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University of Notre Dame address, May 1, 1969 - Correspondence 01

TAPED VERSION

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**ADDRESS to the
UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME**



BY

**ROBERT S. McNAMARA
PRESIDENT, WORLD BANK GROUP**

Notre Dame, Indiana
May 1, 1969

I am grateful for this award, and pleased to become an honorary alumnus of Notre Dame.

This university, over the years, has become a catalytic center of creative thought. It does what universities do best: it probes. It probes the past for what is most relevant to the present. It probes the present for what is most formative of the future. And it probes the future for what will most enlarge man's freedom and fulfillment.

I want to discuss with you this afternoon a problem that arose out of that recent past; that already plagues man in the present; and that will diminish, if not destroy, much of his future—should he fail to face up to it, and solve it.

It is, by half a dozen criteria, the most delicate and difficult issue of our era—perhaps of any era in history. It is overlaid with emotion. It is controversial. It is subtle. Above all, it is immeasurably complex.

It is the tangled problem of excessive population growth.

It is not merely a problem, it is a paradox.

It is at one and the same time an issue that is intimately private—and yet inescapably public.

It is an issue characterized by reticence and circumspection—and yet in desperate need of realism and candor.

It is an issue intolerant of government pressure—and yet endangered by government procrastination.

It is an issue, finally, that is so hypersensitive—giving rise to such diverse opinion—that there is an understandable tendency simply to avoid argument, turn one's attention to less complicated matters, and hope that the problem will somehow disappear.

But the problem will not disappear.

What may disappear is the opportunity to find a solution that is rational and humane.

If we wait too long, that option will be overtaken by events.

We cannot afford that. For if there is anything certain about the population explosion, it is that if it is not dealt with reasonably, it will in fact explode: explode in suffering, explode in violence, explode in inhumanity.

All of us are, of course, concerned about this.

You, here at Notre Dame, have been giving constructive attention to this concern for several years. And yet it may seem strange that I should speak at a center of Catholic thought on this awkward issue which might so conveniently be ignored, or left to demographers to argue.

I have chosen to discuss the problem because my responsibilities as President of the World Bank compel me to be candid about the blunt facts affecting the prospects for global development.

The bluntest fact of all is that the need for development is desperate.

One-third of mankind today lives in an environment of relative abundance.

But two-thirds of mankind—more than two billion individuals—remain entrapped in a cruel web of circumstances that severely limits their right to the necessities of life. They have not yet been able to achieve the transition to self-sustaining eco-

omic growth. They are caught in the grip of hunger and malnutrition; high illiteracy; inadequate education; shrinking opportunity; and corrosive poverty.

The gap between the rich and poor nations is no longer merely a gap. It is a chasm. On one side are nations of the West that enjoy per capita incomes in the \$3,000 range. On the other are nations in Asia and Africa that struggle to survive on per capita incomes of less than \$100.

What is important to understand is that this is not a static situation. The misery of the underdeveloped world is today a dynamic misery, continuously broadened and deepened by a population growth that is totally unprecedented in history.

This is why the problem of population is an inseparable part of the larger, overall problem of development.

There are some who speak as if simply having fewer people in the world is some sort of intrinsic value in and of itself. Clearly, it is not.

But when human life is degraded by the plague of poverty, and that poverty is transmitted to future generations by too rapid a growth in population, then one with responsibilities in the field of development has no alternative but to deal with that issue.

To put it simply: the greatest single obstacle to the economic and social advancement of the majority of the peoples in the underdeveloped world is rampant population growth.

Having said that, let me make one point unmistakably clear: the solution of the population problem is in no way a substitute for the more traditional forms of developmental assistance: aid for economic infrastructure; aid for agriculture; aid for industrialization; aid for education; aid for technological advance.

The underdeveloped world needs investment capital for a whole gamut of productive projects. But nothing would be more unwise than to allow these projects to fail because they are finally overwhelmed by a tidal wave of population.

Surely, then, it is appropriate that we should attempt to unravel the complexities that so confuse this critical issue.

II

One can begin with the stark demographic dimensions. The dynamics are deceptively simple. Population increase is simply the excess of births over deaths. For most of man's history the two have been in relative equilibrium. Only in the last century have they become seriously unbalanced.

Though the figures are well known, they are worth repeating—if for no other reason than to forestall the familiarity with unpleasant facts from cloaking itself with complacency. It required sixteen hundred years to double the world population of 250 million, as it stood in the first century A.D. Today, the more than three billion on earth will double in 35 years time, and the world's population will then be increasing at the rate of an additional billion every eight years.

To project the totals beyond the year 2000 becomes so demanding on the imagination as to make the statistics almost incomprehensible.

A child born today, living on into his seventies, would know a world of 15 billion. His grandson would share the planet with 60 billion.

In six and a half centuries from now—the same insignificant period of time separating us from the poet Dante—there would be one human being standing on every square foot of land on earth: a fantasy of horror that even the *Inferno* could not match.

Such projections are, of course, unreal. They will not come to pass because events will not permit them to come to pass.

Of that we can be certain.

What is not so certain is precisely what those events will be. They can only be: mass starvation; political chaos; or population planning.

Whatever may happen after the year 2000, what is occurring right now is enough to jolt one into action.

India, for example, is adding a million people a month to its population—and this in spite of the oldest family-planning program in Southeast Asia.

The Philippines currently has a population of 37 million. There is no authorized government family-planning program. At the present rate of growth, these limited islands—in a brief 35 years—would have to support over one hundred million human beings.

The average population growth of the world at large is 2%. Many underdeveloped countries are burdened with a rate of 3½% or more. A population growing at 1% doubles itself in 70 years; at 2% it doubles in 35 years; at 3½% it doubles in only 20 years.

Now, if we are to reject mass starvation and political chaos as solutions to this explosive situation, then there are clearly only three conceivable ways in which a nation can deliberately *plan* to diminish its rate of population growth: to increase the death rate; to step up the migration rate; or to reduce the birth rate.

No one is in favor of the first choice. On the contrary, under the impact of public health programs, death rates are falling throughout the underdeveloped areas. Even simple medical improvements—better sanitation, malaria suppression, widespread vaccination—bring on a rapid and welcome decline in mortality. The low-level death rates which Europe required a century and a half to achieve are now being accomplished in the emerging areas in a fifth of that time.

The second choice is wholly inadequate. Increased migration, on any scale significant enough to be decisive, is simply not practical. Countries concerned about their own future crowding are understandably disinclined to add to it by accepting more than a limited number of foreigners. But the more important point is that the continually expanding increment, on a global basis, is already so massive that migration as a solution to population pressure is manifestly unrealistic. We can put a man on the moon. But we cannot migrate by the millions off our own planet.

That leaves the third choice: a humane and rational reduction of the birth rate.

Is it feasible? It is.

Is it simple? It is not.

Is it necessary? Without question.

It is necessary because the consequences of continuing the present population growth rates are unacceptable.

III

Let us examine those consequences.

One cannot sense the inner significance of the cold, remote, impersonal demographic data by merely tracing a line upward on a graph, or by scanning the print-out from a computer.

The consequences of rapid population growth—piled on top of an already oppressive poverty—must be grasped in all their concrete, painful reality.

The first consequence can be seen in the gaunt faces of hungry men.

One half of humanity is hungering at this very moment. There is less food per person on the planet today than there was 30 years ago in the midst of a worldwide depression.

Thousands of human beings will die today—as they die every day—of that hunger. They will either simply starve to death, or they will die because their diet is so inadequate that it cannot protect them from some easily preventable disease.

Most of those thousands of individuals—individuals whose intrinsic right to a decent life is as great as yours or mine—are children. ~~They are not mere statistics.~~ They are human beings. And they are dying; now; at this very moment; while we are speaking.

They are not your children. Or my children. But they are someone's children. And they are dying needlessly.

And yet the thousands who die are perhaps the more fortunate ones. For millions of other children, suffering the same malnutrition, do not die. They live languidly on—stunted in their bodies, and crippled in their minds.

The human brain reaches 90% of its normal structural development in the first four years of life. We now know that during that critical period of growth, the brain is highly vulnerable to nutritional deficiencies: deficiencies that can cause as much as 25% impairment of normal mental ability. Even a deterioration of 10% is sufficient to cause a serious handicap to productive life.

This is irreversible brain damage.

What is particularly tragic in all of this is that when such mentally deprived children reach adulthood, they are likely to repeat the whole depressing sequence in their own families. They perpetuate mental deficiency, not through genetic inheritance; but simply because as parents they are ill-equipped mentally to understand, and hence to avoid the very nutritional deprivations in their own children that they themselves suffered.

Thus hunger and malnutrition forge a chain of conditions that only spiral the total human performance dimly downward. Alertness, vitality, energy, the ability to learn, the desire to succeed, the will to exert an effort—all these inestimable human qualities drain away.

How many children today are caught up in this crisis? How many of them subsist at levels of hunger and malnutrition that risk their being irreversibly mentally retarded for the rest of their lives? Some three hundred million.

But the population explosion's corrosive effects on the quality of life do not end with hunger. They range through the whole spectrum of human deprivation. With entire national populations, already caught up in the dilemmas of development, now doubling in as short a time as 20 years, there is a chronic insufficiency of virtually every necessity.

Current birth rates throughout the emerging world are seriously crippling developmental efforts. It is imperative to understand why. The intractable reason is that these governments must divert an inordinately high proportion of their limited national savings away from productive investment simply in order to maintain the current low level of existence.

