

THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
RESEARCH GROUP

THE
WORLD BANK:

How It Compromises
Economic Development
by Promoting a Population
Control Agenda

Andrew M. Essig, Ph.D.

Catholic Family & Human Rights Institute

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PREFACE

Most people familiar with the mission of the World Bank see it as an organization dedicated to rebuilding infrastructure in war-torn nations and to promoting economic progress in the developing world. As a result, the Bank has enjoyed the status of one of the world's more respected and uncontroversial inter-governmental organizations. And while it is true that the Bank still devotes an enormous amount of its financial resources to traditional areas of economic development, it has also devoted a very large portion of these resources towards population control programs over the last few decades. These programs—which are usually executed through loans to poor nations—ultimately provide money for sterilization operations, and the distribution of contraceptives, all around the world.

For this reason, the International Organizations Research Group is pleased to present to the public this timely and authoritative White Paper by Dr. Andrew Essig in order to finally provide a scholarly account of the Bank's population control agenda.

For those who follow developments at the Bank, many of the facts reported in this White Paper may not be shocking. But for the public at large, indeed even for those who follow public policy debates concerning international organizations in general, this White Paper promises to be revealing. Many simply do not know that for decades the Bank has funded aggressive population control programs in the developing world, and still less do they know how extensive the Bank's funding and support for these programs has been. While most people probably favor the idea of an international, inter-governmental, infrastructure-rebuilding and economic development bank, millions of people all around the world do not support contraception, sterilization or population control programs in general.

In order to give a voice to their concerns, and in light of the findings of this paper, the Catholic Family & Human Rights Institute and its International Organizations Research Group urges policy makers to take action on the following policy recommendations:

- The Board of Governors should create a regulation requiring the Bank's President to report on a regular basis the ways in which the Bank is ensuring that as it is offering loans and other forms of aid to the developing world, it is not putting any pressure on the leaders of those developing countries to implement any population control programs.

- The Bank should initiate an internal investigation to discover if any of its programs have contributed to coercive population control programs among recipient countries.
- Given the impending demographic winter in much of the world, especially the developing world, and given the necessity of young populations to drive the economic engine, the World Bank should begin studying how to increase fertility rates.
- The President of the Bank, Paul Wolfowitz, should give a high-profile speech clearly and completely repudiating the aggressive population control agenda of his predecessors.
- The Bank's leadership should unequivocally reaffirm that the Bank's purpose is the economic progress of the developing world through the support and promotion of free markets, infrastructure and non-controversial social policies such as education. The leadership should assure contributors that all forays into the distribution of contraception, the promotion of sterilization, and population control programs in general are not part of the World Bank's work, and will not be performed any longer.

Dr. Essig reminds us that the World Bank was “founded with high hopes” to relieve the suffering and misery of war, but that for some suffering populations in the world today it has “probably led to more sickness and misery and not less” and with “no real economic benefit to show for it.” Nations must hold the Bank leadership accountable if that organization is to fulfill the great hopes of its founders, and retain international legitimacy and respect.

January 10, 2007

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INTRODUCTION

During World War II, the Allied Powers began planning for a postwar order that they would implement after they had finally defeated the Axis Powers. A critical component in these preparations was the development of a new international liberal economic order, manifested partly through the establishment of an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). This financial institution was to help in the postwar reconstruction by providing financial investment capital to areas that had suffered great destruction during the war. After the completion of the rebuilding occasioned by the war, the IBRD would continue in existence, so as to provide the developing world with the investment that it needed to grow economically and thereby finally join the developed world in enjoying a “First World” standard of affluence. In the late-1960s, however, the IBRD began to conform its conception of its mission to a pro-population control agenda that was foreign to the original intent of its founders. New policies were promulgated in which aid and investment would be predicated upon the development of systems of population control in benefiting countries. Institutional changes were made to further these new policies, and, in general, the IBRD became politicized. This paper is the story of how such a degradation of an important international body actually came to pass.

First, I shall examine the reasons for the creation of the IBRD after the end of World War II. Then, in two sections of this paper, I shall describe the organizational structure and the operational procedures of the IBRD. After that, I will examine the “World Bank Group,” which is the set of international financial organizations that the IBRD leads. Then, I will show how former American Defense Secretary, Robert McNamara, was truly the force behind the IBRD’s embrace of population control. After that, I shall describe how the three men who took the helm of the IBRD after McNamara—A. W. Clausen, Barber Conable and Lewis T. Preston—all fully embraced McNamara’s agenda. Last, I will examine policy proposals to, and actual population control programs in, specific nations of the developing world that the IBRD has created over the past several years. These proposals and programs have had a very deleterious effect on the developing world, and for that reason the question must be asked: “Do all the citizens of the wealthy nations that fund and control the IBRD want these programs to continue to be implemented in *their collective name*?”

THE REASONS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WORLD BANK

On July 22, 1944, at the United Nations Monetary and Finance Conference in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, representatives from forty-four countries signed the “Bretton Woods Agreements.”¹ The purpose of the Agreements was to establish the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The introduction to the Agreements was titled the “Articles of Agreement of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.”² This section of the Agreements introduced the rules under which the World Bank³ would operate. The United States and its wartime allies created the Bank for the primary purposes of supporting reconstruction efforts following the end of World War II, as well as, supplying aid for “the development of productive facilities and resources in less developed countries.”⁴ The Bank was to achieve this goal by providing its own financial investment capital, securing private investment through guarantees, and promoting international trade. The objective of all of this was to bring about the conditions necessary to secure the world’s economic development, and thus to avoid a recurrence of the economic environment which produced the fascist regimes in Europe during the interwar years.⁵

The Bank was part of a grand new design to overhaul the international economic system. This scheme called for reduced barriers to the free flow

1 The forty-four countries were: Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, The Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, The Philippines, Poland, South Africa, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States, Uruguay, Venezuela and Yugoslavia. *World Bank Group Historical Chronology*, World Bank Website (June 28, 2006), http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTARCHIVES/Resources/World_Bank_Group_Historical_Chronology_19944_2005_.pdf.

2 THE BRETTON WOODS AGREEMENTS (1944), The Avalon Project Website (Nov. 30, 2005), <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/decade/decad047.htm>.

3 The term “World Bank” was coined as a shorthand way of referring to the IBRD. CHARLES W. KEGLEY, JR. & EUGENE R. WITTKOPF, *WORLD POLITICS: TREND AND TRANSFORMATION* 150 (2004).

4 THE BRETTON WOODS AGREEMENTS, *supra* note 2, at Part A, art. I, § 1. An official relationship between the Bank and the United Nations was established by the General Assembly on November 15, 1947. *Id.* at Part A n.1.

5 On just how economic chaos in Germany and Italy undermined those two nations’ willingness to abide by the Versailles Treaty that ended World War I, and thereby led directly to the establishment of totalitarianism in those two nations under Hitler and Mussolini, respectively, see R.R. PALMER & JOEL COLTON, *A HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD* 761-2, 800-811 (1967).

of trade and capital. This was a valuable lesson learned by the United States and its allies from the Great Depression.⁶ The application of liberal economic principles—as opposed to mercantilist, protectionist ones—was the *sine qua non* for the creation of an international economy marked by stability, predictability, and economic growth.⁷ The underlying belief was that capitalism and free trade produced incentives for peace. As the world became more economically interdependent, the cost of pursuing war would increase and therefore the probability of future wars would decrease.

A return to the *status quo ante* following the war was not seen as a viable alternative, particularly with the significant shift in American foreign policy from isolationism to internationalism that occurred after 1945.⁸ The United States believed that its national security now relied upon its direct involvement in international affairs. The Agreements explicitly addressed this issue of U.S. participation in the World Bank.⁹ Initially promoted by President Woodrow Wilson in his “Fourteen Points Address” to Congress,¹⁰ and then many years later by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the Atlantic Charter,¹¹ this plan of international trade, freedom of the seas, removal of

6 On how the democracies’ enactment of laws imposing tariffs only exacerbated the ills of the Great Depression, see *id.* at 783-784.

7 CHARLES W. KEGLEY, JR. & EUGENE R. WITTKOPF, AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: PATTERNS AND PROCESS 201-204 (2003).

8 See JOHN LEWIS GADDIS, STRATEGIES OF CONTAINMENT: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF POSTWAR AMERICAN NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY 3-24 (1982).

