared statement of Senator Enzi follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR MIKE ENZI

Madame Chairman, Thank you for calling this hearing to address United States funds going to the United Nations Population Fund. While UNFPA may have a very positive impact through some local programs, I believe it is the responsibility of the United States to ensure that we are not monetarily supporting programs that oppose our values. The right to bear children is a basic human right and the forced termination of a pregnancy is the ultimate denial of human rights.

President Bush and his Administration are correct in withholding U.S. funds for UNFPA until we can determine if UNFPA is supporting or participating in coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization programs.

The continued existence of coercive programs in China is evident, as we will hear from some of today's witnesses. While the government states that coercive practices are no longer condoned, they are still widely practiced in China. As UNFPA continues to focus solely on family planning issues and assisting Chinese population policies, I am concerned that other areas of health are being neglected.

We also must remember that China may not be the only country where coercive abortion exists. The history of Peru's family planning practices raise too many questions about possible cover ups in order to protect UNFPA programs. In addition, I am concerned that UNFPA may be neglecting their own Mission statements, not only by possibly supporting coercive programs, but by failing to adequately and appropriately investigate the programs in which they are involved.

I hope today's hearing will shed some light on China's practices. I also hope we can begin to work with the Administration to see how best the United States should address this situation. I thank each witness for participating in today's hearing and look forward to hearing their testimony. Thank you, Madame Chairman.

Senator BOXER. And yes, let us show—Ms. Guy, do you want to show your video first? And then we will show Ms. Oakley's. And then I will have some questions for 5 minutes. And then I will give you over to Senator Enzi and then Senator Brownback and back to me.

[A videotape was shown.]

Senator BOXER. I will be asking some questions as to how you get to that conclusion after watching that very moving film, how you came to that conclusion. But we will let you ponder that.

And, Mrs. Oakley, do you want to show——

Mrs. OAKLEY. Yes.

[A videotape was shown.]

Senator BOXER. I think that's all of the time we—

Mrs. OAKLEY. Yes.

Senator BOXER. Let me ask you, Ms. Oakley, who paid for that? Is that a UNFPA-paid-for film?

Mrs. OAKLEY. It is my assumption. May I turn and get confirmation?

Senator BOXER. Yes. Just let me know.

Mrs. OAKLEY. Yes. It is a UNFPA——

Senator BOXER. And, Ms. Guy, who paid for your film?

Ms. GUY. PRI.

Senator BOXER. PRI. So that is your affiliation. They paid for your trip, and they paid——

Ms. GUY. They paid my expenses, but they did not pay me to go.

Senator BOXER. I think that is very important. You did not say that at first. I asked if you were a consultant. You said at the beginning you were not. But in fact, PRI paid for—it is fine. I just wanted to set the record straight.

Ms. GUY. Yes, that is correct. I guess I want to clarify what you mean by consultant. In my mind, when you hire someone to be a consultant, it is because they have an expertise in the field. I did not go in that capacity. I thought that is what you meant by consultant.

Senator BOXER. No. Somebody who gets their expenses paid by an organization in which something like this, a report, is made, I would say——

Ms. GUY. OK. I just misunderstood what you meant.

Senator BOXER. That is fine. I just wanted to clarify it. We have an argument here between UNFPA and PRI and a couple other people who get involved. But that is what we really do have.

Ms. Guy, in your very, I thought, moving presentation, plus your very moving videotape, are you suggesting in any way that UNFPA actually conducted an abortion?

Ms. GUY. Am I suggesting that they conducted it?

Senator BOXER. Yes, that they performed an abortion, anyone working for them performed the abortion.

Ms. GUY. I was never anyplace where an abortion was performed, so I have no idea who performed the abortion.

Senator BOXER. So you do not know whether they did or they did not.

Ms. GUY. I do not know who did.

Senator BOXER. I thought you said the government. I thought that was your question, was about the question.

Ms. GUY. My question?

Senator BOXER. Yes, to her. Did the women refer to the government, that the government says you have to go to their——

Ms. GUY. The family planning officials——

Senator BOXER. Yes.

Ms. GUY [continuing]. Are part of the PRC Government.

Senator BOXER. So none of the women said to you that UNFPA encouraged them to have an abortion. They did not bring that up on their own.

Ms. GUY. None of the women, when I asked them about the UNFPA, even knew what UNFPA was.

Senator BOXER. Good. Good. That is what I am trying to establish.

Is there anything on this list, this partial list of minimum required equipment for the maternity ward in 52 Beds in Kabul that the UNFPA is buying? Is there anything there that you would object to, Ms. Guy, or Mr. Eberstadt, anything on that list that you think is upsetting to you in any way?

Ms. GUY. Is your question to me, is it upsetting?

Senator BOXER. Yes. Is there anything that upsets you on that list that you think is inappropriate for the UNFPA to be doing, getting operating lamps, EKG monitors, et cetera, refrigerated products, a baby scale? Does anything on that list say to you that something is—that these things would not help people get healthcare?

Ms. GUY. Based upon the face of it, nothing upsets me, no.

Senator BOXER. Good.

Mr. Eberstadt, anything there that rings your bell?

Dr. EBERSTADT. No, of course not.

Senator BOXER. I guess that would fall under the category of "they do some good things" then.

Dr. EBERSTADT. Absolutely.

Senator BOXER. This would be good, right?

Dr. EBERSTADT. Yes.

Senator BOXER. Good. And the bad thing they do, could you—I was not clear, because you said they are radicals and that they have—they are all radicals. They have this radical agenda. I did not see anything radical in what they are trying to do. But you are saying that in their mind they are radical. What is the problem?

Dr. EBERSTADT. No. I did not say they are all radicals. I said that in the leadership there is some radical ideology that is pervasive. Pervasive does not mean every single one. And that ideology, as I tried to explain, is anti-natal ideology, striving everywhere to depress birth rates under the argument or the belief that this will help avert global catastrophe at some future date.

To the extent that this ideology substitutes for a scientific appreciation of facts, it necessarily distorts policies.

Senator BOXER. Well, from what I know about the work they do, they seem to save an awful lot of lives. So what they think, what their ideology is, is one thing. I am——

Dr. EBERSTADT. They could say a lot, Senator.

Senator BOXER [continuing]. Pro-choice. You are probably not. Is that right? Am I guessing right on that?

Dr. EBERSTADT. I am very troubled about the issue.

Senator BOXER. You are troubled about the issue, and I am not. I am pro-choice. But clearly, you are troubled about the issue. I have enormous respect for that. If you do something good for people, save their lives, I am going to love you for it regardless of whether you are troubled about the issue.

So Mrs. Oakley, you may be one of these people who is referred to, because you are involved in the UNFPA, are you not, on the American committee that supports——

Mrs. OAKLEY. Yes, I am involved in it. I was a member of the delegation that went to Cairo for the conference in 1994. I gave it my all. I was very pleased with the results of the conference. I am now on the U.S. committee for UNFPA.

Senator BOXER. Do you agree with Mr. Eberstadt that the—I hope I am quoting correctly—that the leadership and it is—he said pervasive in the leadership is a radical mind set that is motivating UNFPA to depress——

Dr. EBERSTADT. Anti-natalism.

Senator BOXER. Anti-natalism. That means against little babies, I guess.

Mrs. OAKLEY. Yes. I am delighted to take that question. And I am very interested in his approach, because I think he sets up a strawman, this idea that population policies supported by UNFPA is based on numbers. I think that we all know that fields evolve. As I understand it from some population work, 30, 40 years ago it was more numbers driving it. And all you have to do is read the literature from the Cairo conference, the program of action, to realize that people in this field have moved away from numbers.

There is no way that you can talk about it. I think he is very right to talk about the disparities in Russia of falling populations, the drain of the population in the United States and Japan. We all know about it.

What we are talking about is growth rates that are appropriate for the development of those countries. There are no numbers attached.

Senator BOXER. In other words, so that the children that are born—first of all, will be born—in a healthy fashion, because I think that is the point. What is important to me is that these children are born healthy and that we do not force women to have abortions by virtue of the fact that they will do anything because they are so desperate not to have a child. That is the irony that I see. This concentration on China, I understand, and every one of us deplores it.

Now, Ambassador, I want to ask this: You did not say in your statement, which is very pro-UNFPA, you did not say that there is not coerced abortion in China, did you? What I thought your group found out is that there is improvement in that area because of UNFPA. Is that what you said? It is certainly not perfect, but to throw UNFPA out of there is going to lead to more trouble. Is that not what I basically heard you say?

Ambassador BIEGMAN. What I would say about coercion in China is that in approximately two-thirds of China there still is coercion, because they have not moved yet from the old coercive policies toward the Cairo approach of volunteerism. The volunteerism area is expanding. They started with 5 counties in 1995. They moved to 32. They are now at 600, very much with the help of UNFPA.

Senator BOXER. So your point is that we are not contesting our side, because I am on your side of the issue. I do not think there is a question of where we all stand—and I will conclude with this in this round. You are not contesting the fact that these women are suffering in some cases and maybe even these counties where it should not be happening. You are basically saying it is moving in the right direction. And UNFPA is playing a vital role.

And if you look at their own charter, that is very clear, they can do nothing to promote this, they have to oppose this. And that is what you found. How many people were in your trip, on your delegation?

Ambassador BIEGMAN. We were four.

Senator BOXER. From which countries?

Ambassador BIEGMAN. From the Netherlands, Honduras, the Czech Republic, and Botswana.

Senator BOXER. Very interesting. Thank you.

Senator Enzi.

Senator ENZI. Thank you, Madame Chairman.

I know that I was not here for part of this and that there is a statement put on the record about some abortion devices among Afghan refugees. Mrs. Oakley, is this the only kit the UNFPA puts out?

Mrs. OAKLEY. This has been the main one. There is another one that substitutes sterile clamps for this cord in this one to tie the umbilical cord. You will notice up here there is a batch number. These are registered. And when they are distributed—and in response to the suggestion that there may be kits that include abortion whatever, I have asked and I thought it would be very interesting if we could all see one of those kits.

Senator ENZI. So the two kinds of kits are the only kinds that were put out by the UNFPA.

Mrs. OAKLEY. The only kind I have ever heard of.

Senator ENZI. You were the Assistant Secretary of State for Population, Refugees, and Migration. And after charges were brought that the Peruvian Government was involved in coercive population growth programs, the UNFPA denied any knowledge of any coercion. A report by UNFPA confirmed those charges, but the report remained buried until recently.