Each additional child brought into the world must not only be fed, but clothed, housed, medically cared for, and supported

by at least minimal educational services. All of this requires new capital—new capital that cannot be invested in other desperately needed sectors of the economy. For approximately the first 15 years of their lives, children cannot contribute economically to the nation: simply because they are young they are consumers rather than producers.

If the number of children in the total population—as a result of high birth rates—is very large, a nation is under the compelling necessity to expend ever greater resources simply to keep its people from slipping beneath minimum subsistence levels. A treadmill economy tends to emerge in which the total national effort will exhaust itself in running faster and faster merely to stand still.

More and more classrooms must be built; more and more teachers must be provided; more and more vocational training facilities must be established. But despite all this effort both the quantity and quality of education will inevitably decline. It ~~simply cannot keep pace with the mounting waves of children.~~ Thus, one of the prime movers of all human development—education—is sacrificed.

Further, as ill-educated, perhaps wholly illiterate, children reach the age when they ought to become producers in the economy, they are engulfed by the hopelessness of underemployment. In many of the world's shanty towns 50 to 60% of the adolescents are out of work.

Not only are these youngsters unequipped for the jobs that might have been available, but the total number of meaningful jobs itself tends to decline in proportion to the population simply because the government has been unable to invest adequately in job-producing enterprises. The capital that ought to have been invested was simply not available. It was dissipated by the ever rising tide of additional children.

This, then, is the cruel and self-perpetuating dilemma that governments face in underdeveloped countries overburdened for long periods with high birth rates.

Their plans for progress evaporate into massive efforts merely to maintain the status quo.

But what is true at the national level is repeated with even greater poignancy on the personal family level. Millions of individual families wish to avoid unwanted pregnancies.

And when these families cannot find legal and compassionate assistance in this matter, they often turn to desperate and illegal measures.

Statistics suggest that abortion is one of the world's most commonly chosen methods to limit fertility—despite the fact that in most societies it is ethically offensive, illegal, expensive, and medically hazardous.

In five countries of western Europe, it is estimated that there are as many illegal abortions as live births.

In India, the estimate is that each month a quarter of a million women undergo illegal abortion.

In Latin America, illegal abortion rates are among the highest in the world. In one country, they are said to total three times the live birth rate; in another, to be the cause of two out of every five deaths of pregnant women. Further, there are indications that the illegal abortion rate in Latin America is increasing, and that multiple illegal abortions among mothers are becoming common.

The tragic truth is that illegal abortion is endemic in many parts of the world. And it is particularly prevalent in those areas where there is no adequate, organized family-planning assistance.

The conclusion is clear: where the public authorities will not assist parents to avoid unwanted births, the parents will often take matters into their own hands—at whatever cost to conscience or health.

IV

Now I have noted that this entire question of population planning is incredibly complex. There are, of course, certain precise and painful moral dilemmas. But quite apart from these, there is a vague and murky mythology that befores the issue. Not only does this collection of myths obscure the essentials of the problem, but worse still, it builds barriers to constructive action.

I should like to turn now to that mythology, and examine some of its more irrational premises.

There is, to begin with, the generalized assumption that somehow "more people means more wealth." As with all fallacies, there is a deceptive substratum of plausibility to the thesis. With the earlier rise of nationalism in the West—and the more recent emergence of newly independent countries in Asia and Africa—rapid population growth has often been regarded as a symbol of national vigor. It provided, so it was believed, the foundations of a more powerful military establishment; an economically advantageous internal market; a pool of cheap labor; and, in general, a prestigious political place in the sun.

But in the underdeveloped world, nearly every one of these assumptions is false. Because rapid population growth tends seriously to retard growth in per capita income, the developing nation soon discovers that its economic vigor is diminished rather than enhanced by the phenomenon of high fertility. The hoped-for internal market becomes a mere mass of discontented indigents, without purchasing power but with all the frustrations of potential consumers whose expectations cannot be met.

"Cheap labor" in such countries turns out not to be cheap at all. For sound economic growth requires technological improvements, and these in turn demand higher levels of training than the strained government resources can supply. Though individual workers may be paid lower salaries than their counterparts abroad, their efficiency and productiveness are so low that the nation's goods are often priced out of the competitive export market. The "cheap" labor turns out to be excessively expensive labor.

Even the argument of expanding the population in order to provide a powerful military force is suspect—not merely because the expansion of one nation's forces will, in time, lead to a reactive expansion of its neighbors' forces, but also because modern defense forces require an increasing ratio of educated recruits rather than mere masses of illiterate troops.

10 As for political prestige, nations caught in the catastrophe of an uncontrolled population growth do not enhance their posi-

tion in the family of nations. On the contrary, they find it slipping away as their once optimistic plans for progress turn inevitably to the politics of confrontation and extremism.

Akin to the myth that "more people means more wealth" is the notion that countries with large tracts of uninhabited open land have no need to worry about birth rates, since there is ample room for expansion.

The argument is as shallow as it is misleading. For the patent fact is that mere open land does not, in and of itself, support a high rate of population growth. Such open land—if it is to become the home of large numbers of people—must be provided with a whole panoply of heavy government investments: investments in roads, housing, sanitation, agricultural and industrial development.

The sound economic argument is quite the other way round. What such raw space requires first is not surplus people, but surplus funds for investment. And it is precisely surplus people in a developing economy that make the accumulation of surplus funds so incredibly difficult.

What is equally overlooked is that a rational restraint on fertility rates in an emerging country never implies an absolute reduction of the total population. It simply hopes for a more reasonable balance between birth and death rates. And since death rates in the future are certain to drop with continued advances in medicine—and in highly underdeveloped countries the drop in the death rate is characteristically precipitous—there are no grounds whatever for fearing that a nation's population, under the influence of family planning, will dangerously ebb away. The danger is quite the opposite: that even with family planning—should it be inadequately utilized—the population will proliferate in the future to self-defeating levels.

A still more prevalent myth is the misapprehension that official programs of family planning in a developing country are wholly unnecessary since the very process of development itself automatically leads to lowered birth rates. The experience of Europe is cited as persuasive proof of this theory.

But the proof is no proof at all, for the theory is hopelessly irrelevant to today's conditions in the underdeveloped world. There are no comparable circumstances between what happened in Europe's early period of modernization, and what is happening in the emerging world today.

Aside from a lapse of logic which fails to grasp that the current population growth in these areas inhibits the very economic development which is supposed to curb that growth, the historical fact is that conditions in Europe during its initial developmental period were far more favorable to lower rates of population growth. The birth rates were much lower than they are in the underdeveloped world today, the death rates had not yet drastically fallen, and by the time public health measures had accomplished that, the infrastructure of industrialization was already in place.

Further, in nineteenth century Europe, unlike in the developing countries today, marriages were entered into later, and the level of literacy—always an important factor affecting population growth—was considerably higher.

Even in spite of all these advantages, it required some 70 years for Europe to reduce its birth rates to present levels. Today the average birth rate for developing countries is 40 to 45 per 1000 of population. To get this rate down to the 17 to 20 per 1000 that is common in contemporary Europe would require a reduction in the developing world of some 50 million births a year. To suppose that economic advancement by itself—without the assistance of well organized family planning—could accomplish this in any feasible time-frame of the future is wholly naive.

Indeed, even with family planning, no such promising results are feasible in less than two or three decades. What is feasible—indeed what is imperative—is the establishment of family planning on a scale that will stave off total economic and political disintegration in those countries where social progress is being seriously limited by the glut of unwanted births.

No government can, of course, ultimately succeed in convincing its own population to undertake family planning, if parents themselves do not really want it.

But the almost universal fact is that parents do want it. They often want it far more than their own political leaders comprehend.

People—particularly poor, ill-educated people—may not understand the techniques of family planning. Most of them have only the most tenuous understanding of human biology. Often their limited comprehension is tragically confused by gross misinformation.

But the notion that family-planning programs are sinister, coercive plots to force poor people into something they really do not want, is absurd.

The pervasive prevalence of voluntary illegal abortion should be enough to dispel that fiction.

The poor do not always know how to limit their families in less drastic and dangerous ways, but there is overwhelming evidence that they would like to know how.

Another serious misunderstanding is the fear that family planning in the developing world would inevitably lead to a breakdown of familial moral fiber—and that it would encourage parents to limit the number of their children for essentially frivolous and selfish reasons: that it would trade the responsibility of having a large number of children for the opportunity of acquiring the needless gadgetry of an advancing consumer economy.

But one stroll through the slums of any major city in the developing world is enough to dispel that concept. If anything is threatening the fiber of family life it is the degrading conditions of subsistence survival that one finds in these sprawling camps of packing crates and scrap metal. Children on the streets instead of in non-existent classrooms. Broken men—their pride shattered—without work. Despondent mothers—often unmarried—unable to cope with exhaustion because of annual pregnancies. And all of this in a frustrating environment of misery and hunger and hopelessness. These are not the conditions that promote an ethically fibered family life.

Family planning is not designed to destroy families. On the contrary, it is designed to save them.

All of us accept the principle that in a free society, the parents themselves must ultimately decide the size of their own family. We would regard it as an intolerable invasion of the family's rights for the State to use coercive measures to implement population policy. We can preserve that right best by assisting families to understand how they can make that decision for themselves.

The fact is that millions of children are born without their parents desiring that it happen. Hence, a free, rational choice for an additional child is not made in these cases. If we are to keep the right of decision in the hands of the family—where it clearly belongs—then we must give the family the knowledge and assistance it requires to exercise that right.

