

TODAY'S CLIMATE OF HATE: AN OVERVIEW

In the last several years, nativists and White supremacists have used legitimate fears over the protection of U.S. borders to launch a propaganda campaign designed to build fear and anger over U.S. immigration policy. From their extreme rhetoric, a public policy agenda has been initiated that strays far from securing our borders from terrorists, one that instead spreads fear throughout the Hispanic community, violates our civil liberties, and offends our standards of common decency.

"Together we need to face a blunt reality," Senator Robert Menendez (D-NJ) stated on the floor of the United States Senate. "Our legitimate desire to get control over our borders has too often turned into a witch hunt against Hispanic Americans and other people of color. Common sense repeatedly loses out to hysteria and agents of intolerance repeatedly jump over the legal protections to which every American is entitled."¹

Thanks to the complicity of many politicians, political figures, law enforcement officials, and members of the media, this campaign has moved sentiments traditionally kept on the fringe of political debate into the political mainstream. In so doing, they have

unleashed a climate of hate that has had real consequences for the Latino community. Today many Hispanics live in fear, regardless of whether or not they are U.S. citizens.

Anti-Immigrant Rhetoric

According to the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), the vitriolic rhetoric that surrounds the immigration debate has its roots in White supremacy and hate.² Traditionally limited to the fringe of American political debate, extremist anti-immigrant groups have seized upon public fears following 9/11 to paint immigrants as a threat to national security. They spread a litany of falsehoods, myths, and exaggerations about immigrants to demonize them as a threat to the American way of life. The Anti-Defamation League reports that these myths take shape in a number of "code words" now regularly heard on television, in town halls, and even at the dinner table.³

These code words describe immigrants as:

- "Third world invaders" who come to America to destroy American heritage, "colonize" the country, and attack our "way of life"

- “Animal-like,” using terminology that describes immigrants as “dumbing down” or “less than” Americans or as part of a “horde” or “swarm” coming over the border
- “Carriers of disease” such as leprosy, tuberculosis, Chagas disease (a potentially fatal parasitic disease), dengue fever, polio, and malaria
- “Criminals,” murderers, rapists, terrorists, and a danger to children and families
- Intent on “*reconquista*,” a conspiracy theory alleging a secret plot by Mexican immigrants to create a “greater Mexico” by seizing seven states in the American Southwest that once belonged to Mexico⁴

According to ADL, this virulent anti-Hispanic rhetoric feeds a broader climate of hate that has contributed to hate crimes directed at individuals on the basis of their Hispanic ethnicity:⁵

“When people are trained to think of immigrants as invading our way of life, trying to rip apart our civilizations, and undermine our values, when we’re trained to think of them as less deserving of rights, less human, animal-like almost... good people will be inculcated to hate and the suggestion is...implicit that maybe communities should take matters into their own hands.”

— Stacy Burdett, Anti-Defamation League⁶

Anti-Immigrant Organizations

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), which tracks extremist groups in America, three organizations are at the forefront of the anti-immigration network: the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS), and NumbersUSA. All three were created by a man named John Tanton who has been at the heart of the White nationalist

movement for decades. According to SPLC, each of these three organizations has roots in White supremacy.⁷

SPLC lists FAIR as a hate group for:

- Accepting \$1.2 million from the Pioneer Fund, a group founded to promote the genes of White colonials and which funds studies on race, intelligence, and genetics
- Hiring as key officials men who have also joined White supremacist groups
- Keeping board members who regularly write for hate publications and promote racist conspiracy theories about Latinos
- Producing television programming featuring White nationalists⁸

Although CIS presents itself as a scholarly think tank that produces serious immigration studies meant to serve “the broad national interest,” SPLC challenges its objectivity noting that CIS has “*never found any aspect of immigration that it liked* [emphasis added].” SPLC also notes that CIS has frequently manipulated data to achieve the results it seeks.⁹

NumbersUSA bills itself as an organization that operates on its own and rejects racism completely, yet the truth is that for the first five years of its existence, NumbersUSA was a program of U.S. Inc., a foundation run by Tanton to fund numerous nativist groups. Its leader helped edit Tanton’s racist journal, *The Social Contract*, and spoke before the Council of Conservative Citizens, a hate group that has called Blacks “a retrograde species of humanity.”¹⁰

All three have spokespeople who regularly appear on cable news and talk radio and, with the help of other nativist organizations such as Americans for Legal Immigration PAC (ALIPAC) and VDare, have developed an online presence that is extremely active and vocal:

"[They] have infiltrated the mainstream by presenting themselves as legitimate commentators, when, in reality, they were all conceived by a man who is convinced that non-White immigrants threaten America. They have never strayed far from their roots."

— Mark Potok, Director of SPLC's Intelligence Project¹¹

And wherever anti-immigrant legislation rears its head, one or all of these groups is usually involved.

- In 1994, FAIR Sacramento lobbyist Alan Nelson was co-author of Proposition 187, which mandated strict and punitive measures against undocumented immigrants, barring entire families from receiving any type of public assistance, including routine medical care and public schooling. The proposition would have required teachers to screen their students and medical professionals to check patients' status before administering care.
- FAIR loaned staff to assist former U.S. Representative Tom Tancredo (R-CO) in establishing the House Immigration Reform Caucus (HIRC).
- One of FAIR's paid advisors, Brian Bilbray, ran for Congress and now chairs the HIRC. Bilbray is noted for filing a succession of lawsuits challenging state laws that allow children of undocumented workers to receive in-state tuition rates at state universities.¹²

All three organizations have been active in communities advocating harsh anti-immigrant policies, including Suffolk County, NY, Maricopa County, AZ, Manassas, VA, Hazelton, PA, and Shenandoah, PA.

Media Complicity

In January 2008, the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) documented the complicity of several

cable news networks in giving these nativists, hate groups, and vigilantes access to the nation's airwaves. Over a three-year period, NCLR cataloged the appearance of six spokespeople, many with ties to White supremacy, as regular guests on cable news and talk radio. Rarely were their histories with hate and vigilantism acknowledged. Rarely was there an opposing point of view offered. In total, the following six "suspect spokespeople" have appeared on cable television more than 120 times commenting on immigration policy:

- Dan Stein, President, FAIR
- Chris Simcox, Co-founder, Minuteman Civil Defense Corps
- Jim Gilchrist, Co-founder, Minuteman Project
- Roy Beck, Executive Director, NumbersUSA
- Glenn Spencer, Founder, Voices of Citizens Together
- William Gheen, President, ALIPAC

Later that same year, Media Matters for America issued a comprehensive analysis of immigration coverage on cable news called *Fear and Loathing in Prime Time: Immigration Myths and Cable News*. The report charged that talk show hosts Lou Dobbs (formerly of CNN, now radio talk show host), Glenn Beck (formerly of CNN, now on Fox News), and Bill O'Reilly (Fox News) "serve up a regular and steady diet of fear, anger, and resentment on the topic of illegal immigration."

Media Matters found that a full 70% of the 2007 episodes of *Lou Dobbs Tonight* contained discussion of illegal immigration. And although Glenn Beck was less consumed with the issue, at 28%, his show presented the most inflammatory claims.

Dobbs, O'Reilly, and Beck, through sheer repetition, help propagate myths about immigrants. For example, by airing dozens of segments on individual cases in which an undocumented immigrant committed a crime, Dobbs and Beck feed the misperception that these immigrants are responsible for a disproportionate share of crime in America—even if their comments don't stray from the facts.

Lou Dobbs Tonight viewers were told about a mythical explosion of leprosy cases and voter fraud due to illegal immigration, and all three show hosts have presented as fact the "*reconquista*" myth of Mexicans trying to take back the American Southwest for Mexico. Dobbs discussed the fictional North American Union and a "secret plan" to construct a "NAFTA Superhighway" running from Canada to Mexico on at least 52 separate programs.

The report also found that cable news talk show hosts often parrot the arguments of the hate groups and vigilantes who appear as their guests, adding the authority of their role as journalists to fan the flames of hysteria.

Their political clout is considerable. Many credit cable news and talk radio with torpedoing the Bush administration's 2007 bipartisan bill on comprehensive immigration reform:

"Spurred by discussions on talk radio, callers flooded the Capitol switchboard demanding their senators oppose the bill, and many Republicans credited that phone traffic for killing the measure."

— Kara Rowland, *The Washington Times*¹³

"Talk radio is running America."

— Senator Trent Lott (R-MS)¹⁴

Real Consequences

Such public actions combined with the persistent propaganda surrounding immigration affects more than the public policy debate; it fosters a climate of hate that prompts members of the public to take matters into their own hands:

"There is a direct connection between the national policy debate and the atmosphere surrounding the daily lives of immigrants. Extremist groups are seeking to exploit the flow of foreign workers into this country

to spread a message of xenophobia, to promote hateful stereotypes, and to incite bigotry and violence against Hispanics, regardless of their status as citizens."

— Abe Foxman, Anti-Defamation League¹⁵

In 2008, 31-year-old Jose Sucuzhañay, a legal resident and father of two, was beaten to death in Brooklyn, New York by four men because of his ethnicity and a suspicion that he was gay. In Shenandoah, Pennsylvania, teenagers yelled racial epithets at 25-year-old Luis Eduardo Ramirez Azvala, saying "go back to Mexico" while beating him to death. In Patchogue, New York, several teenagers killed 37-year-old Marcelo Lucero after they spent a day targeting Hispanics.¹⁶ The case has been labeled a hate crime and has prompted an investigation by the U.S. Department of Justice.¹⁷

Lucero's murder was the second in as many years of an Hispanic resident of Suffolk County and follows a string of attacks against immigrants, including the kidnapping and brutal beating of two Mexican day laborers in 2000 and the burning of a Mexican family's home by five teenagers in 2003. Since Lucero's murder, dozens of Hispanics in Suffolk County have stepped forward to report similar crimes.

And while Suffolk County Executive Steve Levy claims that his aggressive public stance against immigration has no connection to the murder, he built his public profile as a demagogue against immigration, been an honored guest on *Lou Dobbs Tonight*,¹⁸ and has ties to FAIR.

- Levy's work with FAIR led him to form Mayors and Executives for Immigration Reform, to which he invites representatives of extreme anti-immigrations groups to speak.¹⁹
- He uses nativist language, publicly railing against women crossing the border to give birth here "free of charge." He claims they are here having "anchor babies."²⁰

- To great fanfare, Levy signed a law requiring the county's 6,000 contractors to affirm that their employees were not undocumented immigrants. After two sweeps of 33 contractors, only one worker without documentation was found.²¹
- In 2007, Levy asked county police and U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement to conduct raids in homes where illegal immigrants were suspected to be living. Many people were routed from their homes and, although not arrested, were ordered to disperse without regard for where they went.²²
- In August 2009, Levy "joked" at an event that he was glad that a Canadian-born attendee was a U.S. citizen or else "I'd have to deport you, like the guys back there in the kitchen."

Led by NCLR, six national civil rights groups have condemned Lucero's murder, calling it a "wake-up call for America" and expressed concern that the vitriol coming from anti-immigrant groups, cable news, and talk radio and out of the mouths of politicians is having a broader impact on the public at large by creating a "climate of hate" that empowers discrimination and violence based on race.

FBI statistics show that hate crimes against Latinos spiked nearly 40% between 2003 and 2007,²³ and the Southern Poverty Law Center has documented a dramatic rise (54%) in hate groups, fueled in large part by groups targeting Latinos.²⁴

"It should give everyone pause to see growing movements in this country embrace the politics of hate. Because when political leaders and the news media demonize immigrants as a threat to our way of life, when they tell us falsely that immigrants bring disease and crime to our communities, when they tell us the fiction that immigrants are subversive and a threat to the sovereignty of the United States, it should be no surprise that people take matters into their own hands. The failure to act on immigration reform has created a climate where anyone who is Hispanic is threatened, whether they are citizens of this country or not."

— Janet Murguía, President and CEO, NCLR

Endnotes

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² Anti-Defamation League, "Extremists Declare 'Open Season' on Immigrants: Hispanics Target of Incitement and Violence," http://www.adl.org/main_Extremism/immigration_extremists.htm, May 23, 2006.

³ We Can Stop the Hate, "Code Words of Hate," http://www.wecanstopthehate.org/site/page/code_words_of_hate (2010).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Anti-Defamation League, "Extremists Declare 'Open Season' on Immigrants."

⁶ "Code Words of Hate."

⁷ Southern Poverty Law Center, *The Nativist Lobby: Three Faces of Intolerance* (Montgomery, AL: Southern Poverty Law Center, 2009), http://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/downloads/splc_nativistlobby.pdf.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Building Democracy Initiative, *Nativism in the House: A Report on the House Immigration Reform Caucus* (Chicago, IL: Center for New Community, 2007).

¹³ Kara Rowland, "Conservatives rule talk radio," *The Washington Times*, June 22, 2007.

¹⁴ Project for Excellence in Journalism, "Campaign for President Takes Center Stage in Coverage," Quarterly Report on the News, Pew Research Center, August 20, 2007, <http://www.journalism.org/node/7069>.

¹⁵ Anti-Defamation League, "Extremists Declare 'Open Season' on Immigrants."

¹⁶ Joe Torres, "FCC to Investigate Link Between Hate Speech and Hate Crimes," New America Media, February 3, 2009, http://news.newamericamedia.org/news/view_article.html?article_id=53fb0e563bb2e9cb799c8b69600a157a.

¹⁷ "Justice Department probes Long Island hate crimes," *The Associated Press*, January 12, 2009.

¹⁸ "The Riddle of Steve Levy," *The New York Times*, November 4, 2007.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Corey Kilgannon, "Feared Sweeps for Illegal Workers Found Just One," *The New York Times*, February 19, 2008.

²² Albor Ruiz, "Rising hate crime a national shame," *New York Daily News*, November 13, 2008.

²³ Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2008 Hate Crime Statistics, <http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/hc2008/index.html>, November 23, 2009.

²⁴ Southern Poverty Law Center, "The Year in Hate 2008," *Intelligence Report*, no. 133 (Montgomery, AL: Southern Poverty Law Center, Spring 2009).

CODE WORDS OF HATE: DEMONIZATION OF MINORITIES THROUGHOUT U.S. HISTORY

Virtually every large-scale civil rights atrocity in U.S. history was preceded by a widespread campaign vilifying a specific ethnic or religious group. The most obvious was the justification for slavery, which characterized Africans as subhuman. Even following the emancipation of their descendants, ideologues posited the inherent inferiority of African Americans and paved the way for nearly a century of cruel Jim Crow laws. In the late 1800s, fear of a “yellow peril” resulted in the elimination of Asian immigration and prohibitions on Asian Americans’ rights to vote, hold office, or own property. In the 1930s, and again in the 1950s, concern about the “wetback menace” resulted in mass deportations of people suspected of being Mexicans, including many U.S. citizens. False concerns about a “fifth column” during World War II led to the internment of Japanese Americans.

In this historical context, it is clear that words have consequences. The standard propagandist’s technique for demonizing a target group is to define it as “the other.” As sociologists and social psychologists have documented, successfully defining a group as the other typically results in convincing a significant segment of the public that the target group is 1) a

dangerous or threatening enemy and/or 2) inhuman, subhuman, or inherently inferior.¹ Accomplishing the former serves as a justification for extreme action or even genocide, since the “larger public interest” is at risk. Once a group is widely accepted as inhuman or inferior, it allows the rest of society to suspend its normal standards of right and wrong in judging actions taken against the target group.

As the U.S. immigration debate has become more polarized and virulent over the past few years, the rhetoric of anti-immigration advocates has increasingly resembled an orchestrated, anti-Hispanic propaganda campaign. Recurring themes, code words, and buzzwords have emerged which take the immigration debate far from the realm of reasoned, solution-oriented discourse on policy to an ugly underworld of extremist hate speech. Those who use the harshest rhetoric may insist that their targets are only “illegals,” those in the country without legal immigration status, but a close look at their language shows that the meaning and impact of their words and proposals go well beyond illegal immigrants to the broader Hispanic American community.

The National Council of La Raza (NCLR) has followed the use of certain words and

phrases in the debate that demonize both Hispanic immigrants and those who might be perceived as immigrants. Some are clearly meant to appeal to base racial and cultural fears and prejudices. Others are designed to justify any action to combat illegal immigration, no matter how draconian or damaging it may be to individual rights, family

values, the economy, or the country's values. Some are subtle code words while others are more overtly hateful, yet all are harmful to people and anathema to reasoned debate. The emergence of such language in the public discourse has led many watchdog groups to track this worrisome trend (discussed below).

The following is an excerpt from the introduction of a 2007 report entitled *Immigrants Targeted: Extremist Rhetoric Moves into the Mainstream*, by the Anti-Defamation League.²

The national conversation about immigration, both before and after the June 2007 defeat of the proposed immigration reform legislation in Congress, has become a deeply polarizing issue in American politics and public life.

While there are valid and sincere arguments on both sides of the issue, the debate has also been framed, at times, by vitriolic anti-immigrant—and particularly anti-Hispanic—rhetoric and propaganda. Purveyors of this extremist rhetoric use stereotypes and outright bigotry to target immigrants and hold them responsible for numerous societal ills.

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL), which previously has documented how extremist groups like the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazis have exploited the immigration issue to advance their own agenda, has become increasingly concerned about the virulent anti-immigrant and anti-Hispanic rhetoric employed by a handful of groups that have positioned themselves as legitimate, mainstream advocates against illegal immigration in America.

Unlike the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazis, who make no attempt to hide their racism and bigotry, these anti-immigrant groups often use more subtle language to demonize immigrants and foreigners. They are frequently quoted in the media, have been called to testify before Congress, and often hold meetings with lawmakers and other public

figures. However, under the guise of warning people about the impact of illegal immigration, these anti-immigrant groups often invoke the same dehumanizing, racist stereotypes as hate groups.

A closer look at the public record reveals that some of these supposedly mainstream organizations have disturbing links to, or relationships with, extremists in the anti-immigration movement. Often identified in the media or their mission statements as 'anti-illegal immigration advocacy groups,' they attempt to distort the debate over immigration by fomenting fear and spreading unfounded propaganda through the use of several key tactics:

- Describing immigrants as 'third world invaders,' who come to America to destroy our heritage, 'colonize' the country and attack our 'way of life.' This charge is used against Hispanics, Asians and other people of color.
- Using terminology that describes immigrants as part of 'hordes' that 'swarm' over the border. This dehumanizing language has become common.
- Portraying immigrants as carriers of diseases like leprosy, tuberculosis, Chagas disease (a potentially fatal parasitic disease), dengue fever, polio, malaria.
- Depicting immigrants as criminals, murderers, rapists, terrorists, and a danger to children and families.

- Propagating conspiracy theories about an alleged secret 'reconquista' plot by Mexican immigrants to create a 'greater Mexico' by seizing seven states in the American Southwest that once belonged to Mexico.

And in an op-ed published by the *Houston Chronicle* in 2008, ADL outlined how code words and images can lead to violence:

One only need look at the Holocaust to see the result of relentless, pervasive bigotry. The Nazis began their campaign with words and pictures against Jews, Slavs, political dissidents, Gypsies, Jehovah's witnesses, homosexuals and the mentally and physically disabled.

Law enforcement officers in ADL's Law Enforcement in Society course, taught jointly with Holocaust Museum Houston and the Houston Police Department, review Nazi-created images to see how the Nazis used elaborate media campaigns to turn people against certain groups. They include a newspaper photo of a "search for dissident contraband" in a Jewish neighborhood, and another photo of an official-looking man questioning a Roma woman for research in "criminal biology," a pseudoscience that maintained that certain groups were more likely to be criminals because of the makeup of their blood. As such images grew more persuasive, even well-educated people started to believe them. An estimated 11 million people died as the result of 12 years of hatred fueled by biased propaganda and compounded by the silence of those who didn't speak out against the hate.

Code Words in the Immigration Debate

Anti-immigrant propaganda and rhetoric, once almost the exclusive domain of hate groups, is now part of the day-to-day lexicon used by anti-immigration advocacy organizations, politicians, and media figures, including many considered "mainstream."

What follows are some of these words and phrases, organized by category. All are direct quotes from individuals speaking on the record about immigrants, taken from media interviews, TV and radio broadcasts, public speeches, and Internet posts.

Dehumanization Based on Race and Ethnicity

A remarkable number of commentators on immigration make explicitly race-based appeals, often accompanied by ethnic slurs or stereotypes.* One of the bolder articulators of these views was the late Samuel Francis, a writer for the anti-immigrant journal, *The Social Contract*, who

was fired by the *Washington Times* in part for suggesting:

"[Whites] must reassert our identity and our solidarity, and we must do so in explicitly racial terms through the articulation of a racial consciousness as Whites. The civilization that we as Whites created in Europe and America could not have developed apart from the genetic endowments of the creating people, nor is there any reason to believe that civilization can be successfully transmitted to a different people."³

Many others articulate similar views. Glenn Spencer of American Border Patrol has said, "The Mexican Culture is based on deceit. Chicanos and Mexicanos lie as a means of survival." Barbara Coe of the California Coalition for Immigration Reform routinely refers to Mexicans as "savages." Joe Turner of Save Our State has said, "Just because one believes in white separatism, that does not make them racist."⁴

* NCLR's search has uncovered the following terms, among others, that are used to describe Hispanic immigrants: "free flow of Mexicans," "scratchbacks" (term for wetbacks who come across a desert instead of a river), "Mexican breeders," "brown invasion," "brown disease," "stumpy little brown beasts," "brown squat monsters," "Mexican mob," "dumb and violent," "browning of America," "savages," "barbarians," "beaners," and "scum."

Perhaps the most prominent anti-immigrant voice to engage in race- and ethnicity-based language is Pat Buchanan. Other organizations, including ADL and Media Matters for America, have chronicled Buchanan's long history of anti-Semitic and bigoted remarks and writings. Last July, Buchanan asserted on MSNBC that "This has been a country built, basically, by white folks."⁵ Buchanan has expressed special enmity for Hispanic—especially Mexican—immigrants, particularly in the wake of the Obama election and the naming of Sonia Sotomayor to the U.S. Supreme Court. In March 2009, he stated on MSNBC that "Mexico [not the Mideast] is the greatest foreign policy crisis I think America faces in the next 20, 30 years... We're going to have 135 million Hispanics in the United States by 2050, heavily concentrated in the southwest. The question is whether we're going to survive as a country."⁶

Even more careful anti-immigrant commentators such as the Center for Immigration Studies' Mark Krikorian have become markedly more explicit in their race- and ethnicity-based concerns. In May 2009, Krikorian, in a blog post on the *National Review's* "The Corner," took great umbrage at the fact that Justice Sotomayor pronounced her name in the proper Spanish manner, subsequently sniffing about "how much newcomers should accommodate us and how much we should accommodate them?"⁷ Sotomayor was born in New York City; her family is from Puerto Rico, whose residents have been native-born U.S. citizens since 1917.