If UNFPA knowingly continued to fund coercive programs, would it not be a violation of UNFPA's own guidelines that all funded programs are voluntary?

Mrs. OAKLEY. It certainly would be. Let me say that I left the Bureau in 1997. The issue of Peru had not come up. I am going to have to excuse myself on that one. I had not heard about it until this afternoon.

Senator ENZI. If the UNFPA guidelines do require that the programs are fully voluntary, fully voluntary, before they can receive

funding, how did UNFPA determine that China was eligible for funding?

Mrs. OAKLEY. Again, it is because of where they are going that they have moved away from the programs on coercion that were described by Ambassador Biegman, that they recognize that they have a problem. I would also say, as an outside observer, the Chinese Government realized that their programs really were not working and were not sustainable over the long run.

So they have had a move away from that. Nobody is saying that they are completely there today, but I think you have to look at the direction and the way they are going and how we can help them stay on that path.

Senator ENZI. So all the country has to do is show a little bit of improvement.

Mrs. OAKLEY. No, I do not think a little bit of improvement does it. I think they have to make a sincere effort. And I think there are ways to establish that.

Senator ENZI. It is unfortunate that we cannot do some of our own audits on these things, that we do have to rely on other people.

I appreciate your testimony and comments.

Ms. Guy, based on your interviews and investigations, do you think that it is plausible for UNFPA to have a fair assessment of women's responses to family planning when it works under the permission of the Chinese Government? Concerning the coercion phase of the family planning offices, do you think women would be willing to talk about their experiences in the presence of government officials?

Ms. GUY. No, I do not believe that would even be possible, based upon the conversations that I had with them. It was under the promise that I would not identify them and lead anybody back to them. The one woman whose testimony you heard about the little boy that you saw in the video, we were able to get a still shot of her. But she strictly forbid us to use the video when we were interviewing her, because of the fear of reprisals from the PRC.

Senator ENZI. Did you see any evidence during your investigation that the UNFPA program is voluntary? Did you see any evidence that the Chinese Government family planning program is voluntary?

Ms. GUY. Since I cannot read Chinese, I can—when you say "see," do you mean did I see pamphlets or things of that nature? When you say "see," what do you mean?

Senator ENZI. I give you wide latitude on that.

Ms. GUY. OK. Well, when I went into the villages, everything was written in Chinese, of course. It was pointed out to me that there were some signs about family planning. When I had discussions with all of the women about the volunteerism in this particular county that we were in, they all were emphatic that, in fact, it did not exist.

And my conclusion was that if UNFPA was working separately from the family planning officials, that they may have known about the program, but maybe they did not come to their homes to discuss it, or to implement such programs in the villages. But they

had absolutely no knowledge about anything that UNFPA may or may not have been doing in their villages.

If I may respond to the unanswered question that Senator Boxer had asked, she asked how did we come to, your words, come to that conclusion about—on the videotape, if I may just say, that the UNFPA works out of the same office as the family planning official. And if you look at the videotape or if you want to put up the still there, their desk actually faces—they have to face one another.

So for them to actually say or even give testimony that they do not know about coercion, I find that—I would have to ask you if that—I find that highly unlikely, that these things could be going on and UNFPA would not know about it.

When we went to the office, we specifically asked for them to show us where the UNFPA desk or office was. We thought it would be in a separate office, that they would be working in—and that the family planning official would be somewhere else. But, in fact, there is one desk. They pointed it out to us.

And we asked to speak to the U.N. worker, and they told us that she was unwell, she was in the hospital. So we were not actually able to get testimony from her. But they clearly pointed out that that was the United Nations desk. That was from the family planning officials themselves.

Senator ENZI. Since the consultant thing seems to be a key on this——

Ms. GUY. Yes.

Senator ENZI [continuing]. When you went over, I understand that you got expenses.

Ms. GUY. True.

Senator ENZI. Were you compensated? Were you paid a salary? Were you——

Ms. GUY. I was not compensated one penny. I even used some of my own money to go.

Senator ENZI. Thank you.

I will yield back the balance of my 10 seconds.

Senator BOXER. Senator Brownback.

Senator BROWNBACK. Thank you. Thank you, Madame Chairman.

It is quite a heroic activity you did, Ms. Guy, to go in undercover and to be able to report those and then to get a videotaping of that. I think we would all agree that that is a deplorable situation that needs to be investigated much further.

Have you had a positive response from U.S. officials, or have UNFPA officials said, "Well, we need to investigate this further" after your return with this videotaping and pictures?

Ms. GUY. To me personally? No.

Senator BROWNBACK. Or to any group you know of?

Ms. GUY. You may want to ask the president of PRI that question. He is behind me right here. I personally was not asked that question. I do understand there was an investigation, as we heard today, to follow up on that.

Senator BROWNBACK. But have you been contacted by the U.N. to say, "We want to investigate this further after what you saw"?

Ms. GUY. I did receive one call after I got back from China at my home. And I do not remember the gentleman's name, but I did

understand him to say that he was a consultant for the UNFPA and he wanted to question me and wanted to know where the women lived in the villages. And I told him that I was not willing to give him that information, and if he had any other questions, he could direct them to PRI.

Senator BROWNBACK. It seems like we should have this further looked at. And we ought to have a UNFPA official in to question them about what your findings were and about what Dr. Eberstadt's comments are. I find the suggestions very troubling, if we are putting that sort of funding toward this group.

I note you have a list of items here for hospitals. There are other organizations other than the UNFPA that funds hospital items and equipment, particularly even from the American Government within AID, the Agency for International Development, American schools and hospitals abroad, funds hospital equipment. In my own state we have a group called Heart to Heart that provides equipment, provides medical care. And maybe that is something that I can work with you, Mrs. Oakley, on securing this from other sources.

I think you are certainly getting to know here that there is some question about how UNFPA funds things. There is no question that we need to help out with the hospitals. So if there are things that I or others can do, because we have multiple different sources to be able to get hospital equipment and items from—and we should not let this long-term question about UNFPA, its ideology, the continued assertions of it supporting or knowing of forced abortions or sterilizations and not being actively involved differently, we should not let that question get in the way of our helping hospitals in Afghanistan, which I strongly support us doing.

And I think we ought to look at some different sources for the funding, so that we do not get this held up in that fight, because they need the equipment now. They need to go through that.

One thing, Ms. Oakley, that I want to direct your attention on, and it is a bit of an aside, but you are on the witness stand, so I want to ask you about it. You were head of the office here during the Clinton administration as Assistant Secretary for Population, Refugees, and Migration. You have worked with a number of different groups.

We had this enormous falloff in the number of refugees that we have admitted into the United States during the last 10 years and particularly during your tenure at the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration. And we just had the prior witness up in a hearing that I held in the Immigration Subcommittee, berating him about why we are not taking more refugees. It is not that there is not enough refugees in the world. There are something like 14 million. And yet we have really been declining in our commitment and acceptance.

And I have put a chart in front of you that I have up here about during the years that you were there, 1993 to 1997, when we fell off to nearly 15,000 per year refugees that we were taking into the United States. Why are we not receiving more? Why did that fall off so rapidly?

Mrs. OAKLEY. Senator, may I say at the beginning that I am extremely flattered that you could think that I can remember the absolute details of those programs. But let me——

Senator BROWNBACK. You do not have to remember the details; 15,000——

Mrs. OAKLEY. Let me try and give you the answers as I remember them. But perhaps if I make a mistake on this, I could correct it for the record.

When I took over as the Principal Deputy and then as Assistant Secretary in 1994, we had two major refugee programs. The first was the Vietnamese program, the whole programs of the boat people that were winding down, that had been such an amazing success.

Our second largest program, and the numbers varied on this, involved Pentecostals, Evangelical Christians, and Soviet Jews from the former Soviet Union. Generally the numbers for the Soviet program were extremely high. And we were coming to the end of that program.

And as some of the resettlement was talked about, when you come to the end of programs, you get the people who are older and who are sicker and who do not qualify under the requirements for refugees to come into the United States.

And as I remember, most of those numbers that were unused came from unused Soviet numbers, that we simply did not have enough people then to fill the slots that were available for them. It was of great concern to me that our numbers of what we were asking for and what we could bring into the country did not—were not closer together, because I felt that the integrity of refugee programs really involves making those numbers match as best we can.

And so I worked on that to see how we could reduce some of those programs so that it would match what we were actually doing.

Senator BROWNBACK. I hope you will work with us to try to get these numbers back up, because there are a lot of refugees. And your expertise in the past would be helpful for us to try to do that again.

Mrs. OAKLEY. Yes, certainly.

Senator BROWNBACK. Madame Chairman.

Senator BOXER. Thank you.

Senator, did you want to ask one more question before you had to leave? Because I am happy to just defer to you.

Senator BROWNBACK. Go ahead.

Senator BOXER. Thank you.

On the issue of refugees, I mean we hope for a peaceful world where Communist countries do go away and totalitarianism does go away. And then people do not have to come here because they can stay home and find peace and find freedom to worship, et cetera, et cetera. So I hope that we do not have to see numbers go up, because if the numbers go down, I would hope it meant that there were not that many people who needed to escape from the terror and the horror. And I know we are all going to work on that.

Let me get back to the question of this particular hearing, and that is: Do we do any good by holding $34 million hostage because in one country we know there are still bad things going on in terms

of China? And there is no debate about it. The question is whether UNFPA is making things worse.

And, Ms. Guy, you seem to think they do. I am not exactly clear how because you said, to your knowledge, they are not involved in the actual abortions in any way. So my question to you is: Do you know——

Ms. GUY. I do not believe that was testimony, Senator Boxer. I do not think that is what I said.

Senator BOXER. You said that you did not know that they were involved in actually performing the abortions.

Ms. GUY. I said I was not in the room where the abortions were being——

Senator BOXER. So you are holding that out, that it is possible that the——

Ms. GUY. No, I am not. No.

Senator BOXER. So let us be clear.

Ms. GUY. I am not holding that out.

Senator BOXER. You are not holding that out?

Ms. GUY. I just wanted to make the record clear.

Senator BOXER. Well, the record is murky. What I am saying is: You are certainly not suggesting you are telling us today that the employees at the UNFPA are performing abortions in China. You are not telling us that.

Ms. GUY. I am not telling you that.

