

# The International Population-Control Machine and the Pathfinder Fund

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## THE MACRO V. THE MICRO PERSPECTIVE

**A**N INVESTIGATION of the population-control policies of the U.S. Agency for International Development (US-AID)—an arm of the State Department—lends itself to either a macrocosmic or a microcosmic perspective. Each approach has its advantages.

Several years ago I had the rare opportunity to combine these different perspectives in congressional testimony prepared for the House Committee on International Relations, which was holding public hearings on Title X of the Foreign Assistance Act (Section 291, Programs Related to Population Growth).'

The testimony, presented in Washington, D.C., on 18 April 1977 to the committee chaired by Congressman Clement Zablocki, zeroed in on a wide range of US-AID population-control abuses, including (1) dangerous fertility-control experimentation in developing nations; (2) the seduction of youth through massive birth-control programs; (3) the myth of "voluntarism" in government-funded, -administered, and -promoted birth-limitation campaigns; (4) violations of the Helms anti-abortion amendment to Title X by US-AID officials and grant recipients; (5) the establishment of "dummy" corporations by anti-life federal bureaucrats to "launder" tax funds through third-party agencies for the purpose of promoting abortion; (6) the use of US-AID funds in Third World nations to train and equip physicians and paramedics in the new death technology; and (7) the use of US-AID monies to "liberalize" current legal restrictions on abortion, sterilization, fertility-

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control experimentation, and distribution of contraceptives and abortifacients to minor children without parental consent, in countries receiving Title X foreign assistance.

To illustrate how these abuses are actually carried out, the second section of my testimony (titled "India: The Great Population-Control Experiment") detailed the history of India's population-control program, which ended in mass involuntary sterilization.

#### HISTORY OF US-AID POPULATION PROGRAMS

Before I begin what in essence updates my earlier testimony opposing Title X funding, it may be helpful to the reader if I review the lobbying and legislative history of the bill that established US-AID's Office of Population Affairs in 1968 and mandated population-control programs and services as a component of American foreign policy. To be authentic, however, such background material on federal legislation in the area of population control must reveal the essential characteristics of the fountainhead of the movement; that is, it must capture the organizational and political brilliance of its strategists, the virtually inexhaustible sources of governmental and private funding, and the heavy mantle of elitism and neo-Manicheanism that has fallen over the thinking of its leaders.

##### The Early Years: 1958-64

With regard to national policy, the appointment by President Eisenhower in 1958 of General William H. Draper, Jr., former undersecretary of the army, to the chairmanship of a foreign-aid and mutual-assistance-pact commission gave the population controllers the opening wedge they had long desired.

##### The Draper Commission

As a protegé of Hugh Moore, the Dixie Cup tycoon—a financial backer of numerous anti-life fronts, including the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), the Association for Voluntary Sterilization, and the Population Crisis Committee—General Draper was quick to appoint Robert C. Cook of the Population Reference Bureau (PRB) official consultant on population matters to the presidential commission. To no one's surprise, when the Draper Report was issued one year later, Section 3 recommended population limitation to ensure economic growth and political stability, especially in the developing nations.

In 1965, Draper became national chairman of the Population Crisis Committee and a key lobbyist for Moore's National Campaign to Check the Population Explosion. Until his death in 1974, Draper served as chief spokesman on Capitol Hill for the movement and as an architect of federal population policies at home and abroad.

## Population Control as U.S. Policy

Although Eisenhower rejected the population-control recommendation of the Draper Commission, his successors—John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Richard M. Nixon—proved willing to put the power and funds of the federal government at the disposal of the movement.

As a Catholic, President Kennedy was more sensitive to the separation-of-church-and-state ploy and, therefore, more vulnerable than Eisenhower had been to population-control pressures. Yielding to a powerful, well-organized media blitz financed by Moore's Population Emergency Campaign" as well as to additional pressures from various United Nations agencies, Kennedy became the first president of the United States to endorse a policy of population limitation, domestic and foreign.

In 1962, Richard Gardner, assistant secretary of state, addressed the United Nations on the matter of population. After explaining that the United States regarded population control as a new and important part of its foreign policy, Gardner announced that the United States was now willing to provide information and assistance to other governments, including "more facts about alternative methods of family planning that are consistent with different economic, social, cultural, and religious circumstances." Toward this end he pledged \$500,000 from the U.S. Treasury to the World Health Organization for fertility-control research. The Kennedy administration also opened the Contraceptive Research Branch of the National Institutes of Health. All US-AID missions abroad were notified that America was now in the population-control business.'

In what came to be a familiar pattern, after Gardner left government service in 1966, he joined the hoard of Planned Parenthood-World Population (PP-WP) and the board of directors of the Population Crisis Committee.

The Kennedy commitment to population control was kept alive in Congress by the late president's brother Edward, who had pledged to support legislative action in this field.<sup>6</sup>

It remained, however, for the Johnson administration to move the population matter into broad daylight. "The Great Society" was to be a contraceptive society, and "The War on Poverty" a xvar on the poor. On the domestic scene, Planned Parenthood was awarded the first of many Office of Economic Opportunity contracts to establish a mobile birth-control unit in southern Texas. Over at the State Department, the abortion advocate Dr. Leone Baumgartner, the new assistant administrator of US-AID, announced that "all health facilities supported by public funds shall provide freedom of choice of methods of regulating pregnancy [so] that persons of all faiths are given equal opportunity to exercise their choice without offense to their conscience."

LBJ put the matter a little more bluntly (and truthfully) when, addressing the United Nations at its twentieth-anniversary observance in San Francisco, he called upon all member nations to "face forthrightly the multiplying problems of our multiplying population," ending with the admonition: "Let us act on the fact that less than \$5 invested in population control is worth \$100 invested in economic growth."<sup>8</sup>

In keeping with his State of the Union pledge "to seek new ways to use our knowledge to help deal with the explosion in world population and the growing scarcity in world resources,"<sup>9</sup> Johnson appointed the pop-con (population-control) team of John D. Rockefeller III and Wilbur Cohen to head the Presidential Commission on Population and Family Planning—the forerunner of Rockefeller's National Commission on Population Growth and the American Future.

In September 1964 the Pan American Union for Ambassadors of the Organization of American States (OAS) was informed by the Johnson administration that Latin America would become US-AID's first international population-control laboratory. The presentation to the OAS members was developed by PP-WP." Within the year, population officers were named to each of the nineteen Alliance for Progress missions in Latin America.

During this critical staging period 1964-65, many population conferences were held around the world—all with virtually identical agendas "couched in such a way as to assume a certain viewpoint, to avoid consideration of other viewpoints, and to direct the answers toward certain conclusions."<sup>12</sup> As the well-known constitutional authority William Ball points out in his classic analysis of these pioneering years of the population-control establishment (*Population Control: Civil and Constitutional Concerns*), "Such conferences are costly and take extensive organizational work. . . they have a major impact on public opinion . . . and many are underwritten by pharmaceutical companies prominently engaged in the manufacture of contraceptives . . . with financial interests in the outcome of the population-control question."

#### The Population Lobby

This preliminary footwork at the White House was matched by intensive, well-funded congressional lobbying in both the House and the Senate under the leadership of Senators Ernest Gruening, J. William Fulbright, and Joseph Clark, and Congressman Joseph D. Tydings. Other influential Capitol Hill sponsors of the Population Crisis Committee-Draper World Population Fund included Senators Alan Cranston, Hubert H. Humphrey, Daniel K. Inouye, George McGovern, Robert Packwood, Charles A. Percy, Ernest Hollings, Spark M. Matsunaga, and John Sparkman, and Congressman Paul G. Rogers."

sisters around the world. The anti-life programs I have described in this study of the Pathfinder Fund are the logical outcome of this measure. Even if the Helms anti-abortion amendment could be enforced, other anti-life programs would grind on. Furthermore, remember that US-AID money frees private donations for the promotion and performance of abortions."

Therefore, it is my opinion that Title X is one of those congressional laws that admit of no modification and must be opposed.

And by the way, the next time you are grocery shopping and are tempted to reach for a bar of Procter & Gamble's Ivory or a box of Procter & Gamble's Tide, perhaps you should choose another brand in memory of all those aborted babies who will never have to worry about washing at all.<sup>142</sup>

#### Notes

- 1 "Taxpayers Guide to Federal Anti-Life Programs/US-AID Funded Population Control Programs," parts I & II, ProLife Reporter, vol. 5, nos. 13-14 (1977).
- 2 Lawrence Lader, *Breeding Ourselves to Death* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1971), pp. 41-45.
- 3 *Ibid.*, pp. 11-14. The Population Emergency Campaign, later renamed the World Population Emergency Campaign, claimed among its supporters such influential and wealthy personalities as Eugene Black of the World Bank, the former secretary of state Will Clayton, Marriner S. Eccles of the Federal Reserve Bank, the industrialist Lamont du Pont Copeland, Fowler McCormick of International Harvester, the heiress Dorothy Brush, and Cass Canfield of Harper & Row.
- 4 Beryl Suttters, *Be Brave and Angry* (London: International Planned Parenthood Federation, 1973), pp. 304-305.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 305.
- 6 Lader, p. 27.
- 7 Suttters, p. 308.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 309.
- 9 Lader, p. 27.
- 10 Randy Engel, *Population Growth and the American Future: A Pro life Point of View* (Pittsburgh: Pennsylvanians for Human Life, 1974).
- 11 Suttters, p. 308.
- 12 William Ball, *Population Control: Civil and Constitutional Concerns* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1968), p. 45.
- 13 *Ibid.*
- 14 "Taxpayers Guide," part I, ProLife Reporter, vol. 5, no. 13 (1977), p. 13.
- 15 See Ball, pp. 14-17, 25-30.
- 16 Ball, p. 16.
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 Interestingly, Dr. Beasley's birth-control program in Louisiana, which eventually pyramided into a \$62 million federal-grant empire, drew support from both Planned Parenthood's Dr. Alan Guttmacher and the U.S. Catholic Conference. In a sequence of events that would later be duplicated at the federal level, Louisiana's Roman Catholic hierarchy agreed to let Beasley open his statewide chain of birth-control clinics provided they did not offer abortion services. In 1975, when the roof fell in on Beasley's Family Health

and the Population Crisis Committee, was drafting the First Five-Year Plan for Family Planning Services and Population Research—a tidy billion-dollar-plus package deal for the movement.

