The Quinacrine Report:

Sterilization, Modern Day Eugenics, and the Anti-Immigrant Movement

Prepared by the Center for New Community



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Authored and researched by:

Aaron Flanagan, Jill Garvey, Hannah Klemm, Nicole Loeffler-Gladstone, and Domenic Powell.

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Center for New Community 47 West Division #514 Chicago. IL 60610 312-266-0319 www.newcomm.org

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Introduction: The Wrong Side of the Ledger¹

I've come to the point of view that for European-American society and culture to persist requires a European-American majority, and a clear one at that.

-John Tanton (December 10, 1993)

Today a little-known drug called Quinacrine has been cleared for FDA Phase III Clinical Trials, pending further research and development funding.2 Quinacrine is the newest tool in a decades-long movement of coercive sterilization.

Behind this drug and its development are powerful leaders of the anti-immigrant movement and those sympathetic to its population control message. The ideological heart of this movement is John Tanton, regarded as the orchestrator of a vast network of anti-immigrant groups.

Tanton, the founder and former President of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), is preoccupied with promoting and funding Quinacrine sterilization. In addition to FAIR. Tanton founded the Center for Immigration Studies, U.S., Inc., Immigration Reform Law Institute (the source of bills such as Arizona's SB 1070 and Alabama's HB 56), Pro-English, U.S. English, and the whitenationalist journal The Social Contract. No less than eight other groups—like **NumbersUSA** and **Negative Population** Growth—have financial or leadership ties to FAIR and/or U.S., Inc.

Tanton's network of organizations and foundations has shifted public discourse to increasingly tolerate

anti-immigrant sentiment. In its early vears, FAIR solicited and received \$1.2 million in contributions from the notorious Pioneer Fund, a foundation committed to the pseudoscience of eugenics.3 Eugenic research aims to prove the existence of fixed genetic differences between races, an undertaking that has been often used for a number of disturbing causes namely, for proving the genetic superiority of white. European-descended peoples. This practice has been mired in controversy since its inception, and especially since the Nazis used it to rationalize the Holocaust and other war crimes.

Today's anti-immigrant movement evolved out of the eugenic programs widespread throughout the United States during the first half of the 20th century. Due to its historical significance, and to acknowledge the state's current struggle to make amends for its history of eugenics, this report details the forced sterilization program in North Carolina, and how it connects to the Quinacrine sterilization effort underway today.

Originally developed to fight malaria, Quinacrine was re-purposed as an offlabel form of female sterilization that is described by its developers as "permanent birth control." In that capacity, the drug is inserted directly into the

uterus and leads to tubular occlusion. Performed without anesthetic, the pain and bleeding can be so intense that the patient often faints during or soon after the procedure.4

By the year 2000 more than 100,000 women worldwide—from Vietnam, to India, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Chile⁵ —had been subjected to this procedure. Many, including female workers at a rubber factory in Vietnam. were sterilized without their informed consent.6 Specifically, some were told the process was temporary and reversible. Some were not informed of the risks, and later developed uterine adhesions, toxic psychosis, and perforations of the uterine walls.7 Some endured life-threatening ectopic pregnancies.8

Quinacrine was designed, promoted. and distributed by two activists within John Tanton's network, Dr. Stephen D. Mumford and Dr. Elton Kessel, but it has been enthusiastically backed by the rest, including some of its most important and vocal leadership. According to Mumford, Quinacrine is "essential to population growth control" because "overpopulation is a gravely serious national security issue, even more serious than the nuclear threat."9

Sterilization, a *Burning* Issue Today: **The Quinacrine Story**

This explosion in human numbers, which after 2050 will come entirely from immigrants and the offspring of immigrants, will dominate our lives. There will be chaos and anarchy.

-Stephen D. Mumford (June, 1998)

In October of 1998 Drs. Mumford and Kessel, the duo responsible for the promotion and distribution of Quinacrine, were facing a possible injunction from the Food and Drug Administration. The FDA's Division of Labeling and Nonprescription Drug Compliance had notified Mumford in writing that he must "halt all distribution of any and all Quinacrine under [his] control, identify its location, and voluntarily destroy it under FDA supervision."10 Mumford indicated that he had halted distribution of the drug in the United States prior to receiving the federal warning.11

It was soon learned that Mumford had removed his stockpile of around 300,000¹² Quinacrine pellets from the basement of his Chapel Hill, North Carolina home and sent it abroad in order to continue distribution without FDA interference or oversight.¹³ According to federal law, as long as a supply remains outside of the United States, it is beyond FDA jurisdiction. Despite the fact that no government agency in the world has approved Quinacrine for chemical sterilization, FDA regulations allow Mumford and Kessel to continue distributing it in the face of widespread international condemnation.14 Kessel himself has stated that government approval is "desirable but not necessary."15

Stephen D. Mumford is the president of the Center for Research on Population and Security (CRPS). He founded CRPS in 1983 after he was asked to leave his position in the Research Department at Family Health International. He claims he was dismissed for making anti-Catholic statements.16 Today CRPS's primary interest is "the study of the national and global security implications of overpopulation."¹⁷

It was during his time at Family Health International that Mumford met Dr. Elton Kessel, who was Family Health International's executive director. After his departure from Family Health International, Kessel founded International Federation for Family Health Research (IFFHR).