Senator BOXER. Very good. OK. Now let me get on.

How many people work in China for the UNFPA in the whole country?

Ms. GUY. I believe that is a question you would have to direct to UNFPA. I have no knowledge.

Senator BOXER. I have knowledge. How many do you think? You are showing them this great, all-consuming power——

Senator BROWNBACK. I do not know whether you should ask her to guess.

Senator BOXER. Well, I am asking—I am questioning the witness, and she does not have to answer if she—

Ms. GUY. OK. Well, you——

Senator BOXER. But if you were to think—are you thinking it is in the tens of people, it is in the hundreds of people? How many people do you think work for the UNFPA?

Ms. GUY. I would only be guessing. I have no idea.

Senator BOXER. OK. Well, there are four people who work for the UNFPA. And I just think the way this whole presentation is going, it is as if they are hovering over every clinic and, you know, encouraging bad things to happen. It just does not make any sense at all.

And I want to—Mr. Biegman, when you were in China—Ms. Guy said that she saw the office of the UNFPA, but no one was there, no one was at the desk. But she was told that——

Ms. GUY. I am sorry, Senator Boxer. I do not mean to keep interrupting. But I did not say that I saw the office of the UNFPA.

Senator BOXER. Oh, I am sorry. I thought you said that the desk of the UNFPA, they had an office across the way from the Chinese——

Ms. GUY. No. If you want to look at the picture, I can point it out to you.

Senator BOXER. Why do you not just explain it? I am glad to hear this. What did you exactly say was the relationship in terms of where the UNFPA had its office with the Chinese authorities?

Ms. GUY. OK. I believe, if we look back at the record—it is probably better to just look back at the record for the accuracy, but I said that there was an office that was identified to us by the Chinese officials as the Chinese Family Planning Office.

Senator BOXER. Oh. I see.

Ms. GUY. May I continue with that thought?

Senator BOXER. Certainly.

Ms. GUY. And within that office was a desk that was identified as the UNFPA desk.

Senator BOXER. OK.

Ms. GUY. If you look at the picture, I can show you exactly which desk it is.

Senator BOXER. That is fine. Now I get it.

Ms. GUY. OK.

Senator BOXER. So it is the Chinese Family Planning Agency, in which there is a desk. So that it may be that the UNFPA may come there once in a while to keep their eye on this program, because I think what has been testified to is that they are trying to help ensure that these counties, these special counties, move away from coercion. They would have to, in fact, talk to the people there. So I do not see anything nefarious. I think it is good that they would be hanging close there.

Mr. Biegman, you were actually there. What was your impression? Do you think that the UNFPA—I am going to be just using pretty straightforward terms here. Are they trying to, in your opinion, move China away from coerced abortions and sterilization toward voluntary family planning, or are they in essence working with the Chinese authorities to coerce abortions? Your sense; you were there.

Ambassador BIEGMAN. It is very much my impression, having talked to both the Chinese authorities and UNFPA people at length, that indeed UNFPA and the Chinese authorities are working together on eliminating coercive policies in the field of reproduction health and family planning.

I would like to refer to one of the attachments to our report, which may not be familiar to everybody, but which is a leaflet with two children on it, not one, which is a distribution among the households of the various project counties in China.

Senator BOXER. I am going to ask that that be included in the record without objection.

[The information referred to follows:]

[On the front cover.]

REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH/FAMILY PLANNING PROJECT

CRP/98/PO1

THE PROJECT OFFICE OF THE STATE FAMILY PLANNING COMMISSION

[The contents of the main body of the text:]

Dear people of reproductive ages:

How are you?

The Project of Reproductive Health/Family Planning (RH/FP) is the 4th cycle of cooperation between the Chinese Government and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). The county where you are residing at is one of the project counties. We sincerely hope you and your family will actively participate in our project activities.

The purpose of the project is to have contributed to increasing dissemination of RH/FP information and knowledge, promotion of responsible reproductive behaviour and practices, providing comprehensive services of quality of care concerning RH/FP and to have contributed to the formulation of the Government's RH/FP strategies for the next century, in line with the principles of the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD).

The ICPD Programme of Action points out that people have the right to decide freely and responsibly whether to have children or not, or the number and timing of their children. The Programme of Action defines 15 principles: Among them the major contents concerning human rights include the following: all humans are born free and equal in terms of dignity and rights; human beings are at the center of concerns for sustainable development; the promotion of gender equality, equity and women's rights; the elimination of violence against women; the assurance of women's ability to decide their own childbearing; each individual is entitled to education. The content concerning the right to development are: population-related goals and policies should be integral parts of cultural, economic and social development; the right to development is a part of fundamental human rights; economic growth and social progress must be effected on the condition of sustainable development and the alleviation of poverty.

The Programme of Action also points out that it is the sovereign right of each country to carry out the recommendations contained in the Programme of Action. The implementation must be consistent with national laws and development policies, with full respect for the various religious and ethical values and cultural backgrounds of people, and be in line with universally recognized human rights.

Reproductive health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity, in all matters relating to the reproductive system and to its functions and processes. Reproductive health therefore implies that people are able to have a satisfying and safe sex life and that they have the capability to reproduce and have the right to decide responsibly and freely whether or not to have children and the number and timing of their children. Implicit in this last condition are the right of men and women to be informed and to have access to safe, effective, affordable and acceptable methods of family planning, as well as other methods of their choice of regulation of fertility which are not against the law, and the right of access to appropriate health-care services that will enable women to go safely through pregnancy and childbirth and provide couples with the best opportunity of having a healthy infant.

During the implementation of the project in 32 counties, the Chinese Government and the United Nations Population Fund will work together to ensure doing the following:

- Advocate for responsible reproductive health/family planning behaviour and practice; provide the technical skills and health care for safe, effective, affordable and reproductive health and family planning services.
- Increase RH/FP information and knowledge; mobilize all people and organizations at all levels to actively participate in all project activities.
- Adopt an integrated approach, one that will combine the promotion of family planning with economic development, universal education, improvement of women's status and provision of quality family planning and reproductive health services.
- Not engage in any form of coercion.
- Abolish birth quotas and targets.

After reading this letter, please kindly pass this message on to your friends, and we hope you actively participate in all project activities. If you need more information, please contact your local family planning or village offices. They will kindly provide services of quality of care with all their heart.

Thank you for your cooperation and support.

Project Office of the State Family Planning Office.

[On the back cover:]

If you have any reproductive health or family planning problems, you are welcome to contact your local reproductive health services or health care organizations. You

are also welcome to contact the Project Office of the State Family Planning Commission.

Our address is:

State Family Planning Commission Project Office
14 Zhichun Road, Beijing (100088)
Tel: (010) 62051834

生殖健康/计划生育项目

CPR/98/PO1

国家计划生育委员会项目办公室

亲爱的广大育龄群众:

您好!

生殖健康/计划生育项目是我国政府与联合国人口基金(UNFPA)第四周期合作项目。您所在的县被包括在本次项目中,希望您和您的家庭积极参与项目活动。

本项目的宗旨是: 增加生殖健康和计划生育的信息、知识的宣传,倡导负责任的生育行为,提供优质的生殖健康和计划生育综合服务,使中国下一个世纪生殖健康和计划生育的战略继续与国际人口与发展大会《行动纲领》的原则相一致。

国际人口与发展大会《行动纲领》指出: 人们可以负责任地、自由决定是否生育、何时生育和生育多少。并规定了15条原则,其中,有关人权的内容有: 人人生而自由,在尊严和权利上一律平等; 人是可持续发展问题的中心; 促进男女平等、公平和赋予妇女权利、消除对妇女的暴力、确保妇女有能力控制自己的生育; 人人有受教育的权利。有关发展权的内容有:人口目标和政策应成为文化、经济和社会发展的有机组成部分,发展权是基本人权的一部分;可持续发展及其条件下的持续经济增长和社会进步; 消除贫困。同时还指出,执行行动纲领各项建议是每个国家的主权权利, 要符合国家法律和发展优先事项,充分尊重人民的不同宗教、道德观念和文化背景, 符合普遍公认的人权。

生殖健康是指生殖系统及其功能和过程所涉及一切事宜上身体、精神和社会等方面的健康状态,而不仅仅指没有疾病或不虚弱。因此,生殖健康表示人们能够有满意的性生活,有生育能力,可以负责任地、自由决定是否生育、何时生育和生育多少。最后所述的这一条,意指男女均有权获知并能实际获取他们所选择的安全、有效、负担得起和可接受的计划生育方法,以及他们所选

计划生育项目

定的、不违反法律的调节生育率方法，有权获得适当的保健服务，从而使妇女能够安全地怀孕和生育，使育龄夫妇能够得到生育健康婴儿的最佳机会。

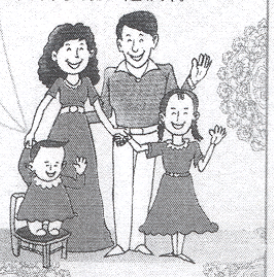
在32个项目县实施项目期间，我国政府和联合国人口基金保证做到：

* 积极倡导负责任的生殖健康／计划生育行为，提供最大范围的、安全、有效和可接受的生殖健康／计划生育技术和保健服务；
* 大力普及生殖健康／计划生育的信息和知识，动员广大群众和各级组织积极参与各项生殖健康／计划生育活动；
* 采取计划生育与发展经济、普及教育、提高妇女地位以及提供优质服务相结合的一整套措施，促进生殖健康／计划生育的进一步开展；
* 不搞任何形式的强迫；
* 取消生育配额和指标。

阅读过此信后，请向您的朋友们传递“生殖健康／计划生育”的信息，并希望您能积极参与项目活动。如果您想了解更多的信息，请与当地的计划生育或医疗卫生机构联系，他们将很真诚为您提供一切优质服务。

谢谢您们的合作与支持！

国家计生委
生殖健康／计划生育项目办公室
1999年6月



如果您有生殖健康／计划生育方面的问题，

可以到您所在地计划生育或医疗服务机构咨询；

也可以直接向国家计生委项目办公室电话咨询。

我们的通信地址是：北京市海淀区知春路 14 号

邮政编码：100088

项目办公室电话：（010)62051834

CPR/98/P01

SFPC

UNFPA

Ambassador BIEGMAN. There is a translation of this. This is in Chinese, of course. There is a translation attached as well, which I might read out to you, just the main things which says the—it is about the project, Reproductive Health and Family Planning Project of UNFPA and the State Family Planning Commission.

