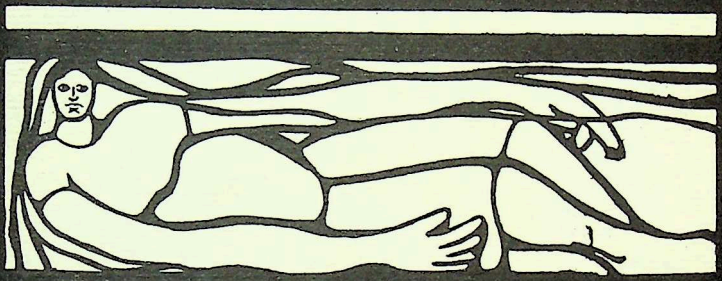
THE POLITICAL ECONOMY



OF POPULATION CONTROL

IN LATIN AMERICA

by bonnie mass

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF POPULATION CONTROL IN LATIN AMERICA

BY

BONNIE MASS

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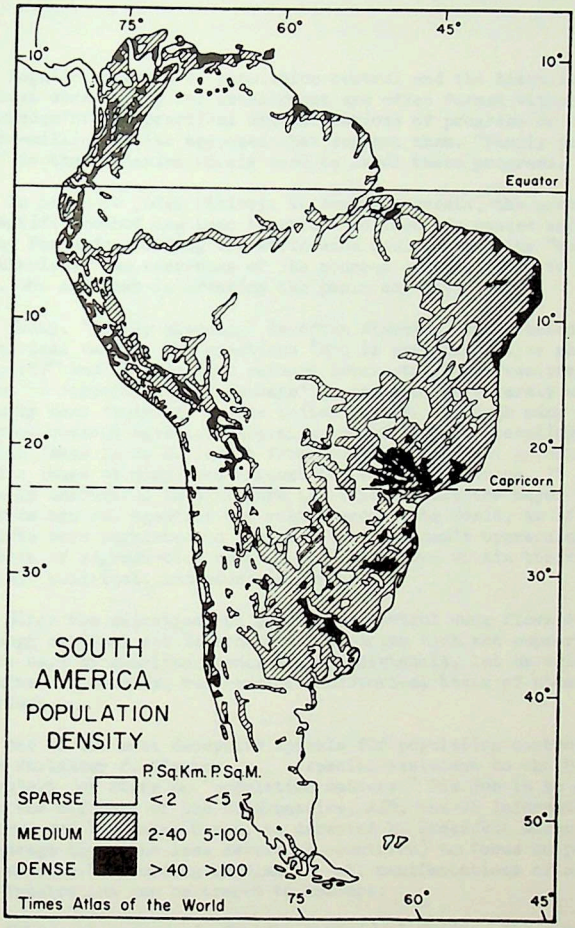
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I: Superstructure of the population panic

Popular concepts of population control and the historical context surrounding its development are often formed without real knowledge of the practical implementations of programs or of the multi-million dollar agencies that support them. "Family planning" is the euphemism widely used to label these programs.

In order to judge history, to evaluate events, the accepted scientific method has been to strive to identify causes and effects. For understanding the world-wide panic concerning "explosive populations," an awareness of the sources of this panic is essential. Who and what is creating the panic and why?

Today, "family planning" is often discussed and debated in a historical vacuum. The questions "Who is providing major material support?" and "Why do some persons devote their professional lives to supporting this 'humane' enterprise?" are rarely asked, even by many feminists in the United States. Although many population control agencies display a humane facade, accepting this public image is no different from accepting the U.S. government's public image as displayed through the Voice of America. It is equally unfruitful to disregard the efforts that the major population control agencies are making around the world, as if these efforts were unrelated to the question of women's oppression. The effects of reproduction control must be viewed within their broad social, political, and economic contexts.

Since the mainstream of population control work flows directly through national and international agencies that are supported in major ways by American agencies and individuals, let us briefly examine the complex, but revealing historical basis of these enterprises.

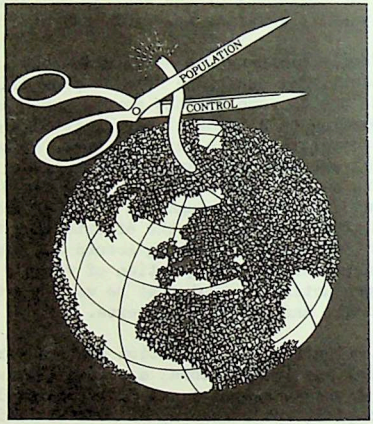
One of the most deceptive appeals for population control comes from Philander P. Claxton Jr., a special assistant to the U.S. Secretary of State on "population matters." His job is to consult with the officers of the US Embassies, AID, the US Information Agency, and the Peace Corps, as directed by President Nixon, "to encourage them (the less developed countries) to focus on population matters." According to Claxton, all manifestations of misery and frustration can be traced to numbers:

"The real tragedy is for the individual family. The very quality of life is threatened by the quantity of life. Human dignity is degrated. For the vast majority of families in the

LDC's (less developed countries), the possibilities of improvement of the welfare of parents and children are submerged by sheer numbers. Health of mothers is impaired by multiple births. Lives are imperilled and lost by abortion. Children suffer malnutrition and death. Education is low or impossible for many or most."[1]

THE NEW YORK TIMES

THE POPULATION BOMB THREATENS THE PEACE OF THE WORLD



SO WHAT ARE WE DOING ABOUT IT?

Fifteen years ago there were 2.5 billion people on earth. Today there are 3.5 billion—and newcomers are arriving on the scene at the net rate of more than one million a week! In another fifteen short years there will be at least 4.5 billion people on this small planet of ours. Most of them hungry. And make no mistake about it, America cannot long remain an island of prosperity in a sea of poverty and hunger.

If corrective measures to check this human flood are not taken right here and now the results will be world-wide misery, strife, revolutions and wars will make our experience in Viet Nam appear minor by comparison.

The population crisis is the greatest problem humanity faces. And the National Academy of Sciences has said that the Population Bomb "can be successfully attacked by developing new methods of fertility regulation and implementing programs of family planning widely and rapidly throughout the world." Yet the accompanying chart reflects the scant amount of attention the population problem is currently receiving from our Government.

This is your problem and you can do something about it. Tear out this ad and send it to anyone in Washington you think might be helpful. Urge the Government to initiate a crash program for population stabilization. And write us for two things: (1) Measures the Government can take to implement such a program. (2) Additional things you can do to help.

We can't afford to wait very much longer. Every day lost will only compound the population problem.

The time to act is now.

CURRENT GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS
(1969 Authorizations Versus 1970 Budgets)

Space Program	[illegible] billion
Grants to States for Welfare	3.3 billion
Federal Health Programs	3.1 billion
Fund for Peace Corps	[illegible] million
Supersonic Aircraft	2.1 billion
Air Defense	[illegible] million
Crime Control	[illegible] million
Population Control (Current Status)	[illegible] million
Population Control (Proposed)	[illegible] million

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THE CAMPAIGN TO CHECK THE POPULATION EXPLOSION

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The reason for these teeming masses is simple. In our century, falling death rates in many countries have led to population increases. Many "authorities" interpret these increases as a direct threat to the world's food supply or to "civilization." They often maintain that no modernizing process or set of social changes would elevate living standards before low fertility rates could be achieved.

"It must be born in mind that no country has achieved modernization and a reasonably high rate of per capita income until it has achieved the demographic transition from high birth rates and high death rates to low birth rates and low death rates."[2]

President Nixon has urged the US to take the lead in family planning and has given the highest priority for population assistance in US foreign aid programs. *"I am asking the Secretaries of Commerce, Health, Education and Welfare, and the Directors of the Peace Corps and the US Information Agency to give close attention to population matters as they plan their overseas operations."*[3]

U Thant, the former Secretary General of the United Nations, has expressed his personal horror at the living prospects that face humanity in the future: *"Half of those living and two-thirds of those still to be born in this century face the prospects of malnutrition, poverty and despair."*[4]

Part of the UN Declaration on Population (which has now been ratified by 30 nations) is continually cited out of context and is used to convey the notion that over-population is the world's greatest problem today. The State Department's "population matters" assistant cites the UN to urge the speedy adoption of population control measures as a means of saving the world: *"This is the greatest challenge facing the UN and the world today. This conflict between a rapidly growing, underfed world giving way to despair and violence and a possible world in which individuals live constructively in dignity and sufficience calls for the greatest effort and dedication of this era."*[5]

By mid-1969, 40 bills were introduced to create a commission on "Population and the American Future" that would "properly establish criteria which can be the basis for a national policy on population." In May, 1968, John D. Rockefeller the Third took charge of the first National Policy Panel on population established by the UN. It was proposed that the UN's Population Trust Fund be enlarged from $1.5 million to $100 million within a three year period. Part of the program is carried out by the World Health Organization which received at least $10 million.[6]

The next step is to see what the State Department is actually doing with its theory of "over-reproduction" in Latin America and

other regions of the Third World. Whom does it support and why? The Agency for International Development, which is the fund-giving arm of the US State Department, was the source of 11 percent of the world's population control dollars in 1969. AID now provides more than half of the entire population control budget for Third World countries. In the past four fiscal years, funds earmarked for population programs through legislation and obligated by AID have amounted to more than $250 million. In the previous three fiscal years the total was $10.5 million. Now for fiscal 1972 and 1973, the House has authorized $100 million and $125 million.[7]

In 1972, Latin America, which receives more AID funds than any other continent, is expected to receive $18 million from AID for "family planning." AID itself has sought to define the major causes of "persistent poverty" throughout Latin America. "*First, 'low productivity' particularly among the poorer classes, keeps per capita income low and limits opportunities for better paying jobs. Secondly, there is a rising disparity between rural and urban incomes. Thirdly, rapid population growth contributes to persistent poverty...*"[8] It is interesting to note that between 1966 and 1969 AID's population control appropriations rose from $11 million to 18 million, whereas agriculture and rural development funds declined by $3 million. In education and training, funds were reduced by almost $6 million and health programs were cut by $49 million from 1966 to 1969.[9] Since most population control expenditures in the Third World require the use of local currencies, AID has suggested that funds be given for imports of machinery (American machinery perhaps?) by individual countries. After buying the imported machinery, governments could then sell it on local markets in order to accumulate amounts of local currency that could be spent on "family planning" programs.[10]

The profit motive in family planning operations is worth noticing. About half of the $45.4 million obligated by AID in fiscal 1969 for assistance to population/family planning programs is expected to be used for procurement of program commodities (contraceptives, office supplies, educational and medical equipment, jeeps, scooters, bicycles, textbooks ect.) Almost all purchases must come from the US.[11]

Population control strings are very directly attached to US foreign aid throughout the world. In 1968, the Foreign Assistance Act extended the Food for Peace Program, earmarking funds for 'population related' matters. It provided that "*not less than 5 percent of the total (local currency) sales proceeds received each year shall, if requested by the foreign country, be used for voluntary programs to control population growth.*"[12] This so-called "self help" section of the Act was amended to read .."*The president shall consider the extent to which the recipient country is.... carrying out voluntary programs of population control.*" Family planning was thus made an important factor to be considered in extending aid to a country under the P.L. 480 Act.[13]

This advertisement appeared in full-page sizes in The Washington Post, The Washington Star and The Wall Street Journal.

Latin American aid nullified by population explosion.

This Indian mother and child are among the approximately 4 million people in Central Peru. (UPI)

The population of Latin America has increased by 50 million since the Alliance for Progress began eight years ago. The rate of growth—approximately 3% a year—is the highest of any major area on earth—and too little is being done about it. This year from eight to ten million children will be added to the present population of 270 million. At the current rate of increase the number will double to 540 *million people in 24 years*, unless means are found to arrest this growth.

Millions of women seeking desperately to limit the size of their families resort to abortion, the worst form of birth control. And "unconscious infanticide" is common in large families from neglect and malnutrition.

Latin American governments have contributed liberally to the Alliance for Progress budget. The United States has matched their generosity in the amount of ten billion dollars *—10,000 million dollars!* Yet there are more people in dire distress than when the Alliance was inaugurated.

"The magnitude of the problem is staggering," said President John F. Kennedy. Yet the Catholic Church, which might have the greatest influence on population growth, has officially refrained from helpful action. John Cardinal Krol, spokesman for the Inter-American Conference of Bishops, which met in Caracas in June 1969, summarized the Bishops' position with this terse statement: *"The Church has no special competence in the socio-economic field."*

However, many far-sighted Catholic priests and laymen do not share the hierarchy's position and are actively seeking to reduce birth rates. They recognize that the problem needs attention right now. Postponement will compound it. A solution will be more difficult to find next year and still more difficult the year after that, with millions of additional children to care for.

People everywhere—including of course those in Latin America—have the right to determine their own policy on population growth. The United States has expressly recognized that right, notwithstanding the flood of humanity now engulfing the earth and the urgent necessity of controlling it.

So What Can WE Do About It?

If Latin Americans were to ask the United States right now for technical assistance to control their population, we would be at a loss to furnish it adequately. The fact is that no practical method now known is widely applicable to underdeveloped countries. Scientists agree that for one thing much better contraceptives are urgently needed.

Yet our Government currently spends on population programs less than 1/2 of the amount it spends on space explorations. And far less than 1/ of the amount it spends on the military.

President Nixon Speaks

"The greatest single failure of foresight—at all levels of the Government—" President Nixon said in his important July 18th message to Congress, "has been in the area of expanding population. . . With their birth rates high and their death rates dropping, many countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa grow 10 times as fast as they did a century ago."

President Nixon has ordered research in birth control and training of more workers in this field. He has also proposed an official commission on population. Please write Secretary of State William Rogers and Secretary Robert Finch of the Department of Health, Education & Welfare urging them *to implement the President's program without delay.* Also contact anyone else in Washington you think might be helpful. Write your newspaper and talk to your friends, asking them to help. Mr. Nixon needs everyone's support on taking this first courageous step in controlling population.