Mumford and Kessel have successfully mobilized to produce and distribute Quinacrine. With the help of antiimmigrant and anti-population growth groups, they have provided Quinacrine pellets to a private global network of doctors, nurses, and midwives.18

Quinacrine was repurposed as a sterilization drug in the 1960s by Chilean researcher Dr. Jaime Zipper. 19 Dr. Zipper performed around 4,000 Quinacrine sterilizations on Chilean women from the early 1970s until 1998. In 1998 the procedure was banned by the Chilean government after reports that it caused cancer, and allegations of misuse and a lack of informed consent. Zipper's initial research was funded by Kessel's Family Health International (formerly known as the **International Fertility Regulations** Program).20 Dr. Zipper injected a liquid form of the drug into each patient's uterus. This liquid "slurry" was only effective in sixty-five percent of cases, and three women died as a result of the treatment.21

Dr. Zipper developed the Quinacrine pellet in response to the failure of the drug's liquid form. The pellets are inserted directly into the uterus, and dissolve into an acid that coats the insides of the fallopian tubes, causing a chemical burn that cauterizes the tubes. The resulting scar tissue leads to tubular occlusion, closing off the tubes permanently. The procedure is performed twice to assure its irreversibility. When inserted incorrectly, or

in too low a dose, Quinacrine pellets have a high rate of failure. Even when performed correctly the failure rate is high. A fourteen percent failure rate was reported in Bangladesh, a number that far exceeds rates for other more conventional sterilization methods.22 For example, a vasectomy has a less than one percent late failure rate.²³

Dr. Zafrullah Choudhury, a doctor in Bangladesh, administered Quinacrine in liquid form to a 28-year-old woman who reportedly died within three minutes. Afterwards he stated that the use of Quinacrine as a sterilizing agent was "cold-blooded murder."24

Proper studies, particularly the required testing on animals and toxicology and carcinogen reports, have not been completed, and so the long-term side effects of Quinacrine sterilizations are not known.²⁵ Preliminary laboratory studies point to potential risks of cancer, as Quinacrine is a known mutagen.²⁶ There are also concerns about toxicity levels and prenatal exposure to the drug. If the sterilization is not performed correctly, life-threatening ectopic pregnancy becomes a risk.²⁷ Patients may also develop abdominal and/or uterine

lesions as well as liver and/or cardiovascular disease.28

The FDA's current stance is that "quinacrine for non-surgical female sterilization should not occur until completion of toxicology, genotoxicity, and possibly carcinogenicity testing."29 Despite the FDA's well-documented procedure for approving new drugs, Mumford claims that the FDA's objections are an "abuse of authority" that "discourages professional men and women from pursuing scientific careers." He further states, "It is not merely the loss of American access to contraceptives that results from this abuse of authority [...] the whole American scientific community loses." 30

Quinacrine's use as a sterilization drug has been met with condemnation from reproductive health advocates. It has received no support from drug companies and very little interest from the medical community, aside from concerns of ethical violations and the drug's potential to be used coercively.



A Page of History: **Eugenic Sterilization, Nativism and the Anti-Immigrant Lobby**

Humanitarianism demands that every individual born be given every opportunity for decent and effective life that our civilization can offer. Racial instinct demands that defectives shall not continue their unworthy traits to menace society. There appears to be no incompatibility between the two ideals and demands.

-Harry Laughlin, (February, 1914)

Eugenics gained the ear of U.S. policymakers at the turn of the 20th century. when popular opinion posited it as a legitimate science. Certain segments of American society feared that mass immigration and the development of new birth control methods would "dilute" the political and cultural superiority of the United Statesdefined as a majority native-born, white population.31

During the 1910s and 1920s, eugenicists helped shape legislation designed to stem these perceived threats through anti-miscegenation laws, immigration control and reform. and sterilization programs aimed at eliminating "undesirable" demographics. By 1929, thirty states had passed sterilization laws inspired by the findings of these "scientists."32

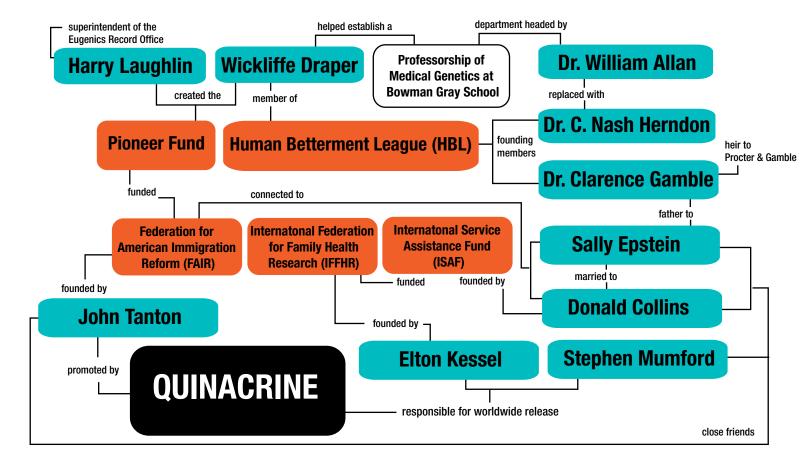
Harry Laughlin was one of the most effective eugenics propagandists of the early 20th century.³³ He spearheaded two campaigns: one to pass the immigration restriction law of 1924, and one to permit involuntary sterilization at the state level.34 Laughlin claimed that Hitler was "the first politician [...] who has recognized that the central mission of all politics is race hygiene."35 He believed that the "great mass of defectiveness" extended by immigrants, the "feebleminded," and children of mixed-race parentage would eventually swarm and suffocate a white European American racial composition.³⁶

Laughlin helped Wickliffe Draper found the aforementioned Pioneer Fund, which to this day is dedicated to funding studies on race and intelligence.³⁷ Pioneer Fund grantees include anti-immigrant organizations and individuals associated with fringe right-wing ideology.³⁸ Two of the organizations that have received funding from the Pioneer Fund are the American Immigration Control Foundation and FAIR.39

The Pioneer Fund wasn't Draper's only eugenics-based project in the post-war era. In 1953 he helped to establish a Professorship of Medical Genetics at the Bowman Grav School in Winston Salem, North Carolina.40 The department was led by C. Nash Herndon.

Herndon's research focused on the study of rural families in North Carolina, in the hopes that certain social deficiencies such as "feeblemindedness" could be "bred" out of the general population. He described his sterilization project at Bowman Gray as a "gradual, but systematic effort to eliminate certain genetically unfit strains from the local population."41 Herndon noted that focusing on a rural sub-population, which he considered docile, would likely make a controversial undertaking that much easier.42

Eugenic Sterilization, Nativism and the Anti-Immigrant Lobby



Herndon was also a member of the **Human Betterment League of North** Carolina, a eugenics organization founded in 1947. The founding members of the Human Betterment League included Dr. Herndon and Dr. Clarence Gamble, heir to the Procter and Gamble fortune. The Human Betterment League provided the media spin necessary to sell eugenic sterilization programs to politicians and an oftenskeptical public.43

From the passage of the first sterilization law in the 1920s, until 1974, when North Carolina closed the doors to one of the nation's last remaining state-sponsored sterilization programs, over 63,000 people in the United States were subjected to eugenic sterilizations.44

From 1950 to 1956, North Carolina steadily decreased the number of whites targeted for sterilization, and began to target African Americans. By the late 1960s, sixty percent of those sterilized were African-American, and ninety-nine percent were women.45

Organizations like the Pioneer Fund and the Human Betterment League of North Carolina successfully linked rural sterilization campaigns to the pre-war ideology of "race hygiene." Their influence helped to catalyze the ideological coupling of anti-immigrant legislation and eugenics.