9 The Agreements read in part, “AN ACT To provide for the participation of the United States in the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.” THE BRETTON WOODS AGREEMENTS, *supra* note 2, at Part C. This part of the Agreements was added on July 31, 1945, after the initial signing of the accords. *Id.*

10 The first three of President Wilson’s “Fourteen Points” ran as such:

- I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.
- II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.
- III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers, and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace, and associating themselves for its maintenance.

Woodrow Wilson, *Fourteen Points Address*, reprinted in 2 THE AMERICAN SPIRIT 230-1 (Thomas A. Bailey & David M. Kennedy, eds. 1991). For the full and original text of this speech see CONG. REC., 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. 691 (Jan. 8, 1918) (statement of President Wilson).

11 The fourth, fifth and eighth promises of Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill’s Atlantic Charter state:

**TABLE 1: INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR
RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT
SUBSCRIPTIONS AND VOTING POWER OF
TOP FIVE MEMBER COUNTRIES**

Member	Total Subscriptions		Voting Power	
	Amount *	% of Total	No. of Votes	% of Total
United States	26,496.9	16.85	265,219	16.39
Japan	12,700	8.08	127,250	7.86
Germany	7,239.9	4.60	72,649	4.49
France	6,939.7	4.41	69,647	4.30
United Kingdom	6,939.7	4.41	69,647	4.30

* In millions of 1944 U.S. dollars.

Source: IBRD: *Votes and Subscriptions*, World Bank Website, July 11, 2006
<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/ORGANIZATION/BODEXT/0,,contentMDK:20124831~menuPK:64020035~pagePK:64020054~piPK:64020408~theSitePK:278036,00.html>

economic barriers and disarmament was essential for creating a safer environment in which the peoples of the world could prosper after the end of the two Great Wars of the first half of the 20th century. The plan would promote an international capitalist system, and likewise democratic forms of government. The byproduct of this system would be greater American security, thus reducing the probability of the United States being drawn into another global conflagration.

Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security;

...

Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE WORLD BANK

The Bretton Woods Agreements outline the organizational structure of the World Bank:

The Bank shall have a Board of Governors, Executive Directors, a President and such other officers and staff to perform such duties as the Bank may determine.¹²

All powers of the Bank are vested in the Board of Governors.¹³ The Board consists of one governor and one alternate appointed by each member country.¹⁴ These officials serve five-year terms and may be reappointed.¹⁵ The Board has several enumerated powers, such as admitting new members, increasing or decreasing the capital stock, and suspending membership.¹⁶ Those powers not reserved to the Board are typically delegated to the Executive Directors. In reference to voting, each member receives two hundred fifty votes plus one additional vote for each share of stock held, and when voting majority rule is the norm, except in specified cases.¹⁷ As a result of this, the United States exercises, along with the other major contributors, a large amount of influence.

Executive Directors are responsible for the general operations of the Bank and their powers are delegated to them by the Board of Governors.¹⁸ Originally there were twelve Executive Directors, five of whom were appointed, one each, by the five largest contributors to the Bank.¹⁹ The other seven were elected by all of the Governors.²⁰ The Executive Directors serve two-year terms.²¹ The number of Executive Directors may be increased by an eighty percent vote of the Board of Governors.²² Currently there are 24 Executive Directors.²³

12 THE BRETTON WOODS AGREEMENTS, *supra* note 2, at Part A, art. V, § 2.

13 *Id.* at Part A, art. V, § 2.

14 *Id.*

15 *Id.*

16 *Id.*

17 *Id.* at Part A, art. V, § 3.

18 *Id.* at Part A, art. V, § 4.

19 *Id.*

20 *Id.*

21 *Id.*

22 *Id.*

23 *Executive Directors*, World Bank Website (July 11, 2006), <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/ORGANIZATION/BODEXT/0,,contentMDK:50004945~pagePK:64020054~piPK:64020408~theSitePK:278036,00>.

The President is the chairman of the Executive Directors.²⁴ He manages the daily business of the Bank, and appoints officers and staff with the approval of the Executive Directors.²⁵ Underneath the President is a vast network of offices serving along regional and functional lines. There is a Director-General, a Director of Institutional Integrity, and an Auditor-General.²⁶ The headquarters of the World Bank is located in Washington, D.C.²⁷

html.

24 THE BRETTON WOODS AGREEMENTS, *supra* note 2, at Part A, art. V, § 5.

25 *Id.*

26 *Organization Chart of the World Bank*, World Bank Website (July 11, 2006), <http://sitere-sources.worldbank.org/EXTABOUTUS/Resources/bank.pdf>.

27 This was at the insistence of the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, Fred Vinson, who saw the Bank not just as yet another private financial institution, but as an organization representing cooperation amongst governments. See the *World Bank Group Historical Chronology*, *supra* note 1.

THE PROCEDURES OF THE WORLD BANK

The primary purpose of the World Bank is to provide or guarantee loans to Bank members for reconstruction and development projects. The capital stock in the Bank is provided by the members. Each member subscribes shares of the stock. The original agreement set the capital stock at \$10 billion, but this amount could increase with the approval of three-fourths of the votes of the members of the Bank.²⁸ According to the Agreements, the Bank may make loans in any of the following ways:

- (i) By making or participating in direct loans out of its own funds corresponding to its unimpaired paid-up capital and surplus and... reserves.
- (ii) By making or participating in direct loans out of funds raised in the market of a member, or otherwise borrowed by the Bank.
- (iii) By guaranteeing in whole or in part loans made by private investors through the usual investment channels.²⁹

The World Bank has a high degree of discretion in setting the terms for its loans and guarantees. Currently the Bank has established operational policies that aim “to ensure that the project [that a loan will pay for] is economically, financially, socially and environmentally sound.”³⁰ These policies are highly detailed. During the negotiations the Bank and borrower must reach agreement on several key issues, such as: development objectives, outputs, performance indicators, an implementation plan, and the schedule for disbursing loan funds.³¹

The Agreements outline one important constraint on the Bank in its decision-making process:

The Bank and its officers shall not interfere in the political affairs of any member; nor shall they be influenced in their decisions by the political character of the member or members concerned. Only economic considerations shall be relevant to their decisions, and these considerations shall be weighed impartially...³²

28 THE BRETTON WOODS AGREEMENTS, *supra* note 2, at Part A, art. II, § 2.

29 *Id.* at Part A, art. IV, § 1.

30 *Operations*, World Bank Website (July 12, 2006), <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/0,,contentMDK:20103838~menuPK:1697023~pagePK:51123644~piPK:329829~theSitePK:29708,00.html>.

31 *Id.*

32 THE BRETTON WOODS AGREEMENTS, *supra* note 2, at Part A, art. IV, § 10.

Nevertheless, Edward Mason and Robert Asher, in *The World Bank Since Bretton Woods*, have shown the difficulty of maintaining this kind of impartiality. They have noted that politics and economics are almost inherently intertwined. Economic development relies upon political stability, and certain forms of government are better at providing stability than others.³³ And just as economic considerations can implicate issues concerning the distribution of political power within a society, so too has the economic work of the Bank spilled over into areas of debate that concern *social* policy as well.

33 EDWARD S. MASON & ROBERT E. ASHER, *THE WORLD BANK SINCE BRETTON WOODS: THE ORIGINS, POLICIES, OPERATIONS, AND IMPACT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT* 27–28 (1973).

THE WORLD BANK GROUP

The “World Bank” was initially a popular name for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. In 1960, however, the Board of Governors approved the establishment of the International Development Association (IDA), which became a new lending arm of the World Bank.³⁴ Its main function is to provide interest-free loans to the world’s eighty-one poorest countries.³⁵ As of 2004 the IBRD and IDA have lent over \$545 billion dollars to their member countries for development projects.³⁶ In fiscal year 2004 the IBRD lent \$11 billion for 87 new operations in 33 countries, and the IDA made commitments totaling \$9 billion for 158 new operations in 62 countries.³⁷

Over the following years three more financial organizations were created that came under the leadership of the World Bank. These organizations include: the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), and the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID).³⁸ Each of these organizations has over 140 member countries.³⁹ The IFC promotes private investment in developing countries by providing financing to commercial investors for development endeavors. The MIGA encourages foreign direct investment by supplying guarantees against noncommercial risks. And finally, the ICSID provides facilities for the arbitration of disputes between governments and foreign investors.⁴⁰ Together these institutions along with the IBRD and IDA make up what is referred to as the “World Bank Group” and supply massive amounts of funding to the developing world.⁴¹

34 *Five Agencies, One Group*, World Bank Website (Sept. 20, 2006), <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/0,,contentMDK:20122644~menuPK:278902~pagePK:34542~piPK:36600~theSitePK:29708,00.html>.