Perhaps an even better gauge of the growing power of the population lobby was a letter to Hugh Moore, dated 23 October 1969 and signed by President Nixon, who applauded the Hugh Moore Fund for its great concerns in population control and its brilliant media campaign of full-page ads in the *New York Times*." A similar congratulatory note was issued by Daniel P. Moynihan, a Catholic who at the time was serving as special assistant to the president.<sup>23</sup> To understand the impact of both these communications, especially Moynihan's, one must realize that some of the fund's ads brandished such titles as "Pope Denounces Birth Control As Millions Starve" and "Catholic Bishops Assail Birth Control As Millions Starve."<sup>24</sup>

#### A Decade of Entrenchment

Clearly, by the start of the 1970s, all essential elements necessary for the establishment of a national and international population-control policy in America had come together in a union of cold, hard cash and raw political power. The heretofore-militant opposition of the Catholic Church had been effectively neutralized, both from within and from without. William Ball explains the results:

The position on government birth-control activity expressed by the American Catholic bishops brings ultimately into focus questions such as these, as well as fundamental questions respecting the nature of the human being, of human liberty, of the role of the state, of the poor, and of the providence of God. It is an historic misfortune that, prior to setting the nation's course in the direction of population control, discussion was not had of such course in terms of these questions. Even as unfortunate was the failure of the largest church of the world's most powerful nation to do more, in terms of discussion of these questions, than to issue a statement.<sup>25</sup>

The advent of the Pill, the IUD, injectables, and similar abortifacient or potentially abortifacient drugs and devices, as well as new surgical and chemical means of abortion and sterilization, provided the technical means by which massive governmental birth-limitation programs could be rendered "effective."

As noted earlier, all strategic federal administrative posts in the field of population control and "family planning," as well as the chairmanships of key congressional committees, were held by Planned Parenthood or Population Crisis Committee personnel.

A general decline in pronatalism as an important religious or social value was mirrored in the nation's rapidly falling birth rate. The social justification for population control—domestic and foreign—had been discovered in the so-called population explosion and in the desire to reduce welfare rolls

by reducing the number of children born into recipient families.

At the judicial level, the *Griswold v. Connecticut* decision in 1966 and *Eisenstadt v. Baird* in 1972 removed all legal sanctions prohibiting the distribution of birth-control drugs and devices to the unmarried and to minor children.

The federal government, in conjunction with Planned Parenthood, had now developed "family planning" units throughout the United States.

Lastly, the movement used new mass-media propaganda techniques designed to extract the individual's consent artificially through depth psychology, since he would not give it freely. However, as Tchakhotin (*The Rape of the Masses*, 1940) and Ellul (*Propagandes*, 1967) point out, the individual's decision must appear to be spontaneous.

Today, within both the Department of State's AID and the Department of HEW (recently renamed the Department of Health and Human Resources), a ruthless and increasingly powerful international population-control machine is fueled by billions of tax dollars. Recipients of the largest population grants under Title X—Foreign Assistance Act have been the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), IPPF, the Pathfinder Fund, the Population Council, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Family Planning International Assistance, PP-WP, Church World Services, and Johns Hopkins University.

#### Coercion and Exploitation

It is, I think, essential to make some critical distinctions between, on the one hand, population control (or birth control) as "public policy" (i.e., in which birth-limitation programs, services, and policies are carried out with tax dollars in an aura of prestige and governmental approval) and, on the other hand, the operation of such programs and services *without* official sanction or tax revenues. There are no exceptions to this rule: When governments undertake a nationwide population-control campaign, they radically alter both the technological and the philosophical basis of the enterprise.

#### The Myth of Voluntarism

Despite initial federal guarantees of "voluntarism" and paper promises of non-coercion, government birth-limitation programs, usually directed at the poor, are inherently coercive.

Because of his dependence upon the good will of public officials for his daily bread and monthly allowance, neither the welfare client in the United States nor the poor peasant in Latin America, Asia, or Africa can freely choose whether or not he will participate in government birth-control programs. That the government may permit a client to choose from among various methods of birth control one that is "consistent with his or her moral, philosophical, or religious beliefs"<sup>26</sup> should not blind us to the fact that he is denied

a most important option—whether he wants to participate at all.

In the present context the term "coercion" should be understood within the broad spectrum of its meaning in the law. According to the attorney Ball, there exists a close relationship among coercion, duress, and undue influence as legally defined. Addressing himself to "voluntarism" as applied to government-promoted birth-control programs, he states:

In the law of contracts a finding of coercion, or duress, does not depend upon objective tests of what act or threat produces a state of fear, leading, compulsively, to given acts. As has been noted in connection with duress: "Age, sex, capacity, relation of the parties, attendant circumstances, must all be considered. Persons of a weak or cowardly nature are the very ones that need protection." Closely related is undue influence. The Restatement of Contracts comments: "Where one party is under the domination of another, or by virtue of the relation between them is justified in assuming that the other party will not act in a manner inconsistent with his welfare, a transaction induced by unfair persuasion of the latter is induced by undue influence and is voidable. . . ."<sup>27</sup>

Influence, therefore, is considered "undue," giving rise to rescission of contracts, where a relationship of confidence may be deemed to exist between the parties, and one of the parties is in a position of weakness in relation to the other, and where there is in fact unfair persuasion.<sup>28</sup>

Citing two Supreme Court cases dealing with the issue of compulsion and government influence (*Engle v. Vitale* and the *Schempp* school-prayer decision), Ball concludes that it certainly will not be denied

that the poor do not come to public-assistance programs other than through compulsion—the compulsion of poverty; that they then occupy a position of relative weakness in relation to the state and are fully as dependent and as naturally susceptible to influence in that relationship as are other children in schools; and that where an agency identifiable by the indigent client as the state promotes birth control with the client, there is as much compulsion, in the legal sense, as was found to exist in the prayer and Bible-reading cases.<sup>29</sup>

There is no doubt that Ball's observations apply at least equally to population-control pressures on the poor in developing nations, especially where the acceptance of US-AID population funds is understood by the recipient government as a condition for receiving other types of U.S. help.

Since "the tendency toward psychological collectivization is the sine qua non of technical action,"<sup>30</sup> pop-con propaganda is directed at the formulation of what is called "public opinion." In nations like the United States and Japan, where government birth-control programs have operated for a long time, public opinion becomes a tyrant exerting, for all practical purposes, its own form of coercion. That is the main reason such programs, which usually begin with the promotion of contraceptives and abortifacient drugs and devices, always set off an explosion of surgical abortions and mass sterilization. Once the population—brainwashed by "family planning" propa-

ganda—comes to understand that the government no longer welcomes large or medium-size families, the means becomes secondary to the end. A national mentality is developed in which women can rarely be dissuaded from resorting to abortion when contraceptives fail.

#### Fertility-Control Experimentation

Population-control programs, of course, also involve the target population—usually poor and illiterate—in massive medical experimentation in obvious violation of the universal right to informed consent. And while the improvement of maternal and child health is often a stated rationale for "family planning" programs, in reality the Pill, IUDs, injectables like Depo-Provera, and other modern means of fertility control are notoriously *unhealthful* for both mother and child. The developing nations make especially good laboratories for drug firms such as Upjohn, since poor people lack the means to regain their rights and redress their grievances in a court of law after incurring harm in mass birth-control programs.

The continuing controversy over Upjohn's Depo-Provera offers interesting insights into the issue of U.S.-funded fertility-control experimentation in developing nations. Despite the lack of an impartial scientific assessment of Depo-Provera (medroxyprogesterone acetate) as a long-term injectable contraceptive," as well as the lack of Food and Drug Administration (FDA) approval of its use for this purpose, the drug has been injected into an estimated five million women over the last fifteen years.<sup>31</sup>

Some recent clinical evidence links Depo-Provera with endometrial cancer; diabetes; degenerative conditions of the pancreas, liver, adrenals, uterus, and ovaries; and skeletal defects in nursing babies whose mothers are on the drug. As far back as 1978, the case against Depo-Provera was so strong that the FDA refused to approve its use in the United States. However, in a perfect demonstration of the population-control mindset, the FDA added: "We recognize that the benefit-risk considerations may be different in other nations, where alternative methods of contraception may be less available or less acceptable and where the physician ratio is lower."<sup>32</sup>

Simple logic and basic medical ethics, of course, argue that in the above circumstances Depo-Provera injections are even *more* unsuitable than in the United States, which has a favorable physician-patient ratio and extensive medical facilities to handle complications from fertility-control experiments. Nevertheless, the population-control establishment, in cooperation with US-AID and the Upjohn Company, has discovered how to circumvent export restrictions on experimental, non-FDA-approved drugs such as Depo-Provera: US-AID funds have been laundered through IPPF, which in turn buys the drug from Upjohn's subsidiary in Europe.<sup>33</sup>

All these points about *basic* human rights are important to any discussion

of so-called voluntary family-planning programs purported to improve the client's overall health, economic and social mobility, familial stability, and happiness.