A Planned Society: Clarence Gamble's Sterilization Efforts

And they were very thankful they lived in North Carolina. And the welfare department didn't have to feed them. And the schools didn't have to waste their efforts on any of their children who weren't very bright. And because they had been sterilized, the taxpayers of North Carolina had saved thousands of dollars and the North Carolina morons lived happily ever after.

- Excerpt from a poem by Dr. Clarence Gamble (approximately 1947)46

After Clarence Gamble left the Human Betterment League, he began funding sterilization promotion and research around the world. He personally financed birth control and sterilization clinics in the United States and Puerto Rico. He also financed the efforts of the first national organization, Birthright, dedicated solely to the cause of sterilization. Founded in 1943. Birthright's mission was the continued support and promotion of sterilization efforts, and the distribution of sterilization statistics to clinics, social workers, and government agencies.48

Rampant poverty and high birth rates made Puerto Rico the ideal site for Gamble's experiments. In 1936 Franklin Roosevelt's Puerto Rican **Reconstruction Administration opened** birth control clinics across the island. Gamble was able to staff these clinics with his own field workers.⁴⁹ He used those clinics as testing sites for pharmaceutical companies, facilitating the administration of dangerous, untested methods of birth control to local women.50

In addition to the United States and Puerto Rico, he funded similar programs in India, Japan, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Egypt, and Israel, He was most active in developing countries, like his daughter and son-in-law would be in years to come, through their involvement in the promotion of Quinacrine sterilization.

Importing Trouble: Sally Epstein and Donald Collins' Population Control Revamp

If a nation with a more advanced, more specialized, or in any way superior set of genes mingles with, instead of exterminating an inferior tribe, then it commits racial suicide....

-Roger Pearson (1966)

Gamble's obsession with population control and women's reproductive capacities remained a family concern. His daughter Sarah "Sally" G. Epstein continued her father's legacy. Over the vears she has served on the boards of various population control groups. In addition to supporting groups focused on population control and reproductive health. Epstein sits on the board of the John Tanton's flagship anti-immigrant organization, FAIR.51

Donald Collins, Epstein's husband, is also a well connected "population consultant." Collins has served on the board of the Sarah Scaife Foundation, which donates millions to conservative organizations and think tanks, anti-Islamic organizations, and sterilization campaigns.⁵² He is active in anti-immigrant groups and the co-chair of the advisory board of FAIR. Collins is a close friend of John Tanton, FAIR's founder and the architect of the modern-day anti-immigrant movement.

Beyond his work as a board member and financier of anti-immigrant organizations, Collins is an avid writer and population control theorist. Collins and Epstein have written on population control and immigration for Tanton's white nationalist journal *The* Social Contract. He is also a regular contributor to the white nationalist and anti-Semitic website VDARE.com. which was founded by white nationalist Peter Brimelow.

In 1976 Collins founded the International Service Assistance Fund (ISAF). The mission of ISAF is "to serve the millions of women and families globally who have reached their desired family size and wish to have no more children." According to its website, ISAF does this through "family planning and contraceptive development research, with a singular focus on obtaining FDA marketing approval of a nonsurgical method of permanent female contraception."53

ISAF is a principal funder of Kessel's own organization, the International Federation for Family Health Research (IFFHR). While the "nonsurgical method of permanent female contraception" that ISAF supports is conspicuously nameless on its website. Epstein has admitted that the method is Quinacrine. In her autobiography for the Veteran Feminists of America, she writes, "it is through this organization [International Service Assistance Fund1 that he [Collins] and I work to promote knowledge of QS [Quinacrine Sterilization] and make plans to introduce it worldwide after its approval by the FDA."54

In her book American Eugenics: Race, Queer Anatomy and the Science of Nationalism, historian Nancy Ordover notes: "This convergence of sterilization efforts and anti-immigrant lobbying typifies eugenic ideology and endeavor. It is neither incidental nor without precedent."55

Sally Epstein Donald Collins Dr. Clarence Gamble Founding member of: Sits on the advisory committee for: •Founding member of Human Served on the boards of: •The International Service Assistance . The Journal of Social Political and Betterment League Pathfinder International Fund **Economic Studies** •The Population Institute ·Financed Birthright World Learning Created Pathfinder International Contributor to: Served on the boards of: Funded population control Population Services International The Social Contract •Sarah Scaife Foundation movements and sterilization VDARF com efforts in in India, Japan, South Currently sits on the board of: •Progressives for Immigration Reform Currently co-chairs the advisory board of: Africa, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, •Federation for American Federation for American Immigration Egypt, and Israel Immigration Reform (FAIR) Reform (FAIR) husband 🔺 daughter 🛖

Paying the Piper: John Tanton and FAIR

As whites see their power and control over their lives declining, will they simply go quietly into the night? Or will there be an explosion?

-John Tanton (October 10, 1986)

Tanton, Collins, Epstein, Mumford, and Kessel are indisputably connected, both financially and ideologically, through their shared focus on the global distribution of Quinacrine.

Collins has written in *The Social* Contract that the relationship between Tanton, himself, and Epstein has "proven to be something of a family affair, defined by our innate trust [...] and steadfast devotion to urgent policy issues in which we all believe."56 Collins' sentiments are corroborated by the fact that Epstein is a long-time board member of FAIR, and Collins sits on its advisory board as well as writing frequently for *The Social Contract*. Collins' son. Donald Collins. Jr., also serves on FAIR's board.