For good measure, Krikorian mused in a January 2010 blog post following the devastating earthquake in Haiti, "My guess is that Haiti's so screwed up because it wasn't colonized long enough...But, unlike Jamaicans and Bajans and Guadeloupeans, et al., after experiencing the worst of tropical colonial slavery, the Haitians didn't stick around long enough to benefit from it. (Haiti became independent in 1804.) And by benefit I mean develop a local culture significantly shaped by the more-advanced civilization of the colonizers."⁸

The widespread use of explicit or implicit appeals to race or ethnicity offends our country's commitment to equal opportunity and has other nefarious effects. By dehumanizing Latino immigrants or alleging that they are inherently inferior, the message is that their interests need not be considered or may be given short shrift by policymakers and other Americans. Equally harmful is that these race- and ethnicity-based appeals deliberately blur the distinction between those who are in the U.S. illegally and the 75% to 80% of Hispanics in the U.S. who are U.S. citizens or lawful residents. It thus places all Latinos, as well as those perceived to be Latinos, at risk of being targeted by government policy and individual actions.

War and Invasion

It is increasingly common for mainstream commentators to refer to the current immigration phenomenon as a "war" in which the U.S. is being "invaded." For example, frequent television commentator Pat Buchanan said on Fox News recently:

"You've got a wholesale invasion, the greatest invasion in human history, coming across your southern border, changing the composition and character of your country."⁹

The widespread use of rhetoric and language associated with war, invasion, or conquest has similarly adverse consequences. Ultimately, it serves to justify virtually any policy or individual action carried out in the name of fighting illegal immigration, since a country at war typically suspends many of its traditional rights and protections in the name of defending its existence. This rationale is invoked to justify actions—such as racial profiling and other civil rights violations, separation of families, and punishment of innocent children for the actions of their parents—that in "peacetime" would at least be considered subjects appropriate for careful, deliberate public debate.

"Invasion" rhetoric provides an implicit societal imprimatur for racial or nativist appeals and is

even cited by many convicted of hate crimes to justify their actions. In the face of government inaction on the policy front, this rhetoric also encourages vigilantism. One of Lou Dobbs's correspondents, for example, referred to a U.S. visit by Mexico's then-President Vicente Fox as a "Mexican military incursion."¹⁰

Consider this from CNN's Jack Cafferty in response to the peaceful 2006 pro-immigrant rallies, which included hundreds of thousands of U.S. citizens and legal residents:¹¹

"Taxpayers who have surrendered highways, parks, sidewalks and a lot of television news time on all these cable news networks to mobs of illegal aliens are not happy about it...America's illegal aliens are becoming ever bolder. March through our streets and demand your rights. Excuse me? You have no rights here, and that includes the right to tie up our towns and cities and block our streets. At some point this could all turn very violent as Americans become fed up with the failure of their government to address the most pressing domestic issue of our time."¹²

Conquest

A variant of this militaristic theme are references to "*La Reconquista*," an antiquated metaphor used by Chicano scholars in the 1960s to refer to a mythical "*Aztlán*" in the Southwest. Although it is difficult to find anyone in the Latino community outside of a few student or fringe groups that have ever espoused this idea, it appears to be gaining far more attention and notoriety in the context of the current immigration debate than it ever did as a scholarly doctrine.*

CNN television host Glenn Beck has stated:

"But what about the American Southwest? You've got people coming here that have no intention of being Americans. They say, you know, 'Hey, this is our land. We deserve it back.'"¹³

And regular Fox News commentator Michelle Malkin, in reference to street rallies by immigrants in 2006, said:

"We saw in April and May...that supposed fringe come out into the mainstream. And it wasn't just a dozen folks who are ensconced in the ivory tower who believe that the Southwest is *Aztlán* and it belongs to them...I take the Mexican government at its word when it says that is exactly its plan."

This framing has several pernicious effects, not the least of which is reinforcement of the "war" and "invasion" frames noted above. It appeals to those already inclined to believe in paranoid conspiracies. It places the Mexican government as a central player in the alleged conspiracy, appealing to those critical of that country. It permits its adherents to claim that any expression of ethnic pride by Mexican immigrants or Mexican Americans is tantamount to treason.

But perhaps most troubling, this framing places all persons of Mexican origin in the U.S., even U.S. citizens who can trace their ancestry in this country back many generations, as coconspirators in the alleged *reconquista* plot, since such a scenario is plausible only if one presumes that Mexican Americans have a greater allegiance to Mexico than to the U.S. Thus, these code words, and the imagery associated with them, could be interpreted as a justification for the wholesale violation of the civil and constitutional rights of U.S. citizens and legal immigrants based simply on their ethnicity.

Take this comment on Fox News from Jim Gilchrist, cofounder of the Minuteman Project and frequent television guest:

"You're talking about a group that has as its agenda 'for the Mexican race, everything, for those outside the race, nothing.'"¹⁴

* NCLR's search revealed frequent use of the following terms in describing the immigration phenomenon: "*La Reconquista* (reconquest) is mainstream among Mexicans," "*Aztlán*" (Mexican homeland in current U.S.), "*Aztlán* plot," "lost sovereignty," "losing the American Southwest," "path to national suicide," "existential crisis," "plan to destroy America," "race war," and "enemy within."

The allegations that a *reconquista* plot exists have been used to mischaracterize the work of the major Hispanic American civil rights institutions. Organizations such as NCLR and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF)—which is a leading litigation, advocacy, and educational outreach institution—are increasingly described as actors in a so-called *reconquista* movement by anti-immigrant groups and media commentators, who dismiss decades of important work on civil rights, education, and other policy issues by questioning their loyalty to the United States.

At one point, CNN's Lou Dobbs displayed an image prepared by the Council of Concerned Citizens, which has been long considered a hate group with White supremacist leanings, of the so-called *Aztlán* territory at risk of being "reconquered" by Mexico, and Fox News's *The O'Reilly Factor* gave a platform to the late Representative Charlie Norwood (R-GA) to air his claims that NCLR was part of such a movement. Norwood later issued a public call for NCLR to renounce the *reconquista* along with a number of other extremist views it has never held. These views were repeated so often in the media and in correspondence to NCLR that NCLR took the unusual step of posting a point-by-point rebuttal to Norwood's accusations on its website (www.nclr.org/content/viewpoints/detail/42500).

Disease

As ADL notes, references to Latino immigrants riddled with dangerous diseases are frequent. For example, on November 23, 2007, Michelle Dallacrose posted a video on the "Mothers Against Illegal Aliens" website noting:

"...with diseases such as mono, chagas, hepatitis, staff infections, and flesh eating diseases, it is reasonable for a reasonable person to conclude that many of these diseases are here and on the rise because of our OPEN AND INSECURE BORDER with

Mexico and the fact that Illegal Aliens are not subject to medical inspection or certification, as are legal applicants. With our children being exposed to and infected by the SUPERBUG in our schools, it should not be inconceivable that we are now being exposed and subjected to attacks by diseases which put our lives at risk because of learned bad behavior and unexceptable [sic] and prohibited cleaning practices which could kill us and our children while staying in any hotel or eating at any restaurant anywhere in America!!!!

The next time you eat in a restaurant or sleep in a hotel or motel....just remember to bring your own food, dishes, untensils [sic], glasses, towels, and maybe your own water. The person who cooked your meal or made your bed may very well be the one who picked your fruit and vegetables, yesterday... and we've heard the stories about what they do in the fields....haven't we?"

But this view is also widely and inaccurately disseminated in the mainstream media. Lou Dobbs, for example, has inaccurately asserted that cases of leprosy in the U.S. have increased by 7,000 over the last three years; he has also alleged the existence of a direct link between the increase in leprosy to illegal immigration. But according to the National Hansen's Disease Program, the 7,000 figure refers to cases over the last 30 years (not three), which represents a declining trend in the number of cases. Regarding the potential link to immigration in general or illegal immigration in particular, the program's spokesperson speculated that it could "be a statistical fluctuation, or it could be the result of better data collection" but that "in any event the 137 reported cases last year [2006] were fewer than in any year from 1975 to 1996."¹⁵ Remarkably, Dobbs has repeated this assertion even after being confronted with clear evidence to the contrary.¹⁶

And last year, the swine flu epidemic's virulence in Mexico led to an outpouring of concern among prominent anti-immigrant voices:

- Michelle Malkin wrote in her blog in April 2009, "I've blogged for years about the spread of contagious diseases from around the world into the U.S, as a result of uncontrolled immigration."
- Boston radio talk show host Jay Severin said on his show in April 2009, "So now, in addition to venereal disease and the other leading exports of Mexico, women with mustaches and VD, now, now we have swine flu... Hundreds of kids are sick... all of them because of Mexicans."
- Nationally syndicated radio show host Neal Boortz, on his website in May 2009, crossed out swine flu and replaced it with "fajita flu." In April, he gave this piece of "advice": "Wash your hands and don't kiss any illegals."

Criminality

Many commentators inaccurately suggest that immigrants in general, and Latino immigrants in particular, have a higher proclivity to commit crime.* CNN's Glenn Beck suggests that Mexicans come from an inherently lawless culture:

"You want to leave Mexico for a reason, and that reason is that it is... so riddled with drugs and corruption and the mob that you cannot raise a family. It is a country that has been overtaken by lawbreakers from the bottom to the top."¹⁷

On one program, Lou Dobbs asserted that one-third of those in federal prisons are noncitizens¹⁸ and then later referred to "illegal aliens, those citizens—noncitizens taking up a third of our cells in our penitentiaries," a claim that subsequent analysis has proven to be both exaggerated and misleading.¹⁹

* NCLR's review found numerous references to immigrants as criminals, including terms such as "flotsam and jetsam that seeks to float into our territory," "lawlessness and chaos," "a beautiful nation turned into a jungle," "massive underground illegal element," "drug running," and "rampant criminality."

This view is commonly held and frequently repeated despite the fact that not a single scholarly study has found that Hispanic immigrants commit crimes at a higher rate than other groups. In fact, a number of studies have come to the opposite conclusion.²⁰

Economics and Welfare

There are numerous references in the debate to allegations that immigrants "steal jobs" from Americans and create other adverse economic impacts. This is an area in which there is vigorous academic debate, though the preponderance of the evidence suggests that immigrants have an overall positive impact on the economy. Despite the substantial evidence to the contrary,²¹ Roy Beck of NumbersUSA had this to say about immigrant workers and the economy:

"Well, these are not jobs that we need foreign workers for. We don't need illegal workers. We've got 18 million Americans who cannot find a full-time job right now. The economy has adjusted to the fact that these 8 to 10 to 12 million illegal workers and their families are in the country, but it's been something that's been harmful for the economy as a whole."²²

Lou Dobbs also emphasizes this point; in discussing a report on rebuilding New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina, he said:

"...the Bush Administration has made it possible for tens of thousands of Gulf Coast reconstruction jobs that should be offered to residents who had to live through the disaster now looking to rebuild their lives, those jobs will instead be filled by illegal aliens. The fear is that New Orleans will turn into La Nueva Orleans, once proud city of working Americans displaced now by cheap, illegal, foreign labor."²³

Increasingly, anti-immigration commentators assert that immigrants are accessing public benefits at a high rate or receiving benefits and

breaks unavailable to other Americans. The accusation that undocumented immigrants are accessing social services is a perennial issue in the immigration debate, despite the fact that they are categorically ineligible for all of the services provided at the federal level except for emergency care and most services provided by most states. The states that have adopted vigorous verification schemes to be extra sure that immigrants aren't accessing their programs have improperly spent millions of dollars to uncover almost zero fraudulent participation.

The benefits issue, especially with respect to health care, appears to be gaining traction as a political issue. Recently, the National Republican Congressional Committee ran a series of ads accusing one U.S. representative of supporting "free health care for illegals,"²⁴ even though Congress has not considered any proposals to provide access to health care for undocumented immigrants and immigrants are far less likely to seek health care than their native-born counterparts.²⁵

The attribution of numerous societal ills wholly unrelated to the presence of immigrants has numerous perverse effects. For one thing,

almost none of the alleged problems can be linked through traditional academic research to immigration in general, or illegal immigration in particular, and proponents rarely bother to cite any evidence for their claims. As noted repeatedly above, when such purported evidence is analyzed, it is often found to be untrue or at least wildly exaggerated.

Such distortions and falsehoods have multiple impacts; they provide convenient rationales for policymakers and individuals to do whatever it takes, no matter how harmful, to combat illegal immigration. In some cases, they appear to be designed as a recruiting tactic, seeking to bring into the anti-immigrant ranks those individuals and groups whose principal interests may lie in economics, crime, or health care. In other cases, this leads to the adoption of wholly unjustified and counterproductive public policies. But both individually and collectively, these false charges have the effect of further demonizing undocumented immigrants as well as legal immigrants and citizens.

For more information on code words of hate, view this compelling video narrated by Stacy Burdett of the Anti-Defamation League: www.wecanstopthehate.org/videos/code_words_of_hate_video.

Endnotes

¹ There is a rich body of literature on this subject. For example, see G. Koch, "Fear of the Other" (paper prepared for presentation at the Ministry of Reconciliation, Kings College, June 2002). For specific applications in the immigration context, see Martin N. Marger, *Race and Ethnic Relations: American and Global Perspectives* (Florence, KY: Wordsworth, 1994); Kevin Johnson, *The History of Racial Exclusion in the U.S. Immigration Laws*, University of Dayton, <http://academic.udayton.edu/race/02rights/immigra09.htm>; and C. Bankston and D. Hidalgo, eds., *Immigration in U.S. History* (New Orleans, LA: Tulane University Press, 2006).

² Anti-Defamation League, *Immigrants Targeted: Extremist Rhetoric Moves into the Mainstream* (New York, NY: Anti-Defamation League, 2008).

³ D. D'Souza, "Racism: It's a White (and Black) Thing," *Washington Post*, September 24, 1995. See also, H. Kurtz, "Washington Times Clips its Right Wing," *Washington Post*, October 19, 1995.

⁴ Anti-Defamation League, *Immigrants Targeted*.

⁵ Pat Buchanan, commentary, *The Rachel Maddow Show*, MSNBC, July 16, 2009.

⁶ Pat Buchanan, commentary, MSNBC, March 24, 2009.

⁷ Mark Krikorian column, "The Corner," *National Review Online*, May 27, 2009.

⁸ Mark Krikorian column, "The Corner," *National Review Online*, January 21, 2010.

⁹ *Hannity and Colmes*, Fox News, November 26, 2007.

¹⁰ D. Leonhardt, "Truth, Fiction and Lou Dobbs," *New York Times*, May 30, 2007.

¹¹ NCLR has documented significant participation of Latino U.S. citizens in the 2006 pro-immigrant rallies. In a poll of Latino voters conducted in November 2006, about one-third said that they or someone close to them had participated, and nearly half of young Latino voters reported that they or someone close to them had participated. See, Memorandum, "Recent Poll Findings Among Likely Latino Voters," November 7, 2006, Lake Research Partners and Public Opinion Strategies, Washington, DC, <http://www.nclr.org/content/publications/detail/42997>.

¹² Jack Cafferty, commentary, *The Situation Room*, CNN, April 10, 2006.

¹³ Glenn Beck, commentary, *The Glenn Beck Program*, Premiere Radio Networks, March 27, 2006.

¹⁴ Jim Gilchrist, commentary, *The Live Desk*, Fox News, October 8, 2006.

¹⁵ D. Leonhardt, "Truth, Fiction and Lou Dobbs."

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Glenn Beck, commentary, *The Glenn Beck Program*.

¹⁸ Lou Dobbs, commentary, *Lou Dobbs Tonight*, CNN, November 3, 2003.

¹⁹ This claim is exaggerated because the federal noncitizen incarceration rate had fallen to 24% in 2005 from 27% in 2001, meaning the federal rate was closer to one-quarter than one-third; it is misleading because immigration violations are themselves federal offenses. The combined state-local noncitizen incarceration rate in 2005 was 6.4%, which is lower than the overall proportion of noncitizens in the population. See D. Leonhardt, "Immigrants and Prison," *New York Times*, May 30, 2007.

²⁰ R. Rumbaut et al., *Debunking the Myth of Immigrant Criminality* (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2006).

²¹ For example, see Council of Economic Advisers, *Immigration's Economic Impact* (Washington, DC: Council of Economic Advisers, 2007), which had three key findings: 1) on average, U.S. natives tend to benefit from immigration; 2) careful studies of the long-run fiscal effects conclude that immigration is likely to have a modest, positive influence; and 3) skilled immigrants are likely to be especially beneficial to natives.

²² Roy Beck, commentary, *Lou Dobbs Tonight*, CNN, December 17, 2003.

²³ Lou Dobbs, commentary, *Lou Dobbs Tonight*, CNN, April 15, 2006.

²⁴ The advertisement can be viewed at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uWmvY-2y6QU>.

²⁵ Mary Engel, "Study finds immigrants' use of healthcare system lower than expected," *Los Angeles Times*, November 27, 2007. See also, A. Kraut, *Silent Travelers: Germs, Genes, and the Immigrant Menace* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), which documents the repeated examples in U.S. history when immigrants have been falsely blamed for epidemics.



**Immigrants Targeted:
Extremist Rhetoric Moves into the Mainstream**

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About This Report

Immigration remains a deeply polarizing issue in American politics and public life. Serious policy questions remain about the best way to reform America's immigration system but the debate has also been framed, at times, by vitriolic anti-immigrant – and particularly anti-Latino – rhetoric and propaganda. Purveyors of this extremist rhetoric use stereotypes and outright bigotry to target immigrants and hold them responsible for numerous societal ills.

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL), which previously has documented how extremist groups like the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazis have exploited the immigration issue to advance their own agenda, has become increasingly concerned about the virulent anti-immigrant and anti-Latino rhetoric employed by a handful of groups and coalitions that have positioned themselves as legitimate, mainstream advocates against illegal immigration in America.

In 2008, these anti-immigrant advocates have attempted to reinvigorate the immigration debate by forming new coalitions. At a press conference announcing its formation, one coalition openly joined together local citizen groups located far from the Mexican/United States border with virulently anti-Latino border vigilante groups that send armed volunteers to patrol the border. Another coalition has run mainstream newspaper ads that exploit the American public's concerns about the environment by blaming immigrants for traffic congestion, damage to the public infrastructure, and high fuel prices. These coalitions are attempting to broaden their base and legitimize their views through media outreach.

In addition, local citizen groups continue to hold rallies and events where speakers routinely blame undocumented immigrants and their children for a wide range of problems from “dumbing down” American schools to depleting community resources, to being the main cause of crime and disease in this country. The demonization of immigrants has led to an increased sense of fear in communities around the country and created a toxic environment in which hateful rhetoric targeting immigrants has become routine.

Unlike the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazis, who make no attempt to hide their racism and bigotry, these anti-immigrant groups and coalitions often use more subtle language to demonize immigrants and foreigners. They are frequently quoted in the media, have been called to testify before Congress, and often hold meetings with lawmakers and other public figures. However, under the guise of warning people about the impact of illegal immigration, anti-immigrant advocates often invoke the same dehumanizing, racist stereotypes as hate groups. And increasingly, they do not make a distinction between illegal and legal immigrants.

A closer look at the public record reveals that some of these supposedly mainstream organizations have disturbing links to, or relationships with, extremists in the anti-immigration movement. Often identified in the media or their mission statements as “anti-illegal immigration advocacy groups,” they attempt to distort the debate over immigration by fomenting fear and spreading unfounded propaganda through the use of several key tactics:

- Describing immigrants as “third world invaders,” who come to America to destroy our heritage, “colonize” the country and attack our “way of life.” This charge is used against Latinos, Asians and other people of color.
- Using terminology that describes immigrants as part of “hordes” that “swarm” over the border. This dehumanizing language has become common.
- Portraying immigrants as carriers of diseases like leprosy, tuberculosis, Chagas disease (a potentially fatal parasitic disease), dengue fever, polio, malaria.
- Depicting immigrants as criminals, murderers, rapists, terrorists, and a danger to children and families.
- Propagating conspiracy theories about an alleged secret “reconquista” plot by Mexican immigrants to create a “greater Mexico” by seizing seven states in the American Southwest that once belonged to Mexico.
- Blaming immigrants for eroding American culture, institutions and quality of life and impacting our environment and natural resources.

This anti-immigrant propaganda and rhetoric, once the domain of hate groups, is now part of the lexicon used by anti-immigration advocacy organizations, politicians and media figures considered mainstream.

In this report, part of a series of reports on immigration and extremism, ADL exposes those individuals and groups who are playing a key role in mainstreaming extremist rhetoric in the immigration debate in various aspects of American life.

Coalitions: America's Leadership Team for Long Range Population-Immigration-Resource Planning

In June 2008, five anti-immigrant groups joined to form America's Leadership Team for Long Range Population-Immigration-Resource Planning (“Leadership Team”). In August 2008, the Leadership Team sponsored a national ad campaign “to raise America's awareness of the role population growth plays in the demand for energy.” As part of the campaign, the Leadership Team took out an ad in the *New York Times* which argued that the use of alternative energy sources, combined with a reduction of immigration into the United States, will “reduce the threat” of rising prices of fuel and other resources. Another ad published in September 2008 warned America’s “progressive thinkers” that the natural resources and future of the United States are in jeopardy if the country allows continued immigration.

In June 2008, the Leadership Team sponsored a similar campaign, which included ads that appeared in the *New York Times* and *The Nation* that month. The ads, which picture a bulldozer knocking down trees and heavy traffic congestion, argue that high immigration levels will cause

environmental damage, traffic congestion, higher taxes, and severe strain on schools, emergency rooms, and public infrastructure. These are classic arguments advanced by the anti-immigrant movement that seek to demonize not only the undocumented, but all immigrants and their children.

John Tanton, often considered the father of the anti-immigrant movement, has connections to the founding and funding of the organizations that comprise the Leadership Team. Tanton has been an anti-immigrant activist and writer for over 20 years and is at the center of a network of anti-immigrant groups located across the country. Tanton has helped to found and fund these groups through U.S. Inc., a non-profit that he created. In 1997, Tanton said that if the borders are not secured, America will be overrun by people “defecating and creating garbage and looking for jobs.”