#### SOAPING US-AID: THE PATHFINDER FUND

A thorough investigation of the organizational structure, policies, and programs of any one of the key US-AID anti-life laundries, such as UNFPA or IPPF or the Population Council, reveals certain characteristics and patterns common to all. For this reason, supplying the following background and details on the inner workings of the Pathfinder Fund—a multi-million-dollar US-AID-funded complex—will bring the whole international workings of the population-control machine into clearer focus.

Clarence Gamble: The Pathfinder (1894-1966)

Dr. W. D. Buck's masterful essay "A Raid on the Uterus," which was printed in the *New York Journal of Medicine* in August 1867, offers a fitting introduction to the life and times of Clarence Gamble, founder of the Pathfinder Fund:

It is a harmless, unoffensive little organ, stowed away in a quiet place. Simply a muscular organ, having no function to perform save at certain periods of life, but furnishing a capital field for surgical operations, and is now-a-days subject to all sorts of barbarity from surgeons anxious for notoriety. Had Dame Nature foreseen this, she would have made it iron clad. What with burning and cauterizing, cutting and slashing, and gouging, and splitting, and skewering, and pessarying, the old-fashioned womb will cease to exist except in history. . . . They [pessaries] look like the drawings of turbine water wheels, or a leaf from a work on entomology. . . . I do think this filling the vagina with such traps, making a Chinese toy shop of it, is outrageous. . . . Our grandmothers never knew they had wombs only as they were reminded of it by the struggle of a healthy fetus; which by the way, they always held on to. Now-a-days, even our young women must have their wombs shored up, and if a baby accidentally gets in by the side of the Machinery, and finds a lodgement in the uterus, it may, perchance, have a knitting needle stuck in its eyes before it has any.<sup>34</sup>

Gamble, together with the feminist Margaret Sanger and the sexologist Robert L. Dickinson, played a key role in the early birth-control movement in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century. With his vast birth-prevention artillery—pessaries, spermicides, salt-and-rice jellies, diaphragms, condoms, and foam tablets—Gamble ranked second to none in his championing of "The Great Cause": protecting both the "underprivileged," especially non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants, and the feebleminded from the chance of conception and his own native American stock from genetic and racial suicide.

#### The Early Years

The most unusual fact about Clarence Gamble was that he was born rich and at

no time in life had to work for a living. He hated this distinction, but he bore it bravely, his private cross. . . .<sup>35</sup>

Recipient of his first million on his twenty-first birthday, and later many more as an heir to a fraction of the Procter & Gamble billions, Clarence Gamble invested himself and a substantial portion of his wealth in birth control.<sup>36</sup>

The above statements appear in *Every Child A Wanted Child* by journalists Doone and Greer Williams, who were commissioned by Sarah B. Gamble to write a biographical study of her husband's work in population control. By the time the book was published—in 1978, some twelve years after Gamble's death—the concept "Every child a wanted child" appeared passé. Gamble's son Richard, who wrote the foreword to the Williams book, explains the dilemma population-control advocates face when they permit *all* wanted children to come into existence. According to Richard, current president of the Pathfinder Fund, "the tradition has been to *want* many children." This deep-rooted desire, he states, is contrary to the two-child family necessary to meet population-control requirements and to ensure "quality of life" both in the United States and in other countries.<sup>37</sup> Decoded, the message is clear: one of the primary functions of population-control propaganda is to train women to "unwant" children.

Richard traces his father's interest in population control back to 1924, when Clarence met the pioneer pro-contraceptionist Dr. Robert Dickinson, who urged the young millionaire to "take up the work." The proper psychological base for the development of Clarence's missionary zeal in population control, however, had been laid years earlier through his association with Stuart Mudd, his pre-med colleague at Princeton.

Mudd, in turn, was a protégé of Professor Edwin G. Conklin, an outspoken eugenicist and disciple of Francis Galton (1822-1916), a half-cousin of Darwin. Mudd was heavily influenced by Conklin's theories of both negative eugenics (including measures to segregate and sterilize the feeble-minded and the habitual criminal) and positive eugenics (such as Mendelian education and the breeding of good human stock).<sup>39</sup>

Clarence Gamble also came to share some of Conklin's convictions about eugenics and throughout his career fought to suppress hereditary forms of illness and retardation by promoting state laws mandating the sterilization of patients institutionalized in mental wards. He was also one of the earliest exponents of vasectomy for "unfit" males.<sup>40</sup>

After graduation, Mudd and his wife Emily joined the Rockefeller Institute and later established the Pennsylvania Birth Control Federation, a state affiliate of Sanger's American Birth Control League, founded in 1921. By the early 1930s the Mudds had set up a statewide network of birth-control clinics, thanks to the contribution of a small group of philanthropists, including Gamble. In 1933, Gamble was elected president of the Pennsylvania federation.<sup>41</sup>

Gamble's primary financial investments, however, were in contraceptive research, especially those projects carried out under the auspices of Dickinson's Committee on Maternal Health (later renamed the National Committee on Maternal Health)<sup>42</sup> and Sanger's rival research organization, the Birth Control Contraceptive Research Bureau."

Gamble's interest in eugenics and population control was shared by the Rockefeller family, who contributed large sums of money to both research organizations."

The reader should keep in mind that the origins of the American birth-control movement were primarily *social*, not *medical*. Its main themes were:

- Birth control as a civil right, free from religious dogma
- The restriction of "overbreeding" by the working class, particularly foreigners
- The weeding-out of physical and mental misfits
- The divorce of copulation from reproduction through contraceptives and, when necessary, abortions (or "overdues," as Margaret Sanger called them), and thus the redefining of sex roles and a radical change in sexual mores

#### Gamble's North Carolina Project

In 1937, Gamble, who had been working with Dickinson and the Ortho Company to develop various types of spermicides, jellies, and powders (using ejaculates from youthful donors), decided to launch his first state-wide birth-control program in North Carolina. As his biographers have noted, "North Carolina, with a population of three and a half million, one million Negro, one out of five on the dole and more living in poverty, was ready for birth control."<sup>45</sup>

His program was heavily favored by social workers and sociologists at the University of North Carolina. However, sympathetic legislators, fearing repercussions from the Catholic population, refused to propose a budget request that included birth control, and Gamble was forced to route his gift of \$4,500 through the State Board of Health, which logged it as a "Maternal Health League Fund."<sup>46</sup> Later, he supplied additional funds in an attempt to promote the use of the contraceptive clinics by welfare clients and to finance the first mass clinical testing of barrier methods, including his own personal concoction, a type of foam powder.

The Gamble project in North Carolina was terminated in 1940. It had failed to become self-supporting, and the results of its contraceptive experiments were poor.<sup>47</sup> No funds were available as yet from the federal government. Gradually, however, birth-control funds found their way back into the state's maternal-health and child-health programs and eventually into the regular Health Department's budget system.<sup>46</sup>

## Puerto Rico: The Ideal Birth-Control Laboratory

Meanwhile, Gamble had found in Puerto Rico what he had lacked in North Carolina, an ideal environment for the painstaking conduct of field studies. . . . Gamble financed a wide variety of clinical trials in Puerto Rico for the next quarter century.<sup>50</sup>

Detailed versions of early birth-control efforts on the island are found in *Every Child A Wanted Child*<sup>51</sup> and in the autobiography of Ernest Gruening, *Many Battles*.<sup>52</sup>

In 1925, and again in 1932, attempts to establish a birth-control beachhead in Puerto Rico had failed, largely because of the active opposition of the Catholic Church. Gamble's biographers charged the Catholic bishops with imposing and reinforcing "the morality of unlimited multiplication."<sup>52</sup> In 1935, however, the creation of the Puerto Rico Emergency Relief Administration (PRERA) presented both the opportunity and the vehicle for administering an island-wide birth-control program.

Gladys Gaylord of the Cleveland Maternal Health Association, a birth-control colleague of Gamble, persuaded the new administrator of PRERA to establish a chain of Puerto Rican "maternal health" clinics that would offer "free" (that is, tax-funded) contraceptives, motivation, and information to clients.<sup>53</sup> Between December 1935 and June 1936, forty-five clinics were set up in different municipalities."

On 15 June 1936, the old administrative apparatus was replaced by the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration (PRRA) under the direction of none other than Ernest Gruening. By the end of July, Gruening had ordered a quarter of a million dollars from the PRRA budget to purchase contraceptive devices and other supplies for the clinics.

According to Gruening, the Right Reverend Edwin Byrne, bishop of San Juan, gave his tacit approval for the reactivation of the island's clinic system and agreed to "look the other way," provided Gruening promised there would be no publicity about the move. With Catholic opposition pacified, Gruening immediately instructed his staff to open maternal-health clinics in every one of the seventy-seven municipalities of Puerto Rico and as many as possible in San Juan.<sup>55</sup>

By August, however, news of Gruening's activities had reached the mainland, and critical articles soon appeared in such Catholic publications as *The Catholic Review*, *The Tablet*, and *the Jesuits' America*.<sup>56</sup> The possibility that a Catholic pre-election backlash would cost Franklin D. Roosevelt votes prompted the Democratic National Committee to order Gruening to stop using PRRA funds for birth control. However, as soon as the elections were over and the Catholic vote secured, partial funding of the clinics was restored. The remaining funds necessary to operate the system came from Gamble and from the Puerto Rican philanthropist Antonio Roig.<sup>57</sup>

In January of the following year the issue flared up again when the Puerto Rican legislature passed a bill legalizing both contraception and sterilization. To avoid a religious clash, Gruening persuaded Governor Winship, a Protestant, to appoint Rafael Menendez Ramos, a Catholic birth-control advocate, to the post of acting governor and to let Ramos sign the population-control bill into law.<sup>58</sup> Winship was thus spared the charges of anti-Catholicism that might have arisen if he had signed the bill himself.