Tanton claimed in a 1997 memo to "know Steve Mumford fairly well."57 Mumford considers himself a member of FAIR, and has written for The Social Contract.

Tanton and FAIR. like the Pioneer Fund, have played an important role in funding and connecting many of the players in the eugenics and antiimmigrant movements. Tanton introduced Mumford, Kessel, Epstein, and Collins to key donors and potential supporters of their Quinacrine sterilization efforts.

In 1993, FAIR gave \$5,000 to the Institute for Development Training (IDT). Now defunct, the organization was

located in Chapel Hill, North Carolina.⁵⁸ Two years after FAIR's donation, Tanton sent a memo addressed to FAIR's Executive Director, Dan Stein, and the **FAIR Board of Directors, informing** them that "their [IDT's] most recent project is the production of materials on the new Quinacrine sterilization method." That same year a leader of IDT, Charles Ausherman, attended the FAIR Advisory Board Meeting, and invited Tanton to give a presentation at IDT's annual board meeting.59 Tanton cites the "quinacrine sterilization methods" as one of the group's program areas that was presented the previous year.60

Tanton sought donations for Quinacrine research from wealthy FAIR benefactors with similar beliefs, like North Carolina philanthropist Fred Stanback, Stanback has donated hundreds of thousands of dollars to FAIR.61 Stanback was a dedicated reader of The Social Contract and even asked eugenicist and Pioneer Fund grantee Garrett Hardin for advice on which organizations he should support.62

It isn't surprising that John Tanton has been involved in promoting Quinacrine, as he has been dedicated to anti-immigrant lobbying for at least the last 40 years. He has also written about eugenics, authoring a 1975 paper called "The Case for Passive Eugenics."63

Today it is clear that a significant number of groups affiliated with FAIR are attempting to weave population control ideology into the anti-immigrant agenda.⁶⁴ Groups associated with or directly linked to FAIR—like **Negative Population Growth, Progres**sives For Immigration Reform (PFIR). Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS), and NumbersUSA—are also hard at work rebranding antiimmigrant and population control ideology as a contemporary interest in immigration and the over-consumption of resources.

Negative Population Growth President and FAIR Advisory Board Member Donald Mann is best known for his controversial comments regarding sterilization, recently stating that "hundreds of thousands of Americans have stood beside me for over 40 years in asking that Congress consider population growth when shaping national immigration policy."

In 1996, he said, "We should make available free abortion to low-income people on demand. And companies should cut back or deny maternity leave to women who have more than two children."65

John Tanton's rti-Immigrant Network

Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) Founded by John Tanton in 1979. Tanton served on FAIR's board of directors

until 2011. He is currently on FAIR's board of advisors,

Center for Immigration Studies

Founded by John Tanton in 1985 to serve as an independent research organization for the Network.

Negative Population Growth

Founded in 1972. Current NPG president Donald Mann serves on FAIR's national board of advisors. NPG also received funding from FAIR in 2000.

NumbersUSA

s for Better Immigration – Founded as a project of U.S., Inc. in 1996 ization in 2002. Founder Roy Beck is the former Washington Editor earch and Education/America

Founded by John Tanton in 1982. Tanton currently serves as the organization's chairman.

Progressives for Immigration Reform

Founded in 2009, Progressives for Immigration Reform shares leadership with FAIR, including Frank Morris, a FAIR board member, and Richard Lamm, a FAIR advisor. Current executive director Leah Durant was an attorney with FAIR's legal arm, Immigration Reform Law Institute.

State Legislators for Legal Immigration

Founded in 2007 by Pennsylvania State Rep. Daryl Metcalfe, State Legislators for Legal Immigration works closely with Immigration Reform Law Institute to draft state-level, anti-immigrant legislation.

Immigration Reform Law Institute (IRLI)

Founded by John Tanton and FAIR leadership in 1989. IRLI, operating under the control of FAIR, works closely with lawmakers to draft antimmigrant legislation.

Social Contract Press

Founded by John Tanton in 1990. Tanton is publisher of the Press's quarterly journal, The Social Contract.

VDARE Foundation

Anti-immigrant blog founded in 1999 by white-nationalist Peter Brimelow, a former editor for Forbes and National Review. VDARE publishes articles from FAIR advisory board members Donald A. Collins and Joe Guzzardi, and has received funds from U.S., Inc.

House Immigration Reform Caucus (HIRC)

Founded in 1999 by former Colorado Congressman Tom Tancredo. Current chairman Brian Bilbray is a former FAIR lobbyist and current co-chair of FAIR's board of advisors.

US Immigration Reform PAC

Co-founded in 1996 by Mary-Lou Tanton, John Tanton's wife. She remains president of the organization, which endorses political campaigns for House Immigration Reform Caucus members.

Pro-English

John Tanton is the founding chairman of ProEnglish, established in 1994. He currently serves on its board of directors.

U.S. English

Co-founded by John Tanton in 1982/83. He left the organization in 1988

9/11 Families for a Secure America

Founded by Peter Gadiel after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. Gadiel served on FAIR's board from 2003 to 2005 and 9/11 Families for a Secure America has received funds from U.S., Inc.

LEGEND

Founded by John Tanton

Has financial or leadership ties to FAIR or U.S., Inc.

Founded as a project of FAIR or U.S., Inc.

Conclusion: The Objections Most Often Urged

The sex of the persons sterilized is an important eugenical factor, for it is evident that with the lower strains of humanity, among whom illegitimacy is high, it will be necessary to sterilize degenerate women in numbers in fair proportion to the number of males sterilized.

- Harry Laughlin (January, 1914)

I'm going to pursue this thing to the end, until it's available to every woman on the planet.

-Dr. Stephen Mumford (February, 2000)

Inexpensive, simple to administer, and deceptively packaged in the rhetoric of reproductive health, Quinacrine is positioned to be utilized as the perfect weapon of the anti-immigrant/eugenics/population-control triumvirate. Despite evidence of its failings. Mumford and Kessel persevere in attempting to stock the shelves of poorly regulated health clinics in economically depressed countries.⁶⁶ The women in these countries who do not consent to being sterilized or are not properly informed of the health risks inherent to Quinacrine are the victims of a coercive sterilization movement, which is the direct ideological offspring of the forced sterilization movement of the early 20th century.