35 *Id.*

36 *Id.*

37 *Id.*

38 *Id.*

39 *Id.*

40 *Id.*

41 *Id.*

THE EFFECT ROBERT S. MCNAMARA HAD ON THE WORLD BANK IN MOVING IT TOWARDS A POPULATION CONTROL AGENDA

The original mission of the World Bank was to assist in the reconstruction efforts that followed World War II. The delegates at Bretton Woods believed that the best way to pursue post-war recovery was to build roads, dams, bridges, factories, and other similar projects. As these tasks were completed, however, the Bank switched its focus to supporting the developing economies of the “Third World.” New nations were being created as a result of the dismantlement of the European empires, and these younger members of the Bank were more concerned with economic development than they were concerned with reconstruction.

As previously noted, the World Bank was part of a larger plan to construct a new liberal international economic order. The Western allies wanted to establish a system based upon the principles of the free market and free trade with the goal of avoiding the economic conditions that contributed to the rise of fascism. The Bank’s job was to provide loans, or to guarantee loans from other financial institutions, to member countries in order to achieve this.

But the watershed moment for the World Bank, when it began to seriously change its focus from its original purpose to the agenda of population control, came with the appointment of Robert S. McNamara as the fifth President of the Bank in 1968.⁴² McNamara was the former Secretary of Defense in the Johnson Administration, where he was responsible for prosecuting the controversial war in Vietnam.⁴³ Upon his arrival at the World Bank, he immediately began to transform the organization. He increased borrowing by the Bank, and proposed to accelerate its lending to countries and sectors in which it had not previously been involved.⁴⁴ During his thirteen years as President of the Bank the amount of loan commitments grew from \$1 billion to \$12 billion.⁴⁵ He accordingly increased the number of staff at the Bank.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the expansion of financial assistance into non-traditional sectors required strengthening ties with other international organizations. One of these non-traditional sectors was family planning.

42 See *infra* note 60.

43 THE WORLD ALMANAC AND BOOK OF FACTS 2000 104 (1999).

44 MASON & ASHER, *supra* note 33, at 100-101.

45 *Id.*

46 *Id.*

Right from the start President McNamara made clear his agenda on population control. On September 30, 1968 as one of his first official acts, McNamara made his inaugural speech before the Bank's Board of Governors at the Annual Meetings held in Washington, D.C. In this speech he explicitly identified population as detrimental to economic growth:

The rapid growth of population is one of the greatest barriers to the economic growth and well-being of our member states... The control of population growth is yet another area where the Bank needs to take new initiatives.⁴⁷

In October of that same year he addressed the Inter American Press Association in Buenos Aires, Argentina. There he promised to double World Bank loans to Latin American countries and he also called on those governments to develop serious population control policies.⁴⁸ A year later he delivered his famous speech at the University of Notre Dame in which he declared that the problem of excessive population growth was "the most delicate and difficult issue of our era perhaps of any era in history."⁴⁹ In this same speech he equated the destructiveness of high population growth to that of nuclear war: "Casting its shadow over all this scene is the mushrooming cloud of the population explosion."⁵⁰ In fact, in this speech, he succinctly declared what would become the World Bank's policy towards population growth:

Let the developing nations know the extent to which rapid population growth slows down their potential development, and that, in consequence, the optimum employment of the world's scarce development funds requires attention to this problem. Seek opportunities to finance facilities required by our member countries to carry out family planning programs. Join with others in programs of research to determine the most effective methods of family planning and of national administration of population control programs.⁵¹

Moreover, in 1973 McNamara repeated this position in an address to the Board of Governors at the Annual Meetings held in Nairobi, Kenya. There

47 WORLD BANK STAFF, *THE McNAMARA YEARS AT THE WORLD BANK—MAJOR POLICY ADDRESSES OF ROBERT S. McNAMARA: 1968–1981* 12 (1981).

48 See the *World Bank Group Historical Chronology*, *supra* note 1.

49 *Pages from World Bank History—Bank Pays Tribute to Robert McNamara*, World Bank Website (July 13, 2006), <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/EXTARCHIVES/0,,contentMDK:20100171~pagePK:36726~piPK:36092~theSitePK:29506,00.html>.

50 DEBORAH SHAPLEY, *PROMISE AND POWER: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ROBERT McNAMARA* 480 (1993).

51 *Id.*

he announced that the Bank would go on the offensive against rural poverty. In his speech, however, McNamara outlined his quantitative goals *for population*. “Nairobi” became synonymous with McNamara’s population reduction five-year plan.⁵²

Under the Presidency of Robert McNamara the methods used by the World Bank to achieve economic development changed considerably. Initially the Bank had focused on public infrastructure.⁵³ Bank economists emphasized the importance of growth in gross domestic product and the availability of capital.⁵⁴ As research in economic development went forward, however, economists expanded the list of conditions they thought were necessary for achieving development.⁵⁵ Included among these conditions were higher labor standards, social structures, and a spirit of entrepreneurship.⁵⁶ But economists also noted “a correlation between economic growth on one hand and literacy and low population growth on the other.”⁵⁷ Describing these social goals as essential inputs for development rather than the outcomes of development opened the door for greater involvement by the World Bank in the internal affairs of sovereign countries.⁵⁸

McNamara would lead the charge in the area of population control during his Presidency of the Bank from 1968 to 1981.⁵⁹ According to the World Bank’s official biography of McNamara: “One issue that came to characterize the McNamara presidency was the problem of population growth. McNamara believed that rapid population growth was the greatest barrier to economic progress.”⁶⁰ This attitude trickled down throughout the staff at the World Bank. During the 1970s, Bank personnel were informed through a series of seminars of the supposed negative economic impacts of rapid population growth.⁶¹ The result was the creation of a cadre of supporters for population control programs who were spread out throughout the Bank.⁶²

52 *Id.* at 510.

53 Jessica Einhorn, *The World Bank’s Mission Creep*, 80 FOR. AFF. 23-24 (2001).

54 *Id.*

55 *Id.*

56 *Id.*

57 *Id.*

58 *Id.*

59 See *infra* note 76.

60 *Robert Strange McNamara: 5th President of the World Bank Group, 1968-1981*, World Bank Website (Sept. 22, 2006),

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/EXTARCHIVES0,,contentMDK:20502974~pagePK:36726~piPK:437378~theSitePK:29506,00.html>.

61 Fred T. Sai & Lauren A. Chester, *The Role of the World Bank in Shaping Third World Population Policy* in GODFREY ROBERTS, *POPULATION POLICY: CONTEMPORARY ISSUES* 181 (1990).

62 *Id.*

A more specific example of the Bank's movement towards a population control agenda during the McNamara years can be found in an analysis of the Berelson Report. In December 1975, the Board of Directors of the Bank established an External Advisory Panel on Population, headed by Bernard Berelson.⁶³ The Panel's objectives were to assess Bank policies in the population sector and advise it on how it could better assist member states in dealing with population issues.⁶⁴ It concluded that the Bank should continue its lending policies that support population control efforts because the Bank's participation in that area "is important in legitimating work in this field at the highest political levels and in locating it squarely within a development context."⁶⁵ The Panel also issued its report, the "Berelson Report," which gave twelve recommendations on how the Bank could improve its efforts on behalf of population control.⁶⁶ For instance, the Panel proposed that the Bank focus more attention on promoting local projects rather than operating through a country's health ministry.⁶⁷ A concern that one might have with this recommendation is that if a country's national government (including its national health ministry) was controlled by individuals who doubted the ethics or efficacy of a strong population control agenda, operating at the local level would allow the Bank to support such population control agendas without the scrutiny or criticism of that government. And if that national government were democratically elected, the Bank might be using its wealth and power to circumvent democracy and popular sovereignty in that country. But this and other concerns did not stop McNamara from seconding the recommendations of the Report in a speech delivered at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1977. In a speech titled, the "Address on the Population Problem," McNamara spoke a great deal on the topic of "Possible Interventions to Reduce Fertility."⁶⁸ He noted that the range of possible interventions designed to control population could be divided into two basic categories:

- Those designed to encourage couples to desire smaller families;
- And those designed to provide parents with the means to implement that desire.⁶⁹