With the legalization of birth control on the island, Puerto Rico soon became a laboratory for testing new fertility-control techniques. Its large, homogeneous, and geographically stable population of poor and illiterate women provided Gamble and a number of American drug firms with the "perfect" environment for mass clinical testing.<sup>59</sup> While the initial testing centered again on barrier methods of contraception, later Gamble shifted his interests to newer and more sophisticated methods, including the Pill and the IUD.

In the 1950s he financed, in part, the work of Dr. Gregory Pincus (of the Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology) and Dr. John Rock, "The Father of the Pill." In April 1956 the first tests of the Pill were conducted in Puerto Rico in cooperation with the G. D. Searle Company, which provided the experimenters with its Enovid. Gamble's donation covered the costs of the field and clinical tests.<sup>60</sup>

His belief in a simple, harmless, cheap, and reliable method of birth control, applicable to largely illiterate populations, led him also to fund large-scale IUD projects in Puerto Rico, Korea, and Chile.<sup>61</sup> However, he ran into trouble with his competitor, the Population Council, over patent rights to the Lippes Loop and the Margulis Coil. The council, charging that he had violated certain licensing agreements, cut off Gamble's regular supply of loops and coils in the years 1962-65.<sup>62</sup> He responded by having his own IUDs manufactured in Hong Kong (for a mere three and a half cents each). Eventually the battle between the two groups evolved into a more cooperative arrangement."

#### Gamble's Activities in Asia

Through long-established family connections with Christian missionaries in Asia, Gamble was able to develop a large market for his foam tablets and homemade salt-rice jelly in Ceylon, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Malaysia, Burma, and Singapore. His major obstacle proved to be Mahatma Gandhi of India, whom Gamble accused of being a tremendous drag on the birth-control movement."

In 1949, one year after IPPF had opened for business in the offices of the Eugenics Society of London, an Indian branch was founded by Lady Dhanvanthi Rama Rau, a member of India's highest caste and Margaret Sanger's close friend.<sup>65</sup>

While Gamble had originally contributed to IPPF, his independent character and hatred of red tape led to a break in their relationship. When Lady Rama Rau charged him with using Indian women as laboratory guinea pigs, Gamble replied that he had tested various contraceptives on his own wife, his secretaries, and his field workers.<sup>66</sup> Operating without IPPF sanction, Gamble's family decided to finance Harvard University's first demographic-study program and to fund the very large Khana Study in Punjab State. (In later years, the site of the study became a battleground over Indira Gandhi's forced-sterilization programs.)

After World War II, Gamble moved his vast financial reserves into Japan, funneling them largely through the National Committee on Maternal Health, headed by the Japanese birth-control pioneer Dr. Yoshio Koya. The initial aim of the Japanese government's birth-control program was to substitute contraception for abortion, which had become a national habit after its legalization in 1949. Instead, the massive birth-limitation drive led to even more abortions,<sup>67</sup> and by 1969 Japan's birth rate had dropped so low that Prime Minister Eisaku Sato warned of the dire consequences of a rapidly aging population and the need to bring the medium- and large-size family back into vogue.<sup>68</sup>

#### **Creation of the Pathfinder Fund**

By the mid-1950s, increasing conflicts with groups such as IPPF and the Population Council led Gamble to establish a grant and operational vehicle of his own. The Pathfinder Fund was created in 1957 as a non-private, tax-exempt family foundation and chartered in the District of Columbia.<sup>69</sup>

Financial concerns were not prominent in Pathfinder's formative years; all the members of the Gamble family agreed to contribute. On 27 February 1957 the board met for the first time in Milton, Massachusetts. A modest budget of \$60,000 a year was agreed upon. It grew to \$250,000 by 1965.<sup>70</sup>

#### **Pathfinder as a Family Operation (1957-66)**

The primary purpose of Pathfinder was simply to permit Clarence Gamble to continue doing what he and his associates had been doing all along—financing and promoting fertility-control research, services, and means of distribution, especially in the developing nations.

By 1961, Pathfinder's work had spread into Central and South America, Spain, Malta, Italy, Jordan, Israel, Oceania, Malaya, Indonesia, West Africa, and other parts of Western Europe and Asia.<sup>71</sup> Pathfinder research funds flowed into the development of the Pill and the IUD. Injectables such as Depo-Provera, new techniques for male and female sterilization, and "menstrual extraction" and other abortion methods would be added later on.

#### **The Changing of the Guard**

On 28 April 1966, three months before Clarence Gamble's death, the board

of directors and members of Pathfinder's advisory council assembled for the changing of the guard.<sup>72</sup> In addition to the Gamble family, other key population-control leaders were on hand, including Dr. Elton Kessel,<sup>73</sup> soon to be appointed Pathfinder's new executive director, and the recent board additions Dr. John Meir of the Rockefeller Foundation, Dr. Alan Guttmacher of Planned Parenthood, and old friends Stuart and Emily Mudd, who were now very active in the Association for Voluntary Sterilization and abortion-law "reform" in their home state of Pennsylvania." The discussion centered on reorganization in anticipation of Gamble's death, which appeared imminent.

A new office complex was to be purchased in Chestnut Hill, a suburb of Boston, to accommodate Pathfinder's growing staff. The board vowed to improve relations and communications with other population-control agencies in the new spirit of cooperation. Stuart Mudd announced that US-AID would soon be making birth-control funding available to private groups such as Pathfinder and assured the board that Pathfinder would find a natural ally in US-AID. (In view of the fact that by the late 1970s more than 90 percent of Pathfinder's annual budget would be US-AID monies, Mudd's assurance was an understatement.)

#### **Moving on with the Pathfinder Fund**

The death of Clarence Gamble, together with the availability of Title X funds, brought an immediate change in Pathfinder's mode and scope of operations.

It "acquired a highly competent professional staff that cooperated with the Population Council and became one of the private organizations to which the United States Agency for International Development turned for expertise."<sup>75</sup> Between 1967 and 1976, US-AID gave Pathfinder more than \$25.6 million in direct grants.<sup>76</sup>

In 1970, Pathfinder altered its corporate status from private to public foundation. By 1977 the organization had acquired a headquarters staff of twenty-five members, five overseas offices, and a budget of \$5.7 million, of which \$5.1 million came from US-AID and the remainder from private sources and interest on stocks.<sup>77</sup> Of the 250 population-control projects carried out in 1977 by Pathfinder, 248 were tied to Title X-US-AID grants.

The Pathfinder staff at Chestnut Hill now stands at forty, with expanded regional offices in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. US-AID grants to the organization in 1980 totaled more than \$7 million, to cover the costs of salaries, family-planning personnel, medical supplies and equipment, the purchase and distribution of contraceptives and abortifacients, travel costs, fringe benefits, printing and publications, rent, utilities, office equipment and supplies, and costs of attending and conducting population-control conferences and workshops around the world.<sup>78</sup>

**Pathfinder's Superstructure**

There are three major divisions within the central organizational body of the Pathfinder Fund:

The Fertility Control Division is the organization's technical arm, providing fertility-control research, services, training, propaganda, and "out-reach" programs in developing nations.

The Women's Programs Division, founded in 1977,<sup>79</sup> has as its primary objective "the initiation or acceleration of a decline in birth rates"<sup>80</sup> by (1) promoting projects that increase women's "life options"; (2) increasing women's participation in "nonreproductive" roles; (3) integrating women in developing nations into the work force and the development process; (4) making available and promoting all forms of fertility control, including abortion and sterilization, to give women a vehicle with which to carry out their newly acquired reproductive options; and (5) influencing policy matters related to women."

The Population Policy Division is the brain-trust section, whose purpose is to convince government leaders in Third World nations of the necessity of population control for "population stabilization."<sup>82</sup> Where governments are unwilling to undertake population-control initiatives, Pathfinder sends in its own teams to "educate" influential leaders and develop a birth-control constituency that understands population matters and supports population stabilization."<sup>83</sup>

Pathfinder does *not assume a passive stance* and wait for grant applications to come to it. Its international and headquarters staff analyze regions and countries to determine what is needed to advance significantly the cause of family planning and population control. . . . useful activities and projects are identified . . . local people contacted . . . and project plans developed." [Emphasis added]

Financial aid in the form of training or seed money is awarded to students who show potential in the family-planning and population-control field. "These investments have resulted in positive impact far out of proportion to the size of the grant."<sup>85</sup>

**Pathfinder and Abortion**

The 1973 Helms Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 uses this language:

Section 114: [Limiting use of funds for abortion] None of the funds made available to carry out this part [Part I of the Act] shall be used to pay for the performance of abortions as a method of family planning or to motivate or coerce any person to practice abortions.

By its own admission the Pathfinder Fund is committed to making "fertility-control services, including sterilization and voluntary termination of pregnancy, universally available, more effective, more convenient, and less costly" (emphasis added).<sup>86</sup>

The principal thrust of Pathfinder's activities has centered on the voluntary control of fertility through the use of contraceptive techniques and, where feasible, on voluntary sterilization and abortion. Pathfinder has pioneered in advancing the acceptability and availability of safe abortion services in developing countries, not only to reduce unwanted births but also to eliminate the need of desperate women to seek "back-street" abortions which endanger both health and life. We are the only major international population agency which actively works and makes direct grants in that direction. . . .<sup>87</sup> [Emphasis added]

Many of the Pathfinder programs are pioneering and at times controversial. Persons who work with and are funded by Pathfinder often work on the fringe of what is currently socially acceptable or even legally permissible, be it family planning as was often the case in the past or today's efforts on behalf of abortion, women's rights, explicit population control, and even sterilization. . . .<sup>88</sup>

Recognizing the importance of the availability of safe, simple, and effective abortion services, Pathfinder, almost alone and with limited private resources, has been actively working to create a more favorable climate for abortion and has assisted in initiating early abortion projects in Egypt, The Gambia, Tunisia, Latin America, and Bangladesh. . . . In the Pathfinder-supported clinic in Bangladesh, more than eighty percent of the women who come for an abortion leave with an effective method of contraception."