While it is tempting to relegate modern eugenics to its early 20th century heyday, or to the horrors of Nazi Germany, the language of today's movement has evolved beyond its predecessors. Quinacrine's victims are no different than the women singled-out by the state-mandated sterilization programs of North Carolina, Oregon, California, West Virginia, and 29 other states.

North Carolina's eugenics law allowed public health officials to sterilize residents for three reasons: epilepsy, sickness, and "feeble-mindedness."67 These designations proved amorphous. The Eugenics Board of North Carolina, a five-member panel, interpreted its mandate loosely enough to justify the sterilization of thousands of people over half a century.

Though sterilizations were promoted as a means to cure and control "diseases," there was an increasing racial and gender imbalance among those sterilized. Poor black women were labeled as parasitic and diseased.68 At the same time sterilization laws changed to specifically target welfare recipients and other poor people.⁶⁹

At least 65.000 Americans were sterilized before the last state eugenics program was shuttered in the early 1980s.⁷⁰ Thousands of victims are still alive today, but coercive sterilization remains a taboo topic in America's history.71

Only in the past decade have states that maintained forced sterilization

programs begun to make amends. In 2002, former North Carolina Governor Mike Easley issued a public apology, and the state's legislature is now considering a bill that would offer compensation to the surviving victims. Reparations for victims of the U.S. sterilization campaigns provide public recognition of the harm that was done to thousands of Americans, and the harm that could be perpetuated through the legalization of Quinacrine.

Resistance to Quinacrine and eugenic sterilization has existed for as long as the procedures themselves. Women's reproductive health advocates have worked to combat and expose the work of people like Mumford and Kessel. Like Chile, women's groups in India were successful in banning Quinacrine sterilizations in 1998.72

Though Quinacrine sterilization is not currently a front-page issue, the drug and its supporters still pose a threat. In 2009, Donald Collins published a blog on the Population Media Center website, discussing Quinacrine sterilization.73 Collins' case, that Quinacrine is not at all harmful, has been repudiated time and again.

A lack of acknowledgement and overall unawareness of the problem allow Kessel, Mumford, and their cadre of supporters all the space they require to ensure that Quinacrine is one day "available to every woman on the planet."

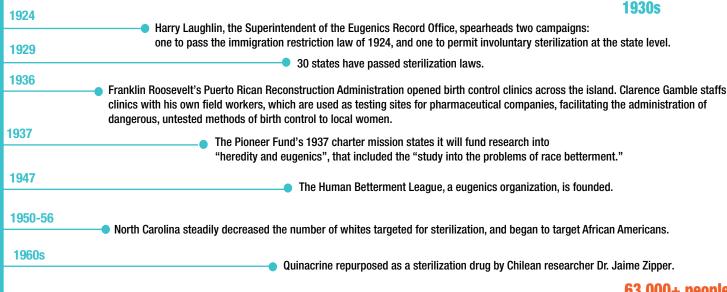
Not only should the anti-immigrant movement's population control agenda be broadly condemned, but Quinacrine as a sterilizing agent should be banned in the United States and throughout the world.

Eugenics Timeline

During the 1910s and 1920s:

Eugenicists helped shape legislation designed to eliminiate "undesirable" demographics through anti-immigration laws and sterilization programs.

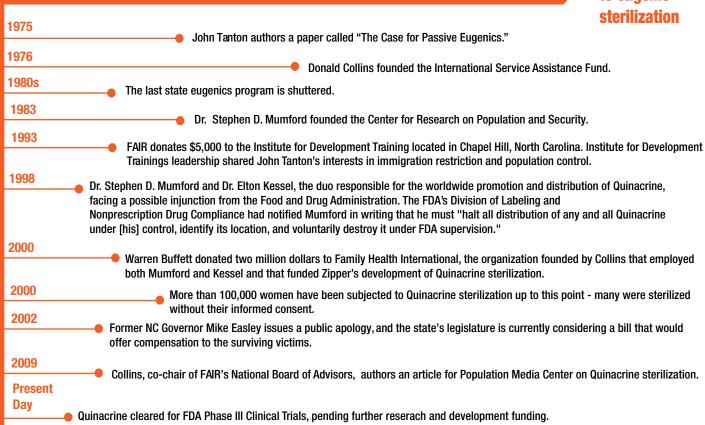
Quinacrine **Hydrochloride** developed as a treatment for malaria in the



In 1974:

North Carolina closed the doors of one of the nation's last remaining state-sponsored sterilization programs.