And it has, among other things, the ICPD Programme of Action points out that people have the right to decide freely and responsibly whether to have children or not, or the number and timing of their children. And then there are the 15 principles of the program of action and so on and so forth.

There is a very orthodox, I mean worldwide orthodox, definition of reproductive health taken straight from the Cairo program of action.

And then it says, "During the implementation of the project in 32 counties, the Chinese Government and the United Nations Population Fund will work together to ensure doing the following: Advocate for responsible reproductive health/family planning behavior" and so on, "increase reproductive health and family planning information and knowledge; mobilize all people and organizations at all levels to actively participate; adopt an integrated approach." And then it says "not to engage in any form of coercion," and "to abolish birth quotas and targets."

This was spread very widely, because once we knew about this, anywhere we went in—and we went into the houses of some people on and off. We asked them, "Do you know this?" And they said "yes." And sometimes they produced it, you know. They produced it.

So it is very much my impression that, of course, UNFPA cannot work on its own in China. They have to work together with the Chinese authorities or quit. So that is what they are doing. And they are doing it in the right direction. They are doing a good job.

Senator BOXER. Well, thank you. I think that is clearly—you believe that, you saw that with your own eyes. Ms. Guy had another experience. And, you know, I think we are going to have to make the decision as to what we want to do.

Senator Enzi.

Senator ENZI. Thank you, Madame Chairman.

Now that we have established that the UNFPA only has 4 employees in China, how do 4 employees monitor the programs in 32 counties, Mr. Ambassador?

Ambassador BIEGMAN. UNFPA does not work with its own employees, but it works with other U.N. agencies. And it works with NGO's, like, you know, others. They are the executive agencies in all those counties. UNFPA monitors. They visit these counties at least once a year. They have their regular meetings with the executive agencies. That is how it works.

Senator ENZI. I am just trying to recall my map of China and the towns. I am from Wyoming. A big town there is 250 people. And I can understand 4 people monitoring this sort of thing in Wyoming, but I am having a little problem just with it itself, with figuring out how people would know what is going on anywhere at any time.

You say that they get out into the field and they visit where every year? Everywhere every year? And I cannot get——

Ambassador BIEGMAN. Every year it seems they visit one of the project counties of UNFPA. They know about as much about the China program as a minister knows about social security in his own country. These are huge fields. And you try to know and to be secure about the trend which is developing and about the general lines of policy which are being followed by the Chinese Government. I think that is the main thing.

Senator BOXER. Would you yield to me? I——

Ambassador BIEGMAN. And it is impossible to know about all the——

Senator BOXER. I might have something—it would not come off your time—that might help. During the 4-year history of the current China program, UNFPA's activities in China have been visited by more than 60 outside international observers representing more than 30 countries, one of which was Mr. Biegman's—this does not count, Ms. Guy's visit, which was in an unannounced, undercover operation. But we have people visiting.

And so the fact is they are dealing with other people in the U.N., which leads to a bigger problem, because if you think that is not working well, and you take the money away from this agency, and there are a lot of people involved here who go after their money, we will really have a problem.

Would you add two more minutes to Senator Enzi's time?

Senator ENZI. And I thank you for mentioning that Ms. Guy's meeting was unannounced. And that, of course, implies that these others were announced.

Your trip, Mr. Ambassador, was announced, was arranged with the Chinese Government?

Ambassador BIEGMAN. Yes. It could not have been otherwise.

Senator ENZI. During these visits, how much time was spent doing private interviews, do you know, without the knowledge or observation of the government officials?

Ambassador BIEGMAN. We calculated we had about 3 hours of private conversations, the various members of the team. But what we did from time—we had one or two Chinese Government officials with us, of course, on all of the trip. I would try to monopolize their attention. And the other three members of the team would go into this clinic and talk to women who were sitting there being counseled. That is how we did it.

Senator ENZI. A very difficult task, then, of distracting them so that people could actually ask questions.

Ambassador BIEGMAN. It could be done. It could be done. There were three of them. There were one or two Chinese with us whom we had to distract—or not to distract, but I kept talking to them, you know, about interesting things.

Senator ENZI. Right. But again from an auditing standpoint here, I am very sensitive right now; I am auditing. The people that happened to be in the clinic, could that have been controlled in any way by the Chinese Government, or were they all purely random?

Ambassador BIEGMAN. I think the Chinese authorities would have been—would have to be very, very well organized in order to orchestrate all that. I cannot imagine that, not really. And they looked genuine. They were, you know, humble village women, who

had their stories to tell, but who did not tell about abuses or things like that. They could have done it easily, easily, and they did not.

Senator ENZI. How were the homes that you went to chosen for the interviews?

Ambassador BIEGMAN. They took us to one or two villages in the vicinity of Sihui and let us—let us walk about, let us walk about. That, frankly—frankly, if I were you, I would not—I would not take too seriously, because that, of course, could be set up. You have a village. You have three or four or five houses where somebody happens to be home and they have us come in and visit. Even there we asked people, how—young, say young man, around 20, 22 years old, not yet married, "How many children would you like to have in the future?" They would say, "Well, maybe two, maybe three. I will see."

May I—excuse me. May I come back to this famous desk, this famous UNFPA desk in Sihui County? I cannot believe there is one. I mean, if UNFPA visits the county once a year, is there a desk for them? I mean, they would walk about. They talk to the state people. They—

Senator ENZI. Quite frankly, if I wanted to keep somebody from actually looking at the problem, I would provide them with a desk.

Ambassador BIEGMAN. You know, they can walk about without a desk. But, I mean, it is to speak, as the report did, which was presented to the Congress last year, about abuses occurring within a mile of the UNFPA desk in Sihui is not giving accurate information.

Senator ENZI. Would you like to comment on this, Ms. Guy?

Ms. GUY. My comment would be we asked the Chinese where we could find the United Nations desk. And they directed us to that desk and pointed it out to not only me but to the Chinese translator, who was with me when I arrived, the day prior to my arrival. Actually, we went three times. And three times they told us the same thing.

Senator ENZI. Were there Chinese officials with you all the time?

Ms. GUY. They were never with us. They did not know we were there.

Senator ENZI. How did you select the people that you talked to?

Ms. GUY. Just random, just going—finding a village and walking in and going to the resident with—most of the villages up front, there are market areas where people are selling and buying goods. And then you proceed to the back of those villages, and you find the residential areas.

And we would just find a group of women or people congregating and told them that we wanted to speak with them about family issues. And when we got very pointed about our questions, I expected that possibly they would not really want to talk about it. But to my surprise, I found that they very much wanted to talk about it and were very adamant.

If you—if anybody gets an opportunity, you might want to just actually listen to the audio tape itself. We translated it, but you can hear the voices in here. And they are very passionate, these voices. And when they found out that we were talking about this particular issue, they came around and rallied around the table always outside under a tree, except for the one or two that was in

the home there. And especially the elderly women, who were the mothers of the women who were in a big force in these provinces, were very passionate about how bad it was for their daughters. And they just really wished things would change.

And so we just went and randomly selected villages and walked in.

Senator ENZI. Thank you.

No, I will not take the extra 2 minutes.

Senator BOXER. Are you sure?

Senator ENZI. I thank you, Madame Chairman, for your courtesy.

Senator BOXER. Thank you so much, Senator Enzi, for your good questions.

Senator Brownback.

Senator BROWNBACK. Thank you, Madame Chairman. I would ask for unanimous consent that the full report from the Population Research Institute be submitted into the record.

Senator BOXER. Without objection, it will be done.

Senator BROWNBACK. Thank you.

[The report referred to follows:]

REPORT OF THE POPULATION RESEARCH INSTITUTE, FRONT ROYAL, VA

UNFPA, China and Coercive Family Planning

DECEMBER 12, 2001

Introduction

Population Research Institute (PRI) sent an independent investigative team to China on September 27, 2001. The investigative team consisted of Ms. Josephine Guy, a paralegal with a background in security affairs, two translators and one photographer/videographer. Additional assistance was provided by two associate researchers based in China.

PRI's investigative team spent a total of four days in China. During this period, the investigative team interviewed family planning workers and spent over 10 hours interviewing more than two dozen victims or witnesses of coercion in Sihui County. Over four hours of testimonies were recorded on audiotape, and approximately 30 minutes of testimonies were recorded on videotape.

Interviews with victims were also recorded in notebooks, in both Chinese and English, and additional photographic evidence was obtained. Victims and witnesses of coercion were interviewed privately, not in the presence of officials, to ensure those interviewed were able to speak about their own experiences with the one-child policy without fear of reprisals.

The investigative team also located the Chinese office of family planning in Sihui county, Guangdong Province, and spoke with local family planning officials. Local officials provided information about UNFPA's county program, including the location of the office desk of UNFPA's worker for the Sihui county program.

PRI's lead investigator returned to the US in early October with the audiotaped and videotaped testimony, and all other information obtained by the investigative team during its investigation.

Doing field research in the People's Republic of China presents challenges. The government is hostile to investigators who do not take the nature of its policies on face value, and punishes its domestic critics with extreme severity. PRI's investigative team, therefore, took precautions to protect those who testified.

In addition, the names of the translators, the photographer, and China-based personnel of the investigative team have been withheld to prevent retribution by the government of the People's Republic of China.

Moreover, PRI sought no assistance from the government of the People's Republic of China to carry out its investigation, and received none. Had such assistance been sought, it is likely that the PRC government would have either obstructed PRI's investigation by denying visas to the members of our investigative team, or attempted to influence the investigation and the testimonies provided by the victims and witnesses of coercion.

UNFPA County Program in Sihui

The goal of PRI's independent investigative team was to carry out an in-depth analysis of a UNFPA county program.

UNFPA has stated on the record that it operates family planning programs in 32 counties in China. In these programs, UNFPA states, family planning is "fully voluntary" and that there is no coercion. UNFPA also states that in these counties, targets and quotas have been lifted, "women are free to voluntarily select the timing and spacing of their pregnancies," and abortion is not promoted as a method of family planning. (See: "UNFPA's County Program in China: Providing Quality Care, Protecting Human Rights," UNFPA, August 10, 2001.)

PRI obtained first-hand evidence which calls into question the accuracy of UNFPA's claims.