As an example of its unique ability to be "innovative" and quick-acting, including the ability to make small grants for a single, limited project, Pathfinder cites the provision of transportation expenses to enable an expert on abortion and sterilization to speak at a medical meeting.<sup>89</sup>

In 1980, Pathfinder sent a fund-raising letter to all U.S. senators and representatives, along with a copy of a population-propaganda pamphlet titled *The Fatal Math*. The solicitation, signed by Clarence Gamble's son Richard, chairman of the board, asks for assistance in promoting abortion and supplying abortion services in Bangladesh, "a population basketcase" where "birth-control services are limited and abortion is technically illegal."

According to Gamble, the Pathfinder Fund, in cooperation with the government of Bangladesh, is attempting to provide a national program of medically safe abortion services." He notes that abortion training has begun and that the goal is to have at least two abortionists and a family-planning consultant in each thanas (county). Private donations, he adds, are needed to carry out the project, since the Foreign Assistance Act contains an anti-abortion rider.

Gamble ends his letter with a plea to save the world from "the mounting flood of people" and extends his appreciation on behalf "of the untold thousands who will benefit from your generosity."

The accompanying literature informs potential contributors that a tax-deductible donation of \$1,000 will support an abortion facility for two months, while a donation of \$5,000 will support a Bangladesh clinic (providing abor-

tion, sterilization, and contraception) for one month.

Some details on Pathfinder's abortion grants are provided in its annual reports. The following examples are taken from the 1977 report:

**Project Number:** The Gambia/9372

**Title:** Pregnancy Termination Project

January-December 1976; renewed January-December 1977

**Goal:** To provide 150 Gambian women with uterine-aspiration abortions

**Result:** 180 pregnancies were "terminated"

**Cost:** \$22,192, unrestricted funds<sup>91</sup>

**Project Number:** Bolivia/9414

**Title:** Visit of Dr. Eduardo Calero to Colombia

**Goal:** Dr. Calero is to lecture Colombian physicians on his experience with menstrual-regulation equipment

**Cost:** \$360, unrestricted funds<sup>92</sup>

**Project Number:** Bangladesh/3183/9349

**Title:** Model Clinic and Research Center

**Goal:** To develop a model clinic incorporating all types of fertility control including sterilization and menstrual regulation

**Result:** (During seven month period) 500 sterilizations; 1,620 uterine aspirations; 2,000 new family-planning recruits

**Cost:** US-AID, \$200,023; unrestricted funds, \$16,146<sup>93</sup>

**Project Number:** Non-Regional/9341, Geneva, Switzerland

**Title:** International Association for the Free Choice of Abortion

**Purpose:** To establish an international abortion clearing house for the abortion-rights movement and to encourage cooperation between abortion groups and promote their founding around the world (June 1976-February 1977)

**Cost:** \$25,000, unrestricted funds"

**Project Number:** Non-Regional 9318/9393/9394

**Title:** Pathfinder Abortion-Related Publications Program

July 1976-June 1977

**Purpose:** To print and distribute multilingual abortion publications explaining various abortion techniques as well as new methods of fertility control<sup>95</sup>

**Cost:** \$37,000, unrestricted funds; \$43,000, restricted funds<sup>96</sup>

Clearly, the Pathfinder Fund violates the Helms Amendment. Even while it is very clever about juggling bookkeeping figures to show US-AID auditors that only funds from "private sources" are used to kill babies, it has not bothered to disguise the fact that abortion is integrated into its total fertility-control program and that it encourages (motivates) women to have abortion by "reducing costs" and making abortions "more convenient."

#### Mass Sterilization

While induced abortion plays a vital role in the Pathfinder program, mass sterilization is of greater long-term importance in population control. Further, it does not present the inconvenience of double-dipping into private funds, since US-AID stands squarely behind such programs with millions of American dollars and programs of "incentives" and "decentives" directed at a target population in order to meet predetermined quotas. Under such circumstances, the US-AID requirement that sterilization be "voluntary" appears ludicrous.

Since Pathfinder is primarily geared toward initiating modest-size pilot programs in new territory, its sterilization programs are directed toward (1) the training of local physicians and medical personnel in various techniques of male and female sterilization; (2) the establishment of "model" programs and demonstration centers; (3) the provision of medical equipment, training films, and visual aids; (4) the training of community leaders to promote sterilization and assist in changing the population's sexual mores and values related to child-bearing; and (5) the active recruitment of sterilization clients, especially the poor and illiterate, from the general population.

Pathfinder programs in sterilization involve all techniques, including vasectomy, tubal ligation, culdoscopy, and minilaparotomy (minilap). In 1977 alone, Pathfinder, using US-AID funds, carried out more than twenty such projects in Egypt, Kenya, Tunisia, Uganda, Mexico, Chile, Ecuador, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Colombia, Costa Rica, Bangladesh, Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines.<sup>97</sup>

The Nicaraguan program appeared to be one of the most "successful" of Pathfinder's sterilization programs. In its preparatory stage, ten physicians were taken to one of Pathfinder's largest Latin American staging bases, the Profamilia facility in Bogota, Colombia, where they were trained to perform sterilizations. These physicians then returned to their own country, where each trained two other Ministry of Health physicians. Thirty-two minilap kits were then donated by Pathfinder.

The results were "dramatic." In six months, 1,440 Nicaraguan men were vasectomized and some 2,800-4,320 women sterilized. Total cost to the American taxpayer via US-AID and the Pathfinder Fund: \$14,960.<sup>98</sup>

In 1977 a grant of \$473,106.65 was made to Nicaragua for the establish-

ment of a drugstore-employee program designed to promote nonmedical distribution of contraceptives and abortifacients, including the Pill and Depo-Provera.<sup>99</sup> A portion of the funds also went for setting up birth-control clinics as part of child- and maternal-health programs."

Not all Latin Americans, however, have appreciated Pathfinder's US-AID-funded population-control "initiatives." In 1976, a Bolivian PROFAM mining-area clinic project was terminated because of "local opposition."<sup>101</sup> An earlier attempt to convince Bolivian union leaders at a PROFAM-sponsored seminar of the need for population control met with a similar fate, as did a Nurses Aide and Empirical Midwife Training program.<sup>102</sup>

During a major sterilization push in Bolivia by PROFAM (the channel for US-AID-Pathfinder funds) in the Santa Cruz area, the number of accepters fell well short of the 1,200 goal that had been set. The following explanation appears in the Pathfinder extract on Bolivian grant no. 6001:

The recruitment of a greater number of new family-planning accepters was impeded by cultural, sociological, and religious factors that were more influential than the grantee expected.m

To appreciate this complaint fully, one should recall Section 291(c) of Title X of the Foreign Assistance Act, which states:

In carrying out programs authorized in this title, the President shall establish procedures to insure, whenever family-planning assistance from the United States is involved, that no individual be coerced to practice methods of family planning inconsistent with his or her moral, philosophical, or religious beliefs.

#### Pathfinder in Zaire

Pathfinder's activities in Zaire reveal the agency's attack on traditional religious and cultural mores in even more concrete terms. A detailed study on the project, published in a 1978 *Pathpaper*,<sup>105</sup> describes this African nation as a "family-planning frontier."<sup>105</sup>

On the basis of field reports filed by workers of L'Eglise du Christ au Zaire (ECZ), a coordinating agency for all Protestant missionary activities in the region, a Pathfinder editorial associate, Ronald Waife, notes that traditional methods of birth regulation and spacing in Zaire have centered upon virginity, prolonged periods of breast-feeding, total sexual abstinence, and polygamy, and (to a lesser degree) withdrawal, native "sterility" potions, and abortion by drug or massage."<sup>106</sup> "Modern methods of family planning," Waife explains, are not easily accepted by the native population, because oral contraceptives, intrauterine devices, condoms, and injectables have no roots in social conduct."<sup>107</sup>

As an example of how Pathfinder-funded population-control efforts, as carried out by the ECZ, radically alter cultural patterns related to sexuality, Waife notes that modern contraception makes "the woman's absolute sexual fidelity no longer necessary"<sup>108</sup> and renders "the man's polygamy obso-

lete."<sup>109</sup> Some missionaries working in Zaire are "actively teaching modern contraception," while others, Waife states, see contraception as "sinful man interfering with the will of God."<sup>110</sup> According to Waife, however, the old methods based on sexual abstinence and prolonged breast-feeding are gradually being replaced by newer methods of fertility control, although scattered local opposition and technical factors present certain obstacles."

The success of the transition from older, traditional methods to modern contraceptives and abortifacients, however, is not guaranteed. As one observer states, poorly designed and executed family-planning programs that interfere with local beliefs and traditional constraints "can only serve to increase fertility rates."<sup>112</sup>

At a time when some international NFP organizations are trying to put pressure on US-AID to mandate that NFP be included in its population-control program, it is important to understand that traditional methods of child spacing, such as periodic abstinence within marriage, are simply not tolerable—no matter how effective—to those who are intent on imposing population control on "backward and religiously superstitious" people. The reasons are simple. The natural regulation of birth by periodic abstinence and breast-feeding makes money for no one, requires relatively little training, requires few supplies and equipment, and reinforces premarital chastity for the unmarried and fidelity for the married. In sharp contrast, contraception, sterilization, and abortion make money for practically everyone except the "clients," require extensive training and propaganda efforts, require regular intervention by the doctor or social worker as a primary source of supplies or inspection, and reinforce the principles of the sexual revolution.

As an alternative to US-AID funding, groups involved in the natural regulation of births should work through and with existing pro-life and pro-family allies, and with religious and private agencies less susceptible to government population-control pressures.