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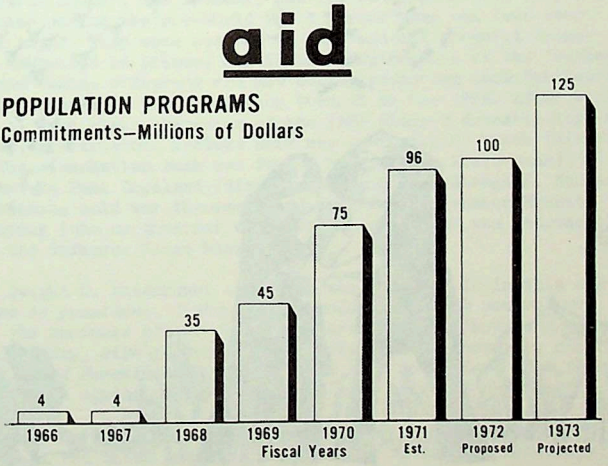
dvertisement of the Hugh Moore Fund that appeared in 1969 shortly after Governor Nelson Rockefeller's mission to Latin

Aside from direct subsidies and loans to governments in Latin America, AID contributes to a wide range of public and private organizations, foundations, and clinics. For example, there is the Pan-American Health Organization (PAHO), as well as Pan-American Medical Schools. Another recipient is the Pathfinder Fund (headquarters in Boston, Massachusetts), whose trustees include such inminaries as William P. Bundy former Vietnam advisor to Lyndon Johnson, and editor of Foreign Affairs.

AID funds the Margaret Sanger Research Bureau and the World Assembly of Youth (WAY). The youth group received $55 thousand to support national and local conferences of young people to promote family planning in rural areas in the less developed countries.[14] Money also goes to localized organizations in Latin America such as the Association for the Welfare of the Guatemalan Family, a private organization that does extensive work in the mountains among the indian population. In Chile, the Latin American Demographic Center, founded in the early 60's, is an AID supported headquarters for other centers situated throughout Latin America. CELADE has been instrumental in setting up private clinics in Bolivia, as well as the Family Planning Center of Colombia and dozens of others.[15]



SOUTH VIETNAM---DRYING UP THE SEA

Although a national law, promulgated by the French during the 1930's restricts birth control practices, the Ministry of Health is seeking to relax restrictions. AID has provided advisors to the Ministry of Health and supplies to pilot clinics. It also sponsors training for government and private representatives. The Ministry of Health has recently established a Population Research Committee and appointed a Secretary-General of Research in Population Control. Seven family planning research clinics have been established and five new ones will be created in the future, with AID assistance.

Recently the Family Happiness Protective Association has been formed. It maintains an informational program which is assisted by the Pathfinder Fund. During 1967-68, $100,000 was provided by AID for a contract with the Population Council for its technical services in South Vietnam.

Under the administration of the Mennonite Central Committee, the Vietnam Christian Service staffs hospital clinics promoting family planning. The Population Council has recently financed visits by forty Vietnamese family planning leaders and officials to inspect programs existing in Taiwan and South Korea.

In a confidential field trip to Latin America sponsored by AID through IPFF, Ford, the Population Council, the UN Population Division, PAHO, which is the American branch of the World Health Organization, Susan Aurelius reports on the growing activities of clinics in the slum areas of Peru and the activities in a small Guatemalan village, where Indians are continually serviced with IUD's and pills. She explains, *"The idea of family planning is very slow to penetrate to the 70-80% illiterate population which consists in the rural areas mostly of indians, who speak about 37 different dialects."*[16]

The general aims of the State Department, manifested through AID are: 1) Evaluation of research on birth control techniques, 2) Expansion of 'information and education", 3) Improvement of systems, focusing on clinical services and family planning programs. The latter is handled indirectly but concretely through local agencies in Latin America.[17]

The Peace Corps, with funds from AID and political advice from the Director of the US Information Agency, announced in a joint statement issued in 1971, that a high priority would be given to helping countries'efforts to limit excessive rates of population growth.[18] AID also provides support to the International Planned Parenthood Federation and its seventy-two affiliates whose present emphasis is now the control of fertility rates in the Third World. They supplied $22.6 million in 1971. At one time, the IPPF was an important radical woman's organization that focused upon women's right to control their own bodies. Margaret Sanger, its founder, and her colleagues were very unpopular during the pre-World War 1 period when sex laws were very rigid. They were constantly harassed and Margaret Sanger was sentenced to prison, all to the indifference of the "robber barons" whose offspring are now busily promoting such "philanthropic" causes as the Population Council or the IPPF. After World War 11, the class character of the IPPF changed dramatically, and, today, its trustees include such men as Eugene R. Black (director of Chase Manhattan Bank and former head of the World Bank), Lammot du Pont Copeland (director of Du Pont), George F. Kennan (a leading cold war theoretician), and former senator Ernest Gruening (who as governor of Puerto Rico in 1937 was responsible for the infamous Ponce Massacre).[19]

Dwight D. Eisenhower summed up the IPPF's role in this way: *"Once as president, I thought and said that birth control was not the business of our federal government. The facts changed my mind. Today, with former president Truman, I am honorary chairman of Planned Parenthood because I have come to believe that the population explosion is the world's most critical problem."*[20]

Later, President Johnson promised full-fledged support in his State of the Union address. *"I will seek to use our knowledge*

to help deal with the explosion in population and the growing scarcity in world resources."[21]

George V. Lindsay (chairman of IPPF, brother of New York City mayor John Lindsay and a former State Department advisor on African affairs), who is a member of the Wall Street law firm, Debevoise and Plimpton, wrote: *"As the gap between the developed and underdeveloped world alarmingly widens, economists point out that the U.S., with less than six percent of the world's population, already consumes some fifty-five percent of the world's available raw materials."*[22]

In 1968, the Victor-Bostrom Fund was created as a special fund-raising arm of IPPF on the basis of an initial donation of $300,000 by Harold Bostrom (vice-president of Universal Oil Products). The Victor-Bostrom Fund's chairman was General William H. Draper Jr. (partner in the Wall Street investment firm of Dillon, Read, Inc., director of Mexican Light and Power), a long time backer of population control planning whose background will soon be explained more fully. Other trustees of the Victor-Bostrom Fund included such wealthy Malthusians as Lammot du Pont Copeland, Benjamin Strong (U.S. Trust Company, New York), and Stewart R. Mott, a leading contributor to the short-lived presidential campaigns of former senator Eugene McCarthy, and a director of the United States Sugar Corporation and the heir to a major portion of stock in General Motors.

The multi-national scope of IPPF's concerns is demonstrated by such events as a 1964 conference held in Puerto Rico and intended to encourage the development of national family planning programs in Latin America. The conference was part of the efforts of the Foreign Assistance Act in 1961 'to implement' programs under the heading of 'Title X', which was passed by the US Congress. Thirty-five million dollars of US AID funds went to its support.[23] The guests included ambassadors and consuls from many Latin American nations, representatives of the U.S. government, and an assortment of American specialists drawn from all professions. Extensive discussions at the conference revealed that many Latin American priests supported population control and, at the same time, the IPPF consensus was that those in the family planning profession should make major efforts to persuade government agencies to agree to the implementation of programs on a national, rather than localized scale.[24]

Like the IPPF, many other private agencies with a ruling class superstructure are largly funded by AID and work hand in hand with this arm of the U.S. State Department. In the major agencies, or those with the most money, the usual practice is to name directors and trustees who are prominent in other family planning organizations. General William H. Draper is one of the leading examples of the complex interconnections that often bind

one agency to another. According to the General's theory, *"Only massive birth control operating effectively throughout the world can possibly restore the balance and save what is a deteriorating situation."*[25] Draper gained prominence in 1958 as a member of an ad-hoc committee created by Eisenhower for the study of military assistance and security in the Western Hemisphere. This committee, which included such figures as John J. McCloy, one of the creators of the CIA, sought to co-ordinate a variety of U.S. government sponsored programs, and it was within this context that Draper, a trustee of IPPF, recommended that the United States assist Latin American countries in formulating plans designed to deal with the problem of rapid population growth. Today, Draper sits on the boards of the Population Crisis Committee, the Victor-Bostron Fund, and the Campaign to Check the Population Explosion. In 1969, he was appointed by the Nixon administration as the U.S. delegate to the United Nations Population Commission.

The exclusively ruling class Population Council is one of the Rockefeller family's main legacies to the "family planning" field. After a conference called by John D. Rockefeller 11 in 1952, the Population Council was created in order to mobilize private wealth and power for shaping public policies on family planning. Later, Dwight D. Eisenhower, who had been a founding member, admitted that, at the time, many of his cohorts considered birth control in the Third World to be too "delicate" a campaign to receive direct government support: *"In 1952, I helped found the Population Council. Its present annual budget of $13 million is financied by grants from both public and private resources. At the time we started work, government participation would have been practically unthinkable."*[26]

The Council, along with the Rockefeller and Ford foundations, has been the most active in providing funds for research in biomedicine, improved delivery systems, and more efficient means of disseminating current population control techniques. Much of its money goes to "respectable" historical and comparative studies of the social and economic implications of demographic phenomena.

Of course, the rockefeller Foundation itself has been an important source of funds for the "population field." In 1968, $18 million was given for study grants concerned with demographic research, program support, and reproductive biology ($6 million). The Foundation's most recent interest is the actual chemical process of reproduction, with Harvard University recently receiving a $2 million grant for the study of female reproduction.

In Colombia, the Universidad del Valle serves as a major recipient of Rockefeller funds that go toward the support of "family planning" in rural areas.

The Rockefeller Foundation has expressed its "bio-chemical" interests in this way: *"We are faced with the danger that within*

THE POPULATION COUNCIL

The Council's devotion to the cause of Pakistan's population problem is well known to every Pakistani who is familiar with the program of population control. The pioneering efforts of the Population Council were soon joined by such giants of corporate capitalism as Ford, Mellon, Carnegie, Mott and others. The program also attracted the services of such well-known managers of imperialism as Robert McNamara, reputed and rewared for his efficient genocide of Vietnamese; John Hannah, present director of AID, former president of Michigan State University which trained "gestapo police" for Diem; David Bell, former head of AID in Pakistan. The ideologues of imperialism, like Rostow, Galbraith, K. Davis, Ehrlich and others, provided humanitarian and theoretical justification for the policies of population control.

Saghir Ahmad, "On Population", Pakistan Form, October, 1971, Ontario, Canada.

a few years these two methods for which such high hopes have been held (oral contraceptives and the intra-uterine loop) will, in fact, turn out to be impracticle on any mass scale. The Foundation plans to look for opportunities to bring new strength and vigor to reproductive biology and to restore it to a position more compatible with its importance for the future."[24]

Among the many other agencies that have received Rockefeller dollars, one can point to the IPPF (500,000 in 1969 alone) or the Population Council. The Population Council specializes in carrying through technical assistance programs, for which the Rockefeller Foundation contributed $5 million in 1968.

In Colombia, the Universidad del Valle has been a major recipient of Rockefeller funds designed to set up "family planning" programs in rural areas. The university's population research program initiated a series of proposals for a national birth control program that would be organized by the ACFM (Association of Colombian Faculties of Medicine). The ACFM program, whose chairman was to be the head of the Universidad del Valle's population research center, was hotly debated and resisted by Colombians.

In 1965, correspondent Jaime Arango, of the conservative daily El Siglo, wrote that 40,000 womem, especially from the rural areas and the urban slums, had been sterilized under the ACFM programs during the past two years. He charged that these experimental programs had been conducted under the consistent guidence of North American doctors and consultants. Arango, who claimed that his information had come from members of the Catholic hierarchy, wrote that many women had been persuaded to participate

in the programs by money payments up to $1.50, gifts of lipstick and artifical pearls, and offers of free medical services. He also charged that the US government was enforcing a policy of barring shipments of surplus agricultural products to nations that had not officially agreed to set up Family Planning programs. *

The Rockefeller Foundation has supported the Population Reference Bureau for over 40 years, where it is concerned with the distribution of educational information on the crisis of overpopulation. Materials are written in English, Spanish, and Portuguese, including works such as, Population Bulletin, Profiles, Selections, and the World Educational Data Sheet on Population. The Bureau has published textbooks for primary and secondary schools, the first entitled, People, for 7th graders. The Bureau has organized "population dialogues" for high level Latin American officials, for Latin American newspaper editors and also for high level industrialists. In 1968, the Bureau sponsored a seminar for labour unions in conjunction with the American Regional Organization of Workers.[28]

The numerous and complex ties among such entities as the Rockefeller Foundation, the Forf Foundation, the IPPF, or the Population Council indicate the pitfalls of attempts to examine "family planning", particularly in the Third World, within a vacuum. Just as the most powerful businessmen in the United States and the leadership of such agencies as AID and the CIA have developed complex strategies for maintaining economic and political control of the "less developed countries," they have sought to develope strategies for keeping the world's future population within "acceptable limits" in order to forestall the crises that a multi-national system of exploitation will surely produce.

The international implications of the "population panic" are shown, not only by actual programs being carried out in such areas as Latin America, but by the World Bank's statement of 1968: *"All such activity arises out of the concern of the bank for the way in wich the rapid growth of population has become a major obstacle to social and economic development in many of our member states, Family planning programs are less costly than convential development projects and the pattern of expenditures involved is normally very different. At the same time, we are conscious of the fact that successful programs of this kind will yield very high economic returns."*[29]

McNamara, now president of the World Bank, has personally made great efforts to convince 'developing' countries of the Population crisis. At the annual meeting of the World Bank and the International Monetary System, held in Copenhagen with representatives attending from 116 countries, McNamara, ex-Defense Secret-

*"Colombia Tackles her Population Problems", newspaper clippings, September 1 - December 31, 1966.

ary of the U.S., directly threatened leaders from underdeveloped countries, warning that if the demographic problem didn't disappear it would have to be solved *"one way or another."*

The Bolivian Minister compared the U.S. threat of "do as we say, or else" to widespread economic sanctions already imposed by the US on other Latin American countries. In Bolivia, for example, nationalization of Gulf Oil meant no more bank loans. The minister accused Mcnamara of representating US interests that neither care about the misery of the people, nor of the fact that Bolivia has one of the lowest annual incomes per inhabitant ($160 per year) in Latin America. What the president of the World Bank cares about is that Bolivia pay to Gulf Oil a 'just' indemnization because of the nationalization and that the country of 1,090,581 kilometers and a population density of 4 inhabitants per kilometer, impose birth control.[30]

AID-PATHFINDER FUND
(Boston,Mass)

The Pathfinder Fund has received $1.3 million from AID to carry out an international IUD program. Through experiments conducted on thousands of Third World women, Pathfinder is pleased to announce that the new M213 loop has virtually overcome the ill effects of spontaneous explusion from the uterus. However, many ill effects remain: bleeding and discomfort, relative to pregnancy (meaning possible loss of infant). Researchers claim to be obtaining 'good results' in spite of the poor conditions they have to work with in less developed areas. The once-a-month pill is AID's most promising research project: quick and effective. Everyday consistency with the pill is no longer required. Due to some peristant ill side effects, however, much more experimentation is needed, according to Pathfinder.