The five groups that comprise the Leadership Team include:

- **Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) (Washington, D.C.):** *The largest and most powerful anti-immigrant organization.* Because the group is nuanced in its use of language, it has been viewed as a resource by officials, the media and within anti-immigration policy circles. In spite of its mainstream presence, FAIR leaders have a history of extremist affiliations, and the group often founds and empowers smaller groups that promote xenophobia. Tanton remains on its Board of Directors.
- **American Immigration Control Foundation (AICF) (Virginia):** *Positions itself as “a non-profit research and educational organization.”* In reality, it sells, at a low cost, publications authored by racists and anti-immigrant figures who routinely demonize immigrants. AICF’s leader, John Vinson, has affiliated himself the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens.
- **Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS):** *A non-profit group that seeks to “preserve a good quality of life” in California by spreading awareness about the alleged strains that immigrants place on the state’s infrastructure and natural resources.* To spread its message, CAPS leaders and members lobby government officials, sponsor media campaigns, and publish reports. One of its more vocal members, Rick Oltman, is a former FAIR Field Representative who spoke at a gathering of the border vigilante Minutemen group and has also had reported ties to the Council of Conservative Citizens. CAPS president, Diana Hull, leads the Leadership Team.
- **NumbersUSA (Virginia):** *Positions itself as a “non-partisan” scholarly source of information about the damaging effects of high immigration levels.* Its leader, Roy Beck, travels the country making visual presentations to highlight the ways in which immigration places strains on several aspects of American society. NumbersUSA also has a significant grassroots presence as the organization that claims to have sent millions of faxes to Congress to support the defeat of the 2007 immigration legislation.
- **Social Contract Press (based in Michigan):** *Tanton’s publishing arm.* This group publishes the *Social Contract*, a quarterly journal that represents itself as scholarly and includes the work of anti-immigrant figures. In Spring 2008, the journal devoted an

entire issue to republishing work originally featured on VDare, an anti-immigrant Web site that features the work of well-known anti-Semites and racists.

Though the Leadership Team is fairly new, Tanton's organizations have a long history of establishing coalitions similar to this one, sometimes in partnership with others, to sponsor print and media ad campaigns and take grassroots action to further an anti-immigrant ideology in mainstream circles. These coalitions give the appearance that several independent groups are behind a larger movement.

The Leadership Team's rhetoric that immigration destroys the environment is nothing new to the anti-immigrant movement as a whole or to Tanton's strategic vision. Tanton was one of the leaders in the move to recast the immigration issue in terms of the environment and has attracted followers with the promise that lowering immigration levels will save the environment and preserve America's natural resources.

In the late 1990s, Tanton attempted to inject anti-immigrant leadership into the Board of the Sierra Club with the creation of "Sierrans for U.S. Population Stabilization," a group created to support a transformation of the Sierra Club into an anti-immigrant group. His attempt failed in the Sierra Club board elections in 2004, and one of his most vocal activists in that effort was ousted from the Sierra Club in the aftermath of her comments that the Hmong community represent "drug-addicted polygamists."

Coalitions: Capital Area Alliance Against Illegal Immigration

In April 2008, ten groups (in addition to an advisory group, the American Council for Immigration Reform) founded the Capital Area Alliance Against Illegal Immigration (the Alliance), a coalition whose mission is to "promote a united strategy of education, outreach and advocacy to end political and legislative support for illegal immigration in Maryland, Virginia, and Washington, DC." To reach this end, the Alliance has stated its opposition to "sanctuary policies" and seeks to eliminate government-provided social services for undocumented immigrants in the Capital region.

In the Alliance, anti-immigrant groups, widely viewed as mainstream, are operating in partnership with virulently anti-Hispanic border vigilante groups that monitor undocumented immigrants. Ostensibly mainstream groups often conceal such connections; one of the reasons that the founding of the Alliance is significant is because it openly reveals these ties.

Two anti-immigrant activists, Chris Simcox, leader of the border vigilante Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (and co-founder of the 2005 Minuteman Project) and Greg Letiecq of Save the Old Dominion, comprise the leadership of six of these ten groups. Glenn Spencer, who has promoted anti-Mexican conspiracy theories, is the leader of one of the other Alliance groups, the Arizona-based American Border Patrol.

The Alliance formally announced its founding at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., on April 10, 2008, and it has gained coverage in the mainstream media. Rather than discuss

immigration policy, the Alliance has promoted classic anti-immigrant themes that demonize individuals. The press release announcing the Alliance's formation states:

Sanctuary policies undermine public safety, school systems, and hospitals, and erode the overall quality of life for Capital area residents. The growing social, criminal and financial burden of illegal immigration has reached unsustainable proportions. Local businesses, Americans seeking jobs and regional communities suffer as a result of this lawlessness.

The Capital Area Alliance is comprised of the following coalition partners:

- **American Council for Immigration Reform (Virginia)** – *A non-profit anti-immigrant group, it acts in an advisory capacity to the Alliance.* The Council works with several anti-immigrant activists and groups, including other Alliance partners. It has run ads in the mainstream media, brought activists to Washington, D.C. to lobby, and made contacts with elected officials. The group links its Web site to similar anti-immigrant groups, including the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS), and NumbersUSA, and the Council's blog includes a link to VDare, a racist Web site, under the "favorites" section.
- **American Border Patrol, also known as American Patrol (Arizona)** – *An anti-immigrant group that uses high-tech equipment to monitor the flow of illegal immigrants across the Arizona border.* For more than a decade, group leader Glenn Spencer, who mixes anti-Mexican bigotry with anti-government rhetoric, has warned of a plan by Mexicans to "invade" and "conquer" the Southwestern United States. Spencer moved his group from California to Sierra Vista, Arizona, in August 2002, in order to be, in his words, "on the front lines." He has appeared at events sponsored by white supremacists and racists, and racist and anti-government extremist groups across the country have embraced his rhetoric.
- **Defend DC (Washington, D.C.)** – *Its leader, William Buchanan, serves as the Alliance's Washington, D.C. spokesman.* The group's founding goal was to prevent the establishment of a day labor center in a specific area of Washington, D.C. To that end, the group held a joint demonstration with Help Save Maryland, another Alliance partner, at a Home Depot in Washington, D.C. in December 2007. The group's information packet reveals its ideology: "Illegal alien workers are incompatible with a decent neighborhood. Public urination, public drinking, sexual harassment, and property intrusions are only the beginning...The fabric of the community slowly unravels."
- **Judicial Watch (Washington, D.C.)** – *A conservative non-profit group that seeks to act as a government watchdog. It files lawsuits and engages in various types of campaigns to "root out government corruption."* The Judicial Watch Web site was the first to feature the Alliance's press release. Judicial Watch has, for years, been waging its own campaign against the "illegal alien invasion," claiming that undocumented immigration is an economic and security threat. The group's staff officially participated in the Minuteman Project, a month-long border vigilante exercise along the United States-Mexico border in Arizona in April 2005.

- **Maryland Minuteman CDC (Maryland)** – *A chapter of the border vigilante Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, a national group led by Chris Simcox and headquartered in Arizona.* The two-year-old chapter mainly exists as a Web entity; its page is currently updated with news stories rather than actual chapter activity. In 2007, the chapter was more active. It held meetings, co-sponsored an anti-immigrant rally, and encouraged members to attend an anti-immigrant rally in Washington, D.C., staged by the Dustin Inman Society, a Georgia-based anti-immigrant group.
- **Virginia Minuteman CDC (Virginia)** – *A chapter of the border vigilante Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, a national group led by Chris Simcox and headquartered in Arizona.* Chapter leader George Taplin has appeared in a mainstream documentary about immigration, spoken at several community events pertaining to immigration, fought to close a day labor center in Virginia to reduce the numbers of undocumented workers in the area, and has been quoted in mainstream media outlets. In May 2007, the chapter sponsored the founding meeting of Help Save Virginia Beach, a group created to encourage the training of local police to enforce federal immigration law.
- **Help Save Maryland (Maryland)** – *In its mission and activities, the group supports anti-immigrant policies, including empowering local law enforcement to initiate deportation proceedings, closing day labor centers, and removing benefits to undocumented immigrants.* The group has chapters in 10 counties. Chuck Floyd is the Alliance’s Maryland spokesperson, and group member Pree Glenn-Graves, who runs the Prince Georges County chapter, was a vocal participant at the Alliance’s press conference at the National Press Club. She stated, “We’re going to start getting overrun in Prince George’s County. I can see it happening...I see it happening. Even our Kmart [sic] has been converted to Spanish. Everything is in Spanish and English.” In April 2008, Joe Guzzardi, the editor of VDare, a racist Web site, quoted group leader Brad Botwin in an article he wrote and posted to VDare. Guzzardi’s article, which supported anti-immigrant activity, is featured on the Help Save Maryland blog.
- **Save the Old Dominion (Virginia)** – *This group is itself a coalition comprised of seven anti-immigrant groups: Help Save Loudoun, Vienna Citizens Coalition/Group, Help Save Hampton Roads, Centreville Citizens Coalition, Help Protect Culpeper, Save Stafford, and Help Save Manassas.* Three of these groups--Help Save Loudoun, Vienna Citizens Coalition/Group and Help Save Manassas--are positioning themselves as independent members of the Alliance. Greg Letiecq, an anti-immigrant leader and head of the Virginia-based Help Save Manassas, is the executive director of Save the Old Dominion and also serves as the Alliance’s Virginia spokesman.
- **Help Save Loudoun (Virginia)** – *Member of Save the Old Dominion; also a member of Help Save Virginia, an anti-immigrant coalition containing four subgroups (Help Save Herndon, Help Save Loudoun, Help Save Fairfax, Help Save Hampton Roads).* Help Save Loudoun contains both a grassroots component (“formed to address and troubleshoot community improvement issues”), and a political action committee. The latter was “formed to promote the election of public officials who are dedicated to

implementing immigration law enforcement measures at the local and state levels; and reversing the trend of illegal migration into Northern Virginia.”

- **Vienna Citizens Coalition, which also appears to be the Vienna Citizens Group (Virginia)** -- *Member of Save the Old Dominion; it describes itself as a “multicultural group, of varying ages and stages in life” and the Web site also states, “We can turn the tide on crime, day laborers, vagrancy, and zoning problems in Vienna. It's up to us to take this stand and take back our town.”* The group claims to meet once a month.
- **Help Save Manassas (Virginia)** – *Member of Save the Old Dominion. Greg Letiecq, the Virginia spokesperson for the Alliance, runs Help Save Manassas and Save the Old Dominion. Letiecq has attracted hundreds of people to Help Save Manassas through his personal blog, “Black Velvet Bruce Li,” reportedly one of the most highly trafficked blogs in the state. Having just commemorated its one-year anniversary in April 2008, Help Save Manassas, which claims to have 2,000 members, including elected officials, has proven to be one of the most influential and active entities in the anti-immigrant movement in the Capital region. Its legislative committee worked with a member of the Prince William County Board of County Supervisors and the legal arm of FAIR to draft a resolution that “seeks to deny services to illegal immigrants and sharply increase immigration enforcement by police.” The resolution was unanimously passed in July 2007. A group newsletter includes language representative of Letiecq’s ideology:*

Our county has been under assault from the influx of tens, if not hundreds of thousands of illegal aliens who have taken advantage of our lax enforcement of the law at the federal, state and local levels. These border crashers have contributed to rising crime rates, increasing burdens on our schools, hospitals and public services, and the very destruction of our American culture.

Groups: New Jersey Citizens for Immigration Control

New Jersey Citizens for Immigration Control (NJCIC) claims to be a “non-partisan, grassroots organization of New Jersey citizens who are concerned about the influx of illegal aliens into our communities.” However, the rhetoric, actions, and affiliations of its leadership reveal it to be among the numerous local citizen groups that demonize Hispanics.

NJCIC promotes classic anti-immigrant themes; the front page of its Web site declares “Stop the Invasion!” advancing the claim that immigrants are aggressively overtaking the United States. More specifically, the group is “concerned about the effects of this influx on our educational system and our law enforcement system,” which supports the argument that undocumented immigrants are placing strain on elements of America’s infrastructure.

The group’s leadership

NJCIC’s leadership is comprised mainly of co-chairs Gayle Kesselman and John Rucki, who often attend and speak, on behalf of NJCIC, at events hosted by other anti-immigrant groups.

In October 2007, Kesselman spoke at an anti-immigrant rally in New Jersey. She explained that

she became involved in the movement after attending a speech by Susan Tully, a Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) field representative. Kesselman said that the experience “opened [her] eyes.” She went on to discuss “how much the state of New Jersey pays for services for illegal aliens,” and the figures she gave were based entirely on a study completed by FAIR. She also explained that by providing “services” to undocumented immigrants, “corporations and politicians are...importing third world poverty into our country...” Fellow speakers included Paul Topete, the lead singer of the anti-government, anti-immigrant band Poker Face; Carmen Morales, a You Don’t Speak for Me leader; and other anti-immigrant figures. Topete, a virulent anti-Semite, encouraged the audience to set aside any differing beliefs to combat “slave wage invaders.”

Kesselman also participates and speaks at events that seek to demonize Muslims. In September 2007, she joined a group in protesting the Muslim Day Parade in New York. She carried a sign that read “Say No To Islamo-Nazis,” equating participants in this mainstream parade to Nazis. Kesselman also spoke at the March 2007 “Rally Against Islamo-Fascism” in New York sponsored by the United American Committee, an anti-Muslim group.

In its May 4, 2008 issue, the *Bergen Record* published a letter from Kesselman in which she argued that a New Jersey U.S. Attorney, in an attempt to “further his political career,” ignored the possibility of “the political and economic infrastructure of New Jersey get[ting] destroyed by uncontrolled illegal immigration.” The newspaper identified Kesselman as “the co-chairwoman of New Jersey Citizens for Immigration Control.” Another letter of Kesselman’s, published in the Newark, New Jersey-based *Star Ledger* in July 2006, discussed the “illegals, including terrorists, who have invaded our country...”

Organizing rallies

To broadcast its views, NJCIC organizes meetings and rallies which bring together anti-immigrant figures and groups. The group’s Web site advertised a June 2008 “educational public forum” in New Jersey co-sponsored with FAIR, the largest anti-immigrant group in the country. The forum was entitled “The Effects of Illegal Immigration on the New Jersey Taxpayer,” and scheduled speakers included leaders from NJCIC and FAIR, along with leaders of the anti-immigrant group You Don’t Speak for Me, a FAIR offshoot.

In October 2007, NJCIC sponsored a rally in New Jersey to support “immigration control” and legislation that empowers local law enforcement to initiate deportation proceedings for undocumented immigrants. The rally featured leaders and representatives of other anti-immigrant groups as speakers. During Kesselman’s speech, she argued that “there are people that are coming over here, for no other reason than to enrich themselves, at our expense.” Another speaker, Carmen Morales of You Don’t Speak for Me, stated, “Remember, illegal aliens and their supporters have a different mentality, where if they do not get their way, they will burn buildings and destroy our towns one at a time for that’s how they handle it in their own countries.”

Supporting anti-immigrant policies

Like many of the other citizen activist groups in the anti-immigrant movement, NJCIC supports legislation that focuses on combating the harm that undocumented immigrants allegedly inflict upon individual states. To achieve this end, NJCIC favors legislation that would deny public benefits, including medical care and in-state college tuition, to undocumented immigrants. NJCIC also actively seeks the implementation, “in every town and county of New Jersey,” of legislation that deputizes local law enforcement to enforce federal immigration laws. The group devotes an entire page on its Web site to supporting that goal. While many mainstream groups have similar policy aims, NJCIC’s tactics and statements from group leaders demonize immigrants rather than simply advocate for certain policies.

Ties to other anti-immigrant groups

In addition to working with other groups, NJCIC posts links on its Web site to several anti-immigrant groups, including FAIR, Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee (ALIPAC), and Mothers Against Illegal Aliens (MAIA). NJCIC also links its Web site to those of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, a border vigilante group, and “American Patrol Report,” a Web site run by Glenn Spencer, who leads the virulently anti-Hispanic American Border Patrol group. NJCIC’s “Links” page states that the group is “proud to provide links to these fine organizations...”

Groups: The Dustin Inman Society - Georgia

Donald Arthur (D.A.) King is the founder and leader of the Marietta, Georgia-based Dustin Inman Society (DIS), a group that focuses entirely on opposing immigration of Hispanics to the United States (Dustin Inman was a 16-year-old boy who was killed when an alleged undocumented immigrant crashed into the back of the Inman family car in 2000). King has described the United States as a country “being invaded and colonized,” and its “way of life” destroyed with the “Hispandering” of his state, which he has taken to calling “Georgiafornia.”

He often uses rhetoric that depicts undocumented immigrants as a threat to the American way of life. In March 2008, a reader of King’s blog suggested a “new word” for illegal aliens—“crimigrant.” In response, King wrote, “Makes sense to me.”

Promoting anti-immigrant 287(g) agreements

Since the defeat of the immigration reform bill in Congress in 2007, one of King’s most widely-used tactics has been to promote section 287(g) of The Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), which was added to the INA by the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act. Section 287(g) deputizes local law enforcement officers to enforce immigration law. In a February 17, 2008 article, published in Georgia’s *Gwinnett Daily Post*, King discussed the “organized crime of illegal immigration” and described 287(g) as “the latest effort to rid Georgia of the taxpayer-subsidized illegal aliens who are lowering wages and straining our schools, hospitals, jails and common language.”

King does not limit his rhetoric to immigrants; he also targets American Latino leaders. In a February 7, 2008 letter, published in the *Gainesville Times*, a Georgia-based newspaper, King

made predictions about what life will be like if 287(g) is implemented in Hall County, Georgia. He stated, “Parasitic ethnic hustlers who encourage and feed on continued illegal immigration will begin to howl that any enforcement of the law that affects the illegals who are their golden goose is ‘profiling’ and, sooner or later, ‘racist.’” On the Dustin Inman Society blog, King posted the letter and linked the words “ethnic hustlers” to the Georgia Association of Latino Elected Officials (GALEO) “Membership and Benefits” page and membership application.

In December 2007, he staged an event to honor Neil Warren, a Georgia sheriff, with the first DIS ‘Sheriff of the Year’ award. In the DIS blog, King explained that Warren is the “only sheriff in Georgia to have taken advantage of...section 287(g).” King also reported that “several elected officials were in attendance,” and he anticipated honoring other sheriffs “in the process of following Sheriff Warren’s leadership in using available federal tools to protect their citizens from the ravages of the crime of illegal immigration.”

Demonizing language

Months earlier, in April 2007, King was more extreme in his use of anti-immigrant rhetoric. According to the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, when speaking at a Newton County (Georgia) Republican Party meeting, he told attendees that undocumented immigrants are “not here to mow your lawn – they’re here to blow up your buildings and kill your children, and you, and me.”

King has expressed such strong sentiments in previous years, as well. He wrote in a July 2004 article:

We have become sadly acquainted with the absolute and brazen disregard for the law that comes from the third world horde that is allowed to swarm over our border with Mexico...It is clear that when the mostly Mexican mob illegally ‘migrates’ into our nation, it brings with it the culture of lawlessness and chaos that is responsible for the very conditions that they flee in the rapidly deteriorating example of Democracy without the rule of law that is Mexico.

Commenting on Hispanic immigrants in a May 2004 article, King asked, “Must the United States silently suffer the incursion of one million people a year because they are brown?”

Mainstream media acceptance

Despite King’s numerous inflammatory statements, the national media has continued to provide King with a mainstream platform. He has toned down his rhetoric in mainstream television and print media and his statements and articles now reach millions of Americans. The *Marietta Daily Journal* regularly publishes King’s “Guest Columnist” articles and refers to the DIS as a “Cobb based nonprofit coalition which advocates for English as the national official language,” and “a Cobb-based non-profit coalition dedicated to educating the public on illegal immigration.” The newspaper’s Web site also provides a link to the DIS Web site after the publication of each of King’s pieces.

An October 2007 National Public Radio segment included a quote from King, who was described as “a grassroots activist.” Also in October 2007, King was a guest on CNN’s *Headline News*. He was introduced as an “anti-illegal immigration activist” and a “columnist for the

Marietta Journal.” In May 2007, Anderson Cooper interviewed King on *CNN Today*, introducing him as a “columnist” and “activist.” Twelve mainstream newspapers have printed King’s articles, most notably *The Washington Times*, which neutrally describes the Dustin Inman Society as “a Georgia-based coalition of citizens with the goal of educating the public on the consequences of illegal immigration.”

Contributor to racist Web site

King also maintained a blog on VDare, a Web site that publishes racist, anti-Semitic, and anti-immigrant articles, and has also posted many of his articles. In one blog entry, he discussed his experience at a March for Dignity, comprised of, in King’s words, “mostly Hispanic demonstrators.” He wrote, “I got the sense that I had left the country of my birth and been transported to some Mexican village, completely taken over by an angry, barely restrained mob....My first act on a safe return home was to take a shower.”

King has also promoted conspiracy theories about the “Reconquista,” an alleged plot by Mexicans to forcibly take control of the American Southwest. In a June 2006 article on VDare, he described the ABC network’s airing of an award show hosted by the National Council of La Raza, a Hispanic advocacy group, as “Reconquista TV.”

In September 2006, King attempted to distance himself from VDare. The Dustin Inman Society Web site states, “D.A. King demanded that [VDare] remove his name from the VDARE Editorial Collective.” However, he also requested the VDare “archive his writings along with other past authors.”

Rallies and ties to the Minutemen

In addition to spreading his views in the media and online, King has organized public rallies. In March 2008, the DIS held a rally in front of a hotel in Atlanta, Georgia, to protest a “Georgians for McCain” reception, or, as King phrased it on the DIS Web site, the “McCain/Kennedy legalization legislation and reward for illegal aliens – and amnesty for their campaign donating criminal employers.” Specifically, the DIS was protesting legislation that would favor amnesty for undocumented immigrants, which the group argues has been supported by the two senators in past years.

The DIS rally reportedly attracted members of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps., a border vigilante group. On the DIS Web site, King gave “many thanks” to “Just build the fence,” an anti-immigrant blog that posted a story about the rally. The blog entry stated that “Local patriots from the Georgia Chapter of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps were also present in numbers.” As of July 2008, the DIS Web site continues to provide links to the Web sites of Minuteman groups.

In April 2007, King organized a kick-off rally for “Hold Their Feet to the Fire,” a series of anti-immigrant events held in Washington, D.C. He brought together anti-immigrant speakers from around the country, including his self-described “personal friend” Terry Anderson, Rick Oltman, and William Gheen, all prominent anti-immigrant activists. The Dustin Inman Society organized

a similar rally in 2005, featuring Chris Simcox, currently the leader of the border vigilante Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, which encourages armed patrols and surveillance by volunteers to prevent Mexicans from crossing the border into the United States. In 2005, Simcox co-founded the Minuteman Project, which had a similar agenda. Today, the Minutemen are a loose network of local chapters around the country, whose primary goal is to keep undocumented immigrants from Mexico out of the United States. The more extreme Minutemen chapters continue to advocate patrols of the Mexican-American border by armed volunteers.