The county program selected for investigation was in Sihui county, in Guangdong Province in Southern China, approximately 100 miles northwest of Hong Kong.

While this report focuses on the findings of PRI's investigative team in Sihui county, PRI researchers were also told of the existence of coercion in two other UNFPA county programs.

In Sihui county, during phone conversations and discussions in person with local officials, members of PRI's independent investigative team were provided with information about:

- The geographical extent of Sihui county.
- The location of the Chinese Office of Family Planning.
- The location of the office desk of the UNFPA family planning representative for Sihui county.

PRI investigators were told by county officials that UNFPA's county program in Sihui operates in support of the Chinese family planning program.

The investigative team was told by officials that UNFPA's representative in Sihui and Chinese family planning officials work from the same office, the Sihui County Office of Family Planning.

PRI investigators spoke to Chinese officials in this office, and inquired about UNFPA. PRI investigators were shown by these officials the UNFPA desk. Photographic evidence of the UNIFPA office desk within this office was obtained by PRI's photographer. Local officials told PRI investigators that there is no distinction between UNFPA's program in Sihui and the Chinese family planning program in Sihui. PRI investigators visited this office on three occasions. On two of these occasions, officials pointed to the UNFPA desk, and also said that the UNFPA representative was at the local hospital. On the third occasion, additional photographic evidence was obtained.

Officials also informed PRI investigators of the borders of Sihui. All interviews referred to in this report were conducted within the borders of Sihui county; namely, within the area that the Sihui office of family planning, and the UNFPA family planning representative, operates.

Interviews

The investigative team received testimony from over two dozen victims and witnesses of coercion within Sihui, all within a few miles of the UNFPA office desk. Interviews were conducted in a government medical facility, and in four different residential areas. By many victims and witnesses of coercion, PRI investigators were told that:

- There is no voluntary family planning in Sihui.
- Coercive family planning policies in Sihui include: age requirements for pregnancy; birth permits; mandatory use of IUDs; mandatory sterilization; crippling fines for non-compliance; imprisonment for non-compliance; destruction of homes and property for non-compliance; forced abortion and forced sterilization.

Witnesses and victims said that population control is implemented by force of the state, rather than, as the UNFPA claims, through "a client-oriented approach."

The UNFPA Office Desk

On September 26, 2001, one of PRI's translators placed calls to the Sihui county government building. PRI's translator was given the room number of the Office of Family Planning by a local official. PMI's translator, on September 26, went to that office and spoke with family planning officials. A family planning worker, in the Sihui County Office of Family Planning, pointed to an office desk. Two family planning workers in this office told PRI's translator that "this is the desk" of the UNFPA worker.

On September 27, the investigative team entered the Sihui County Government Building and spoke again with local officials, who again gave the location of the office desk of the UNFPA officer within the Sihui County Family Planning Office. Photographic evidence of the office, its occupants, and its signage was obtained on this and the following day.

The sign outside the door of the office says: Family Planning Office, Room 1. The offices—a single large room—house six family planning workers. One is described as the UNFPA representative. The UNFPA representative's desk faces, in fact touches, the desk of a Chinese family planning worker.

Interviews in Government Facility

On September 28, the investigative team visited a government medical facility located within a mile of the Sihui County Family Planning Office and within the borders of Sihui county. The team interviewed one doctor, and four women who said that voluntarism does not exist within the county's family planning program. The team met a woman who was at the facility to receive a non-voluntary abortion. She was accompanied by three friends, all of whom said that Chinese law mandates abortions for women pregnant without government permission. They asserted that their friend wanted to continue her pregnancy, but the law forbids it.

Interviews in Residential Areas

On September 27, 28 and 29, the investigative team visited four residential areas, all within a few miles of the Sihui County Family Planning Office and within the borders of Sihui county. In interview after interview, local men and women said that, in Sihui county's family planning program:

- Coercion is as bad today as it has ever been.
- Forced abortions, forced sterilization, and forced use of Depro Provera, IUDs and other forms of birth control are routine.
- The punishment for noncompliance includes crippling fines, destruction of homes, and imprisonment of women and their relatives.
- Voluntary family planning is non-existent.

The interviews were conducted in open-air settings, as well as in peoples' homes. As formal interviews were being conducted and recorded, bystanders often gathered and began to tell their own stories of coercion. No one disputed that the county's family planning programs were coercive. Several of those interviewed spoke of the routine destruction of homes for attempting unauthorized births.

Propaganda slogans promoting the necessity and the benefits of family planning were posted throughout the four residential areas. None of the slogans mentioned that coercion has been eliminated and quotas and targets had been lifted, as the UNFPA claims, in Sihui county.

On September 29, the investigative team visited what locals called a "model family planning village" within this UNFPA "model county." Two residents of this village said in interviews that local family planning workers receive benefits and promotions based on their compliance with targets and quotas.

These same residents also said that, within the "model family planning village," family planning policy was enforced using the same non-voluntary measures that were found elsewhere.

Interviewing Methods

While conducting interviews, the investigation team did not attempt to administer a survey instrument, but asked open questions about the interviewee, their family, and their experiences with the family planning program.

In the words of Ms. Josephine Guy, PRI's lead investigator:

> We struck up casual conversations, and asked people if they would talk to us about family life. People were friendly and pleased to have visitors from outside of China. As the conversation began in earnest, more and more people would invariably gather around, curious to discover the reason for our visit. Many times they would chime into the conversation. At times it was difficult to carry on conversations, so many people were talking at once. Everyone was eager to talk and answer our many questions. After a few minutes, we would begin to ask pointed questions about family planning policies and their own personal experience. I was initially worried that they might be bothered by the subject matter and hesitate to answer. To my surprise, they continued with enthusiasm.

Jackhammer Campaign

Several women testified that the penalty for noncompliance with an order to abort an unauthorized pregnancy, or to undergo sterilization after the birth of a second child, was the destruction of one's home. One woman told PRI investigators of a woman nearby, who was recently forced to leave her home to protect her pregnancy against forced abortion. As this woman spoke, she became very emotional and began to hide her tears.

In another residential area, we spoke with a man who was working in his garden. He turned out to be the father-in-law of a woman who had been ordered to have an abortion but had instead gone into hiding. He was angry at local officials because his home and two others had been recently destroyed by Sihui family planning workers as punishment for his daughter-in-law's refusal to submit to an abortion as required by the law.

Nine of this woman's family members had been imprisoned and they had been forced to pay fines to win their release. Their neighbors had loaned them the funds they needed to pay the fines.

This man took PRI's investigative team to interview his daughter-in-law. She told PRI investigators of the punishments she and her family had experienced. She showed us the areas of her house that had been destroyed. Before leaving, PRI investigators were able to meet her baby boy, who was thirteen months old.

She told us of the additional fines that must be paid if her son is to be eligible for medical care, schooling or employment in the future. At present, she described her little boy as a "black child," that is, an unregistered and illegal person, who does not exist in the eyes of the state. Many of those we interviewed told us of the problems experienced by "black children," who are punished for being born without a permit.

Congressional Testimony

At an October 17, 2001 congressional hearing, the lead investigator of PRI's independent investigative team showcased the following testimonies recorded on audio- and videotape in China. These testimonies are a sample of the interviews carried out in China. All interviews took place within a few miles of the UNFPA office desk and within the borders of Sihui county:

> *Questioner:* If you violate the population control regulations by having too many children, what happens to you?
>
> *Woman:* When I had my children, things were not as strict. Right now, things are very, very strict.
>
> *Questioner:* What happens to you if you give birth to another child?
>
> *Woman:* You want to have another child! You think it's that easy to give birth!
>
> *Questioner:* Would someone come to your house and take you in by force, in for an abortion?
>
> *Woman:* Yes. But they don't need to use force. They simply require you to go.
>
> *Questioner:* And if you don't go?
>
> *Woman (astonished):* They require you to go and you don't go?
>
> *Questioner:* What if you say you don't want to go?
>
> *Woman:* What reason could you give [for resisting.] Giving birth to an extra child is difficult, very, very difficult to have a child.
>
> *Questioner:* But you yourself had three children. How did this happen?
>
> *Woman:* First I had two. Then seven years later I had another baby boy. They had already tied my tubes and I had another boy.
>
> *Questioner:* After you had an operation? After they tied your tubes? How did they know you had a baby?
>
> *Woman:* They found out. Someone told them.
>
> *Questioner:* Then the family planning workers came to your house. Did a whole troop of them come?
>
> *Woman:* A lot of them came. Many, many people.
>
> *Questioner:* What if you hid?
>
> *Woman:* That wouldn't work. They would tear down my house. (Points at the ceiling). They would wreck it.
>
> *Narrator:* So she was sterilized a second time, at the government's insistence, and there have been no more children.

(Photo of woman, with child, interviewed September 2001, a short distance from UNFPA office, in county where UNFPA operates and claims coercion does not exist. This interview was recorded on audio tape.)

Narrator: This woman was pregnant with her second child, and the authorities wanted her to abort . . .

Woman: I was four-and-a-half months pregnant. They wanted me to report to the hospital for an abortion but I refused to go. I went into hiding in my mother's village. Then my brother, my older sister, and my younger sister were all arrested. I had no choice but to go somewhere else to hide. They arrested three people in my mother's family but didn't destroy any homes. They arrested six people in my mother-in-law's family and destroyed three homes.

(Photo of man and damaged home, interviewed September 29, a short distance from UNFPA office, in county where UNFPA operates and claims coercion does not exist. This interview was recorded on audiotape.)

Narrator: When they couldn't find the woman, they attacked her home—and the homes of her relatives—with jackhammers. Her father-in-law describes the damage.

Man: Look at this. All of the doors and windows destroyed. Here's a big hole that they knocked in the wall. It took forty bags of cement to repair the holes.

(Photo of women in waiting room, taken a short distance from UNFPA office. PRI investigators spoke with several women in this photo who confirmed that forced abortion exists in this county where UNFPA operates.)

Narrator: Here in a hospital waiting room, a pregnant woman waits for an abortion. Too young at 19 years of age to get married—the minimum age is 23—she has been ordered to report for an abortion. As she disappears into the operating room, we ask her three friends here with her: "Would she like to keep her baby?" "Oh, yes," they all replied, "But the law forbids it."

UNFPA Operations in Jianou County, Fujian Province, and in Kuerle County, Xinjiang Province

PRI researchers also obtained information about two other UNFPA county programs, the first in Jianou county, Fujian Province, and the second in Kuerle county, Xinjiang Autonomous Region.