AID is known for aiding private associations involved with birth control programs, and for supporting "pioneering" or "experimental" groups in almost all Latin American countries.

II: Protestant denominations — family planning for the natives?

Although many Latin American Catholics, clergy included, have become more symphetic to the concept of "family planning" in recent years, North American Protestant organizations have long held a vanguard position as backers of population control.

The Church World Service, funded by AID through IPPF, is supporting cooperative family planning activity in 51 countries. Its emphasis is upon encouragement of leadership training-giving conferences and seminars for leaders. CWS is closely involved with implementing 'pilot' programs in family planning.[31]

The American Friends Service Committee, well known among progressive North Americans for its support of black civil rights campaigns of the sixties and its opposition to the Indochina War, has operated in Mexico for at least twenty-five years. Edward Duckles, the AFSC's Latin American commissioner, views overpopulation as Mexico's number one problem and predicts that, in the next twenty-five years, population will double, reaching 94 million, with half the Mexican population being under 15 years of age.

"The AFSC believes that the health of mothers and babies and the economic and social well-being of familes depends upon parents' being able to have only the children they can care for."[32]

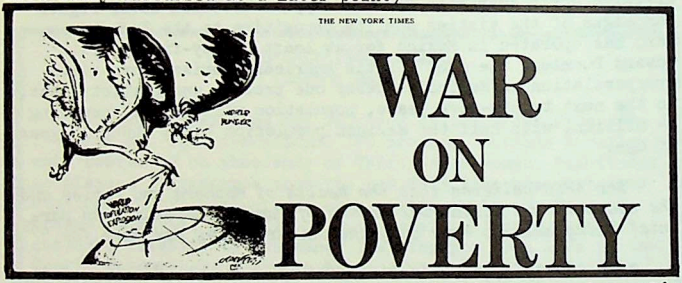
In Peru (1963), the "Comision de Ayuda Social," a counterpart organization of the US based Church World Service, discovered that many Peruvian Protestants were unaware of the Protestant position on birth control. On the basis of this realization, the "Comision" initiated a program to stimulate "responsible parenthood." Its first activities involved distribution of basic pamphlets, such as "Responsible Parenthood and Christian Conscience," focusing mainly upon Lima and the surrounding areas. The pamphlet was also printed in Caretas, one of Peru's leading magazines, and has found its way into Protestant publications in other countries, such as Bolivia.

In 1964, William D. Strong, the Secretary of the "Comision", indicated that his organization would make a transition from informational work to direct distribution of contraceptives: *"Along with information the Comision is increasingly involved in*

providing two simple products it has available, foam tablets and aerosol foam. These are distributed through medical personnel and church leaders or directly to users. But more important is the Commission's concern to make more widely known the variety of other products already available commercially throughout Peru."[33]

Strong, whose organization was also sponsoring the showing of films on "family planning" to women's clubs and Peruvian political parties, summed up the situation in 1964 by saying: *"Though Peru may be many years away from such steps as are being taken in Puerto Rico* and Chile, it is a country where a start can be made and made now."*[34]

In 1967, the American Friends Service Committee was actively cooperating with the Colombian Welfare Association, which was largely financed by AID. IPPF programs, with AFSC help, also set up a birth control clinic in Barranquilla to provide training in Colombia for physcians from other Latin American countries. These activities coincided, on the one hand, with growing support for population control from the elite Medellín Society, and on the other hand, with a growing wave of protests from Colombians who felt that American agencies were seeking to implement a program of "preventive genocide" in Colombia. (These protests will be more fully discussed at a later point)[35]



In Brazil, American Protestant organizations were also active in peddling "family planning" to the poor. On May 2, 1967, the Capuchin friar, Gil do Novato, the vicar of Estreito (Amazon region), reported that women had come to him for help with severe pain caused by intra-uterine loops (IUD's) that had been prescribed by Presbyterian missionaries. He claimed that the missionaries had "subtly and insidiously" gained the confidence of the peasants by giving them medicine and milk and treating sick children. The missionaries, according to the friar, had zealously created "mothers' clubs", in which women could be tricked into accepting the IUD.[36]

*In Puerto Rico sterilization was already the principal technique of population control. Strong's "Comisión de Ayuda Social" had relied heavily upon a film on "family planning" called "Los Tiempos Cambian," which had been produced by the Puerto Rican Association for the Welfare of the Family.

At the same time, medical students from the University of Goias discovered that Presbyterian medical missionaries had undertaken mass insertions of the IUD in the underpopulated area along the Belem-Brasilia highway. This area, with about one person per square mile, is one of the largest well-watered regions in the world that has not yet been heavily settled. Inquiries by the Brazilian parliament disclosed that American investors and ranchers had been buying up enormous tracts of land in this potentially productive agricultural region.[37]

The World Neighbors have operated in Latin America's most exploited countries, concentrating in the villages in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Hati, Paraguay and Peru. Audiovisual "packages" have been developed for use in the project areas where illiteracy prevails. The World Neighbors also work with BEMFAM in Brazil, which is supported by International Planned Parenthood, heavily endowed with AID funds.[38]

In Haiti, the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee services low income women living in a 14 block area in Port-au-Prince. The rural program in Fond-Parisien is directed at all women of childbearing age.[39]

In spite of the "Christian" or "humane" facades that Protestant denominations and their extensions may cultivate inside the United States, their active participation in population control programs in latin America and other parts of the Third World cannot be isolated from the broader implications and results of these programs. The intertwining of church programs and the more overtly imperialist programs, such as those of AID or the Rockefeller Foundation, make it clear that, in Latin America, Protestant "benefactors" have long ago made their choices with regard to "explosive populations."

A MILLION WOMEN STERILIZED IN BRAZIL

O Estado de São Paulo

2 December, 1971

Use and abuse of the intra-uterine loop (IUD) and wide distribution of contraceptive devices by the group "Welfare and Family" (BENFAM) were officially denounced by the National Conference of Bishops in a statement by the Secretary General, Don Ivo Lorsheider, who labelled the activities of BENFAM as an offence to the dignity of Brazilian women.

The Association of Doctors in the state of Guanabara sharply criticized the use of abortions by this medical entity which, from 1965 until now, has sterilized nearly a million women. The church, which claims responsibility for the conscience of our people, cannot remain silent before campaigns which seek to limit births within a country that still has space for many people.

◆◆◆

AMEG CONDEMNS BENFAM

O Estado de São Paulo
October 16, 1971

The Medical Association of the state of Guanabara (AMEG) has issued an official statement condemning what it calls the "irresponsible campaign of indiscriminate birth control." In this document, AMEG cites agreements signed by the state governments of Rio Grande do Norte and Espiritu Santo with BENFAM, a group that proposes to develope family programs.

The doctors' Association denounces the methods used by BENFAM to attract clients as suspicious methods. According to the doctor Mario Victor de Assis Pacheco, the general secretary of AMEG, BENFAM uses a false cover when it describes itself as "an association of Brazilian doctors whose sole interest is the well-being of Brazilian families." According to the doctor, "the driveshaft of the programs of BENFAM is the money received from the International Planned Parenthood Federation, whose officers are in New York and London.

The AMEG document, released by the general secretary, protests against possible irregularities occuring in the city of Currais Novos in Rio Grande Do Norte. In this region, BENFAM is using devious arguments set forth in these terms: "It is enough to use the pill or the intra-uterine loop in order to resolve your family's financial problems."

Doctor Mario Victor de Assis Pacheco rebuts such arguments by saying: "As far as we know, there is no country in the world where poverty has been erased by birth control."

In the final paragraphs of his declarations, which was sent to the president of the Republic, the secretary general of AMEG recommended an investigation of BENFAM, calling attention to similar requests by the cardinal-archbishop of Porto Alegre, Dom Vicente Scherer.

III: Malthusian academics-lieutenants of imperialism

One of the greatest fears of world financiers such as the Fords and Rockefellers and their academic agents is that family planning may not be doing the job. Its effects are too slow and short lasting. The process of educating the population to use family planning is time-consuming and too expensive, and massive family planning programs in the developing countries may fail against deep-rooted traditions and popular resistance. Gaining trust among the people has been one of the hardest tasks for the population control advocates.

Academics have been the most avid proponents of massive birth control experimentation and implementation, particularly in the Third World. The "Zero Population" groups on American campuses attest to this fact. Dr. Kingsley Davis, a big Zero, who is the Director of the International Population and Urban Research at the University of California and one of the most admired 'scientists' in his field, explains: *"Millions of dollars are being spent on the false assumption that population control can be achieved by family planning programs. Family planning obscures potentially effective methods. Population control means at the minimum, regulation of population growth in behalf of the society as a whole. It means a deliberate effort to alter the causes of the existing state so as to avoid its undesired social consequences."*[40]

Dr. Davis believes that *"the number of children couples want is not automatically the number that, from a social point of view, they should have."* Research, he believes has shown that couples can reduce their fertility if they want to without family planning. On the surface, Dr. Davis seems to be in sympathy with many of the women's liberation demands concerning birth control: *"Why not furnish all people with all the means, including free and unrestricted medical abortion, sterilization, and every kind of reasonably safe and effective contraceptive, regardless of the person's martial status, religion or previous number of children?"*[41]

Davis understands why an effective population policy is hard to implement. High mortality has given mankind strong incentives for reproduction. At the same time, Davis considers cruelty to be the motive behind those who disagree with him. *"The most inhumane are those who reject all reasonable means for controlling*

fertility." He wonders if indirect measures of planning such as holding parents rather than public institutions responsible for educating and caring for children, will take effect so that 'compulsory' measures will not become necessary. He sums up his position on reproduction: *"The sine qua non of a population policy is that people be induced to curb their reproduction to the extent necessary for the collective interest."*[42]

Davis does not care whether the people themselves decide what their 'collective interest' may be. Instead, he presupposes that those who decide that other more important tasks take priority over reducing the population, are "the most inhumane of all." Davis believes that incentives to reduce large families are lacking in Latin America, particularly in an extended family situation where care of children is also a responsibility of numerous relatives living together. He recommends 'greater rewarding of non-family roles', the organization of family life around the work place, better education, more opportunities for women etc.

On the other hand, Dr. William McElroy, chairman of the Dept. of Biology at John Hopkins University and President of the American Institute of Biological Sciences is a bit perturbed with Davis's direct talk of compulsory population control, but McElroy agrees that family planning need not require unquestioning acceptance of the status quo. McElroy sees new possibilities of control in developing countries, particularly in the field of sex determination. He advocates using the "machismo" ethic to greater advantage. *"In most societies male babies are more desirable than females and if the male were the first offspring, the motivation for having additional offspring would be reduced."...The federal government could also pay a fee. For example, if they did not marry until twenty-four, they would receive a $500 fee from the government. If they waited until they were thirty, they might even get $4,000 or a $5,000 fee."*[43]

McElroy, another true 'scientist' and humanitarian presents us with more practical and non-compulsive birth control measures. He and Davis are only two of the thousands of 'scientists' who receive millions of dollars for research in order to discover easier and quicker ways of slowing down or diminishing the numbers of poor people in the world.

IV: Malthus revived

In the mid-twenthieth century, the precepts of Reverend Thomas Malthus have been revived, even though nineteenth century capitalists had found these theories inconvenient. Whereas scientists such as Darwin had demolished the "scientific" basis of Malthus predictions and socialist thinkers such as Karl Marx had devastatingly disproved the predictions, Malthusian fears of imminent doom and destruction caused by the abundance of babies have now been re-awakened by the "rising expectations" of the Third World.

In the past and today, Malthusians have argued that high death rates, growing out of war, pestilence, poverty, and vice tend to restrict population increase under "normal conditions." Malthus' notion that food increases arithmetically and people geometrically is echoed by such present-day "population experts" as Dr. Alan F. Guttmacher, president of Planned Parenthood-World Population (the United States branch of the IPPF): *"Reckless population growth without parallel economic growth....makes for a constant lowering of the standard of living. Such a decline, with its concomitant mounting poverty and hunger, leads to political unrest."*[44]

Guttmacher goes on to equate population expansion with the rise of ideologies that are opposed to bourgeois democracy. *"Today the kind of political unrest inevitably delivers a population to some kind of ism, whether it be communism, fascism, or Pan-Arabism (sic), and weans them away from democracy."*[45]

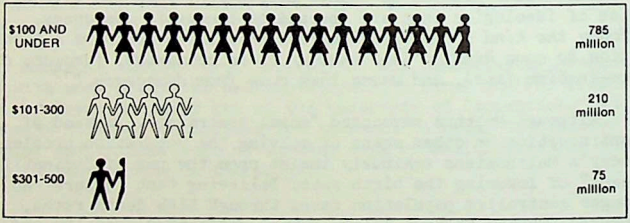
Although Malthus advocated "moral restraint", instead of contraception or other means of solving the population problem, today's Malthusians zealously insist upon the use of "scientific means" of lowering the birth rate. Believing that "nature" no longer controlled population rates through high death rates, Reverend Thomas Malthus deeply feared widespread scarcity and a degeneration of morality. For him, overpopulation, instead of the rise of industrial capitalism, was the sole cause of the evils that he attributed to the society of his day.