Testifying before the government committees

On the political front, in August 2006, King served as a witness at a Gainesville, Georgia, field hearing of the House of Representatives Education and the Workforce Subcommittee. As participants entered the building, Dustin Inman Society members greeted them. Though King softened his language during his testimony, he had secured a permit for his group to demonstrate. One person held up a sign saying “Stop the Invasion.”

Groups: Mothers Against Illegal Aliens - Arizona

In January 2006, Michelle Dallacroe founded Mothers Against Illegal Aliens (MAIA), a group that, in her words, was formed “to show every mother in America what is going on on our streets.” Through media appearances, connections with extremists, and personal appearances at anti-immigration events, Dallacroe promotes themes that demonize immigrants. She describes immigrants as a “mass invasion” of unintelligent, disrespectful, conspiratorial criminals while targeting her message to women and families. She focuses on immigration as a threat to American children and denigrates the values of immigrant families, branding immigrant children as “dumb” and violent.

Denigrating immigrant children

The MAIA “Mission Statement” directs readers to:

...decide if our children are the forgotten and silent victims when it comes to their education in schools overrun by illegal aliens and to their safety from a border in peril. Ultimately, it is up to you to decide for yourself if you want to get involved, protect your family and country, or if you'd rather watch from the sidelines and let our government do your bidding as it gives away your livelihood, your future and your country to a foreign entity that is dictating U.S. immigration policy...our children and our country are at risk of being eliminated!

Dallacroe, echoing the same theme in an interview on the radio show of anti-immigrant activist Frosty Wooldridge in October 2007, stated, “The thing is, the children in our schools are being taught bad habits, the school systems are being dumbed down, it's a matter of fact.” She had previously voiced the same sentiments in a May 2006 interview on CNN's *Nancy Grace*, where she said, “My children, as well as my grandchildren and everyone's legal citizen children in our schools, are being affected, dumbed down.”

Dallacroe has also claimed that immigrant children are not only “dumb” but raised to be disrespectful and violent. Following an immigration rights Labor Day rally at the Arizona State

Capitol in September 2006, media accounts described a woman screaming at a child through a bull horn, surrounded by counter-protestors who referred to Mexicans as “dogs.” In an Internet post, Dallacroe admitted, “I am the lady who is being talked about... We have a prime example of what kind of children are being born and what they are being taught by their illegal alien parents to disobey and disrespect American citizens. This 9 year old boy is being taught to be a violent and hostile child. If this was my child I would have washed his mouth out with soap or better yet, I would have put a lot of tabasco sauce in his mouth...”

Blaming immigrants for diseases

In addition to claiming that children of immigrants are destroying the nation’s school systems, MAIA maintains that undocumented immigrants import diseases into the United States. A January 2008 article in the *Washington Post* explained that “Mothers Against Illegal Aliens recently posted a plea for people to bring their own sheets and utensils to hotels and restaurants” because of the potential for disease that the immigrant workers might have. The article was referring to a longer derogatory post made to the MAIA Website in November 2007:

...with diseases such as mono, chagas, hepatitis, staff infections, and flesh eating diseases, which are noted in this report, it is reasonable for a reasonable person to conclude that many of these diseases are here and on the rise because of our OPEN AND INSECURE BORDER with Mexico and the fact that Illegal Aliens are not subject to medical inspection or certification, as are legal applicants. With our children being exposed to and infected by the SUPERBUG in our schools, it should not be inconceivable that we are now being exposed and subjected to attacks by diseases which put our lives at risk because of learned bad behavior and unexceptable [sic] and prohibited cleaning practices which could kill us and our children while staying in any hotel or eating at any restaurant anywhere in America!!!! The next time you eat in a restaurant or sleep in a hotel or motel....just remember to bring your own food, dishes, untensils [sic], glasses, towels, and maybe your own water. The person who cooked your meal or made your bed may very well be the one who picked your fruit and vegetables, yesterday....and we’ve heard the stories about what they do in the fields....haven’t we?

A month earlier in interview on the Frosty Woolridge radio show, Dallacroe made similar claims, declaring , “...we’ve got people dying on the street, being killed, we’ve got children in schools catching diseases, that was just on the news...”

Opposing diversity

Dallacroe goes beyond anti-immigrant rhetoric; she has also voiced opposition to diversity. She claimed that Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) has been “hijacked by La Raza” [a Hispanic advocacy group] in response to MADD’s October 2007 request that MAIA remove the “Mothers Against” from its group name. In the October 2007 interview with Wooldridge, Dallacroe makes recommendations for steps that she would like MADD to take. She explains, “the second thing I would like them to do is actually, uh, stop this whole diversity thing because we’re in America, and we’re not supposed to be diverse. We’re one nation.”

Promoting the “reconquista” conspiracy theory

Dallacroe has also proclaimed that America is under attack by Mexico. She promotes the

conspiracy theory that Mexican immigrants are trying to reclaim land in the United States that once belonged to Mexico. MAIA's current "Mission Statement" states, "We are not only at war with Iraq, but we ARE at WAR with MEXICO; a silent war with Aztlanders..."

In an April 2006 appearance on FOX News's *Hannity and Colmes*, Dallacroe made several derogatory statements about Hispanics, then alleged that Mexicans are engaged in a plot to reclaim the American Southwest. She explained, "What we have got coming over here, that people don't respect the American people. They don't respect America. They want to take over the Southwest...They're using our hospitals...they're tearing apart our country."

Ties to the Minutemen and a white supremacist

To help keep undocumented workers out of the United States, Dallacroe has publicly supported and worked alongside the border vigilante Minutemen. The Minutemen are a loose network of local chapters around the country, whose primary goal is to keep undocumented immigrants from Mexico out of the United States. The more extreme Minutemen chapters advocate patrols of the Mexican-American border by armed volunteers.

Dallacroe counter-protested with the Minutemen at a pro-immigrant rally at the Arizona State Capitol in September 2006. That same month, she spoke at a Minuteman rally in Arizona and in February 2006, she spoke at a Minuteman rally at the U.S. Capitol. According to the *Arizona Daily Star*, at a February 2006 MAIA demonstration in Arizona, Dallacroe stated, "By us supporting the Minuteman...we working [sic] together to protect our families."

In 2007, however, Dallacroe criticized a major Minuteman leader for "compromising." A December 2007 *Arizona Daily Star* article discussed Dallacroe's opinions of Chris Simcox, the founder of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, a border vigilante patrol group. The article explained that "Simcox inspired [Dallacroe] to join the anti-illegal entrant movement," but then quoted Dallacroe as stating that Simcox was "giving in" because he made statements supportive of public education and health care for children of undocumented immigrants.

In addition to her work with the Minutemen, Dallacroe has appeared with white supremacist J.T. Ready. When Ready organized a rally at the Phoenix Mexican Consulate in April 2006, Dallacroe was an invited speaker. Ready, who advocates placing landmines across the border, was a Minuteman volunteer. He attends Klan and neo-Nazi events and was a "special guest speaker" at a September 2007 protest against the Mexican Consulate in Omaha, Nebraska, sponsored by the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement.

Mainstream acceptance

In spite of Dallacroe's activities and extremist ties and MAIA's continued demonization of undocumented immigrants, her group enjoys mainstream exposure. MAIA's positions have been given voice in various mainstream media outlets, including the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Orlando Sentinel*, and *Fox News*.

Groups: The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) – Washington D.C.

The Washington D.C.-based Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) founded in 1979, claims to work to “improve border security, to stop illegal immigration, and to promote immigration levels consistent with the national interest.” Headquartered in the “heart of Capitol Hill,” FAIR tempers its language so as to appear as a mainstream group in front of the media and government agencies. Possibly due to its large size (it claims over 250,000 members and supporters), D.C. location, and exposure, elected officials look to the organization for input. To that end, FAIR boasts that it “has been called to testify on immigration bills before Congress more than any organization in America.”

Nuanced in its approach

Like many other anti-immigrant groups, FAIR opposes legal immigration as well as illegal immigration. Unlike many other anti-immigrant groups, however, FAIR is much more explicit about this opposition. It has consistently supported a moratorium on legal immigration to the United States, suggesting that only spouses and young children of U.S. citizens and “some” legitimate refugees should be allowed into the country.

FAIR is more nuanced in its use of language than other anti-immigrant groups and it has been used as a resource by officials, the media and within anti-immigration policy circles. However, a close look reveals a pattern of extremist affiliations and a strategy of founding and empowering smaller groups that promote xenophobia.

History of extremist ties

Controversy over FAIR’s extremist ties dates back to its founder, John Tanton, a pioneer of the anti-immigrant movement. In 1997, he told the *Detroit Free Press* that if the borders are not secured, America will be overrun by people “defecating and creating garbage and looking for jobs.”

Tanton founded several other organizations, including U.S. English, a group that seeks to make English the official language of the United States. He also publishes *The Social Contract*, an anti-immigration journal whose Website links to a number of extremist sites, including VDare, a Website that publishes racist, anti-Semitic, and anti-immigrant articles. In fact, the Spring 2008 issue of *The Social Contract* is devoted entirely to reprinting material that originally appeared on VDare. An article in the Spring 2007 issue of the journal lauds Sam Francis, a deceased white supremacist, as a “formidable and articulate champion.”

The Social Contract also links to American Border Patrol, the virulently anti-Hispanic border vigilante group whose leader, Glenn Spencer, claimed that the Mexican government is “sponsoring the invasion of the United States with hostile intent,” and the Minutemen, a loose network of local chapters around the country, whose primary goal is to keep undocumented immigrants from Mexico out of the United States. The more extreme Minutemen chapters advocate patrols of the Mexican-American border by armed volunteers.

Despite these extremist ties, Tanton remains on the FAIR Board of Directors. Furthermore, FAIR reportedly accepted over \$1 million in the 1980s and 1990s from The Pioneer Fund, a foundation that promotes the study of eugenics. Racist scholar J. Philippe Rushton, The Pioneer Fund's current president, spoke at a 2006 conference organized by American Renaissance, a white supremacist publication and Website.

Anti-immigrant activism

In June 2008, as part of its strategy to create a larger movement and to mainstream its anti-immigrant views to a wider audience, FAIR joined with four other anti-immigrant groups to found America's Leadership Team for Long Range Population-Immigration-Resource Planning ("Leadership Team"). In August 2008, the Leadership Team sponsored a national ad campaign "to raise America's awareness of the role population growth plays in the demand for energy." As part of the campaign, the Leadership Team took out an ad in the *New York Times* which argued that the use of alternative energy sources, combined with a reduction of immigration into the United States, will "reduce the threat" of rising prices of fuel and other resources. Another ad published in September 2008 warned America's "progressive thinkers" that the natural resources and future of the United States are in jeopardy if the country allows continued immigration.

In June 2008, the Leadership Team sponsored a similar campaign, which included ads that appeared in the *New York Times* and *The Nation* that month. The ads, which pictured a bulldozer knocking down trees and heavy traffic congestion, argued that high immigration levels will cause environmental damage, traffic congestion, higher taxes, and severe strains on schools, emergency rooms, and public infrastructure.

In addition to having a direct role in an anti-immigrant coalition, FAIR employs and empowers other anti-immigrant activists. For example, in March 2008, FAIR announced that Rosanna Pulido, an Illinois-based anti-immigrant activist would be one of its newest field representatives. FAIR's announcement omitted any references to Pulido's former position as the state director of the Illinois Minuteman Project, which, at one point, existed as a subgroup of Chris Simcox's Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, a border vigilante group. Pulido was, in her words, "one of the original Minutemen on the border in April 2005." She has also served as the Illinois spokesperson for You Don't Speak for Me, a FAIR offshoot created to promote an anti-immigrant message from within the Hispanic community. Joe Turner, another anti-immigrant activist and leader of the California group Save Our State, briefly served as FAIR's Western Field Representative in 2007.

Rick Oltman, while acting as FAIR's Western Field Director, spoke at a Minuteman rally in Arizona in April 2006; he also presented the Minuteman group with a lantern to signify that the immigrants are coming "by land." A May 2006 *Los Angeles Times* article discussed a meeting between Oltman, Mothers Against Illegal Aliens president Michelle Dallacrose, and Rusty Childress, leader of United for Sovereign America, an anti-immigrant group that attracts extremists to its events.

Attracting media attention

FAIR also attempts to bring together various strands of the anti-immigrant movement in events that are geared to attract media attention and broadcast an anti-immigrant message. From December 27-28, 2007, FAIR's Congressional Task Force hosted a "Talk Radio Row" at a Des Moines, Iowa hotel.

The mainstream media covered the Talk Radio Row and a number of politicians attended and participated in the event. Participants and attendees included Minuteman Project leader Jim Gilchrist and Joe Arpaio, the sheriff of Maricopa County, Arizona. Arpaio has gained national publicity by engaging in divisive anti-immigrant practices, including implementing 'crime suppression sweeps,' which allegedly resulted in discrimination and profiling in areas populated mainly by Latinos.

FAIR also received a lot of mainstream media coverage in April 2007 by co-sponsoring "Hold Their Feet to the Fire," a series of anti-immigrant events in Washington, D.C., that brought together several members of Congress, anti-immigration groups, media figures, border vigilante groups, and citizen activists from around the country. Through press conferences, continuous radio broadcasting from over 35 hosts, lobbying training and demonstrations, participants voiced their opposition to then pending immigration legislation in the 110th Congress and heard from many of the figures who have injected ugly stereotypes into the national immigration debate.

Testifying before government committees

Despite a problematic background, FAIR often voices its views in front of legislative and political committees. In February 2008, FAIR President Dan Stein testified before the U.S. House of Representatives' Subcommittee on Immigration, Citizenship, Refugees, Border Security and International Law. In October 2007, FAIR Special Projects Director Jack Martin testified at a Pennsylvania hearing of the House Republican Policy Committee. That same month, Dan Stein made a presentation to the New York Senate Standing Committee on Veterans, Homeland Security and Military Affairs and the Senate Standing Committee on Transportation. In their testimony, Stein and Martin argued that the United States government is not doing its job in enforcing immigration law. FAIR's testimony also included support for legislation that empowers local law enforcement to initiate deportation proceedings. They contended that undocumented immigration places a "fiscal burden" on taxpayers, who, they alleged, are funding the education, medical care, and prosecution costs of undocumented immigrants.

Groups: Choose Black America

To both broaden the demographic of its movement and cultivate a grassroots following, the Washington D.C.-based Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) has created front groups that work together, often in concert with border vigilante groups, to broadcast a xenophobic message. At the same time, they use these as a defense against charges of racism.

In May 2006, FAIR founded Choose Black America (CBA), which describes itself as a "Black oriented - Black led organization and movement in the United States that is resisting illegal immigration and amnesty to citizens of foreign countries illegally within ours." CBA's leader, Ted Hayes, is an anti-immigrant activist.

Ties to the Minutemen

Hayes has ties to the Minutemen. The Minutemen are a loose network of local chapters around the country, whose primary goal is to keep undocumented immigrants from Mexico out of the United States. The more extreme Minutemen chapters advocate patrols of the Mexican-American border by armed volunteers.

Hayes also leads the anti-immigrant Crispus Attucks Brigade, a group that Hayes made CBA's direct "subsidiary." The Crispus Attucks Brigade describes itself as an "American Black US citizens patriotic organization in the ideological insurgency against the invasion and illegal colonization of the United States of America." (Crispus Attucks, who was of part Native American and part African ancestry, was among the first people killed in the American Revolutionary War, during the 1770 Boston Massacre.) Hayes and the Minutemen have worked in conjunction to stage anti-immigrant events, with members of both groups sharing a stage.

CBA leader Terry Anderson

Another prominent member of CBA is Terry Anderson, who also has ties to several key figures in the anti-immigrant movement. Anderson hosts *The Terry Anderson Show*, an anti-immigrant radio program. According to his show's Website, in 2008, Anderson interviewed anti-immigrant figures including D.A. King of the Dustin Inman Society; a member of the anti-immigrant California Coalition for Immigration Reform, headed by racist Barbara Coe; William Gheen of American for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee (ALIPAC); and Glenn Spencer, leader of the virulently anti-Hispanic border vigilante group American Border Patrol, who has claimed that the Mexican government is "sponsoring the invasion of the United States with hostile intent." Anderson has himself appeared three times on *The Political Cesspool*, a Tennessee-based radio show hosted by white supremacist James Edwards that routinely features neo-Nazis and white supremacists as guests.

Anderson spoke at "Hold Their Feet to the Fire," a series of anti-immigrant events in Washington, D.C. that brought together several members of Congress, anti-immigration groups, media figures, border vigilante groups, and citizen activists from around the country in April 2007. In his speech, Anderson complained that a child in an American public school is a "victim" because teachers have to "spend extra time with some little brat that's illiterate in two languages."

Groups: You Don't Speak for Me

To both broaden the demographic of its movement and cultivate a grassroots following, the Washington D.C.-based Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) has created front groups that work together, often in concert with border vigilante groups, to broadcast a xenophobic message. At the same time, they use these as a defense against charges of racism.

In May 2006, the Washington D.C.-based Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) "was proud to help launch" a group called You Don't Speak for Me (YDSFM), which claims to

be a “coalition of Americans of Hispanic descent who believe that this nation must enforce its immigration laws in order to protect the security and interest of all citizens.” Though FAIR does not characterize itself as a direct founder of YDSFM, the two groups share a spokesperson. In June 2006, YDSFM leader Miguel Cruz (who has since become a New Jersey-based YDSFM executive director) told a New Jersey newspaper that “the coalition [YDSFM] is FAIR’s creation, it’s their mission...” In addition, YDSFM Chairman Al Rodriguez sits on FAIR’s National Board of Advisors.

In March 2008, FAIR blended the two organizations even more by announcing that Rosanna Pulido, Illinois YDSFM spokeswoman and former state director of the Illinois Minuteman Project, had become a Field Representative for FAIR.

Vilifying immigrants

YDSFM members speak at anti-immigrant events across the country, alongside border vigilante activists and anti-immigration figures. YDSFM’s Vice Chairman, Carmen Morales, has spoken on behalf of the group at several anti-immigrant events, where she publicly demonized undocumented immigrants as criminal invaders who threaten to transform America into a third world country. In her speeches, Morales announced that she works with various anti-immigrant groups including New Jersey Citizens for Immigration Control, United Patriots of America, and “my Lakewood [New Jersey] friends, the Minutemen.”

In a May 2008 speech at an anti-immigrant rally in Pennsylvania, joined by other YDSFM leaders and flanked by young children, Morales continually reinforced the conspiracy theory that Mexicans are seeking to assume control of the Southwestern United States. Morales stated that she “can’t believe we’re still fighting the invasion.” Speaking on behalf of YDSFM, Morales explained that “we, do not, in any way or form, agree with the Mexican invasion... We are facing a political invasion from the country of Mexico, who [sic] claims that the entire Southwestern US belongs to Mexico, and they want to take it back without firing a shot, but by simply getting political clout in Washington.”

In an October 2007 speech at an anti-immigrant rally in Fairview, New Jersey, Morales went further by suggesting that undocumented immigrants will take violent action:

We are standing here, a group of Americans of all ethnicity [sic] to defend the USA from the huge, huge invasion and the reconquista, in English, reconquest... We will lose our Garden State because, ladies and gentlemen, they will burn it to the ground, just like what is happening in California. Remember, illegal aliens and their supporters have a different mentality, where if they do not get their way, they will burn buildings and destroy our towns one at a time for that’s how they handle it in their own countries. Illegal aliens have created in this country exactly what they left behind.... If our country does not get tough on our immigration laws... we will lose America forever.

A week earlier, Morales spoke on behalf of You Don’t Speak for Me at an anti-immigrant rally in Lakewood, New Jersey, where she mentioned “our huge invasion” and stated, “Mexico is not going to take over if it’s the last thing I do.”

Ties to the Minutemen

YDSFM leaders don't just speak at anti-immigrant rallies; a number of them also have ties to the border vigilante Minuteman organization. The Minutemen are a loose network of local chapters around the country, whose primary goal is to keep undocumented immigrants from Mexico out of the United States. The more extreme Minutemen chapters advocate patrols of the Mexican-American border by armed volunteers.

During a November 2007 Lou Dobbs appearance at a Barnes & Nobles bookstore in Chicago, Illinois to promote his book *Independents Day*, Rosanna Pulido declared, "I was one of the original Minutemen on the border in April 2005, proud to serve my country...." Another prominent YDSFM member, Lupe Moreno, also calls herself "one of the original Minutewomen." During a June 2007 fundraiser for U.S. Representative Tom Tancredo* (R-CO), Moreno discussed "going out with [Minuteman leader] Jim Gilchrist to the Naco [Arizona] border to defend this nation," referencing her participation in the April 2005 Minuteman Project. Moreno's fellow speakers at the fundraiser included Los Angeles Minuteman leader Tony Dolz and Jeff Schwilk, leader of the more extreme San Diego Minuteman faction. YDSFM's Arizona point of contact, Anna Gaines, is also a member of the Minutemen, according to Minuteman leader Chris Simcox.

Working with other FAIR offshoots

YDSFM co-organizes events with Choose Black America (CBA), another anti-immigration group founded by FAIR in May 2006, to demonstrate opposition to immigration from within the black community. On the grassroots level, the groups' events attract Minuteman attendance and support.

In June 2007, CBA and YDSFM held a joint press conference at the National Press Club in Washington D.C. That same month, the Los Angeles Chapter of CBA and YDSFM co-sponsored a "Civil Rights March and Rally" in conjunction with other anti-immigration groups, according to a flier released by the Crispus Attucks Brigade, a CBA subsidiary group. The mission of the event was to "Retrieve...Our National Birth Right NOW From Citizens of Foreign Nations Illegally Within Ours." In March 2007, the Crispus Attucks Brigade, the Minuteman Project, YDSFM and other anti-immigrant groups formed a "coalition" and sponsored a "Civil Rights March." A Crispus Attucks Brigade's flier about the march included the group's demand for "protection of Black US Citizens From Ethnic Cleansing By Latinos, Europeans, Asians, Africans, & Others Invading and Illegally Colonizing Our Country." During the event, CBA leader Ted Hayes shared the stage with YDSFM leader Al Rodriguez.