63 GEORGE SIMMONS & RUSHIKESH MARU, *THE WORLD BANK'S POPULATION LENDING AND SECTOR REVIEW 3* (1988).

64 *Id.*

65 *Id.*

66 *Id.*

67 *Id.*

68 Robert S. McNamara, *Address on the Population Problem*, *POP. & DEV. REV.*, May/June 1977, at 163.

69 *Id.*

In order to promote the desire among families for reduced fertility McNamara outlined a whole host of economic and social policies that governments could pursue:

Incentives [for individuals to have fewer children] can range from immediate cash payments to family planning acceptors to elaborate programs for future payments, at the end of the childbearing years, for fertility restraint. Disincentives can limit the allocation of various public services on a graduated scale: more to parents with few children, less—or none at all—to parents with many children.⁷⁰

McNamara tended to favor incentive programs. He believed they widened choices rather than restricted them. They were also less likely to penalize children. McNamara considered being born into a large family to be penalization enough.⁷¹

On the topic of taking a coercive approach to population control, McNamara recognized that some countries were moving in that direction. McNamara stated that:

No government really wants to resort to coercion in this matter. But neither can any government afford to let population pressures grow so dangerously large that social frustrations finally erupt into irrational violence and civil disintegration. That would be coercion of a very different order. In effect, it would be nature's response to our own indifference.⁷²

But this talk of incentives and disincentives, and the role of coercion, opens the door for potential abuses. In 1989 the Bank released *Ethical Approaches to Family Planning in Africa*, authored by Fred T. Sai, a Senior Population Advisor at the World Bank, and Karen Newman, who then worked for the International Planned Parenthood Federation.⁷³ In this paper they noted that incentives and disincentives “may have a place in family planning programs, but they should never have discriminatory or coercive effects. By their na-

70 *Id.* at 171. McNamara also described the disincentive schemes that had been adopted by several countries at the time. For instance, he spoke about how Malaysia had made public assistance for the elderly available only for those parents with less than three children. *Id.*

71 “But the fact is, of course, that disincentives or not, children born into large families in the developing world today are likely to be penalized in any case, simply by the pressures of poverty that the population problem has exacerbated in the developing societies.” *Id.* “From a child's point of view there can be few benefits to having many siblings.” *Id.* at 171 n.B.

72 *Id.* at 172.

73 F. T. SAI & K. NEWMAN, *ETHICAL APPROACHES TO FAMILY PLANNING IN AFRICA* 11 (1989).

ture, incentives and disincentives are aimed primarily at the poor, since it is mainly the poor who will be susceptible to them.”⁷⁴ But Sai and Newman’s second sentence seems to contradict their first. The fact is, *any* scheme of incentives and disincentives will become a system of coercion with respect to the poor because the poor, almost by definition, *need* the benefits that make up the incentives and *need* to be safe from the punishments that make up the disincentives in such a system. Thus, even World Bank population control advocates seem to have stumbled upon the fact that all these “incentive and disincentive” schemes necessarily result in unjust coercion.

Thirteen years at the World Bank was too short a period of time for McNamara to achieve his goal of a world filled with governments that all pursue a population control agenda. Afterwards he continued to speak and write about the serious “crises” posed by “excessive” population growth. In 1984 he published an article in *Foreign Affairs* titled: *Time Bomb or Myth: The Population Problem*.⁷⁵ This article was to be expanded upon and distributed to the delegates attending the World Population Conference in Mexico City in August 1984.⁷⁶ In this article McNamara provided projections of world population growth.⁷⁷ He then proceeded to discuss its negative impact on human society in the areas of economic development and political stability: “Rapid population growth, in sum, translates into rising numbers of labor force entrants, faster-expanding urban populations, pressure on food supplies, ecological degradation, and increasing numbers of ‘absolute poor’.”⁷⁸ McNamara’s solution to the problem was to demand birth control and other family planning services.⁷⁹

In an interview with the *Christian Science Monitor* in 1986, McNamara continued to express worries concerning the “population problem”: “[T]he imbalance of population growth rates on the one hand and social and eco-

74 *Id.* A 1998 World Bank working paper discussed this topic of incentives and disincentives to influence fertility choices. Under the topic of incentives the paper stated: “First payments are made to: (a) acceptors, (b) providers, and (c) recruiters, all focused on the act of accepting a method... These payments may be in cash or in kind and are usually given immediately upon acceptance.” John Ross & Stephen Isaacs, *Costs, Payments, and Incentives in Family Planning Programs*, POPULATION AND HUMAN RESOURCES DEPARTMENT: WORLD BANK, Sept. 1988, at 2, 13-14. With respect to disincentives the paper stated that they are “oriented directly to fewer births... Some involve benefits (or penalties) tied to the nth child [that affect] salary level, tax exemptions, maternity leaves, eligibility for preferred housing, schools, and so forth.” *Id.*

75 Robert Strange McNamara, *Time Bomb or Myth: The Population Problem*, 62 FOR. AFF. 1107 (1984).

76 *Id.* at 1107 n.

77 *Id.* at 1113.

78 *Id.* at 1119.

79 *Id.* at 1108, 1124, 1131.

conomic advance on the other...leads to human misery.”⁸⁰ He noted disapprovingly that women in East Africa still expressed the desire to have “six or seven children.”⁸¹ But this desire, he posited, would lead to a growth in population so horrendous that governments would then be forced to adopt repressive policies in order to finally reduce population. McNamara even conjectured that the “population problem” would eventually force parents into committing infanticide.⁸² His solution to this nightmarish hypothetical problem was that the planet’s most powerful governments should begin supporting the distribution and promotion of contraception throughout the world.⁸³

McNamara reiterated this position in 1992 in an article that he wrote for *The Futurist*.⁸⁴ There he acknowledged that, in general, economic growth led to a decline in birth rates in the long run. “But,” he caviled, “it is also generally recognized today that not all economic growth leads to immediate fertility reductions, and in any event, fertility reduction can be accelerated by direct action to increase the use of contraceptives.”⁸⁵ His proposal to combat the “population explosion” included \$8 billion to expand family planning services in the developing world.⁸⁶ He called upon the developed world and international financial institutions to help in this enterprise, and he pointed to the World Bank as setting the example: “The World Bank has already started on such a path, doubling its financing of population projects in the current year.”⁸⁷

80 Rushworth Kidder, *Robert McNamara*, CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Dec. 16, 1986, at 20.

81 *Id.*

82 *Id.*

83 *Id.*

84 Robert S. McNamara, *The Population Explosion*, THE FUTURIST, Nov./Dec. 1992, at 13.

85 *Id.*

86 *Id.*

87 *Id.* It is interesting to note that there is evidence that during McNamara’s early tenure as President of the World Bank, the U.S. Presidential Administration *also* became radicalized in its views on population control. This happened despite the fact that McNamara was part of the Democratic Party, and starting in 1969 the President of the United States was a member of the Republican Party: Richard Nixon.

In 1974, Nixon Administration National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger, along with his staff, authored National Security Study Memorandum 200. See NATIONAL SECURITY STUDY MEMORANDUM 200 (1974). This memorandum clearly supported the idea of making “a greater commitment of Bank resources” to funding worldwide population control efforts. *Id.* However, there is no clear evidence that the World Bank was being controlled by the U.S. National Security Council on this subject of population control during this period of time.

THE PRESIDENTS SINCE MCNAMARA: THE CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR BANK POPULATION CONTROL PROGRAMS

Robert McNamara's tenure at the World Bank marked only the beginning of the Bank's promotion of a population control agenda. Since then, this phenomenon has progressed to the point where the Bank is currently considered to be one of the largest international contributors to aggressive population control programs.⁸⁸ McNamara came into the Presidency of the Bank holding the firm belief that population control was crucial for alleviating world poverty. By 1970, he had established the Population Projects Department at the World Bank.⁸⁹ In June of that same year the Bank approved its first loan for family planning. "Loan 0690—Population Project" provided \$2 million to Jamaica to build maternity centers and train family planning personnel.⁹⁰ From these early expenditures the World Bank's population control programs grew. In this section I shall take a look at the three men who directed this growth, that is, the men who became Presidents of the World Bank after McNamara: A.W. Clausen, Barber Conable and Lewis Preston. These men carried on and solidified Robert McNamara's work at the World Bank.