Nor need anyone be deterred from appropriate action by the pernicious, if pervasive, myth that the white western world's assistance in family planning efforts among the non-white nations of the developing areas is a surreptitious plot to keep the whites in a racial ascendancy. The myth is absurd on purely demographic grounds, as well as on many others. Non-white peoples on the planet massively outnumber whites. They always have and always will. No conceivable degree of family planning could possibly alter that mathematical fact.

But a more relevant answer is that if the white world actually did desire to plot against the non-white nations, one of the most effective ways possible to do so would be for the whites to deny these nations any assistance whatever in family planning. For the progressive future of the non-white world is directly related to their indigenous economic development—and that, in turn, as we have seen, is dependent upon their being able to bring birth rates down to a level that will allow a significant increase in per capita income.

V

There is one more myth that obstructs the road to action. It is the belief that the time for decisive action is past, and that sweeping famine is inevitable.

The distinguished British scientist and novelist, C. P. Snow, has recently noted that it is the view of men of sober judgment

that "many millions of people in the poor countries are going to starve to death before our eyes."

"We shall see them doing so," he adds, "upon our television sets."

He stresses that when the collision between food and population takes place, "at best, this will mean local famines to begin with. At worst, the local famines will spread into a sea of hunger. The usual date predicted for the beginning of the local famines is 1975-80."

In summing up his own view, he suggests that "The major catastrophe will happen before the end of the century. We shall, in the rich countries, be surrounded by a sea of famine, involving hundreds of millions of human beings."

"The increase of population," he predicts, "all over the rich world may get a little less. In the poor world it won't, except in one or two pockets. Despite local successes, as in India, the food-population collision will duly occur. The attempts to prevent it, or meliorate it, will be too feeble. Famine will take charge in many countries. It may become, by the end of the period, endemic famine. There will be suffering and desperation on a scale as yet unknown."

Now, though Lord Snow is a brilliant and perceptive man of good will, I simply do not believe that one need feel quite so near despair—even in the face of a situation as ominous as this one.

Wholesale famine is not inevitable. I am convinced that there is time to reverse the situation, if we will but use it. Only barely sufficient time. But time nevertheless.

It is the time which has been given us by those who have created the revolution in agricultural technology: a revolution based on new seeds, hybrid strains, fertilizers, and the intensified use of natural resources.

It is a revolution which already has increased the yields of food grains by more than 100% in parts of Southeast Asia, and which promises to boost yields by one-half ton per acre throughout Asia. It is a revolution which has expanded the number of

acres sown with the new seeds from 200 in 1965 to 20,000,000 in 1968—and an estimated 34,000,000 in 1969—but which has yet to touch more than a small percentage of the rice and wheat-producing acreage of the world.

If we will but speed the spread of this agricultural revolution—by adequate and properly administered technical and financial assistance to the developing countries—we can expect that for the next two decades the world's food supply will grow at a faster rate than its population.

The predicted spectre of famine can be averted.

It will take immense energy and organizing skill, and significant infusions of new capital investment—but it is possible to stave off disaster.

What is required to accomplish this is not so much a psychologically comforting optimism, as an energetic, creative realism.

I believe enough of that realism exists among men of good will—both in the developed and in the emerging world—to do the job.

This is the fundamental reason I do not share Lord Snow's degree of discouragement.

There is no point whatever in being naively over-optimistic about a situation as full of peril as the population problem.

But I am confident that application of the new technology will dramatically expand the rate of agricultural growth and will buy two decades of time—admittedly the barest minimum of time—required to cope with the population explosion, and reduce it to manageable proportions.

VI

How can this best be done?

To begin with, the developed nations must give every measure of support they possibly can to those countries which have already established family-planning programs. Many have. The governments of India, Pakistan, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore have established both policies and specific targets for

reducing population growth rates and have shown some measurable progress.

Ceylon, Malaysia, Turkey, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic, Morocco, Kenya, Mauritius, Chile, Honduras, Barbados, and Jamaica are giving government support to family-planning programs, but need substantial technical or financial assistance before any significant reduction in birth rates can occur.

Some 20 other governments are considering family-planning programs.

In other countries, where governments are only dimly aware of the dangers of the population problem—but would like, nevertheless, to ponder the matter—the developed nations can quietly assist by helping with the demographic and social studies that will reveal the facts and thus point up the urgency of the issue, and the disadvantages of delay.

It is essential, of course, to recognize the right of a given country to handle its population problem in its own way. But handle it, it must.

The developed nations can point out the demographic facts; can explain the economic realities; can warn of the consequences of procrastination. They can—and should—inform. They should not—and cannot—pressure.

Technologically advanced countries can make one of their greatest contributions by initiating a new order of intensity in research into reproductive biology. They have starved their research facilities of funds in this field. The result is that we are still only on the threshold of understanding the complexities of conception, and therefore only at the outer edge of the necessary knowledge to help make family planning in the developing countries beneficial on a meaningful scale.

Annual worldwide expenditures for research in reproductive biology now total roughly 50 million dollars. The hardheaded estimate is that the sum should treble to 150 million dollars annually—for the next ten years—if we are to develop the knowledge necessary for the most effective and acceptable kinds of family planning.

Our parsimony in this matter in the United States is illustrated by the discouraging fact that out of a total budget of nearly one billion dollars, the National Institutes of Health this year are spending less than ten million dollars for research in population-related phenomena. ~~Hundreds of millions of dollars for death control.~~ Scarcely 1% of that amount for fertility control.

And research efforts should range far beyond biology.

Demography, as a fully developed science, remains in its infancy. It is likely that fewer than half the world's births are even registered. And while the crude estimates of birth rates almost inevitably turn out to be too low, it is essential that more precise data be developed in those areas where the population problem is the most acute.

Similarly, there is a pressing need for far more research in the socio-cultural aspects of family planning. There is manifestly a great deal more to population planning than merely birth control. Attitudes, motivation, preferences differ from country to country, and this essential research can clearly best be conducted locally. The developed nations should be generous in their financial support for such studies and surveys.

Above all else, there is a need to develop a realistic sense of urgency in all countries over the population problem.

Programs are beginning to show progress in limited areas. But no reduction in birth rates has yet been achieved anywhere in the underdeveloped areas which can significantly affect overall world population totals.

This means that family planning is going to have to be undertaken on a humane but massive scale. Other massive efforts in our century—for example, in the field of public health—have been mounted and have been successful. And granted all the difficulties, there is no insuperable reason this one cannot be.

The threat of unmanageable population pressures is very much like the threat of nuclear war.

Both threats are undervalued. Both threats are misunderstood.

Both threats can—and will—have catastrophic consequences unless they are dealt with rapidly and rationally.

The threat of violence is intertwined with the threat of undue population growth. It is clear that population pressures in the underdeveloped societies can lead to economic tensions, and political turbulence: stresses in the body politic which in the end can bring on conflicts among nations.

Such violence must not be allowed to happen.

You and I—and all of us—share the responsibility of taking those actions necessary to assure that it will not happen.

There is no point in despair.

There is every point simply in getting busy with the job. That is surely what God gave us our reason and our will for: to get on with the tasks which must be done.

I do not have to convince you of that here at Notre Dame.

You, and the Roman Catholic Church at large, are completely dedicated to the goal of development. One has only to read the Second Vatican Council's *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, and Pope Paul's *Populorum Progressio* to understand that. Both these impressive documents call for a solution to the population problem as it relates to development. Such controversy as remains in this matter is merely about the means, not at all about the end.

I am confident that you in this university, and those in the Catholic community that reaches out around the globe, and the fatherly and compassionate Pontiff who stands at your helm—as well as men everywhere of whatever religious allegiance—I am confident that all of us are dedicated to that end however much we may disagree on the specifics of the means.

The end desired by the Church—and by all men of good will—is the enhancement of human dignity. That, after all, is what development is all about.

And human dignity is severely threatened by the population explosion—more severely, more completely, more certainly threatened than it has been by any catastrophe the world has yet endured.

There is time—just barely time—to escape that threat.

We can, and we must, act.

What we must comprehend is this: the population problem *will* be solved one way or the other. Our only fundamental option is whether it is to be solved rationally and humanely—or irrationally and inhumanely. Are we to solve it by famine? Are we to solve it by riot, by insurrection, by the violence that desperately starving men can be driven to? Are we to solve it by wars of expansion and aggression? Or are we to solve it rationally, humanely—in accord with man's dignity?

There is so little time left to make the decision. To make no decision would be to make the worst decision of all. For to ignore this problem is only to make certain that nature will take catastrophic revenge on our indecisiveness.

Providence has placed you and me—and all of us—at that fulcrum-point in history where a rational, responsible, moral solution to the population problem must be found.

You and I—and all of us—share the responsibility, to find and apply that solution.

If we shirk that responsibility, we will have committed the crime.

But it will be those who come after us who will pay the undeserved . . . and the unspeakable . . . penalties.

813/1/21



September 5, 1969

Dear Mr. Young:

Mr. McNamara has asked me to thank you for your letter. He is grateful to you for taking the time to write, and for the expression of your views.

He has asked me, also, to send you the enclosed copy of a speech he made at the University of Notre Dame last May. In it he discusses the population problem in broad terms, but does not advocate "the pill" or any other technique of birth control as a universally appropriate solution. In fact, I think you will find his discussion of the religious aspects of this question very much in line with accepted Catholic thought.