Groups: Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee – North Carolina

The platform of the North Carolina-based Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee (ALIPAC), led by William Gheen, asserts that "more should be done to reduce illegal immigration." To achieve this policy aim, the group pledges to utilize the work of its members and contributors to support "candidates for office that are serious about immigration reform" and encourages members to take individual action and lobby elected officials. Gheen, however,

advances his group's mission by branding undocumented immigrants as murderous criminals infecting Americans with diseases.

Strident anti-immigrant rhetoric

Gheen's rhetoric demonstrates an agenda that goes beyond the enforcement of immigration laws. He regularly demonizes immigrants as drunk drivers, gang members, invaders, murderers, and disease-carriers. In a June 2008 rally, sponsored by ALIPAC in North Carolina, Gheen stated that "we have illegal aliens that are drinking and driving, and vicious, very dangerous, gangs in this state that are killing people..."

Gheen has gone so far as to refer to undocumented immigrants as Nazis. This particular comparison followed a December 2007 appearance on a FOX News: *Fox & Friends* segment in which he discussed the presence of undocumented immigrants in North Carolina community colleges. Gheen opposed offering in-state tuition to undocumented immigrants and argued that they take seats away from American students by attending the community colleges. In a February 2008 post in the commentary below the YouTube video of the segment, an individual stated, "Hey, this sort of sounds like the propaganda that Hitler used to stir up hatred and blame the Jews for all of the economic woes of Germany..." In response, Gheen wrote, "Yea, except this time Americans are the Jews and the illegal aliens and their supporters are the Nazis."

In spite of his statements demonizing undocumented immigrants, mainstream media around the nation continue to portray Gheen as a grass roots activist, failing to cite his ideology, activities, and affiliations. In addition, Gheen is often used as a spokesman to talk about immigration issues on national television.

In an October 2007 appearance on CNN to discuss local police officers' enforcement of immigration law in Irving, Texas, Gheen stated, "We got a half a million felon illegal aliens that are on the run, half a million... that are out there tonight, murdering, raping, assaulting and stealing from Americans..." He later continued, "...the illegal aliens must leave and the existing laws must be enforced or America is going to descend into the type of anarchy that a lot of these people are trying to get away from."

Gheen's rhetoric was even more extreme at an August 2007 rally in North Carolina, where he stated, "Illegal aliens in this country have set up ethnic cleansing zones, ethnic cleansing zones where if you walk past the wrong sign post, the invisible line, you're under the threat of death."

In July 2007, Gheen appeared with Ted Hayes, leader of the anti-immigrant organization Choose Black America, on a *Fox News* segment. He demonstrated his bigotry by stating, "I can't see how anybody would think that someone who's here illegally in the country that's stolen someone's ID, stolen someone's American job, should then be able to rape, assault or murder and not be deported."

Gheen also inflames anti-immigrant sentiment by falsely asserting that immigrants bring disease into the nation. During a June 2007 radio interview, he said:

We've got bedbugs back in all, almost all of our 58 [sic] states. We've got TB on the rise, we've got hepatitis, we've got HIV, we've got diseases like Chagas disease, which is a horrifying disease, but also, much like TB, is very, very difficult to treat at all, and it's coming in because of the, the lack of enforcement of our immigration laws and, and the end result is Americans are suffering, Americans are dying.

During a speech at a June 2007 rally in Hazleton, Pennsylvania, in support of that city's restrictive ordinance against undocumented immigrants, Gheen said:

I want to talk about crime and disease for a second...They broke the law when they stole your identity, wrecking your life. They broke the law when they took a job they weren't supposed to have...These people have shown a pattern of disrespect and a pattern of criminal behavior coming from gang-rule areas where there is no law. And that is what our nation is becoming like because it's common sense that when you inject that into a nation, that is what your nation becomes like...We got a problem. Well I got some news. According to some rough math I did 20 minutes ago, we're getting four to ten TB active cases rushing across our southern border every night.

Encouraging a Lou Dobbs presidential bid

In an effort to highlight its own platform, in January 2008, ALIPAC launched a Website to encourage a Presidential run by Lou Dobbs, a national television and radio host who has routinely demonized immigrants on his shows. On the Website, ALIPAC created a platform for a Dobbs campaign and is accepting campaign donation pledges. ALIPAC has also posted links to Dobbs's television and radio shows on the site and in a February 2008 "open letter," Gheen stated, "America needs you to run for President, Mr. Dobbs and I hope you will meet with me in a few weeks to allow me to plead the case."

The campaign to support Dobbs gained wide mainstream coverage. A January 7, 2008, *Wall Street Journal* article discussed Gheen's support of Dobbs and described ALIPAC as "an influential grass-roots group that favors strict enforcement of immigration laws..."

Ties to the Minutemen

Gheen also maintains affiliations with the Minutemen. The Minutemen are a loose network of local chapters around the country, whose primary goal is to keep undocumented immigrants from Mexico out of the United States. The more extreme Minutemen chapters advocate patrols of the Mexican-American border by armed volunteers.

Chris Simcox, the leader of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC), was a featured speaker at a rally in June 2008 in North Carolina sponsored by ALIPAC. Gheen introduced Simcox as "my friend, my ally." In a June 2008 post to the MCDC Website, Simcox wrote, "Together, the MCDC working with ALIPAC and other pro-border security and pro-legal immigration groups in North Carolina, we are launching the Battle for NC anew!"

In July 2007, Gheen was a guest on *Minuteman Radio*, hosted by Simcox. The day before, he spoke at an anti-immigrant conference in Chicago. Fellow speakers included Ted Hayes and Illinois Minuteman leader and prominent YDSFM member Rosanna Pulido.

ALIPAC had a significant presence at the April 2007 anti-immigrant “Hold Their Feet to the Fire,” a series of anti-immigrant events in Washington, D.C., that brought together several members of Congress, anti-immigration groups, media figures, border vigilante groups, and citizen activists from around the country. Though “Hold Their Feet to the Fire” included several mainstream, legitimate figures who refrain from extreme language in their opposition to immigration, ALIPAC invited Los Angeles Minuteman chapter leader Tony Dolz to become an official participant in Blogger’s Row, a small group of individuals who dedicated three days to “meet with citizen activists, talk radio hosts, and elected officials” and catalogue the events in their online journals.

Radio presence

In July 2008, Gheen began to host *Last Americans Standing*, a radio show on the Republic Broadcasting Network (RBN). RBN also hosts the Internet radio shows of anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant, and anti-government figures. In April 2005, Gheen was a guest on *The Political Cesspool*, a Tennessee-based radio show hosted by white supremacist James Edwards that regularly features neo-Nazis and white supremacists as guests.

Groups: Grass Fire – Iowa

Grass Fire is a non-profit group that claims to hold “a strong and unwavering commitment to conservative, pro-family and pro-faith values.” Claiming over one and a half million contacts with elected officials, the group mobilized opposition to proposed immigration-reform legislation in the 110th Congress, with a nationwide ad campaign, mass online petitions, intensive lobbying, and giant billboards across the country declaring “Stop the Invasion: No Amnesty.”

Grass Fire’s 57-page pamphlet, “The Truth About the Illegal Invasion,” tries to instill fear in readers with its claims that “illegal immigration is creating a crisis of lawlessness and has led to a massive underground criminal element that feeds off human trafficking and drug running. Illegal immigration is inundating our borders with mountains of garbage. And illegal immigration is undermining American culture and threatening our future.”

In an August 2007 Internet post, President Steve Elliott asked, “Does the Mexican government care about the harm their people are inflicting on our environment with all the trash, clothing and human waste they are leaving when they cross illegally?”

Grass Fire’s “Stop the Invasion” online petition, addressed to the President and Members of Congress, portrayed undocumented immigration as a “long-term threat to the American way of life.” Grass Fire has claimed that over 720,000 individuals signed and submitted Internet petitions.

Anti-Immigrant Rhetoric in Media and Politics

The hateful rhetoric around the immigration debate has gone beyond the rallies, lobbying, and

media appearances by anti-immigration advocates. A number of media personalities in television and radio, as well as political leaders, have adopted the same language when discussing immigration issues in this country. From national TV correspondent Lou Dobbs to more extreme political commentator Patrick Buchanan to local radio personalities to members of Congress such as Tom Tancredo and Steve King, the use of anti-immigrant rhetoric has permeated the culture in our country.

An individual who influenced several of these figures is the late Madeleine Cosman, a self-described “medical lawyer” and propagandist who routinely demonized immigrants as a diseased, criminal element. Mainstream media commentators and politicians have utilized Cosman’s “research” to validate false allegations that immigrants coming to the U.S. carry a number of deadly and harmful diseases. In spite of her questionable data, the *Journal of American Physicians and Surgeons* published one of Cosman’s articles in its Spring 2005 issue. Her mainstream exposure added a veneer of legitimacy to her anti-immigrant arguments.

The following examples illustrate how this type of inflammatory rhetoric has been amplified in the media and in cultural and political arenas:

Lou Dobbs

Under the guise of delivering news and commentary, Lou Dobbs, host of *Lou Dobbs Tonight*, a weekday show on CNN, broadcasts an anti-immigrant message and supports the views and activities of other anti-immigrant activists. Dobbs’ reach has recently spread beyond television, however. In March 2008, he began to host a nightly, three-hour weekday radio program, syndicated throughout the country, to which he has invited a number of anti-immigrant figures for interviews. In June 2008, he invited Rosanna Pulido, the head of the Illinois Minuteman Project, the Illinois spokesperson of You Don’t Speak for Me, and a Field Representative for the Federation for American Immigration Reform, on his show. During the interview, he called her an “outstanding community leader.” Other recent invited guests have included Ira Mehlman, the Media Director at the Federation for American Immigration Reform, a WashingtonD.C.-based anti-immigrant group; Peter Brimelow, who runs VDare, a Website that publishes racist, anti-Semitic, and anti-immigrant articles; William Gheen, the head of the anti-immigrant Americans for Legal Immigration Political Action Committee group who has branded undocumented immigrants as murderous criminals infecting Americans with diseases; and Joe Vento, a Philadelphia restaurant owner who made national news by refusing to serve anyone who does not speak English.

In addition to inviting anti-immigrant activists, Dobbs has gone on the offensive against organizations that seek to expose him as a purveyor of demonizing anti-immigrant sentiment. In a February 2008 interview with National Council of La Raza (NCLR) President Janet Murguia on his syndicated TV show, Dobbs mischaracterized his own previous statements regarding the immigration issue and about the nature of the anti-immigrant advocates he hosts on CNN.

In spite of his pattern of painting undocumented immigrants, particularly Hispanic immigrants, as disease carriers and conspirators in a plot to recapture the American Southwest, he claimed on the show that he has “never spoken a hateful word against illegal immigrants.” Dobbs also

contended that Chris Simcox is no longer associated with the Minutemen. Simcox currently leads the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, an anti-immigrant border vigilante group based in Arizona, which conducted border watch operations in four states in April 2008, with participants encouraged to bring arms.

In addition to supporting other anti-immigrant figures, Dobbs frequently spreads false propaganda about how immigrants are harming the United States. One of Dobbs' most publicized claims was that "unscreened illegal immigrants" were partly to blame for an alleged 7,000 cases of leprosy in the United States from 2002-2005. When confronted with the United States Department of Health and Human Services's findings of 7,029 cases over the past 30 years, not three years, Dobbs refused to recant his statement. His correspondent cited Madeleine Cosman as the source of the false statistic.

Dobbs has also publicized his views through writing. In 2007, Dobbs released *Independents Day: Awakening the American Spirit*. In the book he writes:

Socioethnocentric special interest groups, meanwhile, join in the assault on our borders, demanding multiculturalism rather than assimilation into American society. America's elites have embraced corporatism, globalism, and multiculturalism as the unholy trinity of a twenty-first-century orthodoxy that is now at work to deny our traditions, values, and way of life and to render impotent even the idea of America's national sovereignty.

Patrick Buchanan

Former presidential candidate and advisor, MSNBC commentator, and columnist Patrick Buchanan has long exploited anti-immigrant sentiment and has often expressed racist views. In June 2008, he appeared on the *Political Cesspool*, a Memphis-based AM and Internet radio show hosted by white supremacist James Edwards. This was Buchanan's second appearance on the show, whose guest list has included anti-Semites, white supremacists, and anti-immigrant figures.

In December 2007, Buchanan released *Day of Reckoning: How Hubris, Ideology, and Greed Are Tearing America Apart*. In the book, Buchanan discusses the "endless invasion from the Third World," and a "Third World invasion [that] is pouring across our own border with Mexico." Buchanan also writes, "...unlike the immigrants of old, Mexicans bear an ancient grudge against us as the country that robbed Mexico of half her land when both nations were young."

Buchanan attributed America's "committing suicide" to the ethno-demographic changes that have resulted from Latino immigration. He wrote:

How is America committing suicide? Every way a nation can. The American majority is not reproducing itself. Its birthrate has been below replacement level for decades...Hispanics, 1 percent of the U.S. population in 1950, are now 14.4 percent. Since 2000, their numbers have soared 25 percent to 45 million...The Anglo population of California is down to 43 percent and falling fast. White folks are now a minority in Texas and New Mexico. In Arizona, Hispanics account for more than half the population under twenty. The America Southwest is returning to Mexico.

He expressed similar views in his 2006 book, *State of Emergency: The Third World Invasion and Conquest of America*, Buchanan's pages are filled with xenophobia and conspiratorial allegations. In this book, he explained that "the crisis of the West is of a collapsing culture and vanishing peoples, as a Third World that grows by 100 million people -- the equivalent of a new Mexico -- every eighteen months mounts the greatest invasion in the history of the world. If we do not shake off our paralysis, the West comes to an end."

Lynn Woolley

Lynn Woolley, a Texas radio personality, is the host of an AM radio show syndicated throughout the country. At a November 2006 rally in Austin, Texas, Woolley warned that "gate crashers" will "be running this country and hoisting the Mexican flag...in Washington." In a June 2007 article, he sounded the alarm that "Illegal Immigration Can Make You Sick" by asserting (incorrectly) that "hoards [sic] of illegals crash our border without medical screenings," carrying "tuberculosis, Chagas disease, leprosy, Dengue fever, polio, malaria, hepatitis, and Marburg disease." The source of this claim was Madeleine Cosman.

Tom Tancredo

Colorado Congressman Tom Tancredo* (R-CO) has generated much attention by exploiting the immigration issue. He chaired the Congressional Caucus on Immigration Reform in the House of Representatives and became a leading national spokesperson for anti-immigration views.

In November 2007, before withdrawing from the United States Presidential race, Tancredo ran ads on Iowa television in advance of the caucuses there that depicted undocumented immigrants as terrorists, rapists, and murderers. In one ad, as images of murdered bodies and tattooed Latino gang members flash across the screen, a narrator stated, "Mothers killed, children executed, the tactics of vicious Central American gangs now on U.S. soil." Text then appeared on the screen which said, "Pushing Drugs. Raping Kids. Destroying Lives. The Consequence of Open Borders."

Another ad featured a hooded and gloved man stuffing an object into a backpack and walking through public buildings. As a ticking noise played in the background, a narrator stated:

There are consequences to open borders beyond the 20 million aliens who've come to take our jobs. Islamic terrorists now freely roam U.S. soil. Jihadists, who froth with hate, here to do as they have in London, Spain, Russia. The price we pay for spineless politicians who refuse to defend our borders against those who come to kill.

As the narrator spoke, images of bombed subways and a bloody child flashed across the screen. At the end of the ad, the individual sat on a bench, placed the backpack on the floor, and walked away. As the sound of a bomb going off echoed in the background, the words "Tancredo...before it's too late" come on the screen.

Tancredo expressed similar views in his 2006 book, *In Mortal Danger: The Battle for America's Border and Security*, which he dedicated to Madeleine Cosman, whose work Tancredo cited in

the book. Under “health threats posed by illegal immigration,” he listed Chagas disease (a potentially fatal parasitic disease), dengue fever, polio, and malaria. He also promoted the fallacy that 7,000 cases of leprosy plagued the United States in the past three years. He claimed, “Leprosy now is endemic to the Northeastern states because illegal aliens and other immigrants brought leprosy from Brazil, the Caribbean, India, and Mexico.”

Tancredo publicly supported the actions of border vigilante groups and appears with them at anti-immigrant events. He has a long-standing relationship with the Minutemen. The Minutemen are a loose network of local chapters around the country, whose primary goal is to keep “undocumented” immigrants from Mexico out of the United States. The more extreme Minutemen chapters advocate patrols of the Mexican-American border by armed volunteers.

Steve King

Representing Iowa in the United States House of Representatives, Congressman Steve King* (R-IA) has characterized immigrants – both legal and undocumented – as criminals and disease-carriers. He has spoken alongside leaders of border vigilante groups and advocated a border “wall” topped with electrified wire to stop what he has called a “slow motion Holocaust” of undocumented immigration into the United States. King addressed the House of Representatives and asserted that undocumented immigration is “a slow-rolling, slow-motion terrorist attack on the United States.” He suggested that because undocumented immigrants comprise 28% of the prison population, “28 percent of the murders, 28 percent of the rapes, 28 percent of the violence and the assaults and battery, first- and second-degree murder and also manslaughter attacks are committed by criminal aliens.”

***ADL takes no position in favor of, or in opposition to, candidates running for office, including Representative Tancredo.**

KNOW WHO YOU ARE DEALING WITH: KEY HATE GROUPS AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES IN 2010

The following groups are identified by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) as hate or extremist groups and as being at the forefront of the hate speech directed toward Hispanics in the U.S.* Many of the spokespersons for these groups have appeared on national news programs frequently and unchallenged. Their names are in bold.¹

Federation for American Immigration Reform— Washington, DC

One of the country's best-established anti-immigration groups in the United States, the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), based in Washington, DC, was declared a hate group in December 2007 by SPLC because of its affiliations with racist and white separatist organizations.

FAIR was created by **John Tanton**, considered the founding father of the U.S. anti-immigration movement. Tanton also founded NumbersUSA (see page 2). Called "The Puppeteer" by SPLC, Tanton had founded or funded a number of anti-

immigration organizations.² Tanton has a decades-long track record of associating with White supremacists and anti-Semites and has written dozens of memos and other writings with questionable, troubling, and bigoted quotes about Latinos and immigrants, all of which have been well-documented by SPLC and others. Despite this, FAIR has never addressed this issue directly nor disassociated or questioned Tanton's views, opinions, and associations.

In addition, **Dan Stein**, the group's president, has warned that certain immigrant groups are engaged in "competitive breeding" aimed at diminishing White power. **Rick Oltman**, FAIR's western representative, has spoken before and worked with the racist Council of Conservative Citizens. As Henry Fernandez of the Center for American Progress explains, "The Council of Conservative Citizens, which 'oppose[s] all efforts to mix the races of mankind,' is the successor organization to the White Citizens Council, whose membership terrorized African Americans attempting to register to vote or enroll in public schools following *Brown vs. Board of Education*."³

* The National Council of La Raza is grateful to the Southern Poverty Law Center, the Center for American Progress, and the Anti-Defamation League for allowing the use of their information. This report contains extensive excerpts from these sources.

Another FAIR operative working for Stein is **Joe Turner**, who has been hired by FAIR to succeed Oltman. When he led an anti-immigration group in California called Save Our State (see page 4), skinheads and neo-Nazis joined his street protests.

Overall, FAIR blames immigrants for crime, poverty, disease, urban sprawl, and increasing racial tensions in America and calls for a drastic cut in the numbers of those allowed to immigrate. In radio and TV ads, it attacked former Senator Spencer Abraham (R-MI), saying Abraham's immigration reform proposal could "make it easier for [Arab] terrorists like Osama bin Laden to export their way of terror to any street in America." Print ads featured a photograph of Senator Abraham—an Arab American—next to a photo of bin Laden.

FAIR's ads were condemned across the country and caused former Senator Alan K. Simpson (R-WY) to resign from FAIR's advisory board. Another example of FAIR's racist views is reflected in a comment made by Garrett Hardin, a FAIR board member, who argued that aiding starving Africans is counterproductive and will only "encourage population growth."

FAIR has also created two affiliate organizations: Choose Black America (for African Americans) and You Don't Speak for Me (for Hispanic Americans).

NumbersUSA—Virginia

Founded by **John Tanton** and directed by **Roy Beck**, who has written extensively on environmental and financial issues, NumbersUSA is the most reasoned of the anti-immigration groups, offering information on the relationship between immigration and the environment.

In fact, Beck makes a statement on his website that NumbersUSA does not intend to bash immigrants or have racial overtones. Yet his group supported FAIR and the American Immigration Control Foundation in their immigrant-bashing billboard campaign, and SPLC has reported on Beck's close, long-time relationship with John Tanton, whose bigoted views Beck has never addressed or repudiated.

Beck was also the Washington editor of *The Social Contract*, a quarterly journal that has published articles by White nationalists such as Samuel Francis, who was fired from the conservative *Washington Times* after writing a racially inflammatory column, and James Lubinskas, a contributing editor for the racist magazine *American Renaissance*.

Beck's website has included an extensive listing of other anti-immigration groups.

Minuteman Project

Vigilante border patrol groups have operated for several years in the American Southwest but have expanded greatly in the past few years, spurred on by the media attention given to the so-called Minuteman Project.

In April 2005, **Chris Simcox**, who founded the Arizona-based Civil Homeland Defense, a border vigilante group, and **Jim Gilchrist**, based in California, joined forces to create the Minuteman Project, whose purpose was to gather thousands of volunteers for a month-long watch for illegal border crossers in Arizona.

The project, which was highly publicized among right-wing extremists and White supremacists, attracted far fewer volunteers than expected during its first week, though many who did participate were armed. However, the publicity generated by the event resulted in the formation of numerous Minuteman chapters and spin-offs across America, even in states such as New York, Virginia, Vermont, and Illinois. These groups use the same radical rhetoric, claiming that the United States is being "invaded" by Mexicans who must be stopped.

That message was clear at a three-day summit, "Unite to Fight Against Illegal Immigration," held in Las Vegas, Nevada in May 2005. More than 400 anti-immigration activists gathered at the event to hear speakers describe illegal immigrants as "the enemy within" and "illegal barbarians" while suggesting that America was "at war" with illegal immigrants and urging people to "take America back."

As reported by the SPLC, Gilchrist's vision of the future of America is "plainly apocalyptic." In his view, the country will have "100 tribes with 100 languages," a situation from which "mayhem" will result.⁴

"I see neighborhood armies of 20 to 40 going out and killing and invading one another," he said. Too many immigrants, he added, could even result in a full-scale civil war—a situation he suggested might be avoided by inciting a revolution in Mexico.