In referring to his own laws of food increase and the ever greater population increase, Malthus felt that the upper and middle classes, with the knowledge of his laws firmly in mind, would

be able to alter the conditions of the poor 'prudently', but efficiently, at least in a 'political light. *"Undoubtedly, one of the most valuable of these effects would be the power that would result to the higher and middle classes of society, of gradually improving their governments, without the apprehension of those revolutionary excesses, the fear of which, at present, threatens to deprive Europe even of the degree of liberty which she had before experienced to be practical, and the salutary effects of which she had long enjoyed."**

Knowledge of his laws also spread among the poor would *"...remove all injust grounds of discontent against constituted authorities...."* The poor themselves would realize that *"...the most permanent cause of poverty has little or no direct relation to forms of government, or the unequal division of property, and that, as the rich do not in reality posses the power of finding employment and maintenance for the poor, the poor cannot in the nature of things, possess the right to demand them; are important truths flowing from the principles of population, which, when properly explained, would by no means be above the most ordinary comprehensions. And it is evident that every man in the lower classes of society who became acquainted with these truths, would be disposed to bear the distresses in which he might be involved with more patience; would feel less discontent and irritation at the government and the higher classes of society, on account of his property; would be on all occasions less disposed to insubordination and turbulence; and if he received assistance, either from any public institution or from the hand of private charity, he would receive it with more thankfulness, and more justly appreciate its value."**

DISTRIBUTION OF WORLD CHILD POPULATION (0-15), 1970
by national per capita income levels $500 or less (each figure represents 50 million children)



*From Thomas Malthus, Essay on the Principle of Population, Seventh Edition, 1816, J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd.

V: The dynamics of underdevelopment

Contrary to Malthusian mythology, the cries of imminent starvation caused by food shortages are a false alarm. According to the United Nations, (Food and Agricultural Organization-FAO), *"The food problem in the near future is more likely to be surpluses than starvation."* FAO Director Boerm warned that *"excess supplies of cereals, butter and dry skim milk reached proportions that led to serious problems in the commodity markets."* Only 1/10 of the world's total land area is under cultivation according to the UN report. *"More dramatic still are what new techniques, food strains and fertilizers can do; one ton of nitrogen equals in production the worth of 14 new arable acres. Synthetic food is barely born yet, but with a little scientific mid-wifery it soon will be. A man could live from one square meter of land with the proper use of photosyntheses; fifty years ago it took 1 1/2 acres, ploughed, sown and grazed to support a man. Even without photosynthesis food production has been growing 1 3/4 times as fast as population since the mid 1950's. So however much our own ineptitude may produce conditions in Bihar, Mississippi and Biafra that often make the world seem doomed to eventual famine, the fact remains that Malthus was wrong."*[46]

One of the astounding facts in Latin America has been that, during the so-called "Development Decade", food production fell astronomically, instead of rising as had been expected. In Argentina, where beef exports have continually increased, the Argentinan people's consumption of beef has dropped by 50 percent in the past ten years. While the supply of animal protein increased 12 percent in the world as a whole, it fell 18 percent in Latin America. In 1965, the Bank of Mexico reported that in Mexico City, 52 percent of the population did not eat meat.[47]

We are told by pro-imperialist economists that, between 1960 and 1970, per capita food production in former "underdeveloped areas", such as the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, <u>only</u> rose by 45 percent. Yet in the underdeveloped areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America, per capita food production <u>fell</u> by 3 percent and it continues to decline more each year.[48]

CHE GUEVARA ON "UNDERDEVELOPMENT

A dwarf with an enormous head and a swollen chest is "underdeveloped", inasmuch as his weak legs or short arms do not match the rest of his anatomy. He is the product of an abnormal formation that distorted his development. That is really what we are, we, who are politely referred to as "underdeveloped", but in truth are colonial, semi-colonial or dependent countries. We are countries whose economies have been twisted by imperialism, which has abnormally developed in us those branches of industry or agriculture needed to complement its complex economy. "Underdevelopment", or distorted development, brings dangerous specialization in raw materials, inherent in which is the threat of hunger for all our people. We, the underdeveloped, are also those with monoculture, with the single product whose uncertain sale depends on a single market that imposes and fixes conditions -- that is the great formula for imperialist economic domination. It should be added to the old, but eternally young Roman slogan: DIVIDE AND CONQUER.

Guevara, Che Guevara Speaks, Grove Press Inc., New York, 1968, p.31.

Uneven distribution of wealth continually increases, despite the efforts of advanced capitalist countries at economic pacification. The Alliance for Progress succeeded in becoming an alliance for the progress of the consuming classes.

Of course, Malthus did not seriously envision technological possibilities with regard to modern agricultural processes, new food strains, et cetera. Malthus certainly did not conceive of socialist ideology and its capacity to rationalize production, but he did agree with the capitalists of his day that modern industry needed a surplus population: *"Prudential habits with regard to marriages, carried to a considerable extent among the laboring class of a country depending mainly upon manufactures and commerce, might injure it."*[49]

Malthus was correct in this assumption that persists today. The capitalists do need a "reserve labor force" so that they can step up production or reduce it according to their wants. Unemployment is not a burden upon capitalism, but an essential part of it. The greater the number of workers available to do a job, the lower the real wage level. Unemployment is obviously not the fault of "overproduction of babies", but the fault of social systems that exclude large numbers of persons from the production process.

In 1966, in the context of a parliamentary debate on population control programs, Brazilian deputy Alfonso Arinos argued that *"the proponents of birth control are mainly oligarchs who want to keep production growth within the limits of the present economic system."*[50]

Under today's capitalism, increasing unemployment is inevitable as long as the economy depends more heavly upon finance capital (credit, savings, corporate stock, ect), which, in turn, decreases the relative importance of constant capital (machinery, land, buildings, ect) Under modern monopoly capitalism, mechanization thus reduces employment opportunities. The burden of unemployment naturally falls on the shoulders of those who are alreasy carrying the heavist economic burdens. Workers are the ones who create the additional funds (surplus value) that, ultimately, enable the bourgeoisie to throw them out on the street and to say: *"keep your numbers down. There arn't enough jobs."*

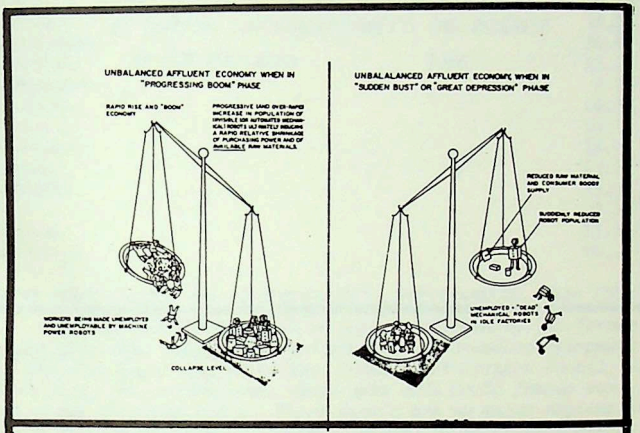
Again, the capitalist does not mean to keep numbers at a minimum, but to keep them suited to the ups and downs of business cycles. As surplus value multiplies, the bourgeoisie is fattened up, and its consumption increases, along with increases in reinvestment.

In Latin America, although the bourgeoisie is constantly prospering and consumption is rising, the majority of men and women have less food now than they did in 1945. According to Andre Gunder Frank, the "metropolis-satellite" relationship characterizes Third World areas such as Latin America. For example, the very rich sugar and coffee-producing regions of northeastern Brazil are "national satellites" of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, which are satellites of the United States. The agricultural regions of northern and southern Mexico are "national satellites" of Mexico City, which is, in turn, a United States satellite. *"Thus, a whole chain of constellations of metropolises and satellites relates all parts of the whole system to its metropolitan center in Europe or the U.S. to the farthest outpost in the Latin American countryside."*[51]

Most of the capital being pumped into the "metropoles" of Latin America by the imperialist powers never reaches the majority of the population. In fact, inflation created by the unbridled spending and hoarding of the bourgeois forces the poor majority to sink deeper into poverty. *"Each car Brazil puts on the road prevents 50 people from having transportation by bus. A refrigerator closes the possibility of a community freezer. A hundred lives are sacrificed for the sake of one dollar spent on doctors and hospitals for the wealthy instead of programs for safe drinking water. Huge amounts of foreign invested capital are used to mass-produce goods that are worthless to the majority. In the language of Marx, verdinglichung, or reification is the changing of one's real needs into the demand for mass manufactured products. If one is thirsty, he must have a coke."*[52]

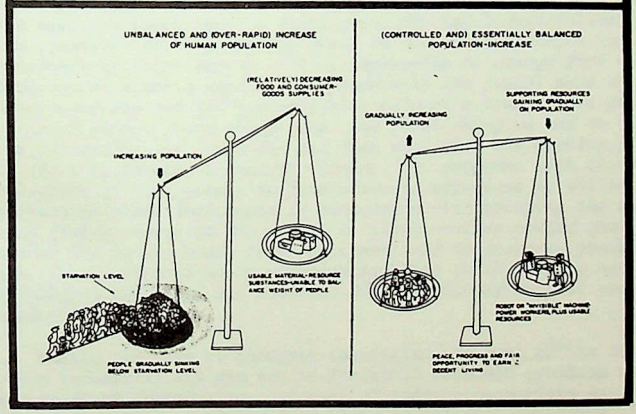
Very basically, the underdeveloped world furnishes the foreign capital class with new consumer markets, super-cheap labor, and precious raw materials. The bulk of goods and profits (agricultural, extractive, and mass-produced) are then exported to the advanced capitalist countries, creating deeper dependency of the underdeveloped upon the developed. Frank sums up the system of underdevelopment by saying: *"It serves the interests of the metropoles which take advantage of the global, national, and local structure to promote their own development and the enrichment of their ruling classes."*[53]

Gunder Frank believes that no amount of outside industrial development can break countries such as Brazil out of the cycle of satellite development. Although many Latin American capitalists believe that archaic institutions have imprisoned their economies in underdevelopment, Gunder Frank disproves this hypothesis by demonstrating that the most recent industrial development, especially of Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico, and also Chile, took place between 1914 and 1945, the period of the two wars and the intervening of the depression - precisely the time when the "metropoles" of these Latin American countries were weakest.



Economics of Overpopulation .....

seen through Capitalist EYES



PROPORTIONS OF LATIN AMERICAN EXPORTS ABSORBED BY FOREIGN INVESTMENT PROFITS AND INTEREST ON FOREIGN LOANS 1966

COUNTRY	PERCENTAGE
Brazil	23.2%
Chile	30.6%
Colombia	32.5%
Costa Rica	20.4%
Ecuador	25.6%
Guatemala	9.7%
Honduras	10.3%
Mexico	59.7%
Nicaragua	16.4%
Panama	13.4%
Paraguay	13.3%
Peru	20.3%
Uruguay	17.1%
Venezuela	26.1%

Harry Magdoff, The Age of Imperialism, table xxxiii, page 155

"This hypothesis seems to be amply confirmed by the former super satellite development and present ultra-underdevelopment of the once sugar exporting West Indes, northeastern Brazil, highland Peru, and others whose names were made world famous centuries ago by their silver. There surely are no major regions in Latin America which are today more cursed by underdevelopment and poverty; yet all of these regions, like Bengal in India, once provided the life blood of mercantile and industrial capitalist development in the metropoles."[54]

We have seen through history that industrial development can be positive, and potentially beneficial to nations. We should note that societies constructed according to Marxist theory place the hightest importance on development through industrialization. The construction of a society based on socialist precepts is described by Fidel Castro: *"It is impossible to emerge from underdevelopment under a capitalist system with its feudal mode of land ownership and its contradiction between a bourgeoisie and oligarch minority and the people. The first thing we had to do was get rid of the latfundia and then deal with the problem posed by the tiny farmer. We had to develop new programs with the cooperation of the farmers to find adequate solutions to all the farmers problems that arose in connection with bringing the sugarcane fields closer to the mills, to plant what we needed when we needed it, to use heavy farm equipment and to increase production. The problem is not population increase (with all the neo-Malthusian fright) , but rational distribution of what is produced."*[55]

During the rise of European capitalism the goal of the European industrialists was not to forestall economic problems at the point of reproduction, as many of today's economists are advocating, but to avoid these problems by colonial expansion.

Robert Hilton, writing on The Population Explosion in Latin

America portrays the colonial period as one of prosperity for everyone: *"During the colonial period, the French ran Haiti with remarkable efficiency, and its plantations made it possibly the wealthest agricultural community in the New World -what a far cry from present day Haiti. These efficient plantations attracted large numbers of farm workers. When with independence, the plantation economy collapsed (what a lesson for those who believe that independence from 'colonialism' is the solution to the woes of tropical countries), the population remained and indeed went on breeding, even though there was no economic basis for the numerous population. It would seem that economic activity stimulates population growth which continues under its own momentum after the need for the population has disappeared."*[56]

Writing about the 'prosperity' of Haiti under the French, the population expert fails to mention that the 'large numbers' of farm workers 'attracted' to the 'efficient' plantations were slaves who died off like flies under sub-human working conditions. The wealth was concentrated in the hands of the French planter-class who exported much of the capital back to France.

The flowering colonies of the South, New England, the West Indes and Africa, producing sugar, molasses, cotton and slaves, had enabled the European countries to bloom, especially England. Simultaneously, its satellites, Ireland, Wales and Scotland were impoverished. By 1775, countries such as Britain actually needed more workers (supernumeraries) in order to carry the weight of industrial expansion.

Gunder Frank and much earlier, Karl Marx, suggest that History is the best way of studying and understanding the trends in the world capitalist system which leads to development in the 'metropoles' and the underdevelopment of the satellites.

During the European industrial boom, 'sufficient' unemployment enabled capitalists to keep wages below subsistence, and whole families were mobilized into factory work. Many of the poorest members of society were thrust out of the domestic economy and forced to emigrate to the colonies. Although the British workers were not starving on a large scale, the transition from mercantilism to industrial capitalism caused mass starvation in India when the Indian weavers were put out of business by mechanization of Britain's weaving industry.

Whereas the early nineteenth century economist saw modernization of production based on successful colonial enterprise alleviating population problems, today's economists and demographic experts no longer have faith in their own technology. Malthus was seen as a nut in the 19th century, but today he is regarded as a brilliant theoretician.