Again, thank you for writing, and best wishes.

Sincerely,

David G. Fulton
Chief, Public Affairs

Mr. Robert Young
11 Lower Grand Canal Street
Dublin 2, Ireland

DCF:lmt

c.c. with incoming to Mr. Maddux ✓

11 Lower Grand Canal Street
Dublin, 2,
Ireland

25/7/69



Dear Mr Mc Namara

I take the liberty (with your approval, I hope) of sending you under separate cover a few of our Catholic publications containing articles treating of the subject of both-control and World hunger which I would respectfully like to bring to your special notice.

I submit, Sir that as regards these two grave problems weighing so heavily on the human kind of our generation, nevertheless we will never solve them successfully by the abrogation of the law of nature or the law of God

In this connection I would earnestly make an appeal to you to give the matter of the use of the pill serious

second thought taking into consideration the sacred character of human life and the respect due to the dignity of the human person.

Could not we concentrate on ^{the} breaking up and cultivation of vast tracts of available land available throughout the world for the purpose of greater food production and the exploitation of the great potential of sea for the same purpose. It is estimated that the potential of the land alone is adequate for the feeding of ten times the present population of the entire human family.

Again and in conclusion may I express the earnest hope that you will give this matter deep thought and consideration for which you will earn the grateful appreciation of all men of right conscience and good-will.

With every good wish and regard,

I remain
Respectfully yours,
Robert Young.

813/1/20

July 7, 1969



Dear Father O'Brien:

I am most grateful for the clipping you sent and for your continuing interest in the speech I made at Notre Dame in May. Actually, the distribution has gone very well. There appears to be a sustained interest in the subject, and we have so far answered requests for over forty thousand copies in three languages and are going into a new press run.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

(Signed) Robert S. McNamara

Robert S. McNamara

The Rev. John A. O'Brien, Ph.D.
University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

DCF: lmt

02

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME
REV. JOHN A. O'BRIEN, PH. D.
NOTRE DAME, INDIANA 46556



June 27, 1969

Dear Mr. McNamara:

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed clipping from the national edition of the Register, published in Denver.

I sent previously a copy of Mr. Martins' letter to your assistant, Mr. John Maddox. I am glad to see that the highlights of your talk were published in an advertisement in the Evening Star, Washington, D. C., and I am sending to Mr. Hugh Moore the names of some persons to whom copies might fruitfully be sent. I hope that it was possible to send copies to the Catholic bishops of the world, translated into the major languages of Europe, so that it will render the largest scope of service to mankind in dealing with this crucial problem.

With kindest greetings and deep gratitude,

Ever cordially,

John A. O'Brien

Refused
6-29-69

ations

McNamara's Views Defended

Editor:

Jim Martins misrepresents, inadvertently, I think, the position of Robert S. McNamara, president of the World Bank, as presented in his address on population control at the University of Notre Dame. Mr. Martins pictures him as "advocating" three choices of limiting population: To increase the death rate; to step up the migration rate; or to reduce the birth rate. In reality, Mr. McNamara is not "advocating" these methods but is simply presenting them as the only three possible ways of regulating population growth and, in doing so, he is expressing what every scholar recognizes to be the truth.

After pointing this out Mr. McNamara is careful to add that no one is in favor of the first choice, and that the second choice is "manifestly unrealistic" in the face of the continually expanding populations throughout the world. The third choice, he said, is feasible, simple and necessary. In developing the last method, Mr. McNamara's treatment paralleled that of Pope Paul in his encyclical, *The Development of Peoples*, and also of the second Vatican Council's Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World.

The emphasis in these two great documents, as in Mr. McNamara's address, is upon responsible parenthood. He praised these two "impressive documents" which call for a solution to the population problem, as it relates to development.

Mr. McNamara was careful to point out "such controversy as remains in this matter is merely about the means, not at all about the end."

His address was well received at the University of Notre Dame and was commended widely in the nation's press. It was indeed one of the outstanding addresses of the year.

A printed copy of it can probably be secured by writing to Mr. Robert S. McNamara, President, The World Bank Group, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1818 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20433.

Rev. John A. O'Brien, Ph.D.,
Notre Dame, Indiana

813/1/18

May 22, 1969



Mr. McNamara:

A few days after your Notre Dame speech, a friend mentioned to me a quotation which he now sent. It is from the Syllabus of Modern Errors (1864) and reads:

"The Roman Pontiff cannot and ought not reconcile himself and come to terms with progress, liberalism, and modern civilization."

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "JA".

John H. Adler

President has seen

3148 To Dr. Machado

813/1/19

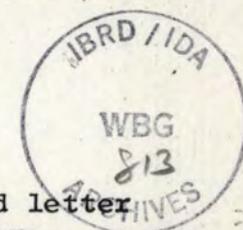
OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Robert S. McNamara

DATE: May 22, 1969

FROM: Luis Machado

SUBJECT: Notre Dame Speech



I think you will be interested in reading the annexed letter that I have received from His Excellency Mr. Julio A. Rivera, former President of El Salvador and now Ambassador to the United States of America, praising your Notre Dame speech and making a few interesting suggestions in connection with the problem of multinational migration of excess population.

Thank Luis. I am grateful to you for photostating papers of the speech.

813/1/17

3/28 to Mr. Graves

Form No. 75
(2-60)

INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR
RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE
CORPORATION

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
ASSOCIATION

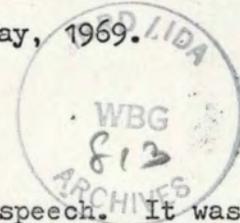
ROUTING SLIP		Date May 27, 1969
NAME		ROOM NO.
Mr. McNamara		A 1230
Mr. Clark		D 928
Mr. Maddux		D 925
To Handle		Note and File
Appropriate Disposition		Note and Return
Approval		Prepare Reply
Comment		Per Our Conversation
Full Report		Recommendation
Information		Signature
Initial		Send On
REMARKS		
<p>Mr. McNamara -- Here is a fan letter which may interest you. The writer is Father Arthur McCormack, who is the population expert on the staff of the Pontifical Commission Justice and Peace.</p> <p>↓ <i>Understood but</i> Harold Graves <i>welcome any time. Many thanks</i> <i>Harold</i></p>		
From <i>R. New</i>		



Underground: BURNT OAK:
and BUS 251
Phone: 01-959-3460
Private Line: 01-959-8493

ST. JOSEPH'S COLLEGE,
MILL HILL,
LONDON, N.W.7.

14th May, 1969.



Dear Harold,

Thank you so much for sending McNamara's speech. It was really brilliant, clear, decisive, with a tremendous amount of material condensed into such a short compass, and much "tighter" than the September 30th speech. The place too, was very significant. The references to the Catholic Church and the Pope were dignified-far more effective than the 2,600 scientists of the AAAS. His positive attitude and refusal to despair are of immense value.

I think this will have considerable influence and certainly will help my work. One could challenge those on the Justice and Peace Commission who do not think there is cause for "alarm" to prove by facts and evidence that what he said is not true.

I will be in New York for a few days at the beginning of August, so I should be able to slip down to Washington for a day or two and hope to see you then.

Warm good wishes and renewed thanks,

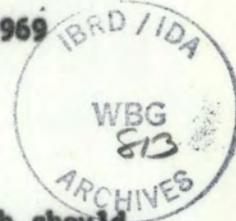
Yours very sincerely,

Arthur

Mr. Harold Graves,
Assistant Director for Development,
World Bank,
Washington, D.C.,
U.S.A.

813/1/16

May 16, 1969



Dear Viggo:

It has been suggested that the Notre Dame speech should be distributed to RC Bishops and Archbishops all over the world. I do not feel that the Bank as such could or should undertake such a distribution directly, but the suggestion is certainly interesting. Perhaps the International Planned Parenthood in London could be of some assistance here, by re-distributing for us, or even by running off the speech themselves and give it the desired distribution, including the RC hierarchy. Our distribution here was greatly facilitated by General Draper's population planning organization, but in the case I have mentioned, an international body would be more appropriate. In any case, it would be a good idea for you to call on them and see to what extent and how they might be willing to cooperate.

As ever,

Yours,

Lars J. Lind

Mr. Viggo A. Christensen
Chief of Information Services
European Office - IBRD
12 rue de Presbourg
Paris 16e

LJL/ag

cc: Mr. Maddux ✓

*Mr. McNamara - to see please.**RBS 5/19*

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. W. Clark

FROM: Lars J. Lind

SUBJECT: Notre Dame Speech.

DATE: May 16, 1969



The response to Mr. McNamara's Notre Dame speech is picking up noticeably in Europe after a disappointing start as a news story. For instance, Le Figaro, Evening Standard, Handelsblatt of Düsseldorf have devoted much space to the message. The Guardian of Manchester comments very favorably under the heading "Avoidable Catastrophe" and ends by saying: "The problem in fact will only be solved when it becomes a live political issue; we are still waiting for a politician to take the lead - or now, to follow Mr. McNamara's."

A major editorial in the independent liberal/conservative Sydsvenska Dagbladet, of Malmö, Sweden (one of the four major papers in the country) writes under the heading "The most pressing of the May messages". (First of May in Europe is of course Labor Day with a multitude of speeches.) "His message must burn itself into the consciousness everywhere where the problems of the underdeveloped world usually are pushed aside." The speech is described as "intense" and "masterly formulated" and as a further demonstration of the "knowledge, commitment and sympathetic insight" that Mr. McNamara has demonstrated since he took over the leadership of the Bank.