63,000+ people in the U.S. were already subjected to eugenic sterilization



End notes

- 1. The section headings of this report have been taken from the 1934 autobiography of the eugenicist Leon F. Whitney called The Case for Sterilization. Whitney was the executive secretary of the American Eugenics Society. He publicly called for the forced sterilization of over ten million "defective" Americans. This book was popular among Nazi eugenics researchers in the 1930s. Whitney even received a letter of thanks from Hitler for his work. Much of the rhetoric concerning quinacrine, population control, and modern day neo-eugenics is reminiscent of this text and others like it. Leon F. Whitney, The Case for Sterilization (Frederick Stokes Co.: New York, NY), 1934.
- 2. See for example, the pro-Quinacrine website, Bruce Sundquist, "Quinacrine Sterilization the Controversy and the Potential" last updated July 6, 2011, accessed September 13, 2012, http://home.windstream.net/bsundquist1/qs.html. This website chronicles the Quinacrine debate and cites information on its current state of testing and Quinacrine's funding needs. See also, the FDA website, http://www.fda. gov for access to all warning letters and memos concerning quinacrine testing.
- 3. Statistics taken from Michael G. Kenny. "Toward a Racial Abyss: Eugenics, Wickliffe Draper and the Origins of the Pioneer Fund," Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences, 279.
- 4. See, Alix Freedman, "Exporting Sterilization Part 1," News & Observer, June 19, 1998, at A1. The concept of a non-surgical sterilization procedure that was performed by scarring the fallopian tubes is far from new. Early experimentation with this kind of procedure happened in Germany in the 1920s. German gynecologist Felix Mikuliez-Radecki discovered a form of non-surgical sterilization that involved scarring the fallopian tubes through injections of carbon See Robert Proctor, Racial Hygiene: Medicine Under the Nazis (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988): 109.
- 5. See, Shree Mulay, "Quinacrine Sterilization: Unethical Trials," Economic and Political Weekly, 32:17 (1997): 877-879; and Marge Berer, "The Quinacrine Controversy One Year on," Reproductive Health Matters, 2:4 (1994): 100. Berer claims that "Almost every instance of continuing provision of the method seems to be described (euphemistically) as a 'clinical
- 6. See Alix Freedman, "Exporting Sterilization, Part 1." Many women were informed that they were merely having their IUD's checked, but were sterilized instead. Others were misled about the permanence of the procedure. For further information see also, "Woman's Views Influence Contraceptive Use," Network, 1, (September 1995): 16.
- 7. Judith A.M. Scully, "Maternal Mortality, Population Control and the War in Women's Wombs: A Bioethical Analysis of Quinacrine Sterilization," Wisconsin International Law Journal, 19:103 (2000-2001): 106; Harper and Rowe, "Female Transcervical Sterilization," research summary in Popline, Abstract no. PIP 019774, 1983; L.A. Ciaccio, J.L. Hill, "Observation of Toxic Effects of Quinacrine Hydrochloride in Rodents," Contraception, 17:231 (1978): 231-236.
- 8. See, J.L. Tenore, "Ectopic Pregnancy," American Family Physician 4 (2000): 1080-88 and Hema Shukla, "Quinacrine: Population Control Miracle or Dangerous Drug?," Charleston

- Gazette, February 15, 1999, at 1D.
- 9. Alix Freedman, "A Mission to Sterilize the Poor, Quinacrine Campaign Offers a Painful, Possibly Dangerous Drug to the World," The Wall Street Journal.
- 10. FDA Warning letter, issued October 14, 1998. See http:// fda.gov. This episode is also discussed in Alix Freedman, "Two Americans Export Chemical Sterilization to the Third World," Wall Street Journal, June 8, 1998, at A1.
- 11. Scott Weinberg, "Mumford Evades FDA: Quinacrine Sterilization Advocate Relocates Stockpile 'Abroad,'" Population Research Institute Review, 9:2 (February/March 1999). http:// pop.org/content/mumford-evades-fda-quinacrine-1536.
- 12. 300,000 quinacrine pellets are enough doses for approximately 20,000 sterilization procedures.
- 13. Stephen D. Mumford, Letter to William Nychis, FDA Compliance Officer, 4, November, 1998. FDA Online Archive, http://fda.gov.
- 14. See, Scott Weinberg, "Mumford Evades FDA."
- 15. Quoted as part of the Committee on Women, Population, and the Environment, "Quinacrine Fact Sheet," http://cwpe. org/resources/healthrepro/quinacrinefacts.
- 16. There is a strong anti-Catholic bias to Mumford's rhetoric. He claimed publicly that he was let go from FHI due to the organization's pro-Catholic bias. He has published multiple books relaying his anti-Catholic sentiments. See Stephen Mumford, The Pope and the New Apocalypse: The Holy War Against Family Planning, (Center for Research on Population and Security: Research Triangle Park, NC, 1986); and American Democracy and the Vatican: Population Growth and National Security (Humanist Press: Amherst, New York, 1984). For more information on FHI and its population control leanings see Jacqueline Kasun, The War Against Population (Ignatus: San Francisco, 1988): 183.
- 17. See, the Center for Research on Population and Security, www.population-security.org/intro.htm.
- 18. See Sydney P. Freedberg, "A New Chemical Sterilization Technique Sparks Global Debate," The Houston Chronicle, November 18, 1998, at A1; and Ambereen Choudhury, "The Row Over Chemical Sterilization," The Independent, September 10, 1998.
- 19. Dr. Zipper was a researcher who had developed a copper IUD. He began his research into nonsurgical chemical sterilization by experimenting with agents such as formaldehyde, phenol, and sulfuric acid, hoping these chemicals would cause tubular occlusion. Formaldehyde and phenol were both used by Nazi doctors in German sterilization experiments in the 1930s. Zipper's original research tested the aforementioned chemicals on the fallopian tubes of rabbits. With funding from FHI he began testing the procedure on women. See Shree Mulay, "Quinacrine Sterilization: Unethical Trials," Economic and Political Weekly, 32:17 (April-May 1997), 878. See also Scully, Maternal Mortality, Population Control and the War in Women's Wombs: A Bioethical Analysis of Quinacrine Sterilization," 105.
- 20. See Deen, "Population: Group Seeks Review of Suspect Sterilization Drug," and Scully, "Maternal Mortality, Population Control, and the War in Women's Wombs." See also Jaime Zipper, "Alterations in Fertility Induced by Unilateral Instillations of Cytotoxic Compounds in Rats," American Journal of