When Robert McNamara departed from the World Bank in 1981 he was replaced by the former president of the Bank of America Corporation, Alden Winship Clausen. A.W. Clausen followed the precedent that McNamara had set. At a speech before the German Society for Foreign Politics in Bonn, he remarked:

Government attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa towards population programs stretch across a wide spectrum... Most African countries are at intermediate points on the spectrum and they must be encouraged and helped to move steadily across it towards explicit programming. Otherwise the growth in per capita incomes will remain little or nothing. And the assault on poverty risks being overwhelmed by

88 "The World Bank began working in population and reproductive health over 30 years ago and has lent more than \$3 billion to these issues." *Population & Reproductive Health*, World Bank Website (July 15, 2006),

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTHEALTHNUTRITIONANDPOPULATION/EXTPRH/0,,menuPK:376861~pagePK:149018~piPK:149093~theSitePK:376855,00.html>.

89 Jennifer Prah Ruger, *The Changing Role of the World Bank in Global Health*, 95 AMER. J. OF PUBLIC HEALTH 60 (2005).

90 See the *World Bank Group Historical Chronology*, *supra* note 1.

the sheer weight of the numbers.⁹¹

A telling sign that McNamara's legacy was going to endure at the World Bank came in the form of the *World Development Report, 1984*. This publication placed particular emphasis on population change and economic development. It was a blueprint for the Bank's population policies in the developing world. In the foreword to this report President Clausen wrote that:

Failure to act now to slow growth is likely to mean a lower quality of life for millions of people... [T]his Report concludes that in some countries development may not be possible at all unless slower population growth can be achieved soon.⁹²

President Clausen stated that the "problem" of population growth was the cause of financial crises and political disruptions all around the world, though, he did not go so far as to use the nuclear bomb metaphor of his predecessor.⁹³ Clausen called on the international community to provide a greater commitment to meet "the great challenge of slowing population growth."⁹⁴ And the *Report* made an extensive case for promoting population control policies by analyzing current population statistics, projecting future population growth based on those statistics, and discussing the negative economic impacts of this population growth.⁹⁵ The *Report's* comprehensive population policy included:

- Data collection and analysis of the existence of rapid population growth and its consequences.
- Ensuring political commitment from national leaders.
- Creating proper institutions for the effective implementation of political commitments.
- Intensifying support for family planning services.
- Formulating national policies that offer wide-ranging incentives to slowing population growth, and wide-ranging disincentives to increasing population growth.

91 A.W. Clausen, *Remarks Before the Atlantik-Brücke and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik*, POP. & DEV. REV., Sept. 1983, at 573.

92 A.W. Clausen, *Introduction in the WORLD DEVELOPMENT REPORT, 1984* iii (1984).

93 See *supra* note 50 and accompanying text.

94 Clausen reiterated this message in a speech to the United Nations Conference on Population that was held in Mexico City in 1984. There he "called on all countries to 'work together in a renewed effort' to control population." He also said that "the effort was 'critical to the drive to accelerate economic and social development.' Otherwise... 'development would be postponed indefinitely.'" *Family Planning: Global Aid Urged*, N.Y. TIMES, Aug. 8, 1984, at A6.

95 WORLD DEVELOPMENT REPORT, *supra* note 92, at 174-175.

- The establishment of birth quotas as an additional policy step over and above incentives and disincentives.⁹⁶

Echoing McNamara's MIT address, the *Report* advised that governments should act by providing services, education and financial incentives to reduce fertility rates. The *Report* concludes by stating that:

The accumulating evidence on population change in developing countries underscores the strong link between fertility decline and the general level of socioeconomic development, and the contribution that family planning programs can make to slowing population growth.⁹⁷

Thus, as far as the *Report* was concerned, "socioeconomic development" must be spurred on by "slowing population growth."

President Clausen continued to argue in favor of this population control agenda. Writing in the *Journal of Economic Education* in 1985, he asserted that:

Population growth and development is a subject of vast importance and undeniable urgency. The past hundred years have brought to this globe extraordinary economic and technological progress, and vast increases in population. It is time now to use our economic gains and our accumulated wisdom to better the human condition. We cannot and we must not bequeath to future generations a world in which the most spectacular growth has been in the number of people living in absolute poverty.⁹⁸

What is interesting about these words is that they show how Clausen was capable of recognizing the fact that population growth has often occurred *along with* economic development during the past century. And yet, despite this, the World Bank under A.W. Clausen still clung to the dogma that population growth and economic progress were almost mutually exclusive phenomena.

In 1986, Barber Conable, a former member of the United States House of Representatives, became Clausen's successor as President of the World Bank.⁹⁹ And this new President of the Bank often "spoke...in defense of...population

96 *Id.* at 157-160.

97 *Id.* at 183.

98 A.W. Clausen, *Population Growth and Economic and Social Development*, 16 J. OF ECON. EDUC. 165 (1985).

99 *Barber Conable: 7th President of the World Bank Group, 1986-1991*, World Bank Website (Oct. 4, 2006), <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/EXTARCHIVES/0,,contentMDK:20487104~pagePK:36726~piPK:437378~theSitePK:29506,00.html>.

control.”¹⁰⁰ For instance, in September 1988 Conable addressed the Bank’s Annual Meetings in Berlin and there he stated that:

A vital part of the Bank’s work involves development activities that have a strong impact on population—for instance projects to improve economic security, income, and education for poor people, with a particular emphasis on women and girls. We are financing health and safe motherhood programs, and we will expand our direct support for family-related activities. Population issues will be prominent in our dialogue with governments.¹⁰¹

As far as Conable was concerned, “the societies in which population [was] . . . growing very fast *must* accept that many—perhaps most—of these new lives will be miserable, malnourished, and brief.”¹⁰² He expressed his alarm that many governments were failing to implement “sensible” population control policies and that international assistance in this area was declining.¹⁰³ He declared it “imperative that developing countries renew and expand efforts to limit [their] population growth.”¹⁰⁴ Barber Conable was, as Bank President, perhaps, an even bigger cheerleader for the population control agenda than either Robert McNamara or A.W. Clausen had ever been.

Less than a month after Conable gave his speech in Berlin, the Bank released a working paper that attempted to solve the difficult challenge of converting population policy into effective programs. *The World Bank’s Population Lending and Sector Review* was commissioned as a review of the Bank’s activities in the population control sector.¹⁰⁵ The *Review* concluded that the Bank’s overall performance in the population sector “has been commendable,” and its efforts in establishing a policy dialogue with governments on the subject of population control is the area where “the Bank’s impact has been greatest.”¹⁰⁶ The *Review* stated that one of the important functions of the Bank was to help member states develop national population policies by establishing policy dialogue, issuing sector reports and pursuing policy-oriented research.¹⁰⁷ The *Review* even included a section about “the demand for contraception,” wherein it noted that one of the objectives of the Bank’s population policies was “to increase knowledge of contraception and hope-

100 *Id.*

101 THE CONABLE YEARS AT THE WORLD BANK: MAJOR POLICY ADDRESSES OF BARBER B. CONABLE, 1986-1991 67 (1991).

102 *Id.* at 66 (emphasis added).

103 *Id.*

104 *Id.*

105 SIMMONS & MARU, *supra* note 63, at i.

106 *Id.*

107 *Id.*

TABLE 2: PROJECTS WITH SAFE MOTHERHOOD COMPONENTS IN COUNTRY REVIEWS, 1986-2003		
Country	Project Cost	Objectives
Bangladesh	\$213.8m FY86-FY92	Help government achieve a 38%-40% contraceptive prevalence rate and a reduction in the total fertility rate to 4.8; reduce maternal and child mortality.
Brazil	\$129.7m FY88-FY96	Improve the organization and use of resources for delivering a package of three programs of essential basic health services, including: (i) a program of comprehensive care for women and children (including family planning), (ii) a program of infectious diseases control, and (iii) a program of both walk-in and hospital-based care.
Chad	\$27.2m FY95-FY01	Advance the onset of fertility decline by increasing the use of modern methods of contraception; slow the spread of HIV infection by promoting behavioral change.
India	\$103.8m FY94-FY03	Strengthen and improve the functioning of the government of India's Family Welfare Program with the objective of lowering current levels of fertility and improving maternal and child health in three states
Indonesia	\$61.9m FY98-FY03	Improve demand for, and utilization of, high-quality maternal health services; strengthen the sustainability of maternal health services at the village level; improve quality of family planning services; and prepare adolescents to lead healthy reproductive lives.
The Philippines	\$136.44m FY95-FY02	Improve women's health, focusing on women's reproductive health, thereby supporting the government's long-term goals for reducing fertility.