Clips have also started to come in from Latin America with good space and favorable comment given in papers seen from Bogota, Sao Paulo and Buenos Aires.

cc: Messrs. McNamara ✓
Maddux
Christensen
Bravo

President has seen

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. W. Clark
FROM: Lars J. Lind
SUBJECT: Notre Dame Speech.

DATE: May 16, 1969



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cc: Messrs. McNamara
Maddux ✓
Christensen
Bravo

Please return to
Mr. Maddux

美國紐約人口研究局
THE POPULATION COUNCIL

S. M. Keeny
Resident Representative for East Asia
103 Ming-chuan Road, Taichung
Taiwan, China

P. O. Box No. 112
Taichung, Taiwan

Tel: 6 7613
Cable address:
POPCOUNCIL, Taichung

May 13, 1969

Mr. John L. Maddux
International Bank for Reconstruction and
Development
1818 H Street, N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20433
U. S. A.



Dear John:

The Notre Dame speech arrived this morning. I cabled you at once:

"URGENT PLEASE AIRMAIL FIFTY COPIES NOTRE DAME SPEECH BOX 112
TAICHUNG TAIWAN"

I want these 50 for an important meeting with important WHO officials in Taichung beginning 25 May. They tend to ignore the economic aspects of the problem and to repeat mindlessly that family planning must be done only as a part of mother-child care - cheerfully ignoring the fact that more than three quarters of India's program (the largest in the world) is male sterilization.

Could you please send me by surface 500 more copies? We have 300 or more national leaders here every year for a week's training course, and I want them to get the message. The address:

The Population Council
P. O. Box 112
Taichung, Taiwan, Republic of China.

Mark the packages "gift to the family planning program."

As you will have gathered from the foregoing, I'm quite excited about the speech. It says the right things - and it says them well. I'm particularly pleased with the way you sharpened up the point.

The only statement that I question (para 2, p.12) is that infant mortality rates during the early developmental period of Europe were much lower than those in the underdeveloped countries today. That would have been true 20 years ago, but not now. The infant mortality of India today is given as about 112. It has fallen rapidly from about 200 two

Please return to
J.M. Macdonald

美國紐約人口研究會
THE POPULATION COUNCIL

S. M. Kenny
Resident Representative for East Asia
108 Ming-chuan Road, Taichung
Taiwan, China

POP-COUNCIL, Taichung
Cable address:
Tel: 7613

P. O. Box No. 112
Taichung, Taiwan

May 13, 1969



Mr. John L. Madrox
International Bank for Reconstruction and
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1818 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20433
U. S. A.

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1969 MAY 19 10 08 AM
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THE POPULATION COUNCIL

page 2.

Cable address:
POPCOUNCIL, Taichung
P. O. Box No. 112 Taichung

The rates in Europe in the middle of the 19th century were probably higher than those in Asia today.

All in all, an excellent job - and one that, I think, will not hurt Catholic feelings except among the last-ditchers. My congratulations to you and to Mr. McNamara.

Sincerely,

S. M. Keeny
S. M. Keeny

SMK:sl

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N. Y. 10020

Room 5600

Circle 7-3700

May 9, 1969



Dear Bob:

Just a much belated note in regard to your Notre Dame talk on population. I thought it really was terrific and such a wonderful help to all of us working in the field.

This morning I was talking with George Harrar and he told me about the recent agricultural session at Serbelloni. He seemed to feel that it had been really useful and spoke particularly of your contribution.

Dr. Harrar also said that you and he had talked about a similar session in regard to population maybe in October. George seemed enthusiastic and I know will be following up on it. It is obviously important to get the right people to attend, particularly those in policy forming positions rather than the professionals in the field. I know that he would welcome such suggestions as you might have.

My warmest best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

John D. Rockefeller 3rd

The Hon. Robert S. McNamara
President
International Bank for Reconstruction
and Development
Washington, D.C. 20433

RECEIVED
MAY 15 1969 3:55

President has seen

8/23/69
J.P. Jr.

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10020

Circle 7-8700

Room 8600

May 9, 1969



Dear Bob:

Just a much belated note in regard to your
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Sincerely,

John D. Rockefeller 3rd

The Hon. Robert S. McNamara

President

International Bank for Reconstruction

and Development
Washington, D.C. 20433
MAY 12 PM 3:22

RECEIVED
GENERAL FILES

President has seen

845 - Population

813/1/13

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

REV. JOHN A. O'BRIEN, Ph. D.

Notre Dame, Indiana

May 8, 1969



Mr. Robert S. McNamara, President
World Bank Group
1818 H Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20433

Dear Mr. McNamara:

I have already sent you a word of hearty commendation upon your masterly address here at Notre Dame.

Since then it has occurred to me that you would render a great service to the intelligent solution of the population problem if you were to have a copy of it sent to every Catholic bishop, archbishop and cardinal and to His Holiness, Pope Paul VI. As you know, these prelates, following the lead of the pope, have been among the slowest to admit that there is a real population problem and that conception permeates much of the pope's encyclical, *Humanae Vitae*. You present the subject with such objectivity and statesmanship that no fair-minded reader could fail to recognize the validity of your thesis.

If this would be beyond the function of your office doubtless you could interest the Planned Parenthood World Population, Inc., or the Population Crisis Committee there in Washington to send out the copies of your address. For this purpose either you or the Population Crisis Committee might wish to have it run off in a pamphlet of vestpocket size that could be slipped into an ordinary envelope.

With renewed thanks for stressing the urgency of this problem and pointing the way to its solution,

Ever cordially,

John A. O'Brien

Original to: Information Dept.
Date: 5/13/69 Communications Section e C



INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20433, U.S.A.

813/1/12

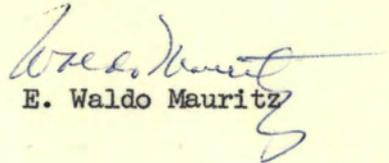


May 6, 1969

Dear Mr. McNamara:

Please accept my congratulations for the honor bestowed on you by the University of Notre Dame and also for your excellent address. It was most impressive.

Sincerely,


E. Waldo Mauritz

ident has seen

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
WASHINGTON

Notre Dame
813/1/11

May 3, 1969

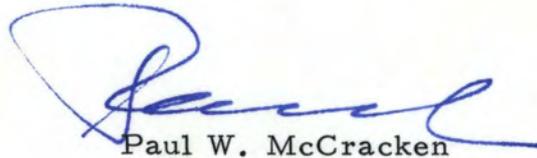


Dear Bob:

That Notre Dame address was a masterpiece and I extend to you my congratulations and admiration for it.

Incidentally it was certainly thoughtful of you to attend that dinner club meeting at such an awkward time in your schedule, but we all deeply appreciated your being there.

Regards,


Paul W. McCracken

The Honorable Robert S. McNamara
President, World Bank
1818 H Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20433

ES:8 MA T-YM 8:58

RECEIVED
LIFE

President has seen

WASHINGTON
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE

May 3, 1969

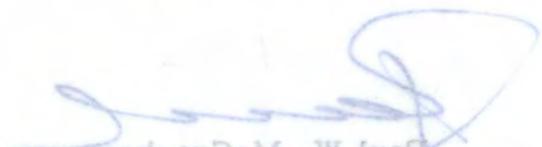


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The Honorable Robert S. McNamara
President, World Bank
1818 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20433

1969 MAY -7 AM 8:29

RECEIVED
GENERAL FILES

President has seen

Brothers of Holy Cross

813/1/10

COLUMBA HALL
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

April 29, 1969

Mr. Robert S. McNamara
c/o of Father Theodore Hesburgh, C.S.C.
President's Office
Notre Dame, Indiana



Dear Mr. McNamara,

May I extend a sincere welcome to the Notre Dame campus. I hope that your visit will be a most pleasant one.

As the founder and curator of the John F. Kennedy Philatelic Collection at Holy Cross Junior College, Notre Dame, Indiana, I have been able to secure the autographs of almost all of the late President's Cabinet.

I would appreciate it if you would autograph the enclosed Kennedy Cover, so I can add it to the permanent display. A self-addressed envelope is enclosed for convenience to have it mailed back to me.

sent 5/7

As a gift to you, I am enclosing a copy of, "In Virtue's Cause", a recent publication of the Dujarie Press, owned and operated by the Brothers of Holy Cross.

sent

With the very best of personal good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Brother Celestis C.S.C.

Brother Celestis, C.S.C.

813/111

THE POPULATION COUNCIL

245 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

TELEPHONE (212) 687-8330
CABLE: POPCOUNCIL, NEW YORK

April 11, 1969

Mr. Robert S. McNamara
President
International Bank for Reconstruction
& Development
1818 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006



Dear Mr. McNamara:

I have two general points about your Notre Dame talk and a number of specifics. I start with the general and then I will simply list the specifics in the briefest possible fashion.

First, this is without doubt a very well-organized, extremely well-written, strong speech -- but I fear it is somewhat overstrong, particularly for a university audience and, even more, a Catholic university audience, and for the Catholic community beyond, especially in Latin America. There is a natural ambivalence in that broad community about this issue relative to their own religious position, and hence a special sensitivity to any possible or perceived overstatement of the case. Accordingly, I think that a somewhat more measured and less hortatory statement would be better, and for both good and real reasons. Our critics would seize upon any possible "overstatement", and anyway the case is so strong that it could even be understated and remain very compelling to any intelligent audience. I appreciate that it is somewhat odd for the head of the Population Council to be urging a softer statement, but in this situation I think it warrants it (some of the specifics are listed below and in general I would ease several adjectives and verbs). Moreover, that audience is probably less concerned about the merit of the case than about its own particular problem in dealing with it, in view of the Catholic position.