#### Pathfinder in Italy

While the majority of US-AID-Pathfinder projects are carried out in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, a small but important number of programs have been funded in the United States, England, Belgium, France, Italy, Australia, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia. Of these, none is more fascinating or more illustrative of the psychosocial mindset of the population-control movement than the Pathfinder Fund's Italian adventure with the DeMarchis.

To fully understand the relationship between the Pathfinder Fund and the Italian birth-control movement, it is necessary to review the pre-Pathfinder years.

### Bigotry Italian Style

While a strong anti-Catholic bias has always been a prominent feature of population-control zealots, in the Williams biography of Clarence Gamble in a chapter titled "The DeMarchis and the Pope's Children"<sup>3</sup> we are permitted to witness an especially virulent strain of anti-Catholicism:

Thus Benito Mussolini, the Fascist Il Duce, in 1924 placed a longstanding pressure of numbers in the service of his ambition to build another Holy Roman Empire. . . . The outcome of this political commitment to strength in numbers, reinforced by the Pope's holy decree of uncontrolled procreation, is now a matter of history. . . . Among these religious teachings [i.e., of Catholicism] was the doctrine that sexual intercourse is carnal sin unless its purpose is conception; ergo, any attempt to interfere with this outcome in intercourse is immoral. It seemed an excellent way of guaranteeing a large flock of sinners."

The Associazione Italiana per l'Educazione Demografica (AIED) (Italian Association for Demographic Education) was founded in 1953 as an associate member of IPPF. Initially, its main thrust was publicizing birth control and removing from the books Mussolini's edict prohibiting such publicity. Its name was designed "to skirt the prohibition on public education in birth control."<sup>5</sup>

As "the inspirational and organizational leaders of AIED," the husband-and-wife team of Luigi and Maria Luisa DeMarchi, avowed socialists, saw Catholicism, fascism, and communism as the primary ideological enemies of the Italian birth-control movement. Carlo Matteotti, Social Democrat member of the Chamber of Deputies and the founder and president of AIED, was their close friend."

Until 1955, when Clarence Gamble came upon the scene, "birth control had only one philanthropist in Italy; he was Adriano Olivetti, the typewriter industrialist."<sup>7</sup> Gamble's first contact with the DeMarchis came through Olivetti's daughter-in-law."<sup>8</sup> By August 1955, Gamble funds were flowing into the Italian birth-control group to help AIED establish a Consultation Office for Birth Control in Rome. Gamble also donated quantities of vaginal diaphragms, jellies, and sponge rubber for an ill-fated salt-solution contraceptive experiment in the slums of Rome."<sup>9</sup> "It is quite thrilling to have the Center opened in the shadow of the Vatican," Gamble wrote his American colleague Dorothy Brush.<sup>12</sup>

### The Conscious Parenthood Campaign

By 1965, AIED claimed a membership of 2,000 and had established offices in Rome, Milan, Genoa, Florence, Vibo Valentia, and Palermo.

Over the next ten years Gamble and Pathfinder became progressively more involved in Italy's *procreazione cosciente* (conscious parenthood) campaign. Gamble paid the salaries of the AIED employees, including Mrs. Olivetti and Mrs. DeMarchi, and financed Luigi DeMarchi's journalistic

and lobbying career in birth control and "sexual reform." His contributions also played an important part in AIED's eighteen-year battle to challenge the constitutionality of Italy's birth-control restrictions. After ten years of lobbying Parliament without success, AIED decided to take the judicial route by bringing a test case before Italy's Supreme Court.

In 1965, Matteotti and DeMarchi—the president and the secretary of AIED — were brought to trial to test both the "free speech" and the "freedom of association" elements of their legal case. During preliminary court proceedings, when the state's attorney argued that contraceptives were bad for women's health, DeMarchi presented statements from Alan Guttmacher, Christopher Tietze, and Clarence Gamble arguing "the harmlessness of scientifically recognized contraceptives."<sup>121</sup>

By the spring of 1970, the cases had worked their way up the judicial ladder.

In preparing the critical brief for the Supreme Court, DeMarchi and the socialist attorney Giorgio Mascon were assisted by Professor Luke Lee of Tufts University in Massachusetts.<sup>122</sup> Lee presented evidence purporting to show that Italy's restrictions on birth-control promotion violated certain international conventions guaranteeing "planned parenthood" as a basic human right. AIED also presented "documentation" showing such adverse effects of the "population explosion" as unemployment, pollution, and illegal abortion.

On 18 March 1971 the High Court awarded DeMarchi the long-sought victory. The court's action was hailed by Pathfinder as "encouraging evidence that it is possible to reaffirm the independence and sovereignty of the state from religious dogma."<sup>123</sup> In an article in the 13 November 1971 issue of the Christian Science Monitor, the DeMarchis attributed their victory to Pathfinder's financial aid and the people's desire "to replace widespread illegal abortion with contraception."

The DeMarchis' reference to replacing illegal abortion with contraception is at best questionable, because as soon as AIED had secured its contraceptive "rights" it joined forces with feminists and communists to press for legal abortion. And in 1975 the "right" to abortion was granted to women "in cases involving the physical or mental health of the mother."<sup>124</sup>

#### US-AID-Pathfinder-AIED-IRIDE Funding

Once Italy's contraception and abortion restrictions had been struck down by the courts, the way was open for expanded financial aid to both AIED and its newly formed research arm, the Institute for Demographic Research and Initiative (IRIDE) in Rome. The following figures on Pathfinder contributions were taken from its 990 tax returns for the years 1972-77:

1972:	\$29,500.00	1975:	\$33,796.00
1973:	29,500.00	1976:	20,870.25
1974:	33,621.49	1977:	22,787.00

While the majority of such funds were used for AIED-IRIDE salaries, office, travel, and training expenses, a number of small to medium-size Pathfinder grants went to help establish abortion clinics or provide existing clinics with abortion equipment.

#### Soap-Opera Motivation

US-AID has long had an interest in both the photonovella (a printed, illustrated "soap opera") and the comic book as means of communicating specific messages about family planning and population control. It has found this type of material especially suited to "pictorially naive" audiences.<sup>25</sup>

For example, in 1972 the US-AID mission in Panama purchased, at a cost of \$1,100 in Title X funds, 10,000 copies of a Mexican comic book titled *Los Supermachos*, as part of its "responsible parenthood" program. The book's front cover shows a worn-out little Mexican mother kneeling in prayer before a statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The blasphemous caption reads: "Little Virgin, you who conceived without sinning, teach me to sin without conceiving."<sup>26</sup>

Additional anti-Catholic and anti-child propaganda, like the photonovellas or comic books I am about to describe, is currently being developed and distributed by US-AID outlets around the world, especially in Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

#### DeMarchi's Psychosocial Propaganda

Beginning in the mid-1970s, Luigi DeMarchi received a number of Pathfinder grants for "motivational research" to be conducted by IRIDE. His findings were published in the US-AID-Pathfinder publication *Pathpaper* in December 1977. The front-page synopsis of the DeMarchi paper ("New Psychological Approaches to Family Planning Motivation") reads:

New theoretical concepts for family-planning motivation have been tested in Italy since 1974. Moralistic appeals aimed at the individual's sense of responsibility have little or no influence on sexual and reproductive behavior. More effective are appeals based on human instincts such as sexual vanity and jealousy, desire for appreciation and satisfaction, or the conflict between generations or social classes. Three photonovellas—a popular romantic medium similar to a photographic comic book—were written using these themes. Studies in selected towns showed that readers' knowledge of and attitude towards contraception improved and contraceptive sales increased during these campaigns, which indicates that appealing to basic emotional instincts through indigenous media can be effective in motivating family-planning practice." [Emphasis added]

According to DeMarchi, the targets of propaganda should be not only the women who have many children already but also the young people who are just beginning their reproductive lives. "Family-planning motivation must be aimed at fostering small family size as a social ideal among young couples,"

DeMarchi states.<sup>128</sup> It "must become, as much as possible, a sociopsychological rather than a medical act."<sup>129</sup>

DeMarchi identifies Pathfinder as the agency providing the financial support for the research and development leading up to the photonovella format and contents and the field-testing of his materials in Italy.

Il Segreto [The Secret]. "Intersexual instincts" is the dominant theme of DeMarchi's photonovella 11 Segreto, which wants readers to associate "contraceptive proficiency with a man's sexual charms and success (rather than with his prudence and sense of responsibility)" and "equate prolific reproduction with sexual ineptitude."<sup>30</sup> Contraceptive use is to be tied to eliminating frustrations and enhancing sexual satisfaction, thereby destroying the myth that contraception leads to infidelity (a common misconception)."

While DeMarchi notes that "machismo, jealousy, and frustration" are not necessarily "admirable social conditions," he justifies their use in family propaganda because they are a fact of life that can be used to change reproductive behavior.<sup>32</sup>

It Segreto opens with a couple in bed arguing about withdrawal.<sup>133</sup> The beautiful and sensuous Lisa says the act is frustrating, but she is fearful of becoming pregnant. Franco, her handsome, virile companion, sympathizes with her but has no solution to offer. In the next love-making session, Franco congratulates Lisa on her performance, which she then attributes to her secret: the Pill. Lisa assures Franco that she got the Pill from a doctor, who told her to take it without fear. She concludes with an expression of relief that she no longer has to worry about the "terrible risks of illegal abortion."