Source: *Safe Motherhood and the World Bank: Lessons from 10 Years of Experience*, Annex 7, pp. 36-39.

fully, in the process, to increase the demand for contraception” around the world.¹⁰⁸ Finally, the *Review* recommended that the Bank utilize marketing schemes so as to generate more demand for contraception amongst the world’s sexually active men and women.¹⁰⁹

In November 1989 Conable spoke before the International Planned Parenthood Federation in Ottawa, Canada.¹¹⁰ In his speech, he made reference to the early 19th century British economist Thomas Malthus.¹¹¹ While Conable admitted that Malthus’ dire predictions of famine periodically killing off much of the human race had not materialized because of technological progress in agriculture and animal husbandry, he asserted that he still had a sense of urgency about population growth that “derives, instead, from [his] concern about the serious strains that more billions of people will impose on the earth’s *environment*.”¹¹² Thus, Conable arrived at Malthusian conclusions via an argument based on the supposed factual premise of grave danger to the world’s environment, rather than the disproved factual premise of widespread famine killing off much of humanity. But even more surprising (and far more partisan) than his admission that Malthus’ premises were wrong, was Conable’s divisive assertion that “having the information and means to plan families is a basic human right.”¹¹³ Conable saw the recognition of this “basic human right” as a product of the numerous population conferences hosted by the United Nations during the final third of the 20th century, and furthermore, he viewed it as “a real step forward.”¹¹⁴ At the end of this speech Conable succinctly stated what the World Bank’s role in establishing population control throughout the world would be:

The World Bank has a long-standing commitment to population. We will not forget this commitment, even when new initiatives clamor for our attention. ... I pledge today to renew the Bank’s

108 *Id.* at 48.

109 *Id.*

110 WORLD BANK STAFF, *THE CONABLE YEARS AT THE WORLD BANK* 102 (1991).

111 Thomas Robert Malthus (who died in 1834), in his *Essay on the Principle of Population* (first published in 1798) and succeeding works laid out the view that, unless it practiced stringent population control, humanity would continue to reproduce and increase its population at a rate far higher than it could sustain through the cultivation of agriculture and animal husbandry. This would eventually lead to mass famine and the death of much of the human race until it reached a smaller population that was actually sustainable. DONALD KAGAN, ET AL., *THE WESTERN HERITAGE* 817-818 (1995). Needless to say, in the years since Malthus died the world’s population has increased by billions, and most of those billions have *not died* in famines resulting from overpopulation.

112 WORLD BANK STAFF, *supra* note 110, at 102 (emphasis added).

113 *Id.*

114 *Id.* at 104.

commitment to issues of excessive population growth and to help make family planning accessible to all.¹¹⁵

One major project that the World Bank began to support during Conable's Presidency was the Safe Motherhood Initiative. On February 10, 1987 in Nairobi, Kenya, the World Bank co-sponsored a conference on "Safe Motherhood" with UNFPA (then called the "United Nations Fund for Population Activities") and the World Health Organization.¹¹⁶ At this conference President Conable, who had just become the Bank's head in April 1986, launched the Safe Motherhood Initiative.¹¹⁷ This project solidified the Bank's commitment to the population control agenda. Some of the outcomes of this initiative are outlined in the Bank's 1999 report entitled *Safe Motherhood and the World Bank: Lessons from 10 Years of Experience*.¹¹⁸ In 1987, the Bank supported 10 projects in the areas of family planning and maternal and child health.¹¹⁹ By 1999 this number increased to 150 projects.¹²⁰ "Overall lending for population and reproductive health has totaled \$385 million a year since 1992, or 30 percent of the Bank's total lending for health, nutrition, and population, although only a portion of this amount supports safe motherhood."¹²¹ Samples of projects with Safe Motherhood Initiative components can be found in Table 2.

A second global conference on safe motherhood occurred two years later in 1989 in Niamey, Nigeria.¹²² This event gave further momentum to the Safe Motherhood Initiative and investments in family planning projects. Family planning and the distribution of contraceptives were vital pillars of this initiative.¹²³ The Bank invested millions of dollars in these programs that provided population control services in numerous countries. And again, this has proved to be another area of serious controversy for the World Bank.

Lewis T. Preston, the former head of J.P. Morgan, became the eighth

115 *Id.* at 109.

116 *See the World Bank Group Historical Chronology, supra* note 1.

117 *Id.* *See also supra* note 99.

118 SAFE MOTHERHOOD AND THE WORLD BANK: LESSONS FROM 10 YEARS OF EXPERIENCE (1999).

119 *Id.* at 5.

120 *Id.*

121 *Id.*

122 *See the World Bank Group Historical Chronology, supra* note 1.

123 *See Pillars of Safe Motherhood* graph in *Safe Motherhood and Maternal Health*, World Bank Website (July 17, 2006), <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTHEALTHNUTRITIONANDPOPULATION/EXTPRH/0,,contentMDK:20200213~menu PK:548457~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:376855,00.html>.

President of the World Bank in 1991.¹²⁴ He would continue the trend of World Bank Presidents supporting a population control agenda. For instance, Preston reiterated the Bank's support for population control at the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo by stating that:

The stakes are too high. Putting it bluntly: if we do not deal with rapid population growth, we will not reduce poverty—and development will not be sustainable. ... [P]opulation in the developing countries will increase more during this decade than ever before... Who will feed and house the additional numbers? How will they be educated and employed? And what will be done to relieve the inevitable stresses on the environment?¹²⁵

Preston vowed to keep population issues “at the forefront of the policy dialogue.”¹²⁶ This dialogue, however, would not take place exclusively within the internal workings of the World Bank, but instead it would also take place in the Bank's negotiations with governments that were applying for development loans. For instance, Preston's successor, who became the ninth President of the World Bank in 1995,¹²⁷ James Wolfensohn,¹²⁸ would ominously warn during his tenure “that any poor country seeking debt-relief ‘had better adopt a sensible social policy’ [of]...comprehensive family planning.”¹²⁹

Even more evidence of population control advocacy by the Bank under Preston's stewardship can be found in the 1994 report *Population and Development: Implications for the World Bank*, which emphasized the following plan of action to promote a population control agenda around the world:

124 Lewis Thompson Preston: 8th President of the World Bank Group, 1991-1995, World Bank Website (Oct. 11, 2006), <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/EXTARCHIVES/0,,contentMDK:20505265~pagePK:36726~piPK:437378~theSitePK:29506,00.html>.

125 Lewis T. Preston, *Slowing Population Growth and Accelerating Sustainable Development: A Call to Action*, The United Nations Website (Sept. 6, 1994) (Oct. 11, 2006), <http://www.un.org/popin/icpd/conference/una/940913120427.html>.

126 *Id.*

127 James D. Wolfensohn, World Bank Website (Oct. 13, 2006), <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/ORGANIZATION/EXTOFFICEPRESIDENT/EXTPASTPRESIDENTS/PRESIDENTEXTERNAL/0,,pagePK:139895~theSitePK:227585,00.html>.

128 Wolfensohn repeatedly showed himself to be an extreme advocate of population control. For instance, in an address to the 1998 World Health Day celebrations he remarked that “[r]eproductive health information and services to married and unmarried adolescents need to be legally available, widely accessible, and based on a true understanding of people's lives.” JAMES D. WOLFENSOHN, *SAFE MOTHERHOOD: PROGRESS AND CHALLENGES* (1998).

129 *Two Would-be World Orders Collide: UN Bureaucrats Battle with the Pope at a Food Summit in Rome*, CANADIAN BUS. & CURRENT AFF. WESTERN REP., Dec. 2, 1996, at 35.