That brings me to my second point. Given the full candor of the talk, I think it is difficult and perhaps even wrong for you to come up to the very edge of their concern, as represented by the Encyclical, and then back off. At the least -- and I personally think this least is enough -- I think you ought to close by expressing your full and sympathetic appreciation to the problem this issue is now making for the Church. As now a fellow alumnus coming

TI: 8 MN 41 1969

COMMUNICATIONS
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APR 11 1969

THE POPULATION COUNCIL

TELEPHONE(S) 687-8230
CABLE: POPCOUNCIL, NEW YORK

245 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

April 11, 1969

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President
International Bank for Reconstruction
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1818 H Street, N.W.
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1969 APR 14 AM 8:17

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GENERAL FILES
COMMUNICATIONS

in from the outside (you might say) you appreciate those difficulties. As many people within the Church have of course recognized, there is a compelling need for this great institution to reconcile its historical position with the human needs of the modern situation, especially when it is not the ends that are in controversy but only the technical means. In other areas the Church has demonstrated a sensitive grasp of the economic, familial, and moral problems of development, and certainly the wheel of history will only reinforce the matter. Perhaps this delicate and distressing issue should be left for those inside the Church to resolve, but now as an honorary member of this community I think it only right for me to communicate to you not only the importance of the matter but at the very least a sense of sympathy and concern about the Church's resolution of the issues. I can speak with a special claim only about the economic and developmental aspects of this great human problem; it is for you in the Catholic universities to help resolve their relationship to moral positions.

Now for the specifics, many of which are involved with the first general issue.

Page 2, bottom lines: It might be better simply to say "one of the greatest obstacles" and, as an example of the adjective problem, change "rampant" to "undue" or "too rapid."

Page 3, line 3: Population increase is not measured by that ratio but simply by the difference between birth^s and death^s ~~and~~ as altered by migration either in or out.

Page 3, middle: A child born today will know that world if present rates continue; and, if so, his grandson would share the planet in his maturity with 60 billion rather than 30, by my arithmetic.

Page 5, bottom: I think the figures on hunger and starvation are overdone -- or at least I have never seen the evidence for such magnitudes.

Page 8: There is a good point to be made along here, particularly for that audience: namely, the effect of present rates upon the likelihood of providing children with education. It virtually cannot be done under present prospects in the developing world, and hence we are not only condemning the children to a life of illiteracy and ignorance but we are depriving the society of the tremendous engine of education.

Page 9: I would be very wary about all these figures on abortion. I don't doubt that someone has said these things but the evidence is weak.

Page 13, 4th paragraph: Another point is that the birth rate in Europe was much lower to start with than the birth rates in the world today -- lower by 10 points or so.

DEVELOPING

Page 14, top: This might be a good place for you to stress that population control is not a panacea for such countries; they need strong development as well. This is especially relevant with Latin America in mind since, as you know, many people there feel that the Americans are interested only in the one and not really in the other -- or, even beyond that, in the one in order not to have to help on the other.

Page 17: In the list of six countries that have made progress, my own view is that India is at the bottom of that list, and I don't know which two others you can exclude.

Page 18, top: Perhaps the developing nations can assist by helping with the demographic and social studies that will reveal the effects and thus point up the urgency of the issue -- and then several lines later: perhaps "inform" rather than "persuade."

Page 19, top: Those averages really are not the same. The U.S. ones are lower by a substantial enough amount.

Page 20, first full sentence: This seems to me a somewhat dangerous sentence for someone in your position, since your opponents could quote it out of context as a threat. One could almost see the headlines.

Page 23: Your series of immoralities seems a little too eloquent, and especially since you don't deal with the immorality they are concerned with as Catholics. I think the stance might better be your tremendous concern with the economic and social consequences of the present situation and your expression of anguish about the Church's present relation to the problem, particularly as it affects one of the three great developing continents.

Finally, you use the term "overpopulation" in a few places; we have always tried to avoid that, partly because it raised the different and somewhat spurious problem of density and partly because it suggests a static approach to what is a tremendously dynamic problem of the relationship of people to resources.

Mr. Robert S. McNamara

-4-

April 11, 1969

I am sorry to have been so long-winded about this but it is indeed a very challenging document, and wherever you come out on it I thought that I ought to send you the major comments that I (and a few of my close colleagues) have had.

Best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Bernard Berelson

*Dr.
BB*

Bernard Berelson
President

BB/jvt

(Dictated by Dr. Berelson over the phone
and transcribed in his absence)

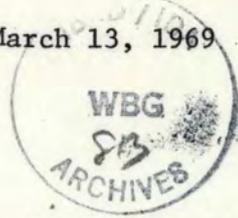
813/1/7

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. McNamara

DATE: March 13, 1969

FROM: Jack Maddux *JM*



SUBJECT: Amended working outline for the Notre Dame Address

As requested, rather than deal with the "myths" as we proceed in the speech's line of argument itself, we will reserve them for a special section. Thus, the address will divide into four major components:

- I. The Dimensions of the Problem
- II. The Consequences of the Problem
- III. The Myths (and their refutation)
- IV. What Must Be Done

In brief, the amendments work out as follows:

INTRODUCTION:

As before.

BODY OF THE SPEECH:

I. The demographic DIMENSIONS of the problem (shock-statistics)

II. The CONSEQUENCES of the problem:

- 1. Famine and malnutrition
- 2. Inadequate education, housing, overall quality of life; i.e., all development inevitably slows and stagnates

note: famine rate for the level + not the level

3. ^{Health of the mother} Illegal abortion (shock-statistics)

4. ^{Excess of family - illegit.} The MYTHS

5. Source of tension & conflict when in our own country

III. The MYTHS

- 1. Empty lands
- 2. More people means more wealth
- 3. The white, affluent, developed world wants to keep colored people down
- 4. Traditional development will, by *itself*, automatically **lower** the birth rate

IV No basis for complacency, action reqd. But some say we delay the Green Revolution will solve the problem of famine (Bring in Snow's predictions here; refute them; but point out that the Green Revolution, while real, merely buys us time)

V IV. WHAT must be done (in this "bought-time")?

- 1. Make EVERYONE aware of the disasterous consequences of the problem (develop the points on pg. 78 & following in the White Paper)

possibility of famine

813/715

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO: William Clark (and through him to Mr. McNamara) ^{W.C.} DATE: March 6, 1969

FROM: Jack Maddux

SUBJECT: Mr. McNamara's Address at Notre Dame, May 1st



You have asked me this morning, by the end of business today, to give you my current thinking on the approach Mr. McNamara should take in his Notre Dame speech.

After a close reading of Mr. Hawkins' paper, plus an immense amount of other reading and discreet conversation with various experts in population field, my view would be the following:

NEGATIVELY, the speech *should not*:

- 1) Merely restate what other experts have already said. Mr. McNamara's approach should be fresh and creative. *It should add a new set of insights.*
- 2) Attempt directly to "save the Pope" from his own position on contraception. Because of the Pope's many recent statements, it is no longer feasible to suggest that he has been misunderstood on that specific matter. Unhappily, the Pope himself has seen to it that he is *not* misunderstood. He has dug his heels in, and has left no room whatever for doubt as to where he stands. Anyone who follows the literature carefully would be aware of this fact. It is true that the Pope has painted himself into a corner; but the more relevant fact is that he shows absolutely no indication whatever that he wants to get out of the corner -- and he has been increasingly critical of those who have tried to help him out of it.
- 3) Try to cover too much ground in the speech. The population issue can be approached from very many points of view. To attempt to deal with them all will severely blunt the incisiveness of the sort of speech the leaders of the world have come to expect from Robert S. McNamara.

but

POSITIVELY, the speech *can* -- and I believe -- *should*:

- 1) Graphically, forcefully, and eloquently *relate the population problem to man's most profound and perennial predicament: THE SEARCH FOR THE FULLER REALIZATION OF HIS OWN INNATE POTENTIAL AS A HUMAN BEING.*
- 2) Link the Church's historical struggle in defense of *human dignity* to the population problem. Draw on the thought of Populorum Progressio. Stay away from the line of argument in Humanae Vitae. Finesse the Pope's position by so connecting him with the defense of human dignity that attention is *drawn away* from the specifics of his position on contraception.
- 3) Emphasize governmental and secular responsibility around the world to take those measures necessary, in the population crisis, to promote the common good. This is the State's and the Citizen's (*and the Developer's*) role -- and the Church supports that role-playing. It is rendering to Caesar the things that are Caesar's.

- (i) In the LDCs which already have a program: *help them to succeed.*
 - (ii) In the LDCs which do not have a program: *help them to understand the urgency of the issue* (political leaders often can't move in this matter until they are confident their constituencies will support them in taking the action).
 - (iii) The role of the DEVELOPED countries is: *to provide information, administrative know-how, financial assistance.*
 - (iv) The international agencies can and must help as well.
2. ~~The~~ problem requires an intensification of R & D in *all* its aspects, and at least a quintupling of research efforts in basic reproductive biology.
3. We must realize that the population problem WILL be solved in one way or another. Our only real option is: will it be solved *rationally* and *humanely*, or *irrationally* and *inhumanely*. We still have time -- if we act *now* -- to keep the solution primarily where it belongs: in the hands of the individual family, which *when well informed, motivated, and properly assisted* will act freely and responsibly.