We were told that the population control regulations of Fujian Province, which are enforced without exception in all counties, call for:

- Mandatory use of IUDs.
- Mandatory quarterly exams.
- Fines of 50 yuan per day, and 2,000 yuan per month imposed for non-compliance with mandatory examinations.
- Forced sterilization after six months of non-compliance with exam.
- Mandatory registration of child within one month after birth of child, punishable with forced sterilization for non-compliance.
- Forced abortion, forced sterilization and 10,000 yuan fine for pregnancy before age 20.

In Xinjiang Province, particularly in rural areas like Kuerle county (Korla in the local Uighur language), local family planning officials frequently resort to brute force. Kuerle (Korla) county is the location of UNFPA's Xinjiang county program. Abuses include:

- Forced abortion.
- Forced sterilization.
- Imprisonment.
- Forced abortion and forced sterilization under imprisonment.

Note on UNFPA's Reaction

The UNFPA responded to PMI'S investigation by organizing an in-house delegation of UNFPA employees and associates to visit China. The eight-page "Mission Re-

port" issued by UNEPA describes the details of their 22–26 October visit to Beijing, Guangzhou, Sihui county, and Qianjiang City, Hubei Province. Of the five days spent in China, half was spent in Beijing, in meetings, banquets and barbecues with Chinese officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the State Family Planning Commission.

During half-day visits to Sihui and Qianjiang, the delegation was accompanied by Chinese officials from the national, provincial, prefectural, municipal, and county governments. They went on guided tours of several family planning clinics, and spent only 30 minutes on "household visits," which were again conducted in the presence of Chinese officials. In the absence of unsupervised contact with ordinary Chinese, it is unlikely that UNFPA could accurately assess the state of the one-child policy in Sihui county or anywhere else in China.

The UNFPA's "Mission Report" presents no credible evidence, based on interviews with ordinary Chinese, to support its claim that voluntarism exists in its county program in Sihui, or anywhere else in China. Its "Mission Report" simply repeats assertions made by Chinese officials that coercion has been eliminated and targets and quotas have been lifted in Sihui county. The Chinese officials who make these assertions are not unbiased observers, but interested parties, who have every reason to put the best face on the family planning programs that they supervise, especially when these are called into question.

UNFPA Supports Coercion

PRI's investigation in China shows that UNFPA supports China's family planning policy. UNFPA's support consists of public praise for, and misinformation about, China's coercive family planning policy. UNFPA also directly supports coercive family planning with funding, and through its complicity with the implementation of policies which are fundamentally coercive in principle and practice.

Ms. GUY. And I did ask this to be officially moved into the record. May I do that, Senator?

Senator BOXER. All of the statements will be placed into the record.

Ms. GUY. OK. All right. Thank you.

Senator BOXER. Thank you.

Senator BROWNBACK. Both of you made the point to me about just how much that mother went through that delivered my youngest daughter. As I think you said, Mr. Biegman, you still found two-thirds of the counties in China going through some sort of a forced abortion, even after this international pressure has been brought on China about their forced abortion policies. Was that the number you said?

Ambassador BIEGMAN. China is a big country, sir. It needs time to make this U-turn, which they made in principle when adhering to the Cairo program of action. It needs time to adjust its policies and to go toward the Cairo approach of volunteerism.

Senator BROWNBACK. But did you state there were two-thirds of the area that were still——

Ambassador BIEGMAN. At this stage, yes. I could have put it positively. I could have said one-third of China is already on the right track and the rest will follow whenever they can manage that administratively. That is the main bottleneck at this stage.

Senator BROWNBACK. I just want to make sure I understand what percentage of the country is still operating with this forced abortion policy.

Ambassador BIEGMAN. Yes. But I would like—I would like to stress that that is a part of the country where UNFPA is not active.

Senator BROWNBACK. I take it there is large portions of the country that you would submit that that was the case as well, that there are other ways that they can operate in a country, that they

operate through other U.N. employees, sort of what you have said through other groups.

Ms. Guy, I want to ask you, if I could, on some of the women that you interviewed, you said particularly the older women.

Ms. GUY. Yes. The older women that were past the childbearing age, they wanted to talk mainly about what was going on with their daughters, because the programs were not in place as they are now for them. And they were really great. And I was moved. I have to say I was very moved about hearing what they had to say.

The translator was there. She was translating to me some of the things that they were saying. And they just really wished it was not so for their daughters to have to be forced into this type of program.

And the most intimate part of their lives is having had the IUD's inserted, and every 3 months they have to go and make sure that they are still there. I mean, one of the most personal things for me, and I am sure for most women in this room, is that our privacy, in terms of our reproduction, is just that. And this is something that is so intimate in a person's life. To just be wide open to scrutiny like this, I cannot imagine.

Senator BROWNBACK. Did you hear that in multiple occasions from older women?

Ms. GUY. Yes. Yes, I did.

Senator BROWNBACK. Was it a common comment that they made?

Ms. GUY. It was every comment, every—every village that I was in.

Senator BROWNBACK. That they would say that they were regularly—their daughters were regularly having to go in to make sure that the IUD's——

Ms. GUY. Oh, yes. We have—we have testimony. Yes.

Senator BROWNBACK. Did any of them describe any forced abortions that their daughters were having to go through or had to go through?

Ms. GUY. None of the older women, but the gentleman at the village where you saw the home, that was the father-in-law of the woman who went into hiding. He was very, very angry. You can hear—if you get an opportunity to listen to this, you can hear the anger in his voice about what happened to them. They lost a lot of money. They lost their homes.

You just saw the window that had been repaired, but what they did with the jackhammers is they went to the third—if any—you have been to China. And so you know what the homes are like. In this area of China, they are brick homes, and the floors are cement. So you have the bottom floor, you have the second floor, and then you have the top floor. Well, they would go to the top floor and jackhammer an area maybe eight feet in diameter and jackhammer that floor. Then they would jackhammer the second floor. And then they would tear out their windows. And that means taking out iron bars, not just glass. They do not have windows like we have windows.

So when they basically got finished, it was a frame that was left made of brick. And all of their household goods were carried off,

and they had nothing. And they did that to try to force her out of hiding. She was a very—the hero of this story is this young woman, because she fled her village and went to her mother's village. And they discovered her there. So she had to leave again.

And as a result of that, they imprisoned her family and her husband's family and destroyed three homes in her husband's family. And they were in prison for over 4 months. And the village, the villagers actually raised the money to get them out of prison, which was the 17,000 RMB. But she still has to pay another 17,000 before she can register her child to be able to go to school.

Senator BROWNBACK. So the child cannot go to school unless she raises the additional 17,000——

Ms. GUY. Unless she comes up with the additional money.

Senator BROWNBACK. You know, I am going to submit your report to the UNFPA.

Ms. GUY. OK.

Senator BROWNBACK. And I will invite other members to join me on this, because I think, as the chairman noted, we all find forced abortion, forced sterilization taking place, as well as to the State Department, to ask them to specifically respond to the case that you have brought forward. And I would hope that they would thoroughly investigate a continuation of these sorts of charges and this happening. It is so aggressive on the part of the Chinese.

Ms. GUY. Yes. If an investigation could be conducted where the officials were not present, I think they would—I think most of us here would have to admit that the results may have been a little different for them also.

But—you know, I promised these women that I would not reveal their identity. And so because of that, on the face it may appear as though I am obstructing an investigation, but that is not my purpose. My purpose is to protect them, because they were relentless in what they did to this woman and to her family. And I cannot imagine what they would do if they were able to identify her.

Senator BROWNBACK. The chairman and I have worked a great deal on women's rights in Afghanistan. And thankfully we are seeing some good progress taking place there. And I am hopeful we can get some funding for hospital equipment, so that women will have—women and everybody else will have it. But for this sort of thing continuing to take place in China is just not acceptable. So I am going to put that forward and ask for responses and see if other members will join me on that as well.

Ms. GUY. And as a reminder, I just want to point out that this was one of the model counties that UNFPA was operating in, that they said was going voluntary. And, you know, I did not—I thought at first, when I went, I thought, how am I going to walk into a village and just find these kinds of stories? And to my surprise, every village I went to, it was not hard to find stories. I did not have to search them out. I just started to ask people.

Senator BROWNBACK. Amazing. Tragic.

Senator BOXER. Well, perhaps you could tell Senator Brownback the names of those people so he can follow up with them, maybe make a trip ourselves.

Let me ask you this question, which confused me a little bit.

Ms. GUY. I am sorry?

Senator BOXER. You said you went into the family planning, Chinese Family Planning Agency, which of course, if these things happened, is quite responsible for all those things that we have talked about, Correct? Why did you go there? Did you go there to—you went three times. Did you go there to tell these people what you had seen, to try to get them to stop? Why were you there?

Ms. GUY. The sole purpose of going was to try and locate the UNFPA. That was the only reason for going.

Senator BOXER. You went there to find the UNFPA office.

Ms. GUY. We were told that UNFPA was operating in this county. So we made——

Senator BOXER. So getting back to the famous empty desk situation——

Ms. GUY. Yes. Do you mind if I finish my sentence?

Senator BOXER. You can finish as many as you would like.

Ms. GUY. OK. Thank you. So we made the assumption that if they were operating in this county, maybe thinking like Westerners, that there would be a county office where the UNFPA operated. So based upon that assumption, we just—we went to the county building, which you saw, the large building.

Senator BOXER. Yes, we sure did.

Ms. GUY. And when we inquired as to where the family planning office was, they took us in—if you can read—I cannot read Chinese, but the Chinese language on the sign says "The Chinese Family Planning Office." And then after further inquiry, they are the ones that identified the UNFPA desk.

Senator BOXER. Was there a sign that said U.N. desk?

Ms. GUY. No.

Senator BOXER. And you said the person—you went back three times, and no one was there.

Ms. GUY. No. There were——

Senator BOXER. At the so-called UNFPA desk, there was not anyone there three times, three different times?

Ms. GUY. You mean actually sitting at the desk?

Senator BOXER. Yes.

Ms. GUY. No. We asked where this individual was, and that is when we were told that she had a serious illness and that she was hospitalized.

Senator BOXER. OK. But you have just heard before that there are four people, and they only make trips once a year. So I think we should pursue that issue as well about this shared desk and the people and the sick person and try to figure this thing out because I will tell you why, I will tell you why. I would like to talk to that person.