Later, Hitler held to the Malthusian fear that too many members of a group (the Jews) were draining Germany of its precious resources, just as today's neo-Malthusians believe on a more grandiose scale that the Third World, composed of black, brown and yellow peoples, is capable of depleting precious resources. Hitler's limited experimental sterilizations of his "economic undesirables" can be compared to today's Latin American experiments, as in Puerto Rico. In the underdeveloped countries particularly, too many unemployed (those who exceed the 'necessary' numbers of unemployed and unemployables) have today become the undesirables. Hitler was a neo-Malthusian in that he wanted to sterilize his undesirables-Jews and gypsies. But as regards Germans, he wanted more of them. This same contradiction can be seen today. Why do AID population funds in the Third World triple the funds allocated to the developed countries?

VI: The haves and the have nots.

In general, birth control programs are racing to outflank the social turmoil and revolution which are developing. Although there was the hope that the 1960's would be the development decade, it naturally was NOT. Those who rule the advanced capitalist nations realize from contemporary historical experience that super-unemployment is a great threat to their interests, whether it be in their own metropoles or in their many satellites. Attemps to predict and, more recently, to control the numbers of employed and unemployed represent a historical drive of capitalist society which will obviously fail because of the society's contradictions. The severe contradictions between the Haves and the majority of Have Nots was begun to work in favour of the Have Nots. In fact, 1/3 of the world's people exist in societies where the Have Nots have confiscated the wealth of the Haves; a frightening proposition to the monopolistic Haves in our own midst.

In the report by the Secretary-General of the UN Conference on Trade and Development, entitled, Towards a Global Strategy of Development, Raúl Prebisch, presiding Secretary-General of the Conference, expresses the resulting dangers of continued economic lag in the 'peripheral' or underdeveloped countries: *"Whatever conscientious and resolute decisions may be taken to halt the trend by a judicious demographic policy, the practical effects of the policy on the growth of the labor force will not be noticable for some twenty years because the people who will enter this force are already born. And it is precisely during these twenty years that the inadequate absorptive capacity of the peripheral countries will reach very serious proportions until the economic growth rate is accelerated. If the rate is slow, dynamic élements (creative people) in the society will not find opportunities on a large enough scale and there will be no perceptable - or only a very small - improvement in the income of the masses. This fact, together with the frequent spectacle of gross social differences and the mushrooming of the marginal and redundent labor force, are building up a really explosive mixture in the peripheral communities. Everything depends on whether there is something to set it off."*[5]

In Population and World Power (1961), A.F.K. and Katherine Organski warn of the rapid development of 'neutral' countries. They understand very well that industrialization in the Third World is synonomous with communism, that 'western' populations must increase, and 'eastern' populations be rigorously controlled. This opinion is not uncomon among political demographers: *"The west owes its position of world leadership to the fact that industrialization came early to the west. Once the secrets of industry are known to all, and indeed, they are no longer secrets, industrial status alone will no longer guarantee superior power. Population size will then assume more importance as a determinant of national power. Tiny industrial England ruled a quarter of the world, including some 300 million unindustrialized Indians. Japan subdued the bulk of pre-industrial China. The United States dominates her neighbors to the south despite the fact that they outnumber her. But once the whole world is industrialized, population size will matter more. The west can be glad that its population is growing as its slender chances of maintaining world leadership are thereby improved."*

In Latin America, the most concerned over the population increase are those whose class interests would be jeopardized by the power of the masses. As a conservative economist views the danger: *"The proletarian masses are those most susceptable to communist propaganda, and if we do not do something to avoid their growth, we are going to find ourselves in a situation like that of Cuba."*[58]

A conservative Colombian student sees the problem similarly: *"Since it is the lower classes which are growing the fastest, and the ones that have the least to contribute to the country and who are also the most anxious for political changes, I would say that population growth - that is - the growth of the working class, is dangerous."*[59]

A Cuban, Juan Perez De la Riva, writing on population matters, believes that some of the capitalist fears of the rising masses are justified: *"There will never be too many of us because the development of a socialist society implies structural changes which tend to produce a reduction of births, comparable to that which we are experiencing now in Cuba, which is really a preamble to a new "baby boom" that will occur when advanced techniques have liberated new forces in our society. There will never be too maby of us because communism establishes a harmonious balance between people and natural resources as part of the dialectical process of the transformation of nature.*

Nothing like this is taking place in the rest of Latin America where imperialism, in order to prevent the change of traditional structures, in order to halt the revolution, is trying to impose from the outside a politics of Malthusianism. We know that these efforts are condemned to fail even more spectacularly than the unlamented Alliance for Progress. What they call the demographic explosion will sooner or later become the revolutionary explosion.[60]

VII: The issue of methodology.

Many apologists for imperialism masquerading as population experts pretend to desire better conditions for the poor peoples of the world. They believe that the answer to the world's enormous problems is 'time.' Only by time and patience can we endeavor to better the conditions of those 'unfortunates' upon the earth already. Fertility control would provide this 'time.'

To many academicians, there seem to be sound empirical reasons why population growth impedes the economic growth in the Third World which is threatening survival. The short-sightedness and weaknesses of their methods will become clear.

One of the most popular notions is that developed countries have fewer people than underdeveloped countries. The idea (according to the experts) is supposed to be derived from a sophisticated method of research called 'comparative statistics'. Economists or demographic experts place statistics together in such a way as to show a positive or negative comparison which justifies their preconceived notion. Just in terms of their own statistical method, the idea is false. Public data shows that in the Third World some of the most impressive gains in per capita income are made by high population growth rate countries.

Venezuela has had a major population increase in recent years in relation to positive economic development whereas Nicaragua, a sparsely populated country of 24 persons per square mile, is extremely poor; one percent of the population takes twenty-five percent of the national income. However, Nicaragua is extremely rich in agricultural potential. The United Nations has suggested re-settling these people in order to entice industrialists to develop the country. Nicaraguans have experienced centuries of exploitation. The example of this country does not say that too few people have made her poor but that numbers have little to do with her poverty.

The absence of a fixed correlation between rates of population growth and rates of poverty is well-explained by the Cuban

writer, Juan Perez de la Riva,who points out that Cuba experienced a "baby boom" immediately after the overthrow of the American-backed dictator Fulgencio Batista: *"Comparing last year (1967) with 1964, 32,300 fewer children were born. This 12 percent decline is obvious, but it means little. Immediately after the revolution there was a "baby boom" that we have already discussed, which can be more accurately called "deferred births." Many couples who had not planned to were married shortly after the revolution because of the atmosphere of euphoria and limitless confidence in the future. The government greatly improved the general conditions of the people - in lodging, jobs, or low-interest loans if they were studying - and, furthermore, prevention of births was more difficult. The number of marriages increased, the ages of couples dropped, especially in the cities, and the results came quickly. Could the baby boom continue indefinitely? Of course not. But two factors in particular contributed to the decline that had been predicated: incorporation of women in large numbers into the work-force and the fullest development of mass education."*[61]

Fidel Castro has explained that revolutionary Cuba regards birth control as a matter of individual choice. Indeed he suggests that with socialist economic development, Cuba could support a considerably larger population; *"But the Cuban revolution is not blindly against birth control. The size of the family is the individual decision of the husband and wife as part of their human rights. It is the duty of the state to provide them with the adequate means for having as many or as few children as they want. Propaganda in one direction or the other is completely unnecessary. The revolution is not scared by population increases and it is not worried by a temporary drop in the birth rate. There are some countries that pretend that birth control is the solution, but the only ones who are saying this are the capitalists, the exploiters, because no one who understands what humanity can achieve through science and technology sets out to impose limits upon the number of human beinas that can exist on the face of the earth. And this would be especially out of place in a country like ours where there is enough land to take care of a much greater number of people."*[62]

Attacking today's neo-Malthusians who maintain that, in the past, high mortality rates held down population, Castro asks whether these "scientists" consider disease, war ect. as benefical to their interests: *"But it is neither humanly nor economically correct to maintain such a thesis as the problem does not lie there. The poverty which afflicts the people in aggravated form today is basically the same poverty which faced them in the twenties and thirties when the population was considerably less and the infant mortality rate higher. Therefore birth control is no guarantee of political, economic, or social improvement under the capitalist system. What will the people gain by reducing the*

population boom if they continue to live in the same sub-human conditions."[63]

Another statistical argument used by demographic experts is that an unchecked population consumes all the GNP and nothing is left over for new investment. A liberal Colombian economist remarked that: *the economic growth of the country is exclusively slow, especially considering that the growth of the population absorbs almost all the growth of the GNP, leaving a rate of growth of less than one percent annually."*[64]

A Colombian sociologist expresses the GNP problem in terms of savings and investment: *"Savings and, consequently, possible investments are completely absorbed by the growing population. It is not possible to create an infrastructure of industries nor is it possible to accumulate human capital in education, the government must continually invest its scarce funds in emergency projects (which are in turn results of the growing population), and its hands are tied in its efforts toward natural development."*[65]

The solution of increased foreign investment is discussed by the United Nations: *"It is not possible to increase national savings, which are the source of domestic investment, without lowering the consumption levels of the population. Since this can hardly be expected of a people whose level of living is already extremely low, foreign investments become necessary, at least as a temporary measure, until a level is reached when national savings can provide needed investment capital."*[66]

Of course the same United Nations report mentions other more basic reasons why savings in developing countries are low: *"The distribution of income is very uneven. The proportion of income going to profits as compared with wages and salaries has actually been increasing in a number of countries."*[67]

Demographers, themselves without hesitation, agree that the GNP is positively correlated with population growth. The table indicates that the highest rates of population growth (over 3%) corresponded to the highest rates of GNP growth in both five year periods. It shows that countries with the lowest rates of population growth (Argentina and Uruguay) had the lowest rates of GNP increase. Although this does not mean that more people are the key to a successful economy, it certainly proves that a lowering of the population growth rate will not alter the GNP growth rate of most Latin American countries. Capitalist demographers do not seem to take themselves seriously. What the strategists for the future conveniently leave out is the fact that a large portion of exports which would otherwise go into expanding the GNP, is actually funnelled out as profits on foreign investment or interest on foreign debt. For example, in Ecuador and Chile, in 1966, out of one dollar of exports, 20 cents was drained out of the country. In Venezuela, 25 cents of each dollar went out,

in Mexico, 60 cents. American companies have been happier in Latin America than any other continent in the world. Over a period of 10 years (1950-1960) they directly invested 3.8 billion and received 11.5 billion.[68]

However, some of today's wealthy Latin American industrialists are opposed to birth control on the grounds that cheap labor and more consumption is essential for their own industrial growth. The Venezuelan Federation of the Chamber of Commerce recommends *"producing more, fighting for optimal productivity laboring tirelessly for the expansion of consumption."* Fearing underconsumption, a capitalist Chilean asks, *"If we adapt birth control, what would happen to industries such as children's clothing if the market became saturated and there was no one else to sell to."*[69]

Latin America.

Percentage growth of the population and the gross national product (1955–1964).

	Population growth (a)		Gross national product			
			Overall Growth (b)		Growth per capita	
	1955–59	1960–64	1955–59	1960–64	1955–59	1960–64
Latin America (except Cuba)	2.9	2.9	4.7	4.0	1.8	1.1
Uruguay	1.2	1.2	0.3	0.1	−0.9	−1.2
Argentina	1.9	1.8	2.7	1.2	0.8	−0.6
Bolivia	2.2	2.3	−0.2	5.0	−2.4	2.7
Chile	2.4	2.4	3.8	4.0	1.4	1.6
Paraguay	2.5	2.5	2.4	3.6	−0.1	1.1
Peru	2.6	2.7	4.7	6.4	2.1	3.7
Colombia	2.8	2.8	5.3	5.3	2.5	2.5
Panama	2.7	2.8	5.3	5.3	2.5	2.5
Guatemala	2.9	2.9	5.1	5.4	2.2	2.5
Brazil	3.1	3.0	5.8	3.9	2.7	0.8
Ecuador	3.2	3.1	4.5	3.7	1.3	0.5
El Salvador	3.0	3.2	3.0	8.3	0.0	5.1
Mexico	3.3	3.4	6.2	6.2	2.9	2.8
Honduras	3.3	3.5	4.8	4.3	1.5	0.8
Venezuela	3.9	3.5	6.5	5.3	2.5	1.7
Nicaragua	3.5	3.5	1.7	7.3	−1.8	3.8
Costa Rica	4.2	4.0	4.9	3.3	0.8	−0.7

(a) Based on estimates published by the *Bulletin of Statistics* of CEPAL, Vol. I., No. 1.
(b) CEPAL. *Economic Study* 1964.

Another variation on the imperialist theme of over-consumption is the contention that a large sector of the population (namely the youth under 15) , do not contribute to the society, thereby creating a large 'dependency' ratio, and that a large portion of education costs must come from the state. A conservative Colombian educator sees birth control as the answer to ignorance: *"Population growth implies that young people who could be in school must work in order to maintain themselves because their families cannot, with so many. Low educational levals, in turn impede development and encourage population growth. The low level of education of the people causes the low productivity of the workers. The lack of civic education produces the political instability which causes the stagnation of economic structures... The lack of sexual education causes the high birth rates, prostitution and other social evils."*[10]

In actuality, the financial burden of public education is payed by the taxpayers (as in all capitalist countries), who are mainly working people. In countries like Brazil and Colombia, literacy campaigns have been ruthlessly suppressed, as the industrial oligarchy has thrown off its former smile. They fear that, when the people learn to read and write, they may also learn to question the social system.