Noi Giovani [We, the Youth] and La Trappola [The Trap]. The generation gap and class conflict are featured in two DeMarchi photonovellas. According to the socialist writer, "Class conflict, particularly as perceived between the general population and the powerful (the rich, the employers, the Church, the government), is another extremely potent and sometimes dangerous emotional drive."<sup>134</sup> "They" (the powerful) can be portrayed as wanting "the people" to be burdened by too many children.<sup>135</sup>

In Noi Giovani the hero and heroine, Gianni and Silvia, are a very young, attractive, and intelligent couple with promising careers ahead of them. They are disturbed because their parents have been urging them to get married and raise a family.<sup>136</sup>

Silvia runs into two friends, one of whom is old and haggard from having so many children, and the other lovely and still shapely because—of course—she practices "family planning."

The couple, attending a doctor's lecture on birth control, hear him describe the Pill as "completely harmless" for most women. Later, Gianni tells his friends that he and Silvia will not "repeat the errors of past generations, which have left us with an overpopulated world—full of wars, hunger, and

RANDY ENGEL

pollution. . . . One time, people made little love and many children. We young people instead want few children and lots of love!"

In *La Trappola* the hero is a construction worker named Marco.<sup>37</sup> While on the job at a military base, he overhears a phone call announcing the birth of a new baby to one of his co-workers. To celebrate the event the boss invites the base commander and chaplain (in full Roman Catholic clerical garb) to have drinks at the office. They all toast the new child.

Later, Marco angrily recalls this scene and the plight of the workers, especially those who must work overtime without just wages to support extra-large families. The older men tell him that they are beyond help but he is young and has a future.

The photonovella ends as Marco points his finger at the trio—the boss, the priest, and the military commander—above the caption: "Don't you too fall into the Trap! Do not have more than one or two children! The priests and bosses want [to see] us overflowing with children—as numerous as ants in order to dominate and exploit us."

Those of you who wish to obtain copies of these publications—for yourselves and, I hope, for your representatives and senators who vote for Title X funds year after year—should write direct to Pathfinder. The publications are free upon request. (That is, you have already paid for them.)

A Closer Look at the Pathfinder Budget

#### US-AID's Growing Investment

In its formative years, 1967-74, the Pathfinder Fund received more than \$23.6 million in US-AID Title X funds,<sup>38</sup> including direct grants as well as commodity reimbursements. During this period the ratio of governmental to nongovernmental contributions to Pathfinder rose significantly. In 1971 it stood at 75 percent US-AID to 25 percent private funding. In 1974, US-AID contributions rose to more than 88 percent, while those from other sources dropped to less than 12 percent. And in 1975, of the total Pathfinder budget of \$4.8 million only \$115,227 (less than 2 percent) came from nongovernmental sources.

Since 1977 the ratio of US-AID grants to private grants has been a fairly steady 90 percent to 10 percent. US-AID funding to Pathfinder for 1977-81 is as follows:

1977: \$ 7.7 million  
1978: 5.2 million  
1979: 5.3 million  
1980: 8.7 million  
1981: 10.0 million

All figures are based on Pathfinder's 990 tax returns or US-AID financial audits.

According to projections on US-AID financial-data sheets, by 1984 Pathfinder will have received more than \$76 million of Title X money.<sup>139</sup> In return for US-AID's total population-control investment in Pathfinder, there will be 2,700,000 more birth-control clients around the world, 500 new fertility-control clinics in developing nations, and 520 more physicians and 4,000 more paramedical personnel trained in population-control and "family planning" techniques and propaganda.

It is quite obvious from these figures that for all practical purposes US-AID and Pathfinder are one and the same. Any "private" agency that receives, on a regular annual basis, more than 90 percent of its funds from the U.S. Treasury is in fact an arm of the U.S. government. By continuing to launder U.S. tax dollars through anti-life agencies like Pathfinder in order to circumvent anti-abortion amendments and legislative regulations restricting violation of conscience and religious freedom, US-AID fools no one, especially not the poor victims of its contraception, abortion, and sterilization programs.

**Private and Foundation Grants**

While contributions to Pathfinder from private groups, family trusts, and foundations occupy only a small portion of its total annual budget, they are of special interest to the international pro-life community because they represent the organization's chief source of up-front abortion money. In addition to regular contributions from the Gamble family, Pathfinder has received contributions from the foundations and private trusts listed in table 1.

#### STOPPING THE MACHINE

The Pathfinder Fund, of course, represents only a single unit of the vast, powerful, and well-financed population-control machine. During the first decade of its existence, US-AID oiled the machine with more than \$400,000,000 in tax dollars. These funds were laundered into developing nations and into the coffers of more than thirty-five university-based centers in the United States, some fifty "private" population-control groups, and more than ten other federal agencies, as well as the massive population-control complex at the United Nations.<sup>140</sup>

One could write a report similar to this one on each of the other US-AID accomplices. While the characters would change, the story line would read about the same.

Can the population-control machine be stopped? Probably not completely; but it would lose a great deal of steam if Title X Programs Related to Population Growth under the Foreign Assistance Act were terminated. Groups such as Pathfinder, I think, would collapse in a rather short time.

From a pro-life perspective, Title X, as written, is nothing less than a congressional hunting license for the elimination of our "surplus" brothers and

RANDY ENGEL

TABLE 1  
CONTRIBUTIONS TO PATHFINDER FROM  
FOUNDATIONS AND PRIVATE TRUSTS

Name	Amount/Date	Purpose
William & Flora Hewlett Foundation (Calif.)	\$300,000 (1980) 130,000 (1978)	General funding Women's Program Division
David & Lucille Packard Foundation (Calif.)	10,000 (1978)	Family planning in developing nations
Scherman Foundation (N.Y.)	10,000 (1979) 10,000 (1978)	Family planning Family planning
General Services Foundation (Minn.)	34,000 (1979) 34,000 (1977)	Training film on abortion techniques
Cabot Family Charitable Trust	10,000 (1979) 10,000 (1978) 10,000 (1977)	Family planning Family planning Family planning
Abbot & Dorothy Stevens (Mass.)	50,000 (1977) 210,000 (1975)	Population education Population education and research
George Fredrick Jewett Foundation (Minn.)	10,000 (1976) 12,500 (1975)	Population control Special Action Fund
Rockefeller Foundation (N.Y.)	14,000 (1974)	F.P. Manual Development
Godfrey Cabot Charitable Trust (Mass.)	20,000 (1975)	Development of early- abortion techniques
Compton Foundation	5,000 (1980)	General funding

Figures in this partial listing are based on annual Foundation Directory index.

sisters around the world. The anti-life programs I have described in this study of the Pathfinder Fund are the logical outcome of this measure. Even if the Helms anti-abortion amendment could be enforced, other anti-life programs would grind on. Furthermore, remember that US-AID money frees private donations for the promotion and performance of abortions."

Therefore, it is my opinion that Title X is one of those congressional laws that admit of no modification and must be opposed.

And by the way, the next time you are grocery shopping and are tempted to reach for a bar of Procter & Gamble's Ivory or a box of Procter & Gamble's Tide, perhaps you should choose another brand in memory of all those aborted babies who will never have to worry about washing at all."

#### Notes

- 1 "Taxpayers Guide to Federal Anti-Life Programs/US-AID Funded Population Control Programs," parts I & II, *ProLife Reporter*, vol. 5, nos. 13-14 (1977).
- 2 Lawrence Lader, *Breeding Ourselves to Death* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1971), pp. 41-45.
- 3 *Ibid.*, pp. 11-14. The Population Emergency Campaign, later renamed the World Population Emergency Campaign, claimed among its supporters such influential and wealthy personalities as Eugene Black of the World Bank, the former secretary of state Will Clayton, Marriner S. Eccles of the Federal Reserve Bank, the industrialist Lamont du Pont Copeland, Fowler McCormick of International Harvester, the heiress Dorothy Brush, and Cass Canfield of Harper & Row.
- 4 Beryl Suitters, *Be Brave and Angry* (London: International Planned Parenthood Federation, 1973), pp. 304-305.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 305.
- 6 Lader, p. 27.
- 7 Suitters, p. 308.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 309.
- 9 Lader, p. 27.
- 10 Randy Engel, *Population Growth and the American Future: A Pro-life Point of View* (Pittsburgh: Pennsylvanians for Human Life, 1974).
- 11 Suitters, p. 308.
- 12 William Ball, *Population Control: Civil and Constitutional Concerns* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1968), p. 45.
- 13 *Ibid.*
- 14 "Taxpayers Guide," part I, *ProLife Reporter*, vol. 5, no. 13 (1977), p. 13.
- 15 See Ball, pp. 14-17, 25-30.
- 16 Ball, p. 16.
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 Interestingly, Dr. Beasley's birth-control program in Louisiana, which eventually pyramided into a \$62 million federal-grant empire, drew support from both Planned Parenthood's Dr. Alan Guttmacher and the U.S. Catholic Conference. In a sequence of events that would later be duplicated at the federal level, Louisiana's Roman Catholic hierarchy agreed to let Beasley open his statewide chain of birth-control clinics provided they did not offer abortion services. In 1975, when the roof fell in on Beasley's Family Health