"Illegal immigrants will destroy this country," Gilchrist said. "Every time a Mexican flag is planted on American soil, it is a declaration of war."

Later, Gilchrist wasn't talking like that anymore. In 2005, he was a candidate for Congress from Southern California. Gone was the rhetoric about civil war and private armies. In fact, Gilchrist began to carefully enunciate support for legal immigrants.

It is not the first time that Gilchrist has changed his views. He started out as a registered Democrat and then became a Republican. Gilchrist ran for Congress on the ticket of the American Independent Party (AIP)—the organization founded by former Alabama Governor George Wallace, then a self-avowed segregationist who promised from the steps of the Alabama Capitol to defend segregation "forever." (Today, AIP's platform does not mention race. Affiliated with the far-right Constitution Party, AIP is notable for its antigovernment stand.)

Gilchrist, a retired accountant, ran on a single credential: the fact that he is co-founder of the Minuteman Project. Gilchrist is a close friend of Barbara Coe of the California Coalition for Immigration Reform (CCIR) (see page 4) and has served as a member of CCIR.

During an anti-immigration rally in Los Angeles, Gilchrist said, "They [Latinos and immigration supporters] are the minions of anarchy. They stand against everything these stars and stripes stand for. They believe in segregationism, they want to turn that black woman against that Asian

woman and that Asian woman against this white man. Because to divide us by race, they can easily conquer the United States of America."

Simcox, co-founder of the Minuteman Project, was arrested in 2003 by federal park rangers for carrying a weapon illegally while tracking immigrants on federal land. Although he has been interviewed on national news programs, this fact is rarely brought to light.

Simcox has testified before Congress and been interviewed repeatedly on CNN. A frequent guest on the Fox News show *Hannity and Colmes*, Simcox travels the country giving paid lectures at anti-immigration conferences.

A disturbing development occurred in 2009 when former Minuteman Project official and Minuteman American Defense (MAD) leader Shawna Forde and two of her colleagues were arrested for shooting a Latino man and his nine-year-old daughter in an apparent robbery attempt to pay for their border activities. Her former boss Jim Gilchrist continues to defend her online.

American Border Patrol—Arizona

Glenn Spencer, one of the most extreme anti-immigrant ideologues now operating, founded the Voices of Citizens Together/American Patrol in 1992. He has moved his operation to Arizona and has renamed it American Border Patrol.

Spencer takes a hard line on immigration, demanding that the armed forces seal America's southern border. He also displays a bigoted and vulgar side quite openly. Spencer has posted dozens of anti-immigration-related articles. In a 1996 letter to *The Los Angeles Times*, Spencer wrote, "The Mexican culture is based on deceit. Chicanos and Mexicanos lie as a means of survival."

He has posted material on his site from such men as H. Millard, an infamous columnist for the racist Council of Conservative Citizens, who once bemoaned the "slimy brown mass of glop" that immigration and interracial relationships were making of the U.S. population.

Spencer once sent every member of Congress a copy of his videotape, “Bonds of Our Nation,” which purports to prove that the Mexican government and Mexican Americans are plotting to take over the American Southwest and create the nation of *Aztlán*. Hand-delivering the videos was Betina McCann, then-fiancé of neo-Nazi Steven Barry.

On a radio show, Spencer has hosted a series of guests such as Kevin McDonald, a professor who accuses Jews of devising an immigration policy specifically intended to dilute and weaken the White population of America.

In 2008, Spencer expanded from his usual angry attacks on Latinos to explicitly racist and anti-Semitic tirades, including an article on his website titled “Is Jew-Controlled Hollywood Brainwashing Americans?” In it, he assured readers that he had Jewish friends but added, “I fear, however, that this small handful of patriotic Americans are far outnumbered by liberal Jews who now have total control over our media.”

California Coalition for Immigration Reform—California

CCIR is headed by **Barbara Coe**, a woman who has referred repeatedly to Mexican immigrants as “savages.” Coe founded CCIR in 1994 as a co-sponsor of California’s Proposition 187, a ballot measure that was ultimately struck down by the courts, which, in aiming to deny social and medical benefits to illegal immigrants (for which they were largely ineligible to begin with), would have required children to turn their parents over to the authorities.

She once claimed to have exposed a secret Mexican plan to take over the American Southwest, favors using the military to seal the U.S.-Mexico border, and charges that a shadowy “New World Order” is being imposed on America by “globalists.”

CCIR, which has an extensive website linked to many other anti-immigrant groups, worked closely with Glenn Spencer’s American Border Patrol.

Coe and Spencer have staged annual Fourth of July rallies that have drawn prominent neo-Nazis. Coe’s political activities once convinced the *Orange County Weekly* to name her one of the “scariest” people in Orange County.

CCIR has sponsored billboards along the Arizona-California border which read, “Welcome to California, the Illegal Immigration State. Don’t Let This Happen to Your State.” More recently, she attacked the Hispanic mayor of Los Angeles, Antonio Villaraigosa, accusing him of seeking to return Southern California to Mexico.

In a November 2005 *Denver Post* profile of her close friend, then-U.S. Representative Tom Tancredo (R-CO), Coe was described as speaking to and belonging to the Council of Conservative Citizens. That group, which has called Blacks “a retrograde species of humanity,” has long been listed by SPLC as a hate group, as has Coe’s own CCIR.

Save Our State—California

Joe Turner, the founder of Save Our State, a California-based anti-immigrant group, has been angry about immigration since childhood.⁵ He is the featured speaker in a series of rallies which regularly attract neo-Nazis and racist skinheads clad in black boots with red laces. Some of what appears in Turner’s web forum doesn’t sound much different than the propaganda of neo-Nazis. One poster suggested that Hispanic fertility should be reined in with “crop dusters spraying birth control powder” and concluded “STOP BREEDING LIKE RODENTS! YOU’RE RUINING MY COUNTRY!”

Turner, who was once charged with battery after a confrontation with an antiracist protester, does delete posts advocating violence and has even banned a White supremacist or two. But in the same breath, he has publicly complained that he is “sick and tired of multiculturalism” and “white-bashing” and adds, “Just because one believes in white separatism, that does not make them a racist.”

Turner has been quieter as of late due to his troubling ascension into mainstream politics in 2009 as Special Projects Coordinator for San Bernardino County Supervisor Neil Derry.

Other Anti-Immigration Activists

CENTER FOR IMMIGRATION STUDIES

While the SPLC does not label the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) as a hate or extremist group, it does recognize its roots as part of the John Tanton network.

Although CIS tries to present itself as a scholarly think tank that produces serious immigration studies meant to serve “the broad national interest,” SPLC dismisses its objectivity, noting that CIS has “*never found any aspect of immigration that it liked* [emphasis added].” SPLC also notes that CIS has frequently manipulated data to achieve the results it seeks.

TOM TANCREDO

The most prominent anti-immigrant voice to emerge in the last few years is former U.S. representative and failed presidential candidate Tom Tancredo. He catapulted from an obscure Colorado congressman to a darling of the national anti-immigrant movement through his extremist views and agenda as head of the House of Representatives Immigration Reform Caucus.

Some notable Tancredo moments:

- In 2006, the League of the South, a neo-Confederate hate group, hosted a barbecue in honor of Tancredo. The barbecue concluded with a spirited rendition of “Dixie.”
- Also in 2006, Tancredo told WorldNetDaily, “Look at what happened to Miami. It has become a Third World country.”
- In 2007, fringe presidential candidate Tancredo boycotted the Univision-sponsored Republican presidential debate asking, “So what may I ask are our presidential candidates

doing participating in a Spanish speaking debate? Pandering comes to mind.”

- In 2009, Tancredo said on CNN that then-Supreme Court Justice nominee Sonia Sotomayor “appears to be a racist” since she talked about “the benefits of being a brown woman as opposed to a white man.”
- In 2010, Tancredo, the opening speaker at the first Tea Party Conference, had this to say:
 - “People who could not even spell the word ‘vote’ or say it in English put a committed socialist ideologue in the White House. His name is Barack Hussein Obama.”
 - “It’s our flag. It’s our culture. Embrace it. There’s nothing to be ashamed of here. And it is our nation. Take it back!”
 - “We do not have a civics, literacy test before people can vote.” [Note: Literacy tests were a key component of Jim Crow-era laws designed to keep African Americans from voting.]

FRED PUCKETT, LAINE LAWLESS, AND MARK MARTIN

The following are some examples of the hate speech by other anti-immigration activists, as documented by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) in its report *Extremists Declare ‘Open Season’ on Immigrants: Hispanics Target of Incitement and Violence*.⁶ Refer to the report for further reading on anti-immigrant activities.

Anti-immigration activist Fred Puckett, the leader of Minuteman of One, was caught on camera in late April 2006 telling an undercover reporter for a local Phoenix television station that “once you shoot a couple of these sons of bitches, they’ll think twice.”

Perhaps most strikingly, Arizona anti-immigration activist Laine Lawless, who has been associated with several border vigilante groups and eventually started the group Border Guardians in 2005, sent an email to a prominent Ohio member of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement, Mark Martin, asking him to pass its contents on to his White supremacist contacts.

Martin did so, forwarding the message to several White supremacist forums on Yahoo and Usenet in early April 2006; unfortunately for Lawless, Martin ignored the part of her message that read “Please don’t use my name” and instead forwarded the message in full.

Lawless’s email, titled “How to GET RID OF THEM,” urged a variety of intimidating, harassing, and even illegal and violent tactics to intimidate immigrants into leaving the U.S., including cutting down the broadcast tower for a Spanish-language radio station near Phoenix and stealing money from illegal aliens. “I hear the rednecks in the South are beating up illegals as the textile mills have closed,” she wrote. “Use your imagination.”

Lawless’s suggestions were consistent with previous statements she had made, including a posting to an anti-immigration Internet forum in which she wrote, “...my Southern friend tells me the rednecks in the South just beat [illegal aliens] up. Unfortunately, there are too many of them to use that tactic there any more.”

Earlier, Lawless posted to a Texas Minuteman message forum stating, “We need borders to... preserve our culture, instead of accepting any kind of flotsam and jetsam that seeks to float into our territory.”

Mark Martin himself seemed willing to personally engage in intimidating tactics. In early May 2006, he admitted in a Google forum

that he and another member of the National Socialist Movement had passed out racist fliers in Covington, Ohio at houses “surrounding a suspected illegal Mexican jobsite.”

The two neo-Nazis also approached workers at the job site and demanded to see identification from them. When the workers refused, Martin allegedly told one of them that he “was an illegal wetback who was stealing American jobs and...spreading disease.” Workers called the police, who told the neo-Nazis to leave or be charged with harassment.

Endnotes

¹ Southern Poverty Law Center, “Blood on the Border,” *Intelligence Report*, no. 101 (Montgomery, AL: Southern Poverty Law Center, 2001), <http://www.splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article.jsp?pid=418>.

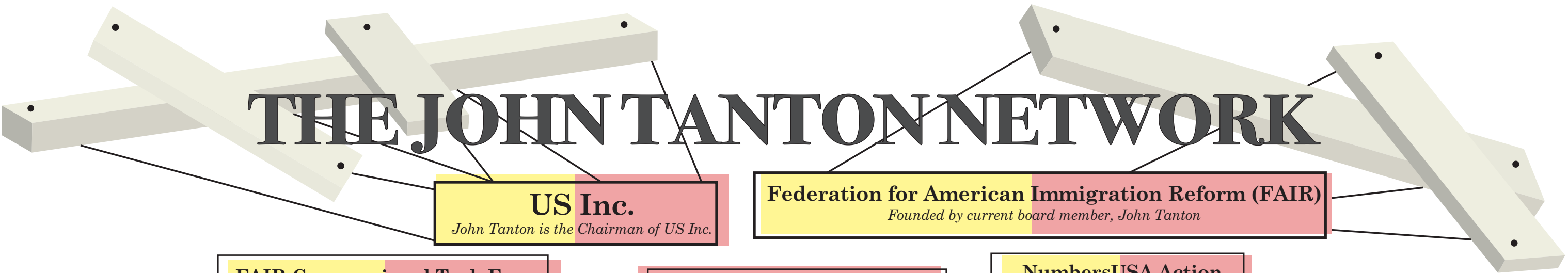
² Southern Poverty Law Center, “The Puppeteer,” *Intelligence Report*, no. 106, (Montgomery, AL: Southern Poverty Law Center, 2002), <http://www.splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article.jsp?aid=93>.

³ Henry Fernandez, “Know Your Sources: The Mainstream Press Keeps Finding Wacky Immigration ‘Experts’,” Center for American Progress, September 19, 2007.

⁴ Susy Buchanan and Tom Kim, “The Nativists,” *Intelligence Report*, no. 120 (Montgomery, AL: Southern Poverty Law Center, 2005), <http://www.splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article.jsp?aid=576>.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Anti-Defamation League, “Extremists Declare ‘Open Season’ on Immigrants: Hispanics Target of Incitement and Violence,” http://www.adl.org/main_Extremism/immigration_extremists.htm.



US Inc.
John Tanton is the Chairman of US Inc.

Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR)
Founded by current board member, John Tanton

FAIR Congressional Task Force
FAIR Congressional Task Force lists FAIR as a related organization on its 990s

The Dan Stein Report
FAIR lists the one of its projects on its website

NumbersUSA Action
Founded by Roy Beck, President of NumbersUSA Research and Education

House Immigration Reform Caucus (HIRC)
Former FAIR lobbyist, Brian Bilbray, leads this caucus

Center for Immigration Studies
Founded as a FAIR project in 1985

NumbersUSA Research and Education
Founded by US Inc.

Immigration Reform Law Institute (IRLI)
IRLI lists FAIR as a related organization on its 990s

Coalition for Future American Worker (CFAW)
Dan Stein of FAIR is the president of CFAW and Roy Beck of NumbersUSA is the spokesperson

State Legislators for Legal Immigration
SLLI works in partnership with FAIR

Negative Population Growth
Has received funds from FAIR

U.S. English
Founded by John Tanton

Pro-English
US Inc. lists Pro-English website on its 990s and has paid its director, K.C. McAlpin, annually since 2000

Social Contract Press
John Tanton, Publisher

Progressives for Immigration Reform
Former FAIR Legal Analyst, Leah Durant, is the Executive Director

America's Leadership Team for Long Range Population-Immigration-Resource Planning
Majority of coalition members are part of the John Tanton Network

Coalition for a Secure Driver's License
Former FAIR staffer serves on advisory board

U.S. Immigration Reform PAC
US Inc. Vice-Chair, Marylou Tanton, is the president of USIRP and Tanton has donated money

9-11 Families for a Secure America Foundation
Accepted funds from US Inc.

Choose Black America
Co-founded by Frank Morris, member of FAIR's national board of advisors, CIS board member, and PFIR Vice-President

VDARE Foundation
Accepted Funds from US Inc., and Social Contract Press dedicated 2nd edition to VDARE articles

You Don't Speak for Me
Media contact is Ira Melham of FAIR

United to Secure America Coalition
In a FAIR 2004 document, FAIR states that it takes an "active role" in the Coalition



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LEGEND

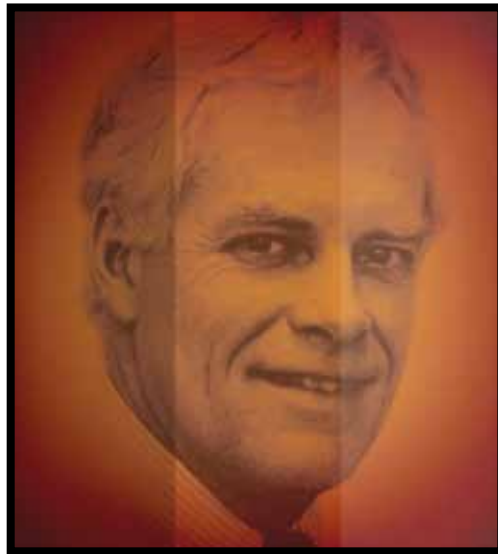
Tanton Network Project
developed by FAIR, John Tanton and/or US Inc.

Financial Support
received funds from FAIR and/or US Inc.

Leadership Supported by Tanton Network
Leadership Supported by Tanton Network = organization is supported by John Tanton directly or leadership of a Tanton Network organization

The Nativist Lobby

Three Faces of Intolerance



*A Report from the Southern Poverty Law Center
Montgomery, Alabama*

February 2009

The Nativist Lobby

Three Faces of Intolerance

BY HEIDI BEIRICH • EDITED BY MARK POTOK

THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER is a nonprofit organization that combats hate, intolerance and discrimination through education and litigation. Its Intelligence Project, which prepared this report and also produces the quarterly investigative magazine *Intelligence Report*, tracks the activities of hate groups and the nativist movement and monitors militia and other extremist anti-government activity. Its Teaching Tolerance project helps foster respect and understanding in the classroom. Its litigation arm files lawsuits against hate groups for the violent acts of their members.

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This report was prepared by the staff of the Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center.

The Center is supported entirely by private donations. No government funds are involved.

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Table of Contents

Preface	4
The Puppeteer: John Tanton and the Nativist Movement	5
FAIR: The Lobby's Action Arm	9
CIS: The Lobby's 'Independent' Think Tank	13
NumbersUSA: The Lobby's Grassroots Organizer	18

Editor's Note

BY MARK POTOK

Three Washington, D.C.-based immigration-restriction organizations stand at the nexus of the American nativist movement: the **Federation for American Immigration Reform** (FAIR), the **Center for Immigration Studies** (CIS), and **NumbersUSA**. Although on the surface they appear quite different — the first, the country's best-known anti-immigrant lobbying group; the second, an “independent” think

tank; and the third, a powerful grassroots organizer — they are fruits of the same poisonous tree.

FAIR, CIS and NumbersUSA are all part of a network of restrictionist organizations conceived and created by John Tanton, the “puppeteer” of the nativist movement and a man with deep racist roots. As the first article in this report shows, Tanton has for decades been at the heart of the white nationalist scene. He has met with leading white supremacists, promoted anti-Semitic ideas, and associated closely with the leaders of a eugenicist foundation once described by a leading newspaper as a “neo-Nazi organization.” He has made a series of racist statements about Latinos and worried that they were outbreeding whites. At one point, he wrote candidly that to maintain American culture, “a European-American majority” is required.

FAIR, which Tanton founded in 1979 and where he remains on the board, has been listed as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center. Among the reasons are its acceptance of \$1.2 million from the Pioneer Fund, a group founded to promote the genes of white colonials that funds studies of race, intelligence and genetics. FAIR has also hired as key officials men who also joined white supremacist groups. It has board members who regularly write for hate publications. It promotes racist conspiracy theories about Latinos. And it has produced television programming featuring white nationalists.

CIS was conceived by Tanton and began life as a program of FAIR. CIS presents itself as a scholarly think tank that produces serious immigration studies meant to serve “the broad national interest.” But the reality is that CIS has never found any aspect of immigration that it liked, and it has frequently manipulated

data to achieve the results it seeks. Its executive director last fall posted an item on the conservative National Review Online website about Washington Mutual, a bank that had earlier issued a press release about its inclusion on a list of “Business Diversity Elites” compiled by *Hispanic Business* magazine. Over a copy of the bank's press release, the CIS leader posted a headline — “Cause and Effect?” — that suggested a link between the bank's opening its ranks to Latinos and its subsequent collapse.

Like CIS, NumbersUSA bills itself as an organization that operates on its own and rejects racism completely. In fact, NumbersUSA was for the first five years of its existence a program of U.S. Inc., a foundation run by Tanton to fund numerous nativist groups, and its leader was an employee of that foundation for a decade. He helped edit Tanton's racist journal, *The Social Contract*, and was personally introduced by Tanton to a leader of the Pioneer Fund. He also edited a book by Tanton and another Tanton employee that was banned by the Canadian border officials as hate literature, and on one occasion spoke to the Council of Conservative Citizens, a hate group which has called blacks “a retrograde species of humanity.”

Together, FAIR, CIS and NumbersUSA form the core of the nativist lobby in America. In 2007, they were key players in derailing bipartisan, comprehensive immigration reform that had been expected by many observers to pass. Today, these organizations are frequently treated as if they were legitimate, mainstream commentators on immigration. But the truth is that they were all conceived and birthed by a man who sees America under threat by non-white immigrants. And they have never strayed far from their roots.

The Puppeteer

Correspondence reveals how racism and eugenics motivate the founder of the leading organizations of the nativist lobby

ANN ARBOR, Mich. — The Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan is an unassuming place, more like a small-town library than a research institute. But hidden away in 17 cardboard boxes deep inside the simple facility are the papers of John Tanton, the retired Michigan ophthalmologist who has been the most important figure in the modern American anti-immigration movement for three

decades. The papers, which include more than 20 years of letters from the founder of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and a batch of other nativist groups, contain explosive material about Tanton's beliefs. They also show that FAIR, on whose board of directors Tanton still sits, has been well aware of Tanton's views and activities for years.

Tanton has long claimed that he is no racist — that, in fact, he came to his immigration restrictionism through progressive concerns for population control and the environment, not disdain for the foreign born. He characterizes himself as a “fair person,” and on his website he condemns the “unsavory characters whose views can easily be characterized as anti-American, anti-Semitic and outright racist.”

Fair enough. But what do Tanton's letters have to say?

As it turns out, quite a lot. Although Tanton has been linked to racist ideas in the past — fretting about the “educability” of Latinos, warning of whites being out-bred by others, and publishing a number of white nationalist authors — the papers in the Bentley Library show that Tanton has for decades been at the heart of the white nationalist scene. He has corresponded with Holocaust deniers, former Klan lawyers and the leading white nationalist thinkers of the era. He introduced key FAIR leaders to the president of the Pioneer Fund, a white supremacist group set up to encourage “race betterment” at a 1997 meeting at a private club. He wrote a major funder to encourage her to read the work of a radical anti-Semitic professor — to “give you a new understanding of the Jewish outlook on life” — and suggested that the entire FAIR board discuss the professor's theories on the Jews. He practically worshipped a principal architect of the Immigration Act of 1924 (instituting a national origin quota system and barring Asian immigration), a rabid anti-Semite whose pro-Nazi American Coalition of Patriotic Societies was indicted for sedition in 1942.

As early as 1969, Tanton showed a sharp interest in eugenics, the “science” of breeding a better human race that was utterly discredited by the Nazis, trying to find out if Michigan had laws allowing forced sterilization. His interest stemmed, he wrote

in a letter of inquiry that year, from “a local pair of sisters who have nine illegitimate children between them.” Some 30 years later, he was still worrying about “less intelligent” people being allowed children, saying that “modern medicine and social programs are eroding the human gene pool.”