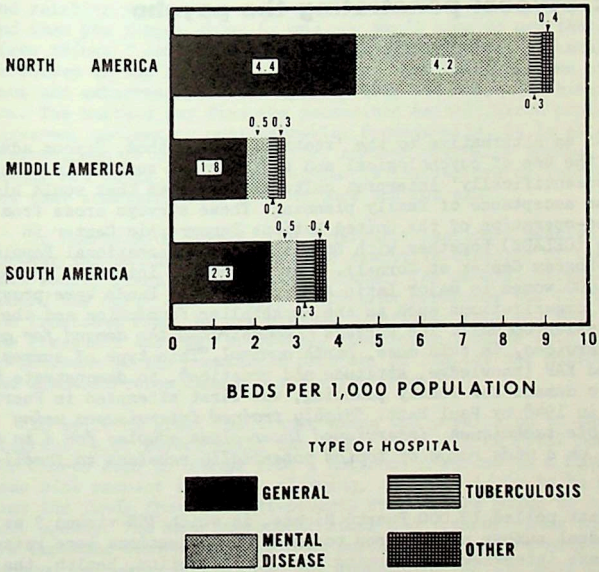
In many instances, birth control is seen as an alternative to social reforms, such as education. J.M. Stycos is another academic neo-Malthusian. He is director of Cornell University's International Population Program, a consultant to IPPF, writer for the Population Council, and an initiator of million dollar programs concernimg birth control. Stycos sees only futility in building more schools. His scientific conscience induces him to prove his point by counting the number of school 'seats' needed for a rapidly expanding population. He uses the example of El Salvador. *"...Suppose high goals were set, by 1980, 98% of the primary school age group and 45% of the secondary school age group is attending. In this case they would have to more than triple the present number of primary seats and increase secondary enrollment almost nine times."*[11]

Stycos' research leads him to conclude that mass education on the lower levels (under 6 years) means very little in terms of 'fertility control.' The population cannot be stabilized through education. *"Given the facts that education levels are generally low, that urbanization may be needed to activate the effects of education of fertility, and that Latin America is predominantly rural, Latin American countries which wait for "education" to reduce birth rates may wait a long time."*[12]

Stycos also uses the "comparative statistics" method of comparing population growth with GNP growth rate. Since El Salvador's population growth rate is 4% and the GNP increase rate is only

3%, the budget will barely allow its people to survive. Clearly absent from his conclusion or analysis are certain economic facts; that 8% of the population receives 53% of the income. A University population research group, guided by a bourgeois perspective, lets slip the real problem. In referring to the 8% who receive the majority of national income, the project explains: *"Since El Salvador is primarily an agricultural country, this disproportionate distribution of income is closely related to the unequal distribution of land and failure of the workers to share in the increased sales and higher prices of agricultural exports. The unequal distribution of income and the low purchasing power of the population created special problems for economic development."*[13]

Styco and fellow academicians are critical of many of today's demographic 'statisticians' who are involved in purely *"economic,*



Hospital beds per 1,000 population by type of hospital in the three regions of the Americas, around 1962.

political or legal functions." He considers his own sociological approach to birth control to be more humane and practical although in reality, he advocates genocide. Many of today's misled ecologists and over-population prophets believe that Stycos must lead the way. He criticises the 'statisticians' method in several ways: 1) changes of the human condition have not been taken into account 2) the importance of theory has been lost 3) studies of sex attitudes which would account for Latin American attitudes towards fertility have not been taken into account. Apparently, probing of the oppressed familys' psyche is seen as a more "humane" means of stabilizing population.

VIII: Stycos: penetrating the psycho

As an alternative to the 'statistician' method, Stycos advocates the use of psychological and sociological surveys in order to 'scientifically' interpret cultural attitudes that would hinder the acceptance of family planning. These surveys arose from the co-operation of the United Nations Demographic Center in Chile (CELADE) together with Stycos at the International Population Program Center at Cornell. They set out to interview groups of 2,000 women in major Latin American cities. Funds were provided by organizations such as the Rockefeller Foundation and the Population Council. The surveys *"demonstrated the demand for goods and services, in this case, birth control."* This type of survey, called KAP (knowledge, attitude and practice), to demonstrate the public demand for family planning, was first attempted in Puerto Rico in 1948 by Paul Hatt. *"Highly trained interviewers using flexible techniques, interviewed lower-class couples for 4 to 6 hours on a wide range of topics potentially revelent to fertility."*[14]

Hatt polled 13,000 Puerto Ricans, in which 75% viewed 3 as the ideal number of children to have. Many questions were raised in these interviews concerning fear of infedelity, health, the effects of contraception on pleasure and the effects on the male authority. Answers demonstrated that many feared contraception would foster infidelity, undermine male authority, produce ill-

ness or diminish pleasure. Of the 72 families studied by the Family Life Project, two thirds reported using contraception in some form. The author suggests the best way of avoiding these cultural traditions: *"A method that has proved increasingly attractive in Puerto Rico is sterilization. A review of the reasons will illustrate the interplay of culture, motivation, and the decision to accept or reject methods of controlling births. In 1950 close to one out of every five deliveries in Puerto Rican Hostipals was followed by sterilizations. Between 4 and 5 thousand sterilizations occur each year."*[15]

The Family Planning Association of Puerto Rico operates clinics throughout the island, distributes contraceptive pills free, and has legally sterilized some 100,000 men and women.[16] By 1954, 16% of all the women of child-bearing age were sterilized. By 1965, 34% were sterilized.[17]

Sterilization is so popular that local politicians dispense the necessary bed space in return for political allegiance. What explains this phenomenal popularity? Sterilization is effective and relatively easy. As one women put it, *"It is only once, sure, and then you forget about it and you don't have to use those dirty things."* Another reason is that sterilization is usually performed in the hospital, postpartum, thus removing some of the onus and embarrassment of a special trip and a special examination. The husband may find the prescribed method (birth control) tiresome, unclean or unpleasurable. Consequently, it is either discontinued or used erratically. Another pregnancy ensues. The family now feels that contraception is ineffective or inpractical and that something must be done once and for all.

In Puerto Rico itself, the government santioned massive U.S. funding for national programs. The executive director of the private Family Planning Association stated: *"The general attitude toward the birth control type of program permeates the US from the President down. We are greatly benefiting from the fact that the President has been so clearly favourable towards this kind of solution to the population problem. He has let the nation and the administration know about his feelings."*[18]

In spite of great resistance among the population to these programs, M.J. Stycos still has great hopes: *"It is still possible for Puerto Rico to change from a national disgrace to a US showcase with respect to family planning, although it is to be noted that the funds from the Anti-poverty Program are going to a private agency. The more municipal, state and federal funds that are expended within United States borders, the more straightforward and uncomplicated can our approach be to the rest of the hemisphere."*[19]

The Argentine delegate to the UN Population Commission, opposed the measures taken in Puerto Rico, condemned the sterilization projects in December, 1962 thusly: *"In Puerto Rico, the policy of birth control has produced only insignificant results. That was why various specialists no longer hesitited to propose measures of compulsory sterilization. It was possible to see how far certain theories based on a misconception of the determinants of economic development could lead."*[80]

Puerto Rico

TABLE 1. *Percentage sterilized of all mothers aged 20 to 49 in 1965 by present age*

Present age	Total number of mothers	Percentage sterilized
20–24	(150)	18·7
25–29	(198)	29·8
30–34	(196)	33·3
35–39	(197)	46·7
40–44	(179)	35·2
45–49	(157)	35·0
Total	(1,071)	34·0

2. *Percentage sterilized of all mothers aged 20 to 49 in 1965 in stable first marital unions* by duration of marriage*

Duration of marriage	Number	Percentage sterilized
Less than 5 years	(91)	11·0
5–9 years	(157)	28·7
10–14 years	(157)	43·9
15–19 years	(133)	46·6
20–24 years	(124)	42·7
25 years or more	(100)	37·0
Total	(764)†	36·3

* Stable first marital unions are defined as married only once and presently married (excluding separated).

† Includes 2 cases of women in stable first marital unions for whom the duration of marriage could not be derived.

A very cruel type of interview, characteristic of many similar interviews among poor people throughout the world was taken in Haiti among 44 males and 45 females, all of whom were poor and many illiterate. Photographs showing rich and poor families were shown to the 'informants' who were then asked to choose. The pictures portrayed wealthy families, one large and one small, who were well dressed and wore shoes. Pictures of poor families, showed one large and one small, who were either naked or in rags. Questions were asked such as: Tell me about these two families. Do you see any difference between them? In order to trick the Hailian villagers, and establish confidence, the interviewer told each informant that a friend of his took the pictures in another village far away. *"Everyone sees something different in these pictures, I would like to have some of your ideas."* The conclusions to such surveys would be obvious to most accept those who see reality under a 'comparative statistics' syndrome. The large wealthy family was preferred by 2/3 of the informants. A "large" family was chosen because of the extended family tradition, and "wealthy" was chosen because of the economic problems which plague the poorer sectors of any society.

Census-taking among Andean Indians in Peru.

Some of those questioned, however, defied the survey by identifying with the poor and choosing the poor family photo as a preference. *"God loves poor people...Because he is poor like me. ...I like her because it is a poor family...If I knew them I would give them a little gift."*[81] The surveyor displays his contempt for their lack of submission in many ways: *"The lower class has a number of rationalizations for the superiority of the poor, chief among them being that they are the children of God."*[82]

In Peru, around 2,000 women, 'currently mated' and several hundred village women were administered with a questionaire on fertility and desired family size. The results of both rich and

poor showed that two children was the number most desired. Again, conclusions seem obvious. Lower class women desire fewer children and are more sinsitive to the implications of additional children than are upper class women. The fertility expert suggests in his conclusions, that if lower class women realized that upper-class women also wanted fewer children, then it would be easier to encourage the poor to think more seriously about their 'latent' desires for smaller families.[83]

The populationists and demographers are determined to prove that in Latin America countries, family limitation is the overwhelming desire of Latin American families. The frequency of illegal abortion is used to hypothesize a strong desire for family limitation. In Chile, at least 1 in 5 pregnancies is voluntarily interrupted. An Uruguayan report estimated that for every live birth there are three provoked abortions. In Guatemala. it is estimated that 15% of all pregnancies end in induced abortion. Dr. Mendoza, a vociferous advocator of national birth control programs, along with many other Latin American doctors are concerned with the economics of the birth control problem. *"Nearly 25% of the admissions to the maternity section of San Juan de Dios last year were occasioned by abortion complications. These cases consumed eight percent of the hospital's budget."*[84]

In showing that mothers desire fewer mouths to feed, the rational for voluntary birth control seems difficult to question. The problems of poverty and misery are not caused by too many people, because poverty exists practically everywhere in the world where there is capitalist greed, despite the size of the population. Rather, misery and poverty are caused by the economic structure of capitalist society which denies the worker his control over the means of production.

The average women in the role of domestic servant and child-bearer, is neither paid, nor able to participate in the major workings of society. In many cases, she is forced to see no other outlet for her oppressed position than birth control (if it is free).

Despite the efforts of racist interviewers to illustrate the point of small family desirability, a much greater understanding of population problems was revealed through the informants themselves. They proved over and over, by the questionaries, that economic conditions were the cause of their "desire" to reduce family size. In a survey of 2,132 people in Puerto Rico, who had less than 5 years of schooling, 86% felt that deteriorating conditions relieved them of their religious duty to have more children. Fifty-eight percent believed that lack of money, poverty, and education and other socio-economic barriers were the main obstacles to personal progress. In the slum area of Peru, out of 100 polled, 86% wanted a family small for economic reasons. Another poll in Brazil reached 2,763 people, among whom 76% did not

want more than the ideal number - three children - for economic reasons.[65] A common answer was, *"We do not have the means to educate, clothe or feed them."* Another mother of two states: *"If one is poor he shouldn't have more than two children. The rich can have more because they have money to educate them and do not sacrifice or even kill themselves working as the poor do. For the rich, they are even a recreation; for the poor man they are a burden. The rich are better for the children, but its a great task for the poor."*[66]

If a questionaire had been circulated to the tens of thousands already surveyed, asking the masses what they wanted most in life, the answer most certainly would have been better wages, housing, food, education, and opportunities. Obviously, such polls were never carried out.

Results of Imperialist Interview

	Left	Center	Right
FAMILY PLANNING			
In favor	Individual human right	Anti-abortion Family health & welfare	Responsible parenthood
	New left *Old left*	*Physicians* *Social workers*	*Young clergy*
Opposed	Populationism	0	Hedonism-promiscuity
	Black militants		*Old clergy*
POPULATION CONTROL			
In favor	0	Economic development	Political-economic stability Welfare costs
		Economic planners	*Politicians*
Opposed	Anti-imperialism Revolutionism	Coercion	Nationalism Abundant labor supply Populationism
	Castroites *Peking Communists*	*Liberal intellectuals*	*Military* *Big business*

IX: The socialist alternative.

In socialist society, birth control is always put into the context of the whole economic system. A Cuban women in the field of family planning explains: *"In a nation where class differences have been eliminated, the women is no longer an economic or socially dependent being, she can develop her abilities and pursue the career of her choice. Contraceptives are therefore provided not so much as an economic measure, but rather as an effective means of freeing women from the drudgery of house hold chores, releasing her talents for the benefit of all."*[87]

Another women from People's China involved in birth control explains the total context surrounding the issue similarly: *"Planned parenthood should be based upon the emancipation of the women, her quality, her right to study and to participate in all political decisions, and her heightened social consciousness. Planned parenthood and marriage are factors for the promotion of a socialist society, but must be based on full equality of both partners, self respect and knowledge. It is, therefore, essential that the masses themselves should grasp all the factors of health and work, and themselves, carry out the programs."*[88]

One of the main slogans of the Chinese revolution was "let the masses educate themselves" which meant that *"only through total participation and involvement, which meant therefore, through knowledge and decision making on the part of the masses could this problem be solved."*[89]

Threats of economic deprivation were not used as fear tactics to force the masses to limit their numbers; instead the masses understood through extensive self-education that all facets of daily life must be revolutionized in order for a socialist future to become a permanent reality. It was realized that population redistribution would be accomplished, not by temporary monetary bribes or deception for the benefit of a few, as we have seen in Latin America, but by wide acceptance of a far-reaching political purpose. The women in Cuba and China became aware of positive

aspects of birth control through women's organizations which were formed by women workers, peasants and students.

Previously, we discussed how the demand for free birth control finds some of its most vocal adherents among the ruling class of today's greatest imperialist power.

Although the Third World is the area where capitalists take a most overt public stance in favor of low cost or 'free' birth control, there is no reason for American women to ignore this phenomenon as if it were unrelated to their own positions on birth control, even though the women's liberation movement and the official American family planning organizations have entirely different goals in mind. The reality that socialists and non-socialist American women alike are ignoring is that, today, international agencies, aiming for national planning programs in the Third World are also trying to implement low cost birth control and abortion programs for women in the United States.