- Working with borrower countries and other donors to mobilize public and private sector financing and other resources required to meet the growing demand for reproductive health and family planning services and to expand educational opportunities;
- Assisting borrower countries through their own strategic investments, emphasizing appropriate infrastructure, institutional capacity, and effective management of social sector activities
- Coordinating the mobilization of resources as much as possible with the effort to supply the core package of essential health services called for in the *World Development Report 1993* and applying that report's guidance on health finance and management in working with borrowers on reproductive health projects
- Strengthening its skill mix in needed technical areas, applying its available capacity for financial and economic analysis in the sector, and working collaboratively with other donors and specialized agencies that have complementary skills and capacities, and
- Using its analytical capacity and supporting research to broaden the scope of population policy through better understanding of the linkages among population change, reproductive health, and the Bank's broader human development and poverty alleviation agendas and recognizing more effectively in country strategies and other analytical documents the interconnections between population dynamics and successful achievement of those agendas.¹³⁰

In all their years of leadership, A. W. Clausen, Barber Conable and Lewis Preston, expanded upon the population control advocacy that Robert McNamara had started at the World Bank.¹³¹ As a result of their efforts, population control policies are now an integral part of the operations of the Bank. Because of them, the Bank continues to operate under the assumption that there is an empirically justified general consensus in the world “around the idea that rapid population growth exerts severe constraints on countries and regions at low levels of socioeconomic development.”¹³²

130 WORLD BANK STAFF, POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE WORLD BANK, World Bank Website (Oct. 16, 2006), http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/hnp/population/pop_dev/popdev.htm.

131 And as the reader has already seen, James Wolfensohn, who was President of the Bank until just recently, also supported the population control agenda of the World Bank. See *supra* notes 127-129 and accompanying text.

132 *Population and Development*, World Bank Website (Oct. 16, 2006), <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTHEALTHNUTRITIONANDPOPULATION/EXTPRH/0,,contentMDK:20341152~menuPK:650489~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:376855,00.html>.

ACTIONS THAT ADVANCE THE POPULATION CONTROL AGENDA THAT THE WORLD BANK HAS TAKEN WITH REGARD TO SPECIFIC DEVELOPING NATIONS

Any discussion of the effects of the World Bank's population control advocacy on specific nations must start with a discussion of the major programs that actually fund this advocacy. In this section, I will take a look at the most egregious of these programs: the World Bank's Department of Health, Nutrition, and Population (DHNP), and after that I will examine the push for population control in The Philippines, in Bangladesh, in India, in Senegal and in Kenya. The effects that these programs had on these countries represent Robert McNamara's legacy at the World Bank.

The DHNP's mission statement currently states that its purpose is to "assist clients to improve health, nutrition, and population outcomes of poor people and protect people from the impoverishing effects of illness, malnutrition, and high fertility."¹³³ In 1997, the Bank published the *Health, Nutrition and Population Sector Strategy Paper*.¹³⁴ The paper outlined three major goals:

- Improve the health, nutrition and population outcomes of poor people and to protect the population from the impoverishing effects of illness, malnutrition, and *high fertility*.
- Enhance the performance of health care systems by promoting equitable access to preventive and curative health, nutrition, and *population services* that are affordable, effective, well managed, of good quality, and responsive to clients.
- Secure sustainable health care financing by mobilizing adequate levels of resources, establishing broad-based risk pooling mechanisms, and maintaining effective control over public and private expenditures.¹³⁵

133 *Health, Nutrition, & Population (HNP)*, World Bank Website (July 15, 2006), <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTHEALTHNUTRITIONAND-POPULATION/0,,menuPK:282516~pagePK:149018~piPK:149093~theSitePK:282511,00.html>.

134 WORLD BANK STAFF, *HEALTH, NUTRITION AND POPULATION SECTOR STRATEGY PAPER* (1997).

135 *Id.* at x (emphases added).

The DHNP overtly states that it views “high fertility” as a problem that needs to be corrected. In fact, to the DHNP such “high fertility” is almost a kind of disease, for it is literally equated with “illnesses.” At no point in reading this Department of the World Bank’s literature does one run into a humble willingness to consider, or further investigate, the possibility that more human beings are not only more mouths to feed, but also more minds to think of answers to a developing nation’s problems, and, more hands to perform the hard work of agriculture.¹³⁶

The Philippines is exactly the kind of developing nation that population control advocates in the West think needs to adopt their philosophy in order to be able to progress economically. In 2005, the government of The Philippines applied for a loan from the Bank for a “Second Women’s Health & Safe Motherhood Project.” In the project appraisal document for this loan, however, the following account of the strategic context and rationale for this project appears:

A wide range of family planning methods have been made available to most women of reproductive age, raising contraceptive prevalence from 36% in 1988 to 49% in 2003. Women, however, are still having on average one more child than they intended, with an estimated 20% of all women of reproductive age with unmet demand [for contraception]. Although abortion is illegal, data from various studies indicate that there are around 16 abortions for every 1000 pregnancies. An unusually high population growth rate of 2.36% ... [for the period of] 1995–2000 is yet another consequence of low contraceptive prevalence.¹³⁷

This appraisal document clearly indicates that the Bank was judging Philippine governmental policy towards contraception as it considered whether or not to make this loan. And the evidence that the Bank coerces support for population control from its Philippine debtor does not end there. The *Manila Standard* reported that shortly after the Philippine government endorsed a program to distribute free contraceptives, the World Bank announced

136 It is important to also note that the Bank deliberately associates and coordinates with organizations that have a history of radical support for population control, such as The Alan Guttmacher Institute and Planned Parenthood of New York City (a.k.a. the Margaret Sanger Center). See *Civil Society Partnerships*, World Bank Website (July 16, 2006), <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTHEALTHNUTRITIONANDPOPULATION/EXTPRH/0,,contentMDK:20584517~pagePK:210058~piPK:210062~theSitePK:376855,00.html>.

137 PROJECT APPRAISAL DOCUMENT ON A PROPOSED LOAN IN THE AMOUNT OF US\$16.0 MILLION TO THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES FOR A SECOND WOMEN’S HEALTH & SAFE MOTHERHOOD PROJECT 1 (2005).

its approval of the Second Women's Health & Safe Motherhood Project.¹³⁸ This six-year project now promotes spreading the use of contraceptives.¹³⁹ The World Bank cited, as the reason for this push for more contraception in The Philippines, the United States Agency for International Development's (USAID) phase-out of contraceptive donations to The Philippines.¹⁴⁰ Evidently, the World Bank will see to it that contraceptives get into The Philippines one way or another.

The supporters of population control at the World Bank have also been interested in the very populous (more than 100 million inhabitants as early as 1990) nation of Bangladesh.¹⁴¹ In the mid-1980's high-ranking Bank officials, such as Vice President W. David Hopper and President Barber Conable, took up the fight for population control.¹⁴² During this period Hopper himself wrote to a senior minister of state in Bangladesh—months after the Bank had already begun to officially pressure the government to do things like create a “National Population Control Board” and begin to offer individual Bangladeshis rewards for sterilizing themselves—inquiring as to whether Bangladesh would meet its “population objectives...on time.”¹⁴³ In impoverished Bangladesh, the rewards the Bank wanted the government to offer really acted as coercion, not added bonuses, to get Bangladeshis to sterilize themselves.¹⁴⁴ In fact, the coercive nature of these rewards was so objectionable that even generally pro-contraception governmental actors such as Sweden and USAID eventually disassociated themselves from the Bank's population control plan for Bangladesh.¹⁴⁵ Worst of all, as one *leftist* abortion-rights advocate has been willing to state in an important American left-liberal journal of opinion:

In many countries, the World Bank has urged governments to make population control a higher priority than basic health care. It has also pressured them to relax prescription guidelines for contraceptives and aggressively push those considered most ‘effective’—intrauterine devices, pills, injectables, and now the implants—in the absence of adequate screening and treatment for side effects, which can be serious and even life-threatening.¹⁴⁶

138 *WB Okays \$16M for Family Planning*, MANILA STANDARD TODAY, Apr. 25, 2005.

139 *Id.*

140 *Id.*

141 Betsy Hartmann, *Bankers, Babies, and Bangladesh*, THE PROGRESSIVE, Sept. 1990, at 18.

142 *Id.* at 18–19.

143 *Id.* at 19.

144 *Id.* at 20.

145 *Id.*

146 *Id.* at 18.

In 1995, the World Bank reported success in “curbing” fertility in Bangladesh.¹⁴⁷ The fertility rate declined from seven births per woman in 1975 to four births per woman twenty years later.¹⁴⁸ But while Bank officials were enthusiastic about this, they still saw the need for increased efforts:

Even under the most optimistic conditions of fertility decline the population will probably reach around 150 million by the year 2010. These expected population figures confirm that we should further and faster reduce fertility.¹⁴⁹

Yet despite such a rapid decline in fertility, the Bank still had to admit in this report that Bangladesh’s overall economic standing had neither improved nor worsened.¹⁵⁰ So, in essence, the Bank has helped to sterilize countless numbers of people, possibly coercively, possibly ruining numerous lives, and there is no real economic benefit to show for it. And still the Bank continues to push its population control agenda forward, regardless of its moral and societal disruptions. Thus, one can truly say that the Bank’s myopic focus on population control as the only way to improve the condition of the developing world, has probably led to more sickness and misery, and not less, in Bangladesh.