Throughout, FAIR — which, along with Tanton, refused repeated requests for comment for this story — has stood by its man. Its 2004 annual report praised him for “visionary qualities that have not waned one bit.” Around the same time, Dan Stein, who has led FAIR since 1988 as executive director or president and who was copied on scores of Tanton's letters, insisted FAIR's founder had “never asserted the inferiority or superiority of any racial, ethnic, or religious group. Never.”

Blood and Soil

In the world view of John Tanton, successful societies are not based on a mere sharing of territory, values and political systems. Nations and their cultures, he has suggested on numerous occasions, are largely determined by biology — race.

In a Nov. 13, 1994, letter to white nationalist columnist Lawrence Auster, a regular correspondent, Tanton suggested that the Declaration of Independence was actually a document based on the “bond of blood and ethnicity — nationhood.” Almost a year earlier, in a Dec. 10, 1993, letter to Garrett Hardin, a controversial ecology professor, he said: “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.” On Jan. 26, 1996, he wrote Roy Beck, head of the immigration restrictionist group NumbersUSA (and then an employee of Tanton's foundation U.S. Inc.), questioning whether Latinos were capable of governing California.

“I have no doubt that individual minority persons can assimilate to the culture necessary to run an advanced society,” Tanton said in his letter to Beck, “but if through mass migration, the culture of the homeland is transplanted from Latin America to California, then my guess is we will see the same degree of success with governmental and social institutions that we have

seen in Latin America.” Referring to the changing California public schools, Tanton wondered “whether the minorities who are going to inherit California (85% of the lower-grade school children are now ‘minorities’ — demography is destiny) can run an advanced society?”

For Tanton, the question was entirely rhetorical.

“The situation then is that the people who have been the carriers of Western Civilization are well on the way toward resigning their commission to carry the culture into the future,” he wrote in an Aug. 8, 1997, letter to Harvard professor Samuel Huntington, a fellow immigration critic. “When this decline in numbers is coupled with an aging of the core population ... it begins to look as if the chances of Western Civilization passing into the history books are very good indeed.”

This kind of thinking led Tanton to defend racial quotas imposed on immigrants. In a Nov. 3, 1995, memo to FAIR boss Dan Stein and the entire FAIR board of advisers, Tanton defended the infamous “White Australia” policy that restricted non-white immigration into that country from 1901 to 1973, saying it was not racist, but intended to protect native-born labor (the 1975 Racial Discrimination Act outlawed racial quotas in Australia). Tanton also mocked the idea that the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, banning Chinese immigration to the U.S., was racist.

Similarly, Tanton has defended America’s Immigration Act of 1924, which formalized a racial quota system that was only dismantled in 1965. In fact, as shown in his correspondence, Tanton has long lionized a principal architect of the act, John B. Trevor Sr. (In addition to founding the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, Trevor was an adviser to the extreme-right, anti-Catholic Christian Crusade of Billy James Hargis, who regularly referred to the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence as Communist documents.) Tanton arranged for the Bentley Library to house the papers of both Trevor and his son, long a Pioneer Fund board member and a close friend of Tanton’s until his 2006 death.

Despite the elder Trevor’s extremely unsavory past, Tanton has sent his unpublished autobiography to numerous friends, including, on Nov. 21, 2001, FAIR board member Donald Collins. In a cover letter, Tanton told Collins that the work of Trevor — who distributed pro-Nazi propaganda, drew up plans to crush uprisings of “Jewish subversives,” and warned shrilly of “diabolical Jewish control” of America — should serve FAIR as “a guidepost to what we must follow again this time.”

Communing with the Movement

John Tanton has not merely flirted with and adopted many of the core ideas of white nationalism over the past three

decades. He has carried on correspondences with some of the key leaders of the white nationalist movement, meeting and even vacationing with some of them, and pushing many of their central ideas.

Over the years, his closest friend on the white nationalist scene seems to have been Jared Taylor, the man who began publishing *American Renaissance*, a racist, pseudo-scientific magazine focusing on race, intelligence and eugenics, in 1990. (“When blacks are left entirely to their own devices,” Taylor wrote in its pages a few years ago, “Western civilization — any kind of civilization — disappears.”)

Tanton, who met Taylor shortly after *American Renaissance* began publication, seems to have been particularly taken with Taylor’s angry opposition to affirmative action, spelled out in Taylor’s 1992 book, *Paved With Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in Contemporary America*. On Nov. 12, 1993, Tanton wrote Taylor and three of his *American Renaissance* colleagues — Wayne Lutton, who would later work for Tanton; Sam Francis, a white nationalist ideologue then working as a *Washington Times* columnist; and Jerry Woodruff, who wrote for the nativist publication *Middle American News* — suggesting that their new journal take on literary critic Stanley Fish, who had defended affirmative action in an article for *The Atlantic*. Tanton enclosed “a little something” for Taylor’s “start-up costs.”

Tanton promoted Taylor’s efforts repeatedly. On Dec. 15, 1994, he wrote a friend to suggest that he read Taylor’s 1992 book. More remarkably, on Jan. 24, 1991, he wrote to the then-president of the Pioneer Fund, Harry Weyher, about Taylor’s *American Renaissance* effort. And as recently as April 20, 1998, Tanton wrote to several FAIR employees, including Dan Stein, to ensure that they were receiving *American Renaissance* mailings: “I write to encourage keeping track of those on our same side of the issue, but who are nonetheless our competitors for dollars and members.” (The underlining was in Tanton’s original letter.)

Tanton also corresponded for years with the late Sam Francis, a one-time *Washington Times* columnist who was fired after details of a racist speech he gave at an *American Renaissance* conference became public. From 1999 until his death in 2005, Francis edited the crudely racist and nativist *Citizens Informer*, the tabloid published by the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), an organization that says it “oppose[s] all efforts to mix the races of mankind.”

What may have been most remarkable of all was Tanton’s endorsement of a proposal from another friend — Peter Brimelow, who would later start the racist anti-immigration website *vdare.com* — that FAIR hire Sam Francis to edit its newsletter. That proposal, which Tanton sent to FAIR’s



John Tanton

Dan Stein on Nov. 3, 1995, was made two months after *The Washington Times* fired Francis for racism.

Tanton's contacts with other white nationalists also are instructive. Beginning in the late 1980s, Tanton corresponded regularly with Virginia Abernethy, now a professor emeritus at Vanderbilt University. Abernethy is a member of the CCC and recently described herself as a "white separatist."

On June 26, 1996, Tanton wrote to Sam Dickson — a Georgia lawyer who has represented the Ku Klux Klan, written for and been on the editorial advisory board of Holocaust denial publications, and spoken at several of the biannual conferences put on by *American Renaissance* — to thank him for a good time during a visit by Tanton and his wife. "The next time I'm in Atlanta," Tanton wrote Dickson, "I hope to take one of your 'politically incorrect' tours."

In a Dec. 23, 1996, letter, Tanton complained that it was hard to write checks for Theodore O'Keefe, who was involved for years in the Holocaust-denying Institute for Historical Review, because O'Keefe would only use a pen name. It was not clear from the letter what O'Keefe had written for Tanton.

On June 17, 1998, Tanton wrote to Stan Hess, who was then a member of the CCC, about Hess' proposal to open a FAIR office in California (the letter was copied to Stein). The letter recounted how Tanton had "presented" Hess' idea to the FAIR board. Hess was arrested later that year for burning a Mexican flag at an Alabama CCC rally that was attended by an unrobed Klansman. Hess would go on in 1999 to help form the neofascist American Friends of the British National Party and, later, to become California state leader of a group headed by neo-Nazi and former Klan leader David Duke.

Tanton on 'the Jews'

In some ways, given his ideas, it's not surprising that John Tanton would cozy up to white nationalists and their fellow travelers. What is unexpected, even among long-time observers of the FAIR founder, is his attitude toward "the Jews."

In the late 1990s, Kevin MacDonald, a California State University, Long Beach, professor, was finishing up a trilogy of books that purported to show that Jews collectively work to undermine the dominant majorities in the host countries in which they live, including the United States. MacDonald said that Jews pursue these tactics — including promoting non-white immigration into white-dominated nations — in order to weaken the majority culture in a bid to enhance their own standing. He would later go on to speak and write for white nationalist groups across America.

Tanton liked what he read. On Dec. 28, 1998 — the same year that the last two books of MacDonald's trilogy were published — he wrote MacDonald, saying, "I hope we can meet some day." On that same date, Tanton sent a memo to Dan Stein and the FAIR board of directors about a MacDonald paper "on the segment of the Jewish community that has an open borders mentality." The paper, Tanton said, "would be fertile for group discussion at the forthcoming board meeting."

Earlier that month, on Dec. 10, 1998, Tanton also sent MacDonald's work to Cordelia Scaife May, a now-deceased millionaire philanthropist who gave regularly to far-right causes and was a close Tanton friend. "I'm sure [MacDonald's article] will give you a new understanding of the Jewish outlook on life, which explains a large part of the Jewish opposition to immigration reform," he wrote.

Tanton's criticism of religious groups wasn't limited to Jews, however. Over the years, he — like some principals of FAIR — lashed out at a variety of religious denominations, especially Catholics, for their welcoming attitude toward immigrants coming to America from the Third World. In his letter to the FAIR board suggesting a discussion of Kevin MacDonald's theories, for instance, he described "the Roman Catholic Church [and] several of the Protestant denominations, the Lutheran Church in particular," as being among "our opponents." In an earlier, May 24, 1994, letter to Roy Beck of NumbersUSA, he said that "one of the problems with churches is that they see themselves as universal, and as transcending national boundaries."

Endorsing Eugenics

For years, FAIR President Dan Stein has hotly denied that his organization had anything to do with eugenics. "Eugenics," he wrote in a 2004 op-ed in the *Kansas City Star*, "is pure junk science, and it is utterly unrelated to FAIR's efforts to bring order to immigration in America." Two months later, in a press release attacking the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) for suggesting otherwise, the group called SPLC's reporting "utterly specious" and "McCarthyist."

The press release went on to accuse the SPLC of unfairly linking FAIR to "a long discredited pseudo-science of eugenics" by noting the group had accepted \$1.2 million from the eugenicist Pioneer Fund, ending in 1994. The release also claimed that the idea that FAIR had an interest in eugenics had been disproven.

Apparently, John Tanton failed to get that message.

On Dec. 30, 1994 — at the end of the year that FAIR finally stopped soliciting Pioneer donations (after negative publicity) and issued its denunciation of eugenics — Tanton wrote to German academic Wolfgang Boschwitz to defend the Pioneer Fund, saying its critics were the "hard (Marxist) left in the United States."

On Sept. 18, 1996, he wrote to now-deceased California multimillionaire Robert K. Graham, a eugenicist who started a sperm bank to collect the semen of Nobel Prize-winning scientists: "Do we leave it to individuals to decide that they are the intelligent ones who should have more kids? And more troublesome, what about the less intelligent, who logically should have less? Who is going to break the bad news [to less intelligent individuals], and how will it be implemented?"

On May 21, 1997, Tanton wrote to Richard Lynn — a race "scientist" who claims that black people "are more psychopathic than whites" and suffer from a "personality disorder" characterized by a poverty of feeling and lack of shame — to

congratulate Lynn on his book, *Dysgenics*, on how less intelligent individuals are outbreeding the intelligent. The next year, on Feb. 9, 1998, he wrote to Pioneer Fund President Harry Weyher to propose that Weyher hire Lynn to write “a study of Barry Mehler.” Mehler, the Ferris State University professor who founded the Institute for the Study of Academic Racism, is a harsh critic of race science and eugenics.

FAIR officials may not have known of these contacts, but they certainly knew of others. On Oct. 29, 1998, for instance, Tanton wrote a memo for his file on Harry Weyher discussing the Pioneer Fund’s new website and a paper on “sub-replacement fertility” by Roger Pearson, a notorious race scientist who heads the Institute for the Study of Man. The memo was copied to FAIR’s Dan Stein and K.C. McAlpin, the executive director of ProEnglish, a group on whose board Tanton now sits.

Most remarkable of all, however, was the Feb. 13, 1997, gathering organized by Tanton at the New York Racquet and Tennis Club. Three years after FAIR had stopped taking Pioneer Fund money, Tanton brought FAIR board members Henry Buhl, Sharon Barnes and Alan Weeden — along with Peter Brimelow, future founder of the VDARE.com hate site — to a meeting with Pioneer Fund President Harry Weyher. The meeting, held expressly to discuss fundraising efforts to benefit FAIR, was memorialized in a Feb. 17, 1997, memo that Tanton wrote for his “FAIR Fund-Raising File.” A year later, on Jan. 5, 1998, Tanton wrote to John Trevor, a Pioneer Fund board member and the son of the notorious pro-Nazi eugenicist John Trevor Sr., to thank him for his personal “handsome contribution” to FAIR.

It’s not that Tanton didn’t understand, just as well as Stein and the other leaders of FAIR, exactly how controversial eugenics was. After starting his own eugenicist group, the Society for Genetic Education in 1996, he wrote to Graham, the California eugenicist, to discuss public relations strategies. In a Sept. 18, 1996, letter, Tanton explained how his new group’s website “emphasized mankind’s use of eugenic principles on plants and the lower animals as a way to condition the public to the idea of genetic manipulation, and raise the question of its application to the human race.” Elaborating, he added: “We report

ways [eugenics] is currently being done, but under the term genetics rather than eugenics.”

Immigration and Race

Throughout its history, the United States has been subjected to periodic outbreaks of xenophobic nativism, angry reactions to waves of immigrants who are seen as somehow different than “real” Americans. These movements, directed at different times at Germans, Catholics, Jews, Asians, southern Europeans, blacks and others, have typically been undergirded by racist stereotyping. Again and again, the new immigrants are described as stupid, ugly, disloyal, diseased and more.

Today, no one disputes the vulgar racism of the 1920s Ku Klux Klan, which grew to nearly 4 million members on the strength of hating Catholics and Jews. And much the same can be said of nativist movements from the Know-Nothings of the 1840s, who saw German Catholics as dangerous subverters of American democracy, to the racist demonization of Mexican “wetbacks” during the 20th century.

But John Tanton and his Federation for American Immigration Reform have repeatedly claimed that they are different, that FAIR and its founder are not linked to the irrational fears and hatreds of the past. Their critics, they say angrily, are simply tarring them with the brush of racism to unfairly denigrate their arguments.

As the Bentley Library files show, that is far from true.

Federation for American Immigration Reform

The nativist lobby's action arm has an ugly record of promoting racist ideas, conspiracy theories and anti-immigrant hatred

The forces seeking to sharply reduce the number of immigrants coming to America won a stunning victory in June 2007, when nativist anger at an “amnesty” for the undocumented scuttled a major bipartisan immigration reform package backed by President Bush. Many members of Congress were completely unprepared for the flood of angry E-mails, phone calls and faxes they received — an

inundation so massive that the phone system collapsed under the weight of more than 400,000 faxes.

They should not have been surprised. The furious nativist tide was largely driven by an array of immigration restriction organizations that has been built up over the course of more than 20 years into fixtures in the nation's capital.

The vast majority of these groups were founded or funded by John Tanton, a major architect of the contemporary nativist movement who, 20 years ago, was already warning of a destructive “Latin onslaught” heading to the United States. Most of these organizations used their vast resources in the days leading up to a vote on the bill to stir up a nativist backlash that ultimately resulted in its death.

At the center of the Tanton web is the nonprofit Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), the most important organization fueling the backlash against immigration. Founded by Tanton in 1979, FAIR has long been marked by anti-Latino and anti-Catholic attitudes. It has mixed this bigotry with a fondness for eugenics, the idea of breeding better humans discredited by its Nazi associations. It has accepted \$1.2 million from an infamous, racist eugenics foundation. It has employed officials in key positions who are also members of white supremacist groups. Recently, it has promoted racist conspiracy theories about Mexico's secret designs on the American Southwest and an alternative theory alleging secret plans to merge the United States, Mexico and Canada. In 2006, a senior FAIR official sought “advice” from the leaders of a racist Belgian political party.

FAIR officials declined repeated requests for comment.

None of this — or any other material evidencing the bigotry and racism that courses through the group — seems to have affected FAIR's media standing. In 2008, the group was quoted in mainstream media outlets nearly 500 times. FAIR staff have been featured several times on CNN's “Lou Dobbs Tonight,”

along with countless appearances on other television news shows. Dobbs even ran his radio program from a FAIR event in Washington, D.C., this past September. And, perhaps most remarkably of all, FAIR has been taken seriously by Congress, claiming on its home page that it has been asked to testify on immigration bills “more than any other organization in America.”

“The sad fact is that attempts to reform our immigration system are being sabotaged by organizations fueled by hate,” said Henry Fernandez, a senior fellow and expert on immigration at the Center for American Progress, a “progressive” think tank. “Many anti-immigrant leaders have backgrounds that should disqualify them from even participating in mainstream debate, yet the American press quotes them without ever noting their bizarre and often racist beliefs.”

The Founder: Early Hints

For decades, John Tanton has operated a nativist empire out of his U.S. Inc. foundation's headquarters in Petoskey, Mich. Even as he simultaneously runs his own hate group — The Social Contract Press, listed for many years by the Southern Poverty Law Center because of its anti-Latino and white supremacist writings — Tanton has remained the house intellectual for FAIR. In fact, U.S. Inc. bankrolls much of FAIR's lobbying activity and, at least until 2005, Tanton ran its Research and Publications Committee, the group that fashions and then disseminates FAIR's position papers. In its 2004 annual report, FAIR highlighted its own main ideologue, singing Tanton's praises for “visionary qualities that have not waned one bit.”

But what, exactly, is Tanton's vision?

As long ago as 1988, when a series of internal 1986 documents known as the WITAN memos were leaked to the press, Tanton's bigoted attitudes have been known. In the memos, written to colleagues on the staff of FAIR, Tanton warned of a coming “Latin

onslaught” and worried that high Latino birth rates would lead “the present majority to hand over its political power to a group that is simply more fertile.” Tanton repeatedly demeaned Latinos in the memos, asking whether they would “bring with them the tradition of the mordida [bribe], the lack of involvement in public affairs” and also questioning Latinos’ “educability.”

Echoing his 19th-century nativist forebears who feared Catholic immigrants from Italy and Ireland, Tanton has often attacked Catholics in terms not so different from those used by the Klan and the Know-Nothing Party of the 1840s. In the WITAN memos, for instance, he worried that Latino immigrants would endanger the separation of church and state and undermine support for public schooling. Never one to miss a threatening and fertile Catholic, Tanton even reminded his colleagues, “Keep in mind that many of the Vietnamese coming in are also Catholic.”

The leaked memos caused an uproar. Arnold Schwarzenegger and Walter Cronkite quit the board of a group Tanton headed, U.S. English, after the memos became public in 1988. U.S. English Executive Director Linda Chavez — a former Reagan Administration official and, later, a conservative commentator — also left, calling Tanton’s views “anti-Hispanic, anti-Catholic and not excusable.”

In 1994, Tanton’s Social Contract Press republished an openly racist French book, *The Camp of the Saints*, with Tanton writing that he was “honored” to republish the race war novel. What Tanton called a “prescient” book describes the takeover of France by “swarthy hordes” of Indians, “grotesque little beggars from the streets of Calcutta,” who arrive in a desperate refugee flotilla. It attacks white liberals who, rather than turn the Indians away, “empty out all our hospital beds so that cholera-ridden and leprous wretches could sprawl between white sheets ... and cram our nurseries full of monster children.” It explains how, after the Indians take over France, white women are sent to a “whorehouse for Hindus.” In an afterword special to Tanton’s edition of the novel, author Jean Raspail wrote about his fears that “the proliferation of other races dooms our race, my race, to extinction.”

Tanton’s view of the book he published? “We are indebted to Jean Raspail for his insights into the human condition, and for being 20 years ahead of this time. History will judge him more kindly than have some of his contemporaries.”

Tanton has repeatedly suggested that racial conflict will be the outcome of immigration, saying in the WITAN memos that “an explosion” could be the result of whites’ declining “power and control over their lives.” More than a decade later, in 1998, he made a similar point in an interview with a reporter, suggesting that whites would inevitably develop a racial consciousness because “most people don’t want to disappear into the dustbin of history.” Tanton added that once whites did become racially conscious, the result would be “the war of each against all.”

In 1997, Tanton spelled out his views on the inevitability of immigration overwhelming American whites. “In the bacteriology lab, we have culture plates,” he explained. “You put a bug in there and it starts growing and gets bigger and bigger. And it grows until it finally fills the whole plate. And it crashes and dies.”

The Founder’s Friends

It’s no surprise that Tanton employs people with similar views. His long-time deputy, for example, is Wayne Lutton, who works out of Tanton’s Petoskey offices and edits the journal, *The Social Contract*, published by Tanton’s press. Lutton is not just linked to white supremacist ideas, many of which he publishes in his journal — he has actually held leadership positions in four white nationalist hate groups: the Council of Conservative Citizens, the National Policy Institute, and *The Occidental Quarterly* and *American Renaissance*, both racist publications. Lutton has written for the *Journal of Historical Review*, which specializes in Holocaust denial. Early on, Lutton and Tanton collaborated on *The Immigration Invasion*, a nativist screed that has been seized by Canadian border officials as hateful contraband.

Under Lutton’s editorial leadership, Tanton’s journal has published dozens of articles from prominent white supremacists. One special issue was even devoted to the theme of “Europhobia: The Hostility Toward European-Descended Americans” and featured a lead article from John Vinson, head of the Tanton-backed hate group, the American Immigration Control Foundation. Vinson argued that multiculturalism was replacing “successful Euro-American culture” with “dysfunctional Third World cultures.” Tanton elaborated in his own remarks, decrying the “unwarranted hatred and fear” of whites that he blamed on “multiculturalists” and immigrants.

Presumably, these articles and more are well known to Stein, the president of FAIR — until 2003, he was an editorial adviser to *The Social Contract*. And Stein had lots of company. FAIR board members Sharon Barnes and Diana Hull also have been on the journal’s board of editorial advisers. FAIR’s current media director, Ira Mehlman, was an adviser in 2001 and 2002, and his essay, “Grand Delusions: Open Borders Will Destroy Society,” was published in the journal’s pages. Today, FAIR still advertises *The Social Contract* on its website, saying the journal “offers in-depth studies on immigration, population, language, assimilation, environment, national unity and balance of individual rights and civil responsibilities.”

So where does FAIR stand on the matter of Tanton’s views? The group has never criticized or sought distance from its founder. In 2004, in fact, Stein insisted that Tanton “never asserted the inferiority or superiority of any racial, ethnic or religious group. Never.” The same year, FAIR hosted a gala event honoring Tanton for his 25 years of service. To this day, Tanton remains on FAIR’s board.