Chairman of IPPF, George Lindsey, former wall street lawyer and State Department advisor, envisions a brighter day for American women whom he believes to be in desprate need of his programs: *"Our present and primary challenge in America then, is to end this unfortunate discrimination against the poor. With but one in seven of the five million fertile women in the United States who need family planning assistance receiving it -- only one out of seventeen women among the rural poor -- our job is far from done. Primary responsibility lies, of course, with the 80 percent of the population who are more affluent and who use family planning. A new understanding of the economics of growth, a new sense of the responsibility of the individual towards all mankind -- it is in these difficult areas that we face our long range challenge."*[80]

X: Conclusion.

The only way in which American women can prevent their demands for free abortion from encouraging and directly aiding fascist trends in our society (for example, controlling the 'undesirables' is to fit progressive women's demands into a context whereby these demands may one day be realized. If we demand that women be allowed to control their own bodies by having a right to abortion, without also demanding an end to population control campaigns, then we are betraying the women's struggle in general and our Third World sisters in particular. It is deceptive to present the illusion that a congressional act legalizing abortion would aid women's struggle, even in a small way.

We have seen the most ruthless chauvinists and enemies of the women's struggle raising the abortion demand through IPPF or the Pathfinder Fund or the Rockefeller Foundation. Low cost birth control programs are already being put into practice to the tune of millions of dollars by American agencies. The directors and trustees of these agencies are directly connected with American foreign policy in areas such as Africa, Vietnam and Latin America. This connection is not accidental, but a result of US Imperialism's efforts to control the people of the earth, <u>including American Women</u>.

AID distorts and uses the meaning of women's liberation demands by quoting them as substance for rationale: *"All women are oppressed and expolited sexually. For working class women this oppression is more direct and brutal. They are denied control of their own bodies, when as girls they are refused information about sex and birth control, and when as women they are denied any right to decide whether and when to have children."*[91] The AID author explains that the women are calling for more birth control information to be disseminated in the high schools and the abortion laws should be liberalized. This is good according to AID.

It is becoming increasingly easier to take women's demands out of the context of 'control over our own bodies' because an analysis of who is really controlling our bodies is lacking.

Abortion can only be put into the context of demands such as free health care, no forced sterilization, no more population programs in the Third World, and child care. In other words, the call for abortion can be progressive for all women if demands are voiced with it, thus ensuring the future achievement of women's rights to control their own bodies and their own lives.

Women involved in the struggle for women's rights could undertake a far-reaching campaign to further investigate and protest population control programs and research being done in the Universities and 'in the field.' We are obliged to speak out loudly and consistently against "family planning programs" which are a facade for Imperialism's neo-Malthusian ambitions.

Avoiding this difficult responsibility puts us in the category of being accomplices by allowing our activities in support of free birth control and abortion to be implemented and directed against Third World women in particular and poor women in general.

If we assume this responsibility and undertake it conscientiously, our women's movement will truly be on the road to becoming an international women's movement which understands its unity and solidarity with our sisters in the world-wide struggle against imperialism.

Footnotes

1. "Population: International Assistance and Research Development" Center of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (Paris, 1969), pp. 208-9.

2. Ibid.

3. "Population Programe Assistance" (Agency for International Development publication, October, 1969, Bureau of Technical Assistance, Office of Population, Washington, D.C.), p.14.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

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7. R.T. Ravenholt. M.D., "Expanding Horizons in Population Control", War on Hunger, V. 20 (October, 1972), 1. War on Hunger is a monthly AID publication.

8. "U.S. Foreign Aid in Latin America", Agency for International Development, 1972 program (Washington , 1971).

9. North American Congress on Latin America, Newsletter, December, 1970, p.14.

10. The Economist, December 20, 1969.

11. "Population Program Assistance", p.23.

12. "Population Program Assistance", p.14.

13. "Population Program Assistance", p.14.

14. "Population Program Assistance", p.36.

15. U.S. Foreign Aid in Latin America.

16. Susan Aurelius, confidental report submitted to Pathfinder Fund on a field trip to Latin America.

17. Ibid.

18. "Population Program Assistance", p.12.

19. North American Congress on Latin America, Newsletter, December, 1970, p.15.

20. The Victor-Bostron Fund for the International Planned Parenthood Federation, Report No. 10 (Fall, 1968), p.24.

21. "Population Program Assistance", p.11.

22. Ibid, p.25.

23. "Population Program Assistance", p.14.

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33. William D. Strong (Secretary, Comision de Ayuda Social, Lima, Peru), "An educational Program for Responsible Parenthood",

(April 15, 1964). This report is not for general circulation or quotation.

34. Ibid.

35. "Family Planning Programs in Colombia", American Friends Service Committee, International Service Division, October, 1968. The AFSC requests that no written publicity be given to its family planning programs in Colombia.

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37. North American Congress on Latin America, Newsletter, December, 1970, p.12.

38. "Population Program Assistance, p.56.

39. "Population Program Assistance, p.56.

40. Dr. Kingsley Davis, "Will Family Planning Solve the Population Problem?"; Victor-Bostrom Fund Report, No. 10 (Fall, 1968), p.16.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Dr. William McElroy, "Will Family Planning Solve the Population Problem?", Victor Bostron Fund Report No. 10 (Fall, 1968), pp. 17-31. The article is presented as a debate between McElroy and Davis on the effectiveness of present population control efforts.

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79. Idem., p.78.

80. Idem., p.79.

81. Stycos, Human Fertility in Latin America, citation, pp. 128-29.

82. Idem., pp. 125-28.

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84. "Colombia Tackles Her Population Problems" newspaper clippings, September 1- December 31, 1966.

85. Stycos, Human Fertility in Latin America, citation, p.132.

86. Idem., p.134.

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88. Cited in Victor-Bostrom Report, Spring, 1971, issue on China.

89. Victor-Bostrom Report, Spring, 1971, citation.

90. IPPF-Victor Bostrom Report, Fall, 1968.

91. "Population Program Assistance", (AID, 1969), p.313,(citation of article by Bread and Roses women's group in Leviathan, June, 1969).

Appendix I

The following excerpts from J. Mayone Stycos' Human Fertility in Latin America (Ithaca, N.Y.,1968) are being included because they offer such an intimate portrait of the interpenetrations among political agencies, such as the Agency for International Development (AID) or the Organization of American States (OAS), and reputedly non-political agencies, such as the Pan-American Health Organization or the World Health Organization.

GLOSSARY

Moscoso, Theorodo: administrator, Economic Development Administration of Puerto Rico, 1950-1960; U.S. Ambassador to Venezuela, 1961-62; U.S. co-ordinator of Alliance for Progress, 1962-64; now board chairman of Commonwealth Oil; director of Banco de Ponce (Puerto Rico) and Arthur D. Little (Cambridge, Mass.)

Organization of American States (OAS): Western hemisphere alliance consisting of the U.S. and all Latin American states except Cuba. The OAS, under the domination of the U.S., exists to co-ordinate not only economic and political ties within the Western Hemisphere, but military operations also (as with the OAS invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965).

Draper, William H.: investment banker (see main text), long term backer of population control programs.

Pan-American Health Organization (PAHO): "Non-political" organization for the co-ordination of health services and medical research in the Western Hemisphere.

(Stycos) ....Partly as a result of the efforts of Teodoro Moscoso, a veteran of Puerto Rico's struggles with population control, the Agency for International Development's Latin American Division was the most active geographic branch in promoting assistance on population problems to requesting nations. While only $209,500 was expended in 1965, over one and a half million dollars was expended by AID for population and family planning activities in 1966, and close to three million allocated for 1967...

(Stycos details a similar geometric expansion of expenditures by other agencies such as the IPPF-Western Hemisphere, the Population Council, and the Ford Foundation between 1965 and 1967. AID, of course, is the fund giving arm of the U.S. State Department that provides not only population control funds, but funds for the military and political systems of many Latin American nations)

....Several significant steps were taken within the traditionally cautious inter-American system. In September of 1964, an unprecedented meeting was held at the Pan-American Union (Washington) for Latin American ambassadors to the OAS. Organized largely as a result of efforts by William Draper and Alberto Lleras Camargo,

the ambassadors were exposed to a concentrated dosage of discussion of Latin American population problems by a distinguished list of speakers. Soon thereafter, the Inter-American Economic and Social Council recommended that "studies should be carried out to determine the requirements of economic development and social progress as they relate to population increases. Consequently, IA-ECOSCO recommends that Latin American countries carry out such studies, and charges CIAP with co-ordinating them on an international level, and with providing the countries necessary technical assistance." As a result of this mandate, the Department of Social Affairs of the OAS General Secretariat proposed to the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress (CIAP) that the OAS develope a program on population problems of Latin America. In April, 1965, CIAP suggested that "governments carefully consider the need to formulate population policies and put them into effect....that they make....studies on mutual relations between population trends and factors of economic and social development... and problems relating to fertility and economic, political, and religious factors that condition it." The Department of Social Affairs of the OAS was charged with co-ordinating these and other activities relating to population problems, and in 1967 sponsored a major conference on population problems of the hemisphere.

(PAHO jumps on the bandwagon....along with others)

In October, 1965, the Directing Council of the Pan-American Health Organization voted to request the Director "to provide technical advice as requested on the health aspects of population dynamics and...to cooperate with CIAP in population studies assigned to it."

....In the meantime, national governments and private agencies were even more active. While the first three conferences of the IPPF, Western Hemisphere Region, had barely been able to muster a bona fide Latin American delegate, the fourth conference, held in April, 1964, attracted high-level participation from virtually all Latin American nations. The delegates approved a resolution calling on the OAS, the Pan-American Health Organization and the World Health Organization to carry out demographic and epidemiological studies of induced illegal abortions and the "long range effect population increase could have on the social and economic development of the countries of the Western Hemesphere."

Shortly thereafter, in 1964, Peru established a Center for Studies on Population and Development and in 1965 sponsored a week-long conference on Peruvian population problems. Venezuela, which in 1964 reported to the United nations that it "considered

population increase as a positive factor in economic development", early in 1965 established a Department of Population in the Ministry of Public Health, early in 1966 held a large conference on population problems and public health, and in 1967 played host and co-sponser for the OAS population conference. Jamaica, whose prime milister had for years been identified as a stalwart foe of family planning, announced in 1965 a public island-wide contraceptive program with methods ranging from rhythm to intrauterine devices. Colombia, considered by Latin Americans as the ultimate in religious conservatism, established in 1964 a Division of Population Studies within the Association of Medical Schools. The Division has received substantial foundation grants, and has developed an ambitious program of research, training, and public education. In 1966, it received $300,000 in counterpart funds to carry out family planning education for the nation's physcians.

J.M. Stycos, Human Fertility in Latin America. pp.304-7.

Appendix II

From Rio Grande to Tierra Del Fuego

ABBREVIATIONS:

AFF: Affiliates
AID: Agency for International Development
CWS: Church World Service
FF: Ford Foundation
IPPF: International Planned Parenthood Federation
N.A.: Information not available
PAHO: Pan-American Health Organization
P: Pathfinder Fund
PC: Population Council
RF: Rockefeller Foundation

YEAR	AMOUNT	SOURCE	RECIPIENT	ACTIVITIES
ARGENTINA				
1966	N.A.	AID	Family Planning Association of Argentina (aff. of IPPF)--26 family planning clinics (12 in Buenos Aires.)	Birth control services.
1965-69	863,000	FF	University of El Salvador (Buenos Aires.)	Experimental studies of anovulatory drugs. Training in demography and reproductive biology.
1968	197,000	PC	Grants to Universities and laboratories.	Study of physiology of reproduction.
BOLIVIA				
1968	N.A.	AID	National Family Center (CENAFA) Established by presidential decree.	Center is the co-ordinating body for all efforts in the population/family planning field.
1968	N.A.	AID	Center for Population Studies	Study on "Socio-cultural factors conditioning fertility."
BRAZIL				
	N.A.	IPPF, FF	BENFAM; 41 clinics, 28 of them pilot clinics within universities.	Clinical research and experimental programs in conjunction with medical schools, training courses, seminars for government officials and church leaders.
N.A.	117,000	PC	Universities and laboratories.	Various types of research including a study of male attitudes towards fertility and family size by the School of Politics in Sao Paulo.

For listings of the extensive Ford Foundation grants in population control, consult separate table on the Ford Foundation.

CHILE				
1969	534,000	PC	Grants to universities, hospitals, and CELADE	Post-partum programs, study of illegal abortions.
1962-69	N.A.	IPPF	Association for the Protection of the family (aff.of IPPF)	Training courses for Chileans and foreignors. 200 clinics in Chile. Special course for doctors from Paraguay. Special course for Ecuadorean Army and Health Service officials.
1964	42,000	RF	Harvard Univ. and Univ. of Chile	Family planning study in Santiago, Chile.
1965-66	684,000	RF	Univ. of Chile	Population research, family planning programs, expansion of programs outside Santiago, post-partum programs.
1967	N.A.	RF	Assoc. for the Protuction of the Family; Univ. of Chile; others.	Studies of the effectiveness of the IUD, including a major demonstration program in rural areas of the Central Valley of Chile.
1964	170,000	FF	Univ. of Chile	Research and training in reproductive biology

For material on CELADE, the Latin American Demographic Center, which is based in Santiago and largely financed by AID and the United Nations, consult the main text.