Ms. GUY. Well, we wanted to, too. And that is why we——

Senator BOXER. Well, I know. Well, good. So now you have me on your side. I would like to talk to the person who was ill, in the hospital, who sits at that desk every day because, first of all, they are not supposed to be. They are supposed to come once a year. So I have to find out who that is. And then I am going to show them this tape, if you will leave it with me.

Ms. GUY. It is part of the official record, I believe.

Senator BOXER. Very well. I would show that person that tape and start asking some questions, "Is it true that you are here? And how often are you here?"

Ms. GUY. I would volunteer to do that for you, because I honestly, Senator Boxer, do not believe that you would get an honest answer.

Senator BOXER. Well, thank you. You do not know me well enough. I think I would.

Ms. GUY. OK.

Senator BOXER. And since I am one of the biggest advocates, and continue to be after this hearing even more than ever, of UNFPA, I think the UNFPA will in fact tell me who was at that desk. You have the picture there. So we can show them the picture. Who was ill, what was that story, and do they know anything about these individuals whom you have shown us, because if, in fact——

Ms. GUY. Which is a path back to those individuals.

Senator BOXER. If, in fact—excuse me?

Ms. GUY. I think which would lead you back to those individuals. I think it is the hope that you have.

Senator BOXER. Well, the hope that I have is to find out, and this is important, if UNFPA people knew about this and actually sat in an office where, as you say, they had to know, when it conflicts with what I know about UNFPA, that in fact they only go there—you know, there are four of them, and they cover the whole country.

So I need to find out. Your testimony is fascinating. But it leads me to a lot of curiosity.

Ms. GUY. I understand.

Senator BOXER. Yes. So I am going to—just so you know what I am doing——

Ms. GUY. Sure.

Senator BOXER [continuing]. I am going to get in touch with UNFPA. I am going to—I want them to see this, because it is highly upsetting. And I want to find out, you know, the situation with this desk.

[The following letter from UNFPA was subsequently received.]

THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
UNFPA UNITED NATIONS POPULATION FUND,
New York, NY, March 4, 2002.

The Honorable BARBARA BOXER
United States Senate,
Senate Hart 112,
Washington DC, 20010.

DEAR SENATOR BOXER,

I understand that the Senate Foreign Relations Sub-Committee on International Operations and Terrorism held a hearing last week on the U.S. funding of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). I would like to thank you for bringing this issue to the attention of the Sub-Committee.

It is my understanding that several questions related to UNFPA and its programme in China were raised, and I hope that I can help to clarify any outstanding issues.

First and foremost, I share your deep and profound concerns regarding the allegations of forced abortion, coercion and destruction of property in China. It is precisely because of these concerns that UNFPA developed a programme in China to demonstrate to the Chinese Officials that population programmes can be effective while respecting basic human rights. UNFPA's Executive Board, which takes decisions on

all UNFPA country programmes, believes that we should be engaged in China with open eyes, not close our eyes and turn our backs on China.

All UNFPA activities adhere to international human rights standards, including those articulated at the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development. These standards assert that in no case should abortion be used as a method of family planning and that coercion is unacceptable in family planning programmes. This is our mandate, and we are committed to ensuring that nations provide voluntary family planning services that respect the rights and dignity of all their citizens.

It has been brought to my attention that Josephine Guy, Director of Government Affairs for America's 21, testified concerning her early Fall investigative trip to China. I want to assure the Sub-Committee that UNFPA is well aware of her investigation and subsequent report. In fact, when the House International Relations Committee held a hearing on this subject, a member of my staff spoke with the staff of Representative Henry Hyde and requested that Ms. Guy and any other witnesses meet with UNFPA and U.S. Department of State representatives so we could discuss details of her troubling allegations and investigate her charges. Unfortunately, Representative Hyde's staff member, Joseph Reese, refused our request.

Although we were unable to meet with Ms. Guy to discuss her findings, UNFPA made a quick determination that the serious nature of her allegations required an independent review. As you may be aware, UNFPA is a multilateral organization and we are both governed and supervised by an Executive Board that is comprised of Member States of the United Nations, including the United States. Accordingly, we asked members of our Executive Board to conduct an investigative mission to China. I believe that the Sub-Committee has a copy of the resulting investigative report, as well as the written and oral testimony of the mission's leader, Ambassador Nicolaas Biegman.

I understand that some members of the Sub-Committee question the independence of this investigation. Accordingly, I would be pleased to work with all of you and the Department of State to develop a U.S. review team that can visit the UNFPA programme counties in China and satisfy your concerns for independence. As you may know, the UNFPA programme in China is one of the most monitored programmes in the entire United Nations system. Since 1999, there have been over 60 independent reviews of this programme, in addition to UNFPA's own internal monitoring. Moreover, as a member of the UNFPA Executive Board, the United States has regularly monitored this programme from their Embassy in Beijing. Accordingly, I am confident that any further investigation and consultation with the U.S. embassy and its professional foreign service team will confirm that UNFPA does not support or participate in forced abortion or other human rights violations in China.

I also understand that concerns were raised about an alleged UNFPA desk in the State Family Planning Commission in Sihui City in Guangdong Province. I have attached to this letter a listing of all UNFPA staff in China, which consists of four international professional staff and nine local recruits primarily for administrative functions. All of these staff are based in Beijing, and none of them has a desk in Sihui or any other county. The UNFPA China Office also handles the programme in Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) (North Korea). I understand that Ms. Guy testified that she never observed any UNFPA staff at the desk in question and was told that the individual was "seriously ill and in the hospital." While Ms. Guy and the Population Researcb Institute (PRI) (which she has referred us to for all inquiries) remain unwilling or unable to provide us with the address of this alleged UNFPA desk, perhaps we could gain your assistance in earning the name of the person she believes works for UNFPA and was seriously ill and in the hospital at the time. This would enable us to follow-up on these allegations.

Finally, the central assertion of PRI is that UNFPA has certified or claimed that these counties are coercion free. In fact, UNFPA is not capable of making any such assertion. We have required that China formally rescind quotas in these counties. Strengthening voluntarism and avoiding coercion is the raison d'etre of the programme, and is therefore the central concern of both government and UNFPA in its planning, implementation and monitoring of the programme.

If you or other members of the Sub-Committee have any additional questions or need more information, I would be happy to provide it. Again, thank you for your time and attention to these serious matters. The United Nations Population Fund considers the United States a supportive partner in its efforts and would be deeply troubled by a loss of its critical leadership on international family planning issues.

I would be pleased to meet with you in person at your convenience.

Please accept, dear Senator Boxer, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Yours sincerely,

THORAYA AHMED OBAID,
Under-Secretary-General.

LIST OF UNITED NATIONS POPULATION FUND (UNFPA) IN CHINA AND DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA (DPRK)

International Office Staff

Representative: Ms. Siri Tellier
Deputy Representative: Ms. Junko Sazaki
Junior Professional Officer for PO1 "Reproductive Health/Family Planning": Ms. Magnus Bjorg (leaving in May).
Junior Programme Officer: Ms. Kumiko Yoshida (will take over for Ms. Bjorg).
UN Volunteer for PO2: "Women's Empowerment": Ms. Lisa Eklund
UN Volunteer for PO1: "Reproductive Health/Family Planning": Dr. Estrella Serrano

National Office Staff

National Programme Officer: Mr. Jin Zhicheng
National Programme Officer: Mr. Yu Yu

National Office Support Staff: Seven support staff.

Senator BOXER. Now I do not have any questions, other than I would like to sum up.

Do you have any further questions, Senator?

Senator BROWNBACK. I would like to sum up as well.

Senator BOXER. Why do you not go ahead then? And then I will close it.

Senator BROWNBACK. The question that I think all of us are having here is: No. 1, setting aside the hospital here, because we need to get funding for these items—and we ought to find it from any source that we possibly can at this point, so that we can get that aid into Afghanistan. And I am committed to doing that.

And, Ms. Oakley, or others, if you see ways that we can go at that or we can put it forward right now, let us get that there, rather than get involved in this bigger fight.

The second issue here is the involvement of UNFPA in forced abortions in China, which has been a simmering issue for a long, long period of time, allegations, cross allegations, back and forth. And I think at the base of that what we have to ask is: How does the UNFPA operate in China?

One of the allegations has been that UNFPA puts a lot of money in without adequate observation in China. And so some of it is being used in ways that many people do not support.

Another—and this is just—I just heard this today, that UNFPA operates with four people, but subcontracts to a lot of other U.N. agencies in China. So we need to understand just how they are structurally operating in China. That should not be too difficult to be able to determine just how structurally they operate in China.

And certainly I would hope they would come forward with some pretty straight answers for us here, so we can determine their degree of responsibility.

And finally, just this practice that is taking place in China, we need to determine UNFPA's funding of that. And maybe it is funding without their knowledge of what actually is taking place. Maybe it is funding with their knowledge of what is taking place. Maybe they are not funding it at all or even involved in it.

We should find out to what degree that that is taking place in China or other places around the world, so we can just understand particularly this, because this has been a simmering, long-standing issue. This is not something new to this committee's undertaking today.

So I would hope the administration would take its time and look at trying to figure out what that case is and, in the meantime, get the funding for the hospital and other places that has been brought forward here in Afghanistan. I plan to submit this information to UNFPA and to the administration for them to thoroughly get a chance to look at these items.

So though the chairman and I come at this from different perspectives, I think you have raised, all of you, some very troubling questions about what is taking place. And hopefully we can do some things that need to take place now, such as the funding for the hospital, and then find out at the bottom of this just what else is happening at the UNFPA, how complicit or not it is in some of these operations.

Thank you, Madame Chairman——

Senator BOXER. Thank you.

Senator BROWNBACK [continuing]. For holding a tough hearing.

Senator BOXER. Well, it is a very important issue. And let me say how strongly I feel that the administration should release the $34 million yesterday. And I feel that more than ever. We knew when we started this hearing that sadly there is still coercion and forced abortion in China. Every one of us condemns it.

We knew when we started this hearing, and we still know, that American funds that are given to UNFPA cannot be used in China. So what is happening by this punishment—and my friend talks about the hospitals. Listen, that $34 million can be used in 140 other countries, including Afghanistan, to prevent 2 million unwanted pregnancies. And are we going to hold it up, because of a policy that we all think is terrible, but has nothing to do with United States of America's dollars?