CONCLUSION:

The Church -- as the preserver of human dignity, and the promoter of development (*Populorum Progressio*) -- can be a tremendous force for the successful solution to the problem, which it clearly wants. Such controversy as there is touches only upon *means* not *ends*.

Providence has placed you, and me, and all of us at that point in history where a *rational solution must be found*. If we shirk that responsibility, *we* will be the guilty ones ... but it will be the innocent generations to come who will have to pay *the unspeakable penalties*.

E N D

813/1/6

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. McNamara

DATE: March 11, 1969

FROM: J. L. Maddux *JLM*

SUBJECT: Working Outline of your Notre Dame address



After a great deal of pondering, I would recommend that the *structure* of the speech -- which is what a working outline covers -- should be built along the same approach we used in the San Francisco Nuclear Policy speech. The reason is this: the communication problem in the Notre Dame subject matter is essentially the same sort of task we had in the case of the nuclear issue: *in taking on the population question we have to deal with an intensely complicated issue -- characterized by a great number of disparate considerations, and obscured by a heavy overlay of misunderstanding and mythology.*

Hence, our communication problem is to reduce the complication to a *tightly reasoned argument*, which will *clarify the misunderstanding, dispel the myths, and build from a sharply defined set of premises to a rationally compelling conclusion.*

In the San Francisco speech, you attacked the myth that a country can "win" a nuclear war, and that strategic nuclear armament is an all-purpose weapon, suitable for every level of diplomatic leverage. You drew the central and conclusive distinction between the *absolute necessity* of the U.S. maintaining a nuclear capability, and the *severely limited solution* that capability provides to the total spectrum of confrontations. Whatever the outcome of the current ABM controversy, these *conclusions* of the San Francisco doctrine remain unassailably valid.

That is precisely the kind of task we have before us in the Notre Dame speech. While we must deal with specifics for the sake of illustration, our principal objective in the speech should be to construct a *taut, interlocking line of reasoning* that could be put in a time capsule until the year 2069-- taken out, and re-read, and be found to be enduringly valid.

Since we do not wish to make a specific administrative proposal of some sort, (beyond calling for intensified research in reproductive biology -- *which we will demonstrate to be clearly imperative*), then we should make the *line of argument itself, together with its inescapable conclusions* the principal point of the speech.

As at San Francisco, we will be attempting to fashion a *doctrine* -- internally logical and consistent -- *out of a welter of complexity.*

This, I would propose, is *how* we should go about that:

INTRODUCTION:

DK Appropriate expression of gratitude at your being given the honorary degree. Your wish to use this occasion to discuss the most important and imperative problem any director of an international development agency must face: the dynamics of population growth, and the grave threat to development they infer.

DK Why you are discussing this at Notre Dame -- because the university has become a vital center of creative and constructive thought in general; and specifically, the conferences on population conducted at the university demonstrate the Church's

*Yes but
tighten
the outline*

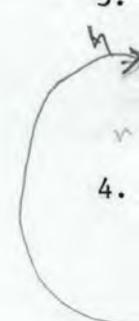
deep concern in the issue.

BODY OF THE SPEECH:

1. The primordial difficulty about the population problem is that it is shrouded in complexity and reticence. Until relatively recently, many people of good will felt it was an issue involving too much controversy and delicateness to warrant open discussion. Further, outside the confines of the privacy of one's own family, it has appeared as an impersonal phenomenon -- one that an individual can neither easily comprehend, or do anything conclusive about: it is a problem "out there" for someone else to solve. *But who precisely is to solve it?*
2. Further, we have not had until relatively recently the scientific demographic *evidence* on which to analyze the problem. Much still needs to be done in that field, but *more than enough* evidence is now in to warrant the most serious consideration. *What are the dimensions of these demographic facts?* (here some "shock statistics" on the rate of growth -- both worldwide growth, and specific country growth).
3. The most immediate and obvious relationship that arises in connection with this unprecedented rate of growth in the underdeveloped world is the stark issue of famine. ~~*The facts vs. the myths about agricultural sufficiency: in the present; in the near-future; in the longer range future. (The "Green Revolution" is real, but it only buys time)*~~
4. The *nutritional crisis*, as distinct from "agricultural sufficiency." It is not merely that children starve today. Some 300 million of those who survive are probably irreversibly retarded mentally in their first four years of life by essential nutritional deficiencies. (graphic material here on kwashiorkr, marasmus, protein hunger) Further, these victims of brain damage are likely to transmit their reduced mental competence to the next generation, since they are poorly equipped to avoid the same mistakes with their own children.
5. The general slowing down, and ultimate stagnation of developmental efforts to raise per capita income when the birth rate outpaces the growth of the GNP. (here discuss some of the technical aspects of the cost-benefit analysis, stressing that though population planning returns a high yield on *effective investment of relatively small resources*, there is a reluctance to regard such investment as sound by more traditional criteria. Explore the nature of this quasi-emotional bias, and refute it diplomatically. Emphasize that investment in population policy and planning is not a *substitute* for more traditional forms of developmental assistance; but that it is a crucial *concomitant*.)
6. Explore the reasons why the population growth rate inevitably declines with a quantum increase in development (cite the historical evidence of affluent nations). Indicate the direct ratio, *for example*, between a nation's level of literacy and its level of population growth (in all countries with more than a 50% illiteracy rate, not one has a birth rate below 35 per thousand. Where illiteracy is below 10%, only one country has a birth rate about 35, and most have rates below 20). The argument, however, that as

To Myth section

Affluent + world to Myth section



X

a country develops, its birth rate automatically falls; and that, therefore, a country does not need a population policy, is fallacious. For unlike the developing nations in the 19th century, the nations developing today cannot avoid the death rate falling much faster than the birth rate. Thus, in a contemporary underdeveloped country, there is an intrinsic mutual causality between the rate of economic growth, and a reasonable decline in the birth rate. One cannot take place without the other. Both goals must be pursued simultaneously, or neither will be achieved.

7. ⁿ Examine the myth that the White, Affluent, Developed, Western World wishes to keep the poor, colored, underdeveloped peoples of the southern half of the globe from increasing their numbers. What they want to avoid is these disadvantaged people having -- through ignorance and lack of assistance -- to increase their own misery. There is ample evidence that these disadvantaged women welcome assistance in family planning, once they understand it.

8. ⁿ Sketch out the "shock statistics" of abortion around the world. (One third of a million Indian women have abortions every month. In five countries of Western Europe, the abortion rate equals the live birth rate. In one Latin American country the rate of abortion is nearly three times the live birth rate. In another Latin American country, two out of every five deaths of pregnant women are caused by illegal abortions.)

9. ⁿ All of us accept the principle that in a free society, the family itself must ultimately decide on the size of its own family. We would regard it as an intolerable invasion of rights for the State to use coercive measures to implement population policy. As matters stand, we can preserve that right -- by assisting families to understand how they can make that decision freely and rationally. But the plain blunt fact is that millions of children are born without their parents desiring that it happen: a free, rational choice for an additional child is not made in these cases. If the population crisis reaches a point of desperation, the State might ultimately consider that it would have to use coercive measures. If we are to keep the right of decision in the hands of the family, then we must give the family the knowledge and assistance it requires to exercise that right.

10. ⁿ What we must comprehend is this: the population problem will be solved one way or another. Our only fundamental option is whether it is to be solved rationally and humanely -- or irrationally and inhumanely. Are we to solve it by famine (cite C.P. Snow's predictions)? Are we to solve it by the riot, insurrection, and savage violence that desperately starving men can be driven to? Are we to solve it by wars of expansion and aggression? Are we to solve it by some holocaust of hatred and despair? Or are we to solve it rationally, humanely -- in accord with man's dignity? There is little time left to make the decision to act. To make no decision would be to make the worst decision of all; for to ignore this problem is only to make certain that nature will take catastrophic revenge on our irresponsibility.

CONCLUSION:

ⁿ What, in the ultimate analysis, is development all about? It is nothing less than man's restless search for the realization of his own innate potential.

There is a gross misunderstanding about the Church's role in the population issue. It is simply not true that the Church is either unaware or unconcerned about this grave question. One has only to read the compassionate and thoughtful

no any has done more to change this than Pope Paul. as one has done more to recognize the barrier to achievement of the soul.

most of the "Consequential" section

Describe the "new kind of things"

Part on abortion not a basic negative issue "don't protest to much"

Refer to

advances in human dignity, etc.

Populorum Progressio, or the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World of the Second Vatican Council to comprehend how fully the Church is dedicated to development. It is dedicated to development because it has always been dedicated to the preservation of man's intrinsic dignity.

X Such controversy as exists among members of the Church has to do with means to that end -- not to the end itself.

As one who has responsibilities in the international development field, I look for strong support from the vast resources of compassion and concern for human dignity that has characterized the Church throughout the centuries.

What needs to be done

It is clear to the leadership of the Church -- and to those of us in the secular developmental agencies alike -- that what is required is a massive research program in the biology of human reproduction so that we can all better understand the processes that nature has devised.

The resources dedicated to this basic research remain miniscule in light of the gravity of the problem. Surely, we are but on the threshold of knowledge in this wondrous matter.

We must clearly intensify our basic research into every aspect of the population issue: demography, agriculture, socio-cultural value systems regarding the family's size, the environmental, ecological changes consequent upon high-density urbanization -- all of these aspects of the problem, and many others -- require intensive research.