- Obstetrics and Gynecology, Issue 167, (1992): 1203-1207. 21. See "Chile Quinacrine Banned," Woman's Health Journal; and J. Zipper, E. Stachetti, and M. Rivera, "Human Fertility Control by Transvaginal Application of Quinacrine on the Fallopian Tube," Fertility and Sterility, 21 (1970): 581-589. 22. See Sydney Freedberg, "New Way to Sterilize Woman at Issue;" and Praful Bidwai, "South Asia-Health: Harmful Contraceptive Trials on Woman," Inter Press Service, May 22, 1997. This study cites a 14% failure rate in Bangladesh, a number that far surpasses United States standards for sterilization methods. Also see Shree Mulay, "Quinacrine Sterilization: Unethical Trials."
- 23. See Philp, T., Guillebaud, J., & Budd, D., "Late failure of vasectomy after two documented analyses showing azoospermic semen," British Medical Journal (Clinical Research Edition);289:77-9, (1984).
- 24. See "Chile Quinacrine Banned," Woman's Health Journal, 22, (March 1998); Ambereen Choudhury, "The Row Over Chemical Sterilization," and Alix Freedman, "Exporting Sterilization, Part 2." See also Scully, "Maternal Mortality, Population Control, and the War in Women's Wombs," 105.
- 25. See FDA memo Lisa Rarick, MD, memorandum to Susan Allen, MD, MPH, August 26, 1998, Controlled Correspondence Response, Federal Drug Administration Government Compliance Regulatory Information. DRUDP-137, FDA Online Archives, http://www.fda.gov.
- 26. In this FDA memo, it is stated that "the IND [Investigation of New Drug] was cancelled in 1990 because of several factors including concerns about the drug's mutagenicity, long-term safety and possible carcinongenicity." Lisa Rarick, MD, memorandum to Susan Allen, MD, MPH, August 26, 1998. See Alix Freeman, "Population Bomb: Two American's Export Chemical Sterilization to the Third World," Wall Street Journal, June 18, 1998. The World Health Organization claims that 60-80% of know mutagens are carcinogens that directly cause cancer. See "Female Sterilization: Quinacrine pellet study," World Health Organization Toxicology Panel Report 4.3.1, World Health Organization, 1991.
- 27. See J.L., Tenor, "Ectopic Pregnancy," American Family Physician, 4:61(2000): 1080-1088; and J. Abbott, et. al, "Ectopic Pregnancy," Journal of Emergency Medicine, 6
- 28. Family Health International conducted some of these early trials with funding from private population control interests. See Anne Hendrixson, "Opposing Quinacrine, Upholding Choice," Political Environments, 7, Fall/Winter (1999-2000). 29. Quoted in David Morrison, "FDA Lowers the Boom on Mumford: Federal Agency Orders the Destruction of Horded Stocks of Quinacrine," Population Research Institute Review, 9:1, (December/January 1999).
- 30. Ibid.
- 31. For good historical analysis of various international eugenics movements see, Marouf Arif Hasian, Jr., The Rhetoric of Eugenics in Anglo-American Thought (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996); Edwin Black, War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America's Campaign to Create a Master Race and Harry Bruinius, Better for All the World: The Secret History of Forced Sterilization and America's Quest for Racial Purity (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006).

End notes

- 32. See R. Eugene Brown, Eugenical Serilization in North Carolina (Raleigh, North Carolina: Eugenics Board of North Carolina), June 30, 1934 to July 1, 1968. See also Johannah Schoen, "Reassessing Eugenic Sterilization: The Case of North Carolina," A Century of Eugenics in America, Paul A. Lombardo, ed. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2011): 45-68.
- 33. Recorded traits included physically-visible traits such as eye and hair color, incidents of birth defects, and cases of disease. The ERO field worker also recorded subjective assessments of the subject's "mental ability." See P.K. Wilson, "Harry Laughlin's Eugenic Crusade to Control the Socially Inadequate in Progressive Era America," Patterns of Prejudice, 36:1 (2002): 49-67.
- 34. William H. Tucker, The Funding of Scientific Racism: Wickliffe Draper and the Pioneer Fund (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002): 44.
- 35. Paul Lombardo, "The American Breed," Albany Law Review, 65:3, (2002): 760. Laughlin was a strong supporter of Hitler's eugenics program. He received an honorary degree from the Nazi-run University of Heidelberg in 1935 for his work on eugenics. Laughlin spent the latter half of the 1930s peddling a Nazi-era eugenics film to schools throughout the United States with the knowledge and support of Wickliffe Draper. See Henry Friedlander, The Origins of Nazi Genocide: From Euthanasia to the Final Solution.
- 36. Harry Laughlin. "Calculations on the Working Out of a Proposed Program of Sterilization," in Proceedings of the First National Conference on Race Betterment, (1914): 478.
- 37. At the same time that they founded the Pioneer Fund, Draper, and Laughlin began their long term and secretive support of a campaign to repatriate all African Americans living in the United States back to Africa. While former Pioneer Fund president Harry Weyher, who served from 1958-2002, has denied Draper's involvement with this plan, scholars have found ample evidence and correspondence to prove it. This includes correspondence between Draper and Earnest Sevier Cox the Klansman and ardent white supremacist who headed the effort. See William H. Tucker, "Bankrolling Racism: "Science" and the Pioneer Fund," Race and Society, 4 (2001): 195-205.
- 38. For a short list of Pioneer grantees such as eugenicist Garrett Hardin and Arthur Jenson, who writes on "racial difference," see http://www.pioneerfund.org/Grantees.html. 39. Statistics taken from Michael G. Kenny, "Toward a
- Racial Abyss: Eugenics, Wickliffe Draper and the Origins of the Pioneer Fund," Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences, 279.
- 40. He donated \$100,000 to the genetics program at the Bowman Gray School for research that would "prove" that whites were superior to blacks. Draper stipulated that his donation would remain anonymous. See Kevin Begos. "Benefactor with a Racist Bent: Wealthy recluse apparently liked the looks and potential of Bowman Grays new medical-genetics department," Against Their Will: North Carolina's Sterilization Program, http://extras.journalnow.com/againsttheirwill/parts/ two/storv3.html.
- 41. Danielle Deaver, "Forsyth in the Forefront: Medical School to Probe Its Role in County Plan for Sterilization," accessed July, 2012, http://againsttheirwill.journalnow.com/.
- 43. North Carolina was by far the most vigorous of all the states, in putting eugenics laws into play. Though California sterilized more people, North Carolina continued its sterilization programs well into the 1970s. See, Johanna Schoen, "Reassessing Eugenic Sterilization: The Case of North Caro-