Bangladesh’s neighbor India has also been a primary target for the World Bank’s population control promoters. India first came into the international spotlight in the second half of 1976 when one of its largest federated states enacted an infamous forced-sterilization program.¹⁵¹ The law commanded that any Indian family in the state of Maharashtra, upon having their third child, had to have either the father or the mother sterilized within 180 days after that child’s birth.¹⁵² Widespread abuses of human rights were sure to occur, for the law actually made it a crime for both mother and father to refuse to undergo these sterilization operations.¹⁵³ Dr. D.N. Pai, the Bombay Director of Family Planning, when asked about the deaths that might occur as a result of the unsafe sterilizations that this program would encourage, stated:

If some excesses appear, don’t blame me. . . . The excesses occurred in all fields. You must consider it something like a war. There could

147 *Bangladesh’s Family Planning Program: A Model Fighting Against the Odds*, World Bank Website (June 21, 1995) (Oct. 20, 2006), <http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/hnp/hddflash/issues/00092.html>.

148 *Id.*

149 *Id.*

150 *Id.*

151 Henry Kamm, *India State Is Leader in Forced Sterilization*, N.Y. TIMES, Aug. 13, 1976, at 8.

152 *Id.*

153 *Id.*

be a certain amount of misfiring out of enthusiasm. There has been pressure to show results. ... Whether you like it or not, there will be a few dead people.¹⁵⁴

The World Bank's first population project pertaining to India was issued in 1972.¹⁵⁵ The Bank committed \$21.2 million for supporting a program—that included population control—in parts of the Indian states of Karnataka and Uttar Pradesh.¹⁵⁶ The Bank declared that this project “was the foundation for the government's subsequent accelerated program of family planning” and population control.¹⁵⁷ This first project was followed by several others initiated between 1980 and 1994, with the total value of these projects' credits coming to hundreds of millions of dollars.¹⁵⁸ Population control was often a major focus in these projects. More recently, the Bank has supported population control radicalism in the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh.¹⁵⁹ The Indian politician Chandrababu Naidu, who governed Andhra Pradesh in 2001, actively promoted sterilization projects, often berating his citizens who had large families at the Indian equivalent of contemporary American “town hall” meetings.¹⁶⁰ The annual number of sterilizations reached a new peak for Andhra Pradesh in 2001, of approximately 814,000 per year, and over half of the married women of the state had been sterilized by that year, which was the highest proportion for any state in India at the time.¹⁶¹ Naidu's population strategy was heavily driven by sterilization quotas, which limited the number of children allowed and provided incentives for sterilization.¹⁶² Naidu even gave state financial support to “microcredit groups” that then had their workers spend some of their time hounding the still fertile men and women of Andhra Pradesh until they too got sterilized.¹⁶³

154 *Id.* Dr. Pai was seen by most in India at the time as part of the inspiration behind this law, for he was considered to be the “apostle of compulsory sterilization.” *Id.*

155 *The World Bank Group and Population and Reproductive and Child Health in India*, World Bank Website (Oct. 20, 2006), <http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/sar/sa.nsf/a22044d0c4877a3e852567de0052e0fa/0a1a904791c49c728525687b0062dca8?OpenDocument>.

156 *Id.*

157 *Id.*

158 *Id.* And thus, the Bank was funding population control in India at the same time as the ghoulish Dr. Pai began enforcing his compulsory sterilization law.

159 Celia W. Dugger, *Relying on Hard and Soft Sells, India Pushes Sterilization*, N.Y. TIMES, June 22, 2001, at A1.

160 *Id.*

161 *Id.*

162 *Id.*

163 *Id.*

In the 1992 operations evaluation report, *Population and the World Bank: Implications from Eight Case Studies*, the Bank examined its activities in several countries in the population control sector.¹⁶⁴ The findings of this illuminating report demonstrated the Bank's support for the population control agenda in Africa. For instance, in Senegal the Bank noted its efforts in helping the government to develop a comprehensive population policy.¹⁶⁵ This population policy "was implemented, among other ways, by making development of such a policy statement [by the government of Senegal] a condition of a structural adjustment loan."¹⁶⁶ The report continued, stating that this "strategy may be especially important in Francophone Africa, because of its pro-natalist colonial heritage that had to be explicitly and publicly broken with [in order] to legitimize family planning activities [there]."¹⁶⁷ Kenya was confronted with a similar situation. The Bank noted some resistance on behalf of the Kenyan government in implementing population control and family planning policies after Kenya had already taken some Bank funds in the past.¹⁶⁸ To counteract this, Bank officials once again resorted to threats to withhold the money. The Kenyan government was persuaded to establish "an inter-ministerial coordinating agency" for population control as a condition for a structural adjustment loan.¹⁶⁹ *Population and the World Bank* even admits that Bank officials pressed the Kenyan government "fairly strongly" on the issue of population control in these negotiations.¹⁷⁰

It is shocking enough that the World Bank would loan funds to some of the most unethical population control programs in the world, such as those in India. But in those instances at least, the governments receiving the funds seemed to have come to the conclusion on their own that the population control agenda must be implemented. Instead, here with respect to Senegal and Kenya, we have evidence that the Bank actively uses its financial power to pressure poor nations into adopting its population control outlook. Therefore, it is not unjust to say that the Bank forces the population control agenda on the developing world.

164 *Population and the World Bank: Implications from Eight Case Studies*, World Bank Website (Oct. 20, 2006), <http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/oed/oeddoclib.nsf/DocUNIDViewForJavaSearch/B55E8659BF698B38852568160058FCAD?opendocument>.

165 *Id.*

166 *Id.* (emphasis added).

167 *Id.* (emphases added).

168 *Id.*

169 *Id.*

170 *Id.*

CONCLUSION

The World Bank was founded with high hopes at a time when the world needed international institutions that were based on cooperation and the willingness of the United States to spend more of her capital on the progress of the whole world, and not just on the parts that were considered to be directly beneficial to America. Over time, much of this mission was completed. The world rebuilt after the end of World War II. But the World Bank did not disband at that point, nor should it have. Men and women could reasonably have concluded that the problems in the developing world one day might metastasize into violent conflicts that would then drag the nations of the developed world into war once more. In fact, that is exactly what the leaders of the World Bank did conclude. They turned their attention to the developing world, and they have not turned away from looking at its problems and how to solve them since.

But at roughly the same time, led by a population control extremist, Robert S. McNamara, the Bank decided to change not only the *focus* of its efforts, but the very *definition* of what those efforts would be. McNamara, A.W. Clausen, Barber Conable, W. David Hopper, Lewis Preston and those like them came to the conclusion that not only did the developing world lack many of the same things that Western Europe lacked after 1945, but that the *very people* of these nations were often part of the problem. Leading a once great institution, they came to the misanthropic conclusion that the people themselves would need to be cut out of the picture. And for decades now, the World Bank has used its significant wealth and power to try to push the developing world into cutting its own future citizens out of that picture. It has done this despite the fact that there is no clear evidence that population control is needed for development, and also despite the fact that it is very controversial, while traditional development in sectors such as infrastructure and education is not. It remains to be seen whether the new President of the World Bank, former United States Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz,¹⁷¹ will try to shift away some of the Bank's resources from population control, contraception distribution and coercive sterilization, and whether he will try to undo the Bank's obsession with these three "solutions" to the developing world's problems. In any case, one cannot help but conclude that the Bank is still staffed by numerous population control advocates who engage in policies that offend large numbers of people all around the world.

171 *Biography: Paul Wolfowitz*, World Bank Website (July 17, 2006), http://web.world-bank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/ORGANIZATION/EXTOFFICE/PRESIDENT/0,,contentMD_K:20519590~menuPK:51175739~pagePK:51174171~piPK:64258873~theSitePK:1014541,00.html.

Many of these people are voting, tax-paying citizens of the wealthy member countries that provide most of the funds that the World Bank uses. Hopefully, with the aid of the information found in this paper, they can exercise their democratic rights in the future in a way that will make the Bank more accountable to the people who actually make its work possible.

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