But nothing is more important than a new order of magnitude of basic research in reproductive biology. God has given man reason so that he can order his life, and his society, in an optimal manner. Man fails to the extent that he neglects that precious gift of reason.

We must ponder about man's mysterious and marvellous ability to propagate his own species -- and find in that near miraculous phenomenon of life-giving processes the role that man's highest attribute -- his power to reason -- is intended by nature to play.

Reason is what raises man above animals -- though a rational animal he himself be. His animality must not be allowed to outdistance his rationality.

The population dilemma is the most serious threat -- not excluding nuclear war -- that faces man.

Providence has placed you, and me -- and all of us -- at that point in human history where a rational solution must be found.

It is you, and I -- and all of us -- who share that responsibility.

If we shirk that responsibility, we will have committed the crime -- but it will be our progeny who will pay the unmerited ... and unspeakable ... penalty.

E N D

(over)

1. emphasize to all peoples, those of developed & dev. nations alike the consequences of population growth
2. for those developing countries who need for action
3. for those who don't (by 78)
4. for the developed countries advised, tech assist & financial assist. I.D.C. is a) quantitative effort for research with regard biology
b) population growth & development
c) successful & successful programs
5. International agencies

to soft headed, gushing

Include:

The myth of the "empty lands"
 changed is much more from the rapid rate of
 growth than from the absolute level of pop.

Entry of national governments in the field has been slow,
 hesitant & inhibited by the fear that religious and
 political objections make it impossible.
 What will be done by the political authorities depends
 upon people's understanding of the consequences
 of action

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 Providence has placed you, and me -- and all of us -- at that point in human
 history where a rational solution must be found.
 It is you, and I -- and all of us -- who share that responsibility.
 If we shrink that responsibility, we will have committed the crime -- but it
 will be our property and will pay the punishment ... and respectable ... penalty.

END

(over)

[Vertical handwritten notes on the right margin, including the word "population" repeated multiple times.]

813/715

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO: William Clark (and through him to Mr. McNamara) ^{W.C.} DATE: March 18, 1969

FROM: Jack Maddux

SUBJECT: Mr. McNamara's Address at Notre Dame, May 1st



You have asked me this morning, by the end of business today, to give you my current thinking on the approach Mr. McNamara should take in his Notre Dame speech.

After a close reading of Mr. Hawkins' paper, plus an immense amount of other reading and discreet conversation with various experts in population field, my view would be the following:

NEGATIVELY, the speech *should not*:

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- 2) Attempt directly to "save the Pope" from his own position on contraception. Because of the Pope's many recent statements, it is no longer feasible to suggest that he has been misunderstood on that specific matter. Unhappily, the Pope himself has seen to it that he is *not* misunderstood. He has dug his heels in, and has left no room whatever for doubt as to where he stands. Anyone who follows the literature carefully would be aware of this fact. It is true that the Pope has painted himself into a corner; but the more relevant fact is that he shows absolutely no indication whatever that he wants to get out of the corner -- and he has been increasingly critical of those who have tried to help him out of it.
- 3) Try to cover too much ground in the speech. The population issue can be approached from *very many points of view*. To attempt to deal with them all will severely blunt the incisiveness of the sort of speech the leaders of the world have come to expect from Robert S. McNamara.

but

POSITIVELY, the speech *can* -- and I believe -- *should*:

- 1) Graphically, forcefully, and eloquently *relate the population problem to man's most profound and perennial predicament: THE SEARCH FOR THE FULLER REALIZATION OF HIS OWN INNATE POTENTIAL AS A HUMAN BEING.*
- 2) Link the Church's historical struggle in defense of *human dignity* to the population problem. Draw on the thought of Populorum Progressio. Stay away from the line of argument in Humanae Vitae. Finesse the Pope's position by so connecting him with the defense of human dignity that attention is *drawn away* from the specifics of his position on contraception.
- 3) Emphasize governmental and secular responsibility around the world to take those measures necessary, in the population crisis, to promote the common good. This is the State's and the Citizen's (*and the Developer's*) role -- and the Church supports that role-playing. It is rendering to Caesar the things that are Caesar's.

4) Forcefully expose and destroy the *mythology* that encrusts the population question:

✓ The myth that more people means more wealth.

✓ The myth that underdeveloped countries with uninhabited lands need a high birth rate to fill up those lands.

yes but it is the fact that allows me to dispute some
The myth that new sources of food -- including the "Green Revolution" -- will solve population pressures (they merely give us time to take other, necessary steps).

✓ The myth that we need do nothing directly about birth rates since development through conventional means will automatically bring them down.

✓ The myth that the White, Affluent, Developed, Western World wishes to keep poor, colored, underdeveloped people from increasing their numbers.

✓ The myth that Catholics generally -- simply because they are Catholics -- have high birth rates, on a worldwide basis.

✓ The myth that the Church (and the Pope) are either unaware or unconcerned about the population crisis.

5) End the speech with a specific (and newsworthy) proposal: THAT A MASSIVE SYSTEMS-ANALYSIS OF THE WORLDWIDE POPULATION CRISIS BE UNDERTAKEN -- AND THAT A NEW AND SPECIAL UNITED NATIONS AGENCY BE CREATED FOR THAT SPECIFIC PURPOSE with pledges of funding from every United Nations Member Country.

NO
Such an Agency would gather into one small, but expert and effective a group all the current scattered efforts being made by assorted U.N. groups. The World Bank would continue its own already-stated advisory and lending operations, in the population field.

Yes but
(N.B. If this is too far-out and impractical an administrative proposal, then Mr. McNamara should make a proposal that is practical: its thrust should be to organize and increase the funding and expertise of present population research in all its aspects -- and to broaden its international character, and de-emphasize its specifically American component.)

biological research
systems analysis
distribution of natural resources
population control tech.

Note 1: This memorandum is, of course, not meant to be a working outline of the speech. That is the next step, and can be completed rapidly once the issues indicated above are either approved or disapproved by Mr. McNamara.

Note 2: If I may make three specific proposals as to personalities Mr. McNamara should talk to, on the subject of the speech, they are:

1) Andre Hellegers, M.D.: Deputy Secretary of the Pope's Commission on Birth Control; Member of the President's Committee on Population and Family Planning; and an outstanding researcher on the whole issue. He is a Professor of Obstetrics & Gynecology at Georgetown, and of the many people I have spoken to, the most informative.

2) Father Hesburgh (so that he knows confidentially what to expect)

NO-3) And the Pope (so that Mr. McNamara can get him on board, as far as may be possible: this will be an immense advantage)

813/1/4

University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana
Office of the President
January 7, 1969



Dear Bob:

I am simply delighted that you will be with us for the talk on May 1 and to receive Notre Dame's honorary doctorate. Needless to say, the Dean and the faculty of the College of Business Administration particularly join me in sending thanks to you for your generous acceptance of the invitation.

With all best New Year wishes and prayers for blessings on your great endeavors, I am

Cordially yours,
Fred Husburgh

Honorable Robert S. McNamara
Office of the President
International Bank for
Reconstruction and
Development
Washington, D. C.

1969 JUN 10 AM 9:20

RECEIVED
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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Robert S. McNamara

DATE: December 27, 1968

FROM: William Clark

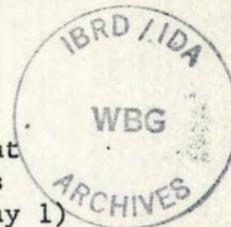
SUBJECT: Notre Dame University

mentioned/ Notre Dame is one of the best Catholic Universities but is not really in the first rank. Its Midwest location does rather recommend it, if you have a message at this time (May 1) which you want to get across to the American people, in contrast to the more international audience of East or West coasts.

The message that business skills are needed not only in America, but to help other countries to transform their economies would be suitable.

I do not rate this as a 'must'.

WDClark:sf



813/113

January 4, 1969



Dear Ted:

This is a very tardy reply to your letter of November 13 inviting me to deliver an address to the special convocation scheduled for May 1 to dedicate the Hayes-Healy Center. The delay was caused by the necessity to reschedule certain foreign visits which I had previously planned.

Although I must attend meetings in Italy on April 29 and 30, I believe it should be possible for me to be in South Bend on May 1. Therefore, I accept your invitation to speak to the convocation, and I should be most pleased and honored to receive from the University an honorary degree.

With all best wishes to you for the New Year.

Sincerely,

RS/ Bob

Robert S. McNamara

Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
President
University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

813/1/2

University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana
Office of the President

November 13, 1968



Mr. Robert S. McNamara
2412 Tracy Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McNamara:

On May 1, 1969, the University of Notre Dame will proudly dedicate a new graduate business and public administration facility, the Hayes-Healy Center. The Center is the home of the new division of our College of Business Administration, marking the year of the graduation of our first M.B.A. class at Notre Dame.

A special convocation has been scheduled for 2:30 p.m. on May 1 to complete a day of dedication. The University would be most honored to have you deliver the address on this special occasion and to confer upon you its honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

Because of your pre-eminence in the fields of government, education, business, and public service, you were the unanimous choice of a special Dedication Committee of the faculty of our College of Business Administration. We all concur in their judgment, and would indeed be delighted to welcome you to our campus and to make you an honorary alumnus of Notre Dame. I am sure, too, that your remarks would be a great source of inspiration for all of our faculty, students, and guests.

I shall look forward to hearing from you and, in the meantime, send all best wishes from here.

Very cordially yours,

(Rev.) Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
President