- lina," in A Century of Eugenics in America, ed. Paul Lombardo (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 2011): 141-160. 44. See, Alison C. Carey, "Gender and Compulsory Sterilization Programs in America: 1907-1950," Journal of Historical Sociology, 11:1 (March, 1998). With nearly 20,000 sterilizations from 1909-1953, California led the way, followed by North Carolina and Virginia. See also, Wendy Kline, Building a Better Race: Gender Sexuality and Eugenics from the Turn of the Century to the Baby Boom (Berkeley: Univeristy of California Press, 2001).
- 45. http://extras.journalnow.com/againsttheirwill/parts/four/ radicalshift.html. Data was pulled from the graph.
- 46. http://extras.journalnow.com/againsttheirwill/parts/three/ poem.html. Accessed August 6th, 2012.
- 47. The organization Birthright still exists today under a different name. Originally the Department of Social Hygiene. it eventually became the Sterilization League of New Jersey, which was also referred to as the New Jersey League for Human Betterment. In 1943 it changed its name to Birthright, Inc. to indicate its national orientation, and move away from the association with eugenics. In 1950 it would become the Association for Human Betterment. In 1962 it was re-named the Human Betterment Association for Voluntary Sterilization, followed by the Association for Voluntary Sterilization in 1965. Now it is called Engender Health, an international maternal health organization funded in part by the US Government. See. Thomas M. Shapiro. Population Control Politics: Woman. Sterilization and Reproductive Choice (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985), 56-57.
- 48. Ian Dowbiggin, A History of the Sterilization Movement and Global Fertility (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 4-5.
- 49. See, Jacqueline Kasun, The War Against Population: The Economics and Ideology of Population Control, 161-165. See also, Nancy Ordover, American Eugenics, 151-153. 50. Ibid.
- 51. See, www.psi.org/content/sarah-g-epstein for a bio of Sarah G. Epstein. Epstein's biography on Population Services International's (PSI) website lists all of the organizations with which she is involved. It also states that "she and her husband Donald Collins, founder of International Services Assistant Fund, and their team have received permission for a Phase III trial of Quinacrine Sterilization. It is underway in the US, India, Chile, Brazil and Mexico."
- 52. "Scaife Foundations SourceWatch.", last accessed July 10th 2012, http://www.sourcewatch.org/index. php?title=Scaife_Foundations.
- 53. "Welcome to ISAF: International Services Assistance Fund's Home Page," accessed July 10, 2012, http://www. isafonline.org/index.html. Since July 2012, this explanation has been replaced by the following: "To encourage and work for women's reproductive health, rights and empowerment. both domestically and internationally, through research, education and facilitating the global availability of safe, inexpensive, non-coercive family planning methods." (emphasis, ours.) While the description has changed, it is likely referencing quinacrine. The addition of "non-coercive" as a description could be read as ISAF's possible concern about the drug's controversial status.
- 54. "Sarah G. "Sally" Epstein, Fabulous Feminists of the VFA," accessed September 14, 2012, www.vfa.us/Sally%20 Epstein.htm.
- 55. Nancy Ordover, American Eugenics: Race, Queer Anatomy, and the Science of Nationalism (University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, MN, 2003), 203.
- 56. Donald Collins and Sarah G. Epstein, "How a Rural Oph-

- thalmologist's Vision Changed our Lives," The Social Contract, 20:3 (Spring, 2010), 220. There is also a picture of John Tanton in the article with eugenicist Garrett Hardin.
- 57. John Tanton, letter to Martha Drake, February 26, 1997, Tanton Files, CNC Digital Archive.
- 58. Federation for American Immigration Reform 990 Part I-II, 1993, CNC Digital Archive; Sarah Epstein, Garrett Hardin, and John Tanton are all listed on the board at this time. See Federation for American Immigration Reform, Form 990, Schedule 2, Part V, 1993, CNC Digital Archive.
- 59. John Tanton, memorandum to Dan Stein and the FAIR Board of Directors, November 13, 1995, Tanton Files, CNC Digital Archive.
- 60. John Tanton, memorandum for Charles Auscherman files, November 8, 1995, Tanton Files, CNC Digital Archive. 61. According to a memo from Tanton to the FAIR board of directors on November 20, 1995, Stanback had donated "every
- year since 1982 for a total of \$505,500." See John Tanton, memorandum to Dan Stein and the FAIR Board of Directors. November 20, 1995, Tanton Files CNC Digital Archive.
- 62. See Tanton memorandum to the Fred Stanback File, November 2, 1995. See also Judith Scully, "Maternal Mortality, Population Control, and the War in Women's Wombs," 112. 63. Sarah Viets, "Tanton Memo of the Month: Passive
- Eugenics," accessed August 14th, 2012, http://imagine2050. newcomm.org/2010/05/01/tanton-memo-of-the-monthpassive-eugenics.
- 64. As noted, Epstein still serves on FAIR's board of directors, and Collins is co-chair of FAIR's National Board of Advisors. Collins also writes for Progressives For Immigration Reform (PFIR), an anti-immigrant front group that shares leadership with FAIR and works closely with organizations connected to Tanton. Center for Immigration Studies and Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS) are just two examples.
- 65. The Record, "Teaneck Group Would Limit Babies, Immigrants," August 5, 1996.
- 66. See, Donald Collins, "QS: A Safe, Inexpensive, Readily Administered Method of Family Planning.'
- 67. Kevin Begos, "Lifting the Curtain on a Shameful Era: Thousands Were Sentenced to Sterilization During Rubberstamp Hearings in Raleigh," accessed July 5, 2012, http:// extras.journalnow.com/againsttheirwill/parts/three/story1.
- 68. Field Report for December 1946 submitted by Elsie Wulkop, Field Secretary of Birthright, Inc. Accessed October 25, 2012, http://www.indyweek.com/pdf/051811-Begos-Eugenics/target_NC_schoolkids.pdf
- 69. John Railey, "Wicked Silence," accessed October 24th, 2012, http://extras.journalnow.com/againsttheirwill/parts/ four/story1.html
- 70. The last state mandated sterilization was done in Oregon in 1981. See Associated Press. "Eugenics Victims get Apology," Eugene Register Guard, November 16, 2002, at 2B. 71. lbid.
- 72. See Shree Mulay, Navsharan Singh, & Rajashri Dasgupta, "Quinacrine Non-Surgical Sterilisation in West Bengal: What We Have Learned From The Women On The Ground," A report presented in a workshop to discuss the research findings, Kolkata, India (November 28, 2003).
- 73. Donald Collins, "QS: A Safe, Inexpensive, Readily Administered Method of Family Planning," Population Media Center, posted on July 15th, 2009, http://www.populationmedia. org/2009/06/15/gs-a-safe-inexpensive-readily-administeredmethod-of-family-planning/.