You know, that is cruel, cruel. That money will help, will prevent, will help prevent, 800,000 induced abortions, 4,700 maternal deaths, 60,000 cases of serious maternal illness, and over 77,000 infant and child deaths. You know, for the life of me, I do not get it. It will prevent HIV/AIDS, which we all desperately want to stop.

We are holding up money to make a point that we can make every day of the week and not hold this money hostage to help all the other people. We are not using our funds there. So from what I understand, what I hear—and, Ambassador, I thought you were eloquent on the point, because you were talking from your experience on the ground. You were honest about it. You admitted. You said there is still a real problem in China. But they are moving in the right direction. And one of the reason is UNFPA.

So to me, it seems so counterproductive to say how much we are appalled by the coercion in China, and we will work to end it, and then do something that in essence does not help that situation but condemns a lot of other people to a lot of misery. I think this is an opportunity for all of us of every single political persuasion to team up here and say, "We will work together and raise our voices

against any coercion when it comes to family planning or abortion." That is why I am pro-choice, because I want people to choose.

I would fight any government every step of the way for forcing a woman to go in any direction. And so to me we should be joining hands. Instead, we are in this debate. Now the Senator has given me an opening, because he is concerned very much about the hospitals in Afghanistan. We will work together on that.

But that does not address the bulk of the funds which are being used to help people live. So I feel very passionate about this.

I will follow up on this tape and with UNFPA. And Ms. Guy will work with Senator Brownback on that issue. We will let you know how our—what we find out about the missing individual at the desk. We will learn——

Ms. GUY. I would be happy to work with you, too, Senator Boxer.

Senator BOXER. I look forward to that and getting those answers for you, because you went back three times and were told something and then never could follow up.

And I hope, Mr. Eberstadt, to see you again soon. Maybe one of these days we will actually be together, but it is always a pleasure to see you.

Ms. Oakley, thank you very much.

Ambassador, my good friend Senator Brownback, we appreciate everybody coming today. It is a hard issue. We each see it differently, but that is what this great country is all about. That is what we are fighting for, the ability to disagree and respect the way and move forward with compromise.

Thank you.

We stand adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:45 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene subject to the call of the Chair.]

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD

RESPONSES OF HON. ARTHUR E. DEWEY TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED BY SENATOR BARBARA BOXER

Questions. Your written testimony demonstrates the concern of the State Department over periodic reports of abuse and coercion in China's family planning program. You mention in your testimony that U.S. Foreign Service officers have been dispatched from time to time to investigate such reports. Can you tell us what these officers have reported to the Department about: (a) coercive activities in China; and (b) concerning the issue at hand, whether they have ever reported, inferred or in any way suggested that DNFPA is involved, complicit or in any way associated with coercive activities in China?

Your testimony also says that since 1998, the Mission has been "closely" monitoring UNFPA's pilot program in China. Again, please advise the subcommittee as to what the Mission has found. Has the Mission expressed concern about UNFPA's activities? Has the Mission ever—in any reporting or any communication with the Department—suggested that UNFPA's activities are helpful in encouraging voluntarism? The issue of UNFPA's program in China is well known to the Department, to the Congress, and presumably to the Mission. Has the Mission ever been asked its opinion about whether UNFPA has been involved in or in any way supports—directly or indirectly—coercive activities in China? What is the Mission's view about UNFPA's presence in China?

Can you tell the Committee what the administration and the Mission's view is about whether the nations and organizations that uphold universal standards of human rights should be engaged in China? Does the administration believe if there are violations of human rights in China, that U.S. activities in China should be dis-

continued? For example, if there are reports of forced labor, does the administration believe that U.S. business should no longer do business in China?

The subcommittee was also interested in your spoken testimony, in which you indicated that the issue of UNFPA funding was out of the State Department's hands. Can you report to the subcommittee as to why the State Department has been relieved of its responsibilities in this matter?

Answers. Coercion in China's family planning program is a violation of international human rights instruments and an issue of concern to the Department. Our officers continue to report on this issue. For example, the Department raised the issue of coercive family planning last October during the resumed U.S.-China human rights dialogue. Specifically, we urged Chinese authorities to take action against family planning officials when abuses occur (e.g., coercive abortion, destruction of property, imposition of punitive fines). We also urged them to effectively implement the central government's policy prohibiting coercion in family planning programs, and stressed that steps be taken to ensure that local officials are held responsible for their actions.

Our Ambassador to China—Ambassador Randt—also raised this issue in a meeting last month with the Director General of China's State Family Planning Commission (SFPC). Specifically, Ambassador Randt stressed the need for China to establish a more transparent system of enforcing family planning regulations and a better method for Chinese citizens to report abuses by local family planning officials. The Ambassador noted our concern about coercive practices, particularly forced abortions and sterilizations.

In both conversations, Chinese officials acknowledged problems with enforcing family planning regulations and promised that violators of the central government's policy prohibiting coercion in family planning programs would be investigated and, if found guilty, punished. They reaffirmed earlier Chinese government commitments to work closely with us to investigate allegations of abuse and promised to provide us with information about their efforts to investigate, prosecute and sentence those found guilty. They also agreed to consider suggestions that the SFPC publish regular reports of administrative sanctions against malfeasance. We plan to follow up and monitor their actions to see if they are consistent in word and deed.

Regarding UNFPA, the U.S. has worked closely with the Fund on its China program. Following the conclusion in 1995 of UNFPA's previous program in China, UNFPA spent two years negotiating a new program. The new program, approved by the Executive Board in 1998, requires the removal of birth targets and quotas in the 32 program counties in which UNFPA is active. It also provides for expanded access to voluntary contraceptive methods, improved quality of care, and women's economic empowerment.

Prior to joining consensus approving the new program in 1998, the U.S. insisted on and received assurances from Chinese officials that monitoring access and oversight by the UNFPA Executive Board, U.S. diplomatic staff in China, and independent observers to assess the voluntary nature of UNFPA's program would be allowed. As a Board member, we take our oversight authorities very seriously. We continue to raise concerns in our statements at Board meetings about the importance of China moving to a voluntary family planning program.

Officers in our Embassy and Consulates have visited UNFPA projects in China. However, no comprehensive review has been undertaken. The primary issue is whether UNFPA's program in China is in violation of legislation that prohibits USG funding to any organization that supports or participates in the management of a program of coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization. Until such time we conduct a comprehensive assessment of UNFPA's overall program in China, the administration cannot determine whether the Fund is in violation of this legislation. The State Department is actively preparing the launch of such an assessment.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN FLICKER, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL AUDUBON SOCIETY

Madame Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee:

Thank you for the opportunity to testify about the importance of meeting the congressional goal to provide $34 million to the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). Audubon believes that international family planning is an environmental issue. We believe it is critical to emphasize the connection between the health of birds, wildlife, humans and the environment.

Human population growth is one the most pressing environmental problems facing the world today. International family planning programs, the very programs car-

ried by UNFPA, have been proven to slow population growth and decrease environmental degradation. The United States must fully fund UNFPA programs as Congress intended. We urge President Bush to end the delay and fully release the $34 million for UNFPA.

For thousands of years, birds have been one of our most important early warning systems. Birds have predicted the change of seasons, the coming of storms, the presence of land at sea and the rise of toxic levels of pollution in the food chain.

Now birds are telling us something is terribly wrong with the environment.

More than 50 percent of migratory songbirds in vast sections of the United States are in decline. Across the nation, warblers are disappearing, as are painted buntings, bobolinks and dozens of other songbirds. Scientists say the demise of these songbirds is caused by the destruction of their habitat, brought about by rapid rates of human population growth.

Many of "our" songbirds spend four to nine months of the year in the tropical forests of Latin America and the Caribbean. These forests are being cut to the ground at record rates. In Central America, more than 40 percent of the forest canopy has been destroyed in the last 30 years, as the population of the region has doubled.

Whether the birds are flying north or south, they are being hammered by rapid rates of population growth. And it's not just the birds.

For millions of years, Caribbean sea turtles have migrated thousands of miles to nest on the very beaches on which they were born many years before. Now rapid coastal development in the Caribbean—combined with pollution, reef destruction, and over-fishing—threaten every species of sea turtle found in U.S. waters—leatherback, hawksbill, Kemp's ridley, loggerhead and green.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the globe, population pressure and habitat destruction are pushing gorillas, chimpanzees, orangutans, and smaller monkeys closer to extinction. The 600 Mountain Gorillas remaining in the world live in the rainforests of Rwanda, Uganda and the Congo—countries with the fastest population growth rates on Earth. The orangutan, found only on the islands of Sumatra and Borneo in Indonesia, is near extinction because of hunting and habitat loss. Experts now say all the great apes may be extinct within the next 20 years.

What's happening to birds, great apes and sea turtles is happening to wildlife all over the world—to tigers in India, elephants in Thailand, and jaguars in Central America. Though many of the world's creatures face peril now, the real trouble lies ahead.

Across the globe, more than a billion teenagers are entering their reproductive years—the largest cluster of teens in world history. The choices these young people make in the next decade will determine the fate of our natural world for generations to come. If birth rates remain at current levels, demographers say the world will add more people in the next 50 years than it has in the previous 500,000 years.

Population growth is about more than the environment, of course. It's also about the health of women, crushing unemployment and poverty rates, and rising levels of social and economic instability in the developing world.

The United States has done too little to help. As the global population has climbed 60 percent since 1970, U.S. family planning assistance, as a percentage of total federal budget outlays, has declined by 40 percent. Although we joined 179 other nations in Egypt in 1994 in pledging specific support for international family planning efforts, this country has actually made good on less than one-third of that commitment.

Right now, the U.S. contribution to the UNFPA is in jeopardy. While Congress appropriated $34 million for the UNFPA last year, the Administration's proposed budget for FY 2003 contains UNFPA funding language that "reserves" this money for FY 2002 and asks for a reduction to $25 million for FY 2003 (again "reserved").

We find this hedging language extremely disappointing.

We urge President Bush to act on what is a matter of life and death for wildlife, women and children the world over. Voluntary family planning programs like those carried out by the UNFPA in 140 developing countries around the world are vital to slowing human population growth and the pace of habitat destruction worldwide.

We thank you and the Members of this subcommittee for giving this matter the attention it deserves. We hope that this hearing results in the release of the funding for UNFPA.

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