COLOMBIA				
since 1966	N.A.	IPPF	PROFAMILA (Assoc. Pro-bienestar de la familia Colombiana--aff. of IPPF)	Family planning services at 20 clinics, mainly in urban areas, post-partum programs, radio announcements and educational work

YEAR	AMOUNT	SOURCE	RECIPIENT	ACTIVITIES
1964-69	292,000	RF	Univ. of the Andes; Univ. del Valle	Creation of Colombian Assoc. for the scientific Study of Population, research in reproductive physiology, population study programs.
1968-69	867,000	PC	Medical schools, hospitals, organizations	Post-partum program involving 18 hospitals. Support of population studies by the Colombian Assoc. of Medical Schools. Study of progestin contraception by Univ. del Valle. Demographic studies by the Pan-American Federation of Assoc. of Medical Schools.
All years	N.A.	PAHO	Clinics in rural areas, towns	Technical and financial assistance.
N.A.	N.A.	World Neighbors.	Financial support for new clinic in San Jose.	
COSTA RICA				
since 1966	N.A.	IPPF, RF CWS	Costa Rica Demographic Assoc. (CRDA-aff. of IPPF)	Informational and motivational activities at all levels. Technical and material support to 42 government clinics.
All years	N.A.	AID	Center for Social and Population Studies (CESPO), Univ. of Costa Rica (a sub-center of CELADE in Chile.	CESPO coordinate demographic research and provides training for all personnel working on all family planning programs.
since 1968	N.A.	CWS	Family Orientation Center, San Jose.	Provides premarital courses, produces radio and T.V. programs, and together with the Univ. of Costa Rica provides sex education training for school teachers.
N.A.	N.A.	CWS	Good Will Caravans mobile medical program.	Family planning education, distribution of contraceptives under a program that reaches at least 20,000 people yearly.
1968-70	136,000	FF	Univ. of Costa Rica	Demographic studies and family planning training.
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC				
1966	N.A.	IPPS	Assoc. for family planning (aff. of IPPF)	Training, education, clinical services. Cooperation with National Council on Family Planning and Population (government) in establishing training.
since 1968	N.A.	PC	National Council on Family Planning and Population, (gov. run)	Financial support for maternal and child health programs.
N.A.	N.A.	CWS; Peace Corps	Unspecified family planning programs.	Financial support and direct participation.
ECUADOR				
since 1969	N.A.	AID	Ministry of Health and the Univ. of Quito, Cuenca and Guayaquil.	Ministry of Health now manages 79 government health centers and will create 54 new centers in rural areas. Univ. are carrying out studies in demography and family planning.
since 1967	N.A.	IPPF	Ecuadorean Family Planning Assoc. (aff. of IPPF)	Operation of 5 clinics, training for physicians and Ministry of Health personnel.
N.A.	N.A.	CELAP	Ecuadorean Institute of Planning and Social Development (INEDES)	Studies of the effect of population growth on socio-economic development, assisted by CELAP.
N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	Association of Women Doctors	Family planning education for Ecuadorean Army men and their wives.
EL SALVADOR				
since 1968	N.A.	AID	Ministry of Public Health	National family planning program providing information and services to women at 50 health centers. Regional training center participation.
since 1962	N.A.	IPPF-AID	Salvadorean Demographic Assoc. (aff. of IPPF)	Assistance to 30 government clinics and 32 private clinics. Maintenance of a Regional Training Center which gives courses to medical personnel from other countries. Financed by AID's regional office for Central America and Panama.
1964-65	N.A.	PC	Salvadorean Demographic Assoc.	Study of attitudes of women in San Salvador (metropolitan area) toward family planning. Fellowships for personnel and financial support for regional training programs.
GUATEMALA				
since 1962	N.A.	IPPF	Asoc. Pro-Bienstar de la familia de Guatemala (aff. of IPPF)	Management of family planning services in 46 centers, training of personnel.

YEAR	AMOUNT-SOURCE	RECIPIENT	ACTIVITIES
N.A.	N.A. P	Guatemala Rural Reconstruction Movement	Pathfinder Fund supplies the GRRM's family planning component with salary aid and contraceptives.
N.A.	N.A. World Neighbors.		World Neighbors includes family planning work in its overall community development program in Chimaltenango.
N.A.	N.A. CWS		Church World Service maintains its own family planning program in Guatemala.
HAITI			
N.A.	N.A. P		The Pathfinder Fund expanded its support for its own program of family planning in 1969.
since 1965	N.A. CWS	Family Planning Committee	Distribution of supplies and literature to hospitals and clinics by the committee which is fully supported by the CWS. It also supports and IUD clinic in Port-au-Prince.
N.A.	N.A. Unitarian Universalist Service Committee	Program in cooperation with CWS at a Port-au Prince clinic	Urban program in Port-au-Prince, rural program in Font-Parisean.
N.A.	N.A. World Neighbors, Mennonite Central Comm.		Maintenance of their own programs in Port-au-Prince and Grande Riviere du Nord. Family planning assistance is included in all Mennonite health programs in Haiti.
Note: A family planning association in Haiti was formed in 1962, but ceased functioning after 1964. It was re-established in 1968. No government program existed before mid-1969. In 1968 President Duvalier requested technical assistance from Pan-American Health Organization (PAHO)			
HONDURAS			
since 1966	N.A. AID, PC	Ministry of Public Health	60 family planning clinics are maintained through maternal and child health program, as well as a rural health program. In May, 1968, the government sponsored a regional seminar on Population and Labor for Labor leaders.
since 1963	N.A. IPPF	Assoc. Hondurena de Planificacion de Familia (aff. of IPPF)	Four clinics are maintained in hospitals. Government is allowed tax free imports of materials.
N.A.	N.A. P, CWS	Government programs	Literature and contraceptives have been supplied in unspecified quantities.
JAMAICA			
since 1966	N.A. AID	National Family Planning program of government.	122 family planning centers have been created through Jamaica. Educational program initiated by Family Planning Assoc. AID contract for counciling center in St. Joseph's Hospital.
N.A.	N.A. IPPF	Family Planning Assoc. (aff. of IPPF)	2 pilot clinics. Educational work aimed at trade unions, religious groups and midwives. In 1968, the Assoc. initiated a program of home visits by its workers to encourage attendance at family planning clinics.
1965	N.A. RF	IPPF	Grant to IPPF to produce a documentary film on birth control for the Family Planning Association.
N.A.	N.A. Unitarian Universalist Service Comm.		Inclusion of family planning programs within regular programs.
1965-69	N.A. IPPF	Foundation for Population Studies (aff. to IPPF)	Operation of 27 family planning clinics. Course on sex education. Government facilities are available for the programs. Training programs for medical and social worker personnel. In 1968, the Foundation signed an agreement with 20 medical schools to assist in setting up demography courses and family planning clinics with the universities.
MEXICO			
N.A.	210,000 RF	Center for Economic and Demographic Studies at the Colegio de Mexico.	The center would institute a demographic research program.
1963-67	324,000 FF	Colegio de Mexico	Establishment of the Center for Economic and Demographic Studies.
1966-69	200,000 FF	Hospital de la Mujer (Mexico City)	Teaching and research in reproductive biology, family planning demonstration program.

YEAR	AMOUNT	SOURCE	RECIPIENT	ACTIVITIES
1966-68	255,000		Mexican Institute of Social Studies.	Study of Catholic attitudes toward family planning.
1967	95,000	P	American-British Cowdray Hospital; Hospital de la Mujer (Mexico City)	Post-partum program
1967	N.A.	PC		Financing of rural fertility surveys coordinated by CELADE (Chile)
NICARAGUA				
since 1968	N.A.	AID	Ministry of Health	After creation of an Office of Family Welfare to coordinate family planning services, the Ministry also established a family planning orientation center. 26 national health centers provide family planning services.
N.A.	N.A.	AID	National Social Security Institute (INSS)	Surveys on induced abortions carried out with assistance from CELADE sub-center in Costa Rica (CESPO). Institute offers family planning services in its own clinics.
N.A.	N.A.	P		The Pathfinder Fund assists programs in 8 family planning clinics and supports IUD research.
PANAMA				
N.A.	N.A.	AID	Ministry of Public Health	In 1967, the Ministry, cooperating with the Panamanian Family Planning Assoc. established contraceptive services in its hospitals and health centers.
since 1966	N.A.	IPPF;AID	Panamanian Family Planning Assoc. (aff. to IPPF)	5 family planning centers, 4 in rural areas are maintained by the Assoc. It also conducts an educational program on family planning.
N.A.	N.A.	PC	Dept. of Obstetrics, School of Medicine, Univ. of Panama.	Studies of induced abortions in cooperation with the Family Planning Association.
N.A.	N.A.	P		The Pathfinder Fund supports and tabulates research on IUD insertions.
PARAGUAY				
N.A.	N.A.	AID	Ministry of Health	Program not described
N.A.	N.A.	AID	National Medical School	Creation of a national training center for family planning programs.
N.A.	N.A.	IPPF	Paraguayan Center for Population Studies	Program not described
N.A.	N.A.	P		Pathfinder Fund donates contraceptives and other materials for clinics.
N.A.	N.A.	Mennonite Central Comm.		In the Chaco region, they are supporting programs in 9 Indian settlements covering 9,000 people. Family planning is part of the medical program that offers IUD's.
N.A.	N.A.	World Neighbors	Clinica de la Proteccion de la Familia, Asuncion	The clinic provides birth control methods and sponsors family planning courses.
PERU				
since 1967	N.A.	IPPF	Assoc. for family protection (aff. of IPPF)	The Assoc. maintains a staff office and 2 pilot clinics in Lima.
since 1964	282,000	FF	Center for Population Development	The Center was established in 1964 by presidential decree. It coordinates population programs and conducts research.
N.A.	167,000	PC	Institute of High Altitude Studies, Cayetano Heredia Univ., Lima	Studies of population at high altitudes.
1968	N.A.	PC		The Population Council financed the Seventh International Planning Conference on Demography in Lima (October, 1968)
1965-66	30,000	RF	Univ. of Medical and Biological Sciences	Program not described
N.A.	68,000	PAHO	School of Public Health	Three one year grants for research and training.
TRINIDAD & TOBAGO				
N.A.	N.A.	PAHO	Gov. programs initiated by Minister of Health in 1967	Assistance in providing supplies and advisory services.
since 1961	N.A.	IPPF	Family Planning Assoc. (aff. of IPPF)	Operates 8 clinics of its own and cooperates with the government programs. Also provides training programs.

YEAR	AMOUNT-SOURCE		RECIPIENT	ACTIVITIES
1965	7,000	PC	Family Planning Assoc. (aff. of IPPF)	Clinical trials of IUD's
URUGUAY				
since 1962	N.A.	IPPF	Assoc. for Family Planning (aff. of IPPF)	Operates 9 clinics. Uses government provided equipment and facilities in public hospitals. Early in 1968, they initiated a massive educational program and established centers in Montevideo slums. Family planning and sex education courses are offered to professionals and laymen. In 1969, they sponsored the first Latin American course on sex education and family planning, attended by 41 representatives from 20 nations.
1966-67	95,000	PC	Assoc. Pro-Maternidad, Clinica Ginecologica: Dept. of Obstetrics; Univ. of Uruguay	IUD studies and bio-medical research
N.A.	127,000 Nat. Inst. of Health		University of the Republic	Bio-medical research in reproductive biology
VENEZUELA				
since 1965	N.A.	N.A.	Ministry of Health	Establishment of a Population Division. In 1968 it was announced that family planning services would be integrated into the national health system.
since 1966	N.A.	IPPF	Family Planning Assoc. (aff. to IPPF)	Finances family planning clinics in government hospitals. Operates 41 clinics.
since 1963	N.A.	PC	Conception Palacios Maternity Hospital	Family planning training courses, postpartum studies.
1965-67	80,000	PC	Ministry of Public Health	Pilot programs in government hospitals; supplies of IUD's
since 1965	N.A.	AID	Venezuelan Center of Population and Family Services (CEVEPOF)	Research and stimulation of action programs, training in population studies and demography.
N.A.	N.A.	P		The Pathfinder Fund supplies contraceptives. It also funds a "simplifed medicine" project in a rural area near Caracas.

IS THERE A FORD IN SOMEONE'S FUTURE?

Not having mentioned the Ford Foundation previously does not imply a desire to ignore its many "Contributions" to the field of population control. Ford has contributed more funds to population work than any other private or government agency. Since 1952, it has contributed about $115 million. Here is a list of just a few randomly selected Ford grants:

YEAR	AMOUNT ($)	RECIPIENT	PURPOSE
1953	1,450,000	Worchester Foundation for Experimental Biology (Mass.)	Funds are for staff salaries mostly for investigators from less developed areas.
1953	14,500,000	International Institute, Colombia-Presbyterian Medical Center (New York)	Expansion of the Population Council's bio-medical laboratories. In order to attract them to careers in fertility research, up to 10 medical students will be invited to take part in lab programs.
1954	600,000	Population Council	Ford Foundation funds are used for training and research in economic, social, and psychological aspects of population growth, as it applies to underdeveloped countries.
1954	254,000	University of El Salvador, Argentina	Ten institutions in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay will establish a post-graduate course to give young doctors experience and training in studies of population and human reproduction.
1954	100,000	Pan-American Federation of Associations of Medical Schools (Headquarters in Bogota.	The grant will help improve cooperation between university medical departments and government officials on population issues.
1962	550,000	University of Montevideo, Uruguay.	Establishment of a Latin American center for training and research. The center will concentrate on studies of mothers and children from fetal to post-natal stages. A major research program will define hazards of frequent pregnancies.
1962	170,000	Women's Hospital, Mexico City, Mexico.	International training in culdoscopy, a simple and inexpensive program of female sterilization.
1963	500,000	Harvard Univ. and John Hopkins University.	Establishment of major centers for family planning administration, training, and research related to fertility control, particularly in underdeveloped countries.
1963	105,000	University of Michigan	Studies on population dynamics of developing countries.
1964	250,000	University of Chicago	Summer workshops for foreign family planning officials at the university's Community and Family Study Center.
1965	182,000	Univ. of Bahia, Univ. of Rio de Janeiro.	Training and studies in reproductive biology.
1965	212,000	Society of Family Welfare (Brazil).	Experimentation and research in family planning.
1965	165,000	IPPF	General purposes
1965	25,000	Center of Studies on Population and Development (Peru)	Research and training in demography
1968	1,000,000	Univ. of Puerto Rico	Research. The analysis is expected to provide information on the health and hormonal status of the pill-users and the effects of oral contraceptives on blood pressure.
1968	212,000	Population Reference Bureau (U.S.)	Study of "long term effects of contraceptive pills covering 14,000 women in Puerto Rico."
1968	61,000	West Indies Univ. (Barbados, B.W.I.)	Fertility study.

Ford