- Foundation and he was charged with fraudulent use of birth-control funds allocated under Title X of the Public Health Service Act, Planned Parenthood organized a defense fund for him. See "The Beasley Anti-Life Laundry," *Pro-Life Reporter*, vol. 4, no. 10 (winter 1976), for the full story.
- 19 Suitters, p. 6.
  - 20 Doone and Greer Williams, *Every Child A Wanted Child* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 162.
  - 21 "Taxpayers Guide," part II, *Pro-Life Reporter*, vol. 5, no. 14 (1977), p. 11.
  - 22 Lader, p. vi.
  - 23 *Ibid.*, p. 74.
  - 24 *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 28.
  - 25 Ball, pp. 44-45.
  - 26 Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, Title X—Programs Related to Population Growth, Sec. 291<sup>11</sup> General Provision (c).
  - 27 Ball, p. 22.
  - 28 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
  - 29 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
  - 30 *Ibid.*, p. 31.
  - 31 "IPPF-Depo Provera," *People* (1975) 4:4, p. 25.
  - 32 "Approval of Depo Provera for Contraception Denied," *FDA Drug Bulletin*, vol. 8, no. 2 (March-April 1978), pp. 10-11.
  - 33 "Use at Home Not Allowed," *The Progressive*, December 1979.
  - 34 In James Reed, *From Private Vice to Public Virtue* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), p. 17.
  - 35 Williams, p. 3.
  - 36 *Ibid.*, p. xi.
  - 37 *Ibid.*
  - 38 *Ibid.*, p. xii.
  - 39 Reed, pp. 231-32.
  - 40 Williams, p. 178.
  - 41 Reed, p. 234.
  - 42 The NCMH was eventually absorbed by John D. Rockefeller III's Population Council into its Biomedical Division under the direction of the biostatistician Dr. Christopher Tietze, a long-time friend of the Gamble family.
  - 43 In 1939, Sanger's American Birth Control League merged with her research arm, Birth Control Contraceptive Research Bureau, to form the Birth Control Federation of America. Clarence Gamble served the new federation as a member of its board of directors. The federation today is better known by its new name, Planned Parenthood Federation of America or Planned Parenthood-World Population.
  - 44 The Rockefellers also financed the foundation of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute, where they gave Professor Ernst Ruedin one whole floor for his genetic research in the 1920s. Ruedin later became a key figure in the Nazis' mass-sterilization program. See Bernhard Schreiber, *The Men behind Hitler: A German Warning to the World*, trans. H. R. Martindale (Les Mureaux, France: La Haye-Mureaux, 1979), p. 76.
  - 45 Williams, p. 132.
  - 46 *Ibid.*, p. 136.
  - 47 *Ibid.*, p. 143.
  - 48 *Ibid.*, p. 145.
  - 49 *Ibid.*, p. 171.

- 50 Ibid., pp. 159-73.
- 51 Ernest Gruening, *Many Battles* (New York: Liveright, 1973), pp. 200-202.
- 52 Williams, p. 161.
- 53 Ibid., p. 162.
- 54 Ibid., pp. 162-63.
- 55 Gruening, p. 200.
- 56 Ibid., p. 201.
- 57 Williams, p. 168.
- 58 Gruening, p. 202.
- 59 Reed, p. 359.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 Williams, p. 349.
- 62 Ibid., p. 359.
- 63 Ibid., p. 365.
- 64 Ibid., p. 329.
- 65 Ibid., p. 232.
- 66 Ibid., p. 243.
- 67 Ibid., p. 222.
- 68 Ibid., p. 225.
- 69 Ibid., pp. 305-306.
- 70 Ibid., p. 310.
- 71 Ibid.
- 72 Ibid., p. 425.
- 73 After leaving his post at Pathfinder, Kessel was appointed director of one of US-AID's most lucrative anti-life programs at Chapel Hill, the International Fertility Research Program (IFRP). In the fall of 1973, at about the time of the Senate battle over the Helms abortion-prohibition amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act, Kessel (still on US-AID's payroll for the IFRP) incorporated a "dummy" organization named International Pregnancy Advisory Services (IPAS), whose primary function was to channel US-AID abortion funding. Other groups funding IPAS included Pathfinder, PP-WP, Population Services International, and Family Planning Assistance International (all US-AID recipients); private contributions were given by the Sunnen Foundation (manufacturers of Emko contraceptive foam), the Scaife Family Foundation, the Forest Fund, the International Fund, the Scherman Foundation, and Eaton Laboratories.
- 74 Williams, p. 425.
- 75 Reed, p. 374.
- 76 "Taxpayers Guide," *Pro-Life Reporter*, part II, p. 11.
- 77 "The Pathfinder: Background, Policies and Priorities" (Boston: Pathfinder Fund, May 1978), p. 2. Mimeo.
- 78 "Activity Data Sheet," Annex V: Centrally Funded Programs/US-AID, FY 1980, p. 88.
- 79 "Pathfinder Fund: General Support Proposal" (Boston: Pathfinder Fund, 1980), p. 3. Mimeo.
- 80 Ibid., p. 3.
- 81 Ibid., p. 4.
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Ibid., p. 5.

- 85 Ibid.
- 86 "Pathfinder: Background," p. 3.
- 87 "Pathfinder: General Support Proposal," p. 1.
- 88 Ibid., p. 2.
- 89 Ibid., p. 3.
- 90 Ibid., p. 5.
- 91 1977 Annual Report: Pathfinder Fund, p. 2.3.
- 92 Ibid., p. 65.
- 93 Ibid., p. 75.
- 94 Ibid., p. 99.
- 95 The following publications are available at no charge from The Pathfinder Fund. 1330 Boylson St., Chestnut Hill, Mass. 02167: New Developments in Fertility Regulation. by II. Ioltrop, R. Waife, W. Bustamanta, A. Bizo; Uterine Aspiration Technique. Iw Ioltrop, R. Waife; Protocol for Menstrual Regulation, issued by the Pathfinder Fund; Oral Contraceptives: A Guide, by C. Porter, Jr.; II. Ioltrop; R. Waite; and 11 Ds: Current Perspectives, by C. Porter, Jr.; R. Waife.
- 96 1977 Annual Report: Pathfinder Fund, p. 98.
- 97 Ibid.
- 98 Ibid., p. 50.
- 99 Ibid., "Urngslorc Iniplov ces and Plalilli1114 in Latin 5
- (1111<sup>1979</sup>), PIL
- 100 1977 Pa////inacr Antina/ Bcpm. 11.:511.
- 101 Ibid., I). 57.
- 1(12
- 10i Ibid., II. 59.
- 104 Ronald Valle, "Traditional Methods of Birth Control in Zaire," Pallipaper no. 4 (Dec. 1978).
- 105 Ibid., p. I.
- 106 Ibid., pp. 4-S.
- 107 Ibid., p. 9.
- 108 Ibid.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 Ibid.
- 111 Ibid., p. 17.
- 112 111 16. I f I Q" N n  
p. n Reverend Ralph K. Galloway of FCZ filed an update with the Pathfinder Fund on conditions in Zaire, especially in the southern regions of Shaba and Kasai. Galloway noted that, because of warfare and subsequent turnmil in Zaire and surrounding nations, hospitals had been destroyed, medical personnel killed, and villagers dispersed. I lis concluding remark is as pathetic as it is revealing: 'There will be a great demand for family planning. As you read in one of our reports, the people told its that the times they did not want to give birth were in war and famine. And famine there is now', though relief operations are under way. "The people have no gardens, seeds to plant, or even simple hoes for cultivation. Many have returned to find their houses and gardens destroyed. Now is when I would say that the people in Shaba would be highly motivated for family planning."
- 113 Williams, pp. 373-410.
- 114 Ibid., pp. 374-75.
- 115 Ibid., p. :376.

- 116 Ibid., p. 378.
- 117 Ibid., p.:379.
- 118 Ibid.. p.:380.
- 119 Ibid., p. 381.
- 120 Ibid.
- 121 Ibid., p. 406.
- 122 Ibid., p. 407. In 1972, Luke Lee, a well-known pro-abortion attorney, was appointed project director of LS-AID's Population Programme at the Fletcher School of Law at Tufts. The primary function of this US-AID front was to initiate "country projects" throughout the world, especially in developing nations, to determine the legal position of such fertility-control issues as abortion, sterilization, sex education, 501111 rights, and contraceptives for minors. Its findings were then published in monograph form and frequently used as the legal basis for reproductive law reform" in nations, like Uganda, where its initial surveys had been carried out. Sitting on its governing board was an all- abortion team featuring Planned Parenthood's Harriet Pi113(1, UNFPA's Rafael Salas, IPPF's Julia I lenderson, and US-All's B. T. Havenholt. In 1972-78 the Population Programme brought Tufts University and Prof. Lee's department \$1,116,000 in US-AID funds.
- 12:3 "DeNlarchi Victory in lionise," Pathways, spring 1971, pp. 2-3.
- 124 C. Tietze and NI. C. Murstein, "Induced Abortion: 197.5 Factbook," Reports on Population and Family Planning no. 14, 2d ed. (197.5), p. 10.
- 125 "Comics Carry Development Messages to Third World," CS-A/1) Front/hies, 11 1979.
- 126 Blasphemous US-AID-Funded Publication Draws Coalition Fire," U.S. Coalition for Life press release, :30 June 1973.
- 127 Luigi DeNlarchi, New Psychological Approaches to Family Planning Motivation," Pathways, Dec. 1977, no. 2. Available on request from The Pathfinder Fund, 133(1 Boylston St., Chestnut I lin, \lass. 02167.
- 128 Ibid., p. :3.
- 129 Ibid., p. 14.
- 130 Ibid., p. 2.
- 131 Ibid.
- 132 Ibid., p. :3.
- 133 Ibid., pp. 5-7.
- 134 Ibid., p. :3.
- 135 Ibid.
- 1:36 .N" oi Giorani [We, the youth] (Home: !HIDE, 197.5).
- 1:37 La Taipig(' [The trap] (Home: IRIDE, 197.5).
- 138 \ payers Guide," Pro-Life Reporter, part II, p. 12.
- 139 Pathfinder Activity Data Sheet," US-AID Congressional Presentation, FY 1981, Annex VII.
- 140 ""Taxpayers Guide," Pro-Life Reporter, part II, pp. 11-12.
- 141 D. P. Warwick, "Foreign Aid for Abortion: Politics, Ethics and Practice," in Abortion Parley, ed. James T. Burtchaell (Kansas City: Andrews and McMeel, 1980).
- 142 The U.S. Coalition for Life publishes A ProLife Shopping Guide.

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