The Eugenics Connection

Probably the best-known evidence of FAIR’s extremism is its acceptance of funds from a notorious, New York City-based hate group, the Pioneer Fund. In the mid-1980s, when FAIR’s budgets were still in the hundreds of thousands of dollars, the group reached out to the Pioneer Fund, which was established in 1937 to promote the racial stock of the original colonists, finance studies of race and intelligence, and foster policies of “racial betterment.” (Pioneer has concentrated on studies

meant to show that blacks are less intelligent than whites, but it has also backed nativist groups like ProjectUSA, run by former FAIR board member Craig Nelsen.)

The Pioneer Fund liked what it saw and, between 1985 and 1994, disbursed about \$1.2 million to FAIR. In 1997, when the *Phoenix New Times* confronted Tanton about the matter, he “claimed ignorance about the Pioneer Fund’s connection to numerous researchers seemingly intent on proving the inferiority of blacks, as well as its unsavory ties to Nazism.” But he sounded a different tune in 2001, when he insisted that he was “comfortable being in the company of other Pioneer Fund grantees.” Today, Tanton’s defense is that he is no different than the “open borders crowd” that accepts money from the liberal Ford Foundation, which was founded by Henry Ford, the anti-Semitic auto manufacturer. What he ignores is that the Ford Foundation, unlike the Pioneer Fund, is not promoting racist ideas.

Some have called for FAIR to return the Pioneer money, but that has not happened. In fact, when asked about it in 1993, Stein told a reporter, “My job is to get every dime of Pioneer’s money.” One reason for Stein’s lack of hesitation may be that FAIR has long been interested in the pseudo-science of eugenics.

One of FAIR’s long-time leaders, and a personal hero to Tanton, is the late Garrett Hardin, a committed eugenicist and for years a professor of human ecology at the University of California. Hardin, who died in 2003, was himself a Pioneer Fund grantee, using the fund’s money to expand his 1968 essay, “The Tragedy of the Commons.” In it, Hardin wrote, “Freedom to breed will bring ruin to all.”

Race War and the Duty to Die

That was the least of it. In a 1992 interview with *Omni* magazine, Hardin said he supported abortion — “A fetus is of so little value, there’s no point worrying about it” — as “effective population control.” He argued the Third World is filled with “the next generation of breeders” who need to be stopped. He discouraged aid to starving Africans because that would only “encourage population growth.”

Hardin wasn’t alone. A current FAIR advisory board member, three-time Democratic governor of Colorado Richard Lamm, sounded a similar theme in 1984, while still governor, saying “terminally ill people have a duty to die and get out of the way.”

Like Tanton, Lamm seems to fear a coming race war. In his futuristic 1985 novel, *Megatraumas: America at the Year 2000*, Lamm sketches it out like this: “[O]ur lack of control of our borders allowed 2 million legal and illegal immigrants to settle in the United States every year. That caused unemployment to rise to 15.2 percent by 1990 and 19.1 percent this year. ... [T]he rash of firebombings throughout the Southwest, and the three-month siege of downtown San Diego in 1998 were all led by second-generation Hispanics, the children of immigrants.”

As late as 2004, Lamm was sounding similar racial fears, telling a reporter that “new cultures” in the U.S. “are diluting what we are and who we are.”

For his part, Stein was asked about Hardin’s belief that only “intelligent people” should breed for an editorial by Tucker Carlson in the 1997 *Wall Street Journal*. “Yeah, so what?” Stein replied. “What is your problem with that?”

After Hardin’s death, John Tanton created in honor of his mentor a group called The Garrett Hardin Society, devoted to “the preservation of [Hardin’s] writings and ideas.” On the society’s board are Tanton, Wayne Lutton and former U.S. Inc.’s



FAIR official Dan Stein testified before a House Judiciary subcommittee in 2003, one of dozens of FAIR appearances before Congress since 2000. FAIR’s opinion is sought despite its well-documented links to extremism.

board member, John Rohe, the author of an adoring 2002 biography of Tanton and his wife that reads like the life of a saint.

Hiring Haters

In late 2006, FAIR hired as its western field representative, a key organizing position, a man named Joseph Turner. Turner was likely attractive to FAIR because he wrote what turned out to be a sort of model anti-illegal immigrant ordinance for the city of San Bernardino, Calif. Based on Turner’s work, FAIR wrote a version of the law that is now promoted to many other cities.

But there was more to Turner than FAIR let on. In 2005, Turner had created, and then led, a nativist group called Save Our State. The group was remarkable for its failure to disassociate itself from the neo-Nazi skinheads who often joined its rallies — something that virtually all other nativist groups, worried about bad publicity, worked hard to do. Save Our State’s electronic bulletin board, too, was remarkable for the racist vitriol that frequently appeared there.

It was in that forum that Turner made one of his more controversial remarks, amounting to a defense of white separatism. “I can make the argument that just because one believes in white separatism that that does not make them a racist,” Turner wrote in 2005. “I can make the argument that someone who proclaims to be a white nationalist isn’t necessarily a white supremacist. I don’t think that standing up for your ‘kind’ or ‘your race’ makes you a bad person.” The Southern Poverty Law Center has listed Save Our State as a hate group since it appeared in 2005. Turner left FAIR in 2007.

Turner’s predecessor in the FAIR organizing post, Rick

Oltman, was cut from the same cloth. Oltman has been described as a member of the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC) in the publications of that hate group, which is directly descended from the segregationist White Citizens Councils and has described blacks as “a retrograde species of humanity.” He has spoken at at least one of the CCC’s conferences and has taken part in one of its rallies. And he wasn’t alone.

According to the CCC newsletter, FAIR’s longtime associate director, Dave Ray, was scheduled to speak at another CCC event. And, in September 2002, FAIR Eastern Regional Coordinator Jim Stadenraus participated in an anti-immigration conference on Long Island, NY., with Jared Taylor. Taylor is both a CCC member and the founder of the racist eugenicist publication, *American Renaissance*.

FAIR has also produced programming featuring hate group leaders linked to the CCC. According to the anti-racist Center for New Community, FAIR’s now defunct television production, “Borderline,” featured interviews with Taylor and Sam Francis, who edited the CCC’s newsletter until his death in 2005.

Donald Collins, a member of both FAIR’s board of directors and its board of advisers, has his own ties to white supremacy. Collins posts frequently to a hate website called Vdare.com, which is named after Virginia Dare (said to be the first white child born in the New World) and publishes the work of white supremacists and anti-Semites. Collins also has been published in *The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, a periodical run by longtime academic racist Roger Pearson. (Pearson founded the Eugenics Society in 1963 and worked with at least one former SS officer in England. He is also the recipient of several Pioneer Fund grants.)

Several of Collins’ articles have attacked Catholics and their church for their pro-immigrant stances. In one, he accused Los Angeles Archbishop Roger Mahony of selling out his country “in exchange for more temporal power and glory.” Collins has also accused Catholic bishops of “infiltrating and manipulating the American political process” in order to undermine the separation of church and state.

Collins is not FAIR’s only link to the Vdare.com hate site. Joe Guizzardi, a member of FAIR’s board of advisers, is a former editor of Vdare.com. He writes there frequently about how Latin American immigrants come to the United States in order to “reconquer” it — a conspiracy theory pushed by numerous hate groups.

Bad Press

In the past, FAIR has escaped negative publicity, generally being depicted as a mainstream critic of American immigration policy. But there have been notable exceptions.

In 2000, FAIR ran ads opposing the reelection of Sen. Spencer Abraham (R-Mich.), a Lebanese American who defeated Tanton in the primaries, because he had supported issuing more visas for immigrants with high-tech skills. The ads featured side-by-side photos of Abraham and Osama bin Laden and this question: “Why is Senator Abraham trying to make it easier for terrorists like Osama bin Laden to export their war of terror to any city street in America?” The ads also accused the senator of pushing

a bill that would “take American jobs. Our jobs.”

The ads produced an immediate controversy, and a staunch conservative, Sen. Alan Simpson (R-Wyo.), quit FAIR in protest. Under attack, Stein insisted the ads weren’t racist and later claimed that he’d thought Abraham was Jewish.

That same year, FAIR helped fund ads in Iowa that were rejected as “borderline racist” by the general manager of WHO-TV in Des Moines. When the same ads appeared in Nebraska, Sen. Chuck Hagel, a Republican, lost his temper. “The trash that this crowd puts out is just beyond terrible,” Hagel said.

Four years later in Texas, the Coalition for the Future of the American Worker — a FAIR front group designed to look like it represents labor interests — ran ads heavy on images of dark-skinned men loitering on corners and running from police cars. One of the ad’s prime targets, Rep. Martin Frost (D-Texas), condemned the ads as racist. His Republican challenger, Pete Sessions, found them so repugnant that he joined Frost in calling for them to be yanked off the air in their district.

In 2004, FAIR made an extremely unusual criticism of a fellow nativist, a woman named Virginia Abernethy who had just joined the national advisory board of Protect Arizona Now (PAN). PAN, aided by some \$600,000 from FAIR, had worked to collect signatures for a referendum (which ultimately passed) to require proof of citizenship when registering to vote or signing up for public benefits. But as Election Day neared, newspapers trumpeted the revelation that PAN’s new adviser was a self-declared “white separatist” who had long been active in the CCC.

FAIR reacted instantly with a pious press release denouncing “Abernethy’s repulsive views.” The release left many scratching their heads — FAIR, after all, had CCC members on its payroll, and any number of other ties to the group. Its own officials had in several cases endorsed similar separatist views. And Tanton, FAIR’s founder and chief ideologue, was intimately familiar with Abernethy’s work. After all, he had published her writings frequently in *The Social Contract* and his editor, Wayne Lutton, had shared the podium with Abernethy at forums of the CCC.

Whither FAIR?

Following the defeat of the bipartisan immigration package in the summer of 2007, FAIR flew into action one more time. This time, it went after the DREAM Act, a widely supported, bipartisan bill that would have provided a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrant students accepted to college. FAIR was the key advocate for its defeat and, sure enough, the DREAM Act finally died the following October.

Is this the future for FAIR? Will journalists, politicians and the general public continue to take the organization and its nativist propaganda seriously?

Dan Stein thinks so.

As he put it at FAIR’s 25th anniversary celebration in 2004, just when the American nativist movement had begun to sense its own strength: “[T]oday,” he said, “as the country moves finally into a serious and realistic debate, the founders have created a mature and knowledgeable organization prepared to lead.”

Center for Immigration Studies

The nativist lobby's supposedly 'independent' think tank has never found any aspect of immigration it likes

Last October, as America was being roiled by the subprime mortgage meltdown that led to the current financial crisis, the executive director of one of the most influential immigration think tanks in the nation was in a joking mood. ¶ Shortly after the failure of Washington Mutual Bank, Mark Krikorian found a press release issued months earlier by the bank that celebrated its inclusion on

a list of “Business Diversity Elites” compiled by *Hispanic Business* magazine. Krikorian posted the release at the conservative National Review Online, where he writes from time to time, along with his own sneering headline: “Cause and Effect?”

Krikorian no doubt thought of his posting as a simple joke. But to many, the attempt by the leader of the Washington, D.C.-based Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) to suggest a link between Washington Mutual's commitment to opening its ranks to Latinos and its demise spoke volumes about the nature of CIS and its prolific research. Although the think tank bills itself as an “independent” organization with a “pro-immigrant” if “low-immigration” vision, the reality is that CIS has never found any aspect of immigration that it liked.

There's a reason for that. Although you'd never know it to read its materials, CIS was started in 1985 by a Michigan ophthalmologist named John Tanton — a man known for his racist statements about Latinos, his decades-long flirtation with white nationalists and Holocaust deniers, and his publication of ugly racist materials. CIS' creation was part of a carefully thought-out strategy aimed at creating a set of complementary institutions to cultivate the nativist cause — groups including the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and NumbersUSA. As is shown in Tanton's correspondence, lodged in the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Tanton came up with the idea in the early 1980s for “a small think tank” that would “wage the war of ideas.”

And while Tanton never actually ran CIS, his correspondence shows that as late as 1994, nine years after it was started, Tanton, who remains on FAIR's board of directors today, saw himself as setting the “proper roles for FAIR and CIS.” He raised millions of dollars for the think tank and published the writings of top CIS officials in his racist journal, *The Social Contract*. He maneuvered a friend on to the board of CIS — a man who shared his interest in eugenics and who attended events with Tanton where white nationalists gave presentations. Through it all, CIS pumped out study after study aimed at highlighting immigration's negative effects.

These studies have hardly been neutral. One of them concludes that because foreign women (“Third World gold-diggers”) can obtain work permits by marrying American citizens, it's obvious that fraudulent marriage applications are “prevalent among terrorists.” Another claims that because many immigrants have worked in Georgia since 2000, it's clear that unemployment among less educated native workers is up. A third says that because immigration levels have been high recently, immigrants make up a growing share of those drawing welfare.

But every one these claims, each of them at the heart of a different recent report from CIS, are either false or virtually without any supporting evidence. That came to fore again last September, when CIS organized a panel to accompany the release of yet another new report, this one claiming that municipalities in substantial numbers were permitting non-citizens to vote. When challenged, the panelists could only come up with a single possible example of the purported trend.

“CIS' attempts to blame immigrants for all of the U.S.'s problems have been laughable,” said Angela Kelley of the Immigration Policy Center, a Washington, D.C., organization that uses well-known scholars to produce reports on immigration-related issues and has debunked many of the studies issued by CIS. “It is clear that CIS is not interested in serious research or getting the facts straight.”

Krikorian has had considerable success in giving CIS the look of a reputable commentator on immigration. CIS regularly sends experts to testify to Congress and is frequently quoted by the mainstream media. But every now and then, the mask slips.

In 2007, a year before his comments on Washington Mutual, Krikorian accepted an invitation to speak at the Michigan State University chapter of Young Americans for Freedom. It apparently didn't bother him that MSU-YAF had been widely covered in the media for a series of nasty stunts — staging a “Catch an Illegal Immigrant Day,” holding a “Koran Desecration” competition, and posting “Gays Spread AIDS” fliers across campus. He also didn't seem to mind being part of the same speakers series that included Nick Griffin, a Holocaust denier who heads the

extremist British National Party, and Jared Taylor, who says blacks are incapable of civilization.

Separated at Birth

Although it goes unmentioned on its website and its other materials, CIS was born in 1985 as a program of FAIR, which had been run by Tanton since he started it in 1979. Even then, Tanton understood that CIS would soon need to stand on its own in order to be seen as the “independent, non-partisan” organization that its mission statement claims today. In a letter to Cordelia Scaife May, a far-right philanthropist who supported many of Tanton’s nativist endeavors, Tanton was candid.

“For credibility,” he told the woman whose foundation would go on to support CIS for decades, “this will need to be independent of FAIR, though the Center for Immigration Studies, as we’re calling it, is starting off as a project of FAIR.”

Tanton had a clear vision of the complementary, if unheralded, relationship between FAIR and CIS. As he wrote in another 1985 letter, CIS’ role would be to produce reports “for later passage to FAIR, the activist organization, to remedy.” And indeed, to this day, FAIR frequently cites CIS to back up its lobbying.

CIS was legally separated from FAIR in 1986 because, as Tanton wrote in a memo to two FAIR board members two years later, the think tank needed to be seen as separate “from the lobbying organization.” But Tanton’s correspondence suggests that he continued to steer the “independent” organization. In a 1986 memo to a file kept for the purpose of eventually writing an autobiography, Tanton described CIS as an organization over which he had direct control, as opposed to others that he said were “one level removed from our control.” Eight years

later, in 1994, Tanton wrote that he was still setting what he called “the proper roles for FAIR and CIS.”

A 1994 Tanton letter also shows that he was critical to raising funds for CIS. Although Tanton said he played a “behind-the-scenes role” at CIS, he revealed that key backers of his other organizations had ponied up millions for CIS. Those large donations were key because CIS does not do direct-mail fundraising. (One of the major donors was the Neil A. McConnell Foundation, which is run by Scott McConnell. McConnell, who for a time was on the CIS board, edits *The American Conservative*, a far-right journal founded by white nationalist Pat Buchanan.)

But Krikorian, who has been the executive director of CIS since 1995, shrugged off the idea that Tanton had any influence there. “We’ve never had any institutional relationship,” Krikorian told the *Intelligence Report* in an E-mail. “He’s never been on our board or served as an employee, he’s never even been in our offices.” He said Tanton “had some role back in the mid-80s in helping rustle up money for CIS,” but added that he and Tanton had no “personal relationship.”

Krikorian sounded a similar note in 2004, when he testified before an immigration subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee. “He wrote us a check, I think it was a year ago,” he said of Tanton. “It was the first check I have seen from him in nine or 10 years. ... We have no institutional relationship.”

That may be technically true. But four members of the CIS’s current board of directors — Otis Graham, William Chip, Frank Morris and Peter Nunez, who chairs the CIS board — also serve as members of FAIR’s board of advisers.

And Mark Krikorian knows John Tanton well. He worked for Tanton’s FAIR before landing his post at CIS in 1995. When

Fudging the Facts

Although the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) bills itself as an “independent” think tank that seeks “to expand the base of public knowledge” about immigration, the Washington, D.C.-based group is only interested in one thing. CIS’s reams of reports, as well as its blog postings, editorials, and frequent panels and press conferences, incessantly push the idea that America’s immigration system is an unadulterated evil and that the only way to save America from impending doom is to cut drastically the number of immigrants. CIS has blamed immigrants, both legal and undocumented, for everything from terrorism to global warming. To make its case seem as strong as possible, CIS often manipulates data, relying on shaky statistics or faulty logic to come to the preordained conclusion that immigration is bad for this country. But CIS studies have been regularly debunked by mainstream academics and think tanks including the Immigration Policy Center, the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities and America’s Voice. Here are some examples:

“Hello, I Love You, Won’t You Tell Me Your Name: Inside the Green Card Marriage Phenomenon” (November 2008).

This report alleges widespread fraud among marriages between American citizens and foreigners, but then goes on to admit that “there is no way of knowing” just how prevalent marriage fraud is because there is no systematic data. CIS even con-

cedes that most marriages “between Americans and foreign nationals are legitimate.” Then, based on this non-data, CIS gets to what seems to be the real point of its study — “if small-time con artists and Third-World gold-diggers can obtain green cards with so little resistance, then surely terrorists can.” Fraudulent marriage applications, CIS concludes, are “prevalent

among international terrorists, including members of Al-Qaeda.”

“Homeward Bound: Recent Immigration Enforcement and the Decline in the Illegal Alien Population” (July 2008).

Widely cited by the mainstream press, this report argues that the migration decisions of undocumented workers are based more >>>

he was given the CIS job, Tanton wrote to congratulate him. Not long after, Krikorian began participating in annual Writers Workshops put on by Tanton. Through the years, Tanton wrote Krikorian about various aspects of policy. In 1995, for instance, Tanton warned Krikorian that “feelings overwhelm facts” in the immigration debate. In 1998, he congratulated Krikorian and another man for a CIS award they started for immigration journalism. In 2001, he offered suggestions for “a good hand-out for speeches, press conferences, etc.” He frequently copied Krikorian on correspondence with white nationalists.

But Krikorian dismisses the contacts. “Tanton’s among hundreds of people who send me ideas, suggestions, cc’s of e-mails and the like,” he told the *Report*.

Tanton’s Man at CIS

One of John Tanton’s oldest friends is Otis Graham, a North Carolinian and emeritus professor of history at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Graham sits today on the board of directors of CIS and is a key Tanton contact there.

The men have known each other since the 1970s, when both began to see immigration as a greater threat to the environment than population growth. Tanton was so fond of Graham and his late brother, Hugh, that he wrote their parents in 1998 to thank them “for presenting society with these such useful citizens.” A year earlier, he wrote Otis Graham to thank him for 20 years of work together.

When Tanton started CIS as a FAIR project in 1985, Graham was a member of the FAIR board. But Tanton’s correspondence makes clear that he was able to get Graham to leave the FAIR board in order to run CIS, a job he did until Krikorian took over in 1995. (Graham held various titles including executive direc-



Hobnobbing with extremists: CIS Executive Director Mark Krikorian posed in 2007 with Kyle Bristow, then a student leader at Michigan State University who ranted publicly about “Judeo-Bolshevism.”

tor during that decade. But because Graham would not respond to the *Report*’s inquiries and Krikorian refused to say, it remains unclear just what titles Graham held.)

Tanton frequently wrote Graham revealing letters. In 1991, he told him about former Klan leader David Duke’s campaign for governor of Louisiana that year, which he described as based on “the excesses of affirmative action and illegitimate pregnancy.” Tanton told Graham that “there is a lot going on out there on the cultural and ethnic (racial) difference” front and added, in a hopeful tone, that it was “all tied to immigration policy. At some point, this is going to break the dam.”

Graham also frequently attended Tanton’s Writers Workshops, including a number that featured presentations from white nationalists. In 1990, for instance, he was at a gath-

on the level of immigration enforcement than the lure of jobs. In other words, as CIS argues, the Bush Administration’s stepped-up enforcement efforts in 2007 were working, leading to an exodus of undocumented workers. But experts said the decreases in the undocumented population that the report claims to have documented were not mainly the result of enforcement efforts. Wayne Cornelius, director of the Center for Comparative Immigration Studies at the University of California-San Diego, said that “undocumented migration clearly responds to changing U.S. economic conditions” more than anything else. The report also suggests, without any supporting evidence, that undocumented workers may have decided to stay

here longer than they would have otherwise because of the 2007 immigration debate.

“Employment Down Among Natives in Georgia: As Immigrant Workers Increased, Native Employment Declined in Georgia” (June 2007).

Focusing on Georgia between 2000 and 2006, this report argues that an increase in less educated immigrant workers caused employment to decline among less educated natives. But it offers no direct evidence to support that conclusion, and most other studies have reached very different conclusions. A study by Jeffrey Humphreys, director of the Selig Center for Economic Growth at the University of Georgia, concluded that during the period of highest immi-

gration in Georgia, starting in 1996, jobless levels among native-born workers remained very low. He also found that in sectors where less educated immigrants are concentrated, such as construction, immigration made it possible for “the industry to expand rapidly,” and said that the increased size of the work force led to improved benefits for all workers. Many other studies concur that immigration is generally good for the economy. In 2007, for instance, the Public Policy Institute of California found that immigrants arriving in that state between 1990 and 2004 increased native-born workers’ wages by an average 4%, because immigrants mainly performed complementary, not competitive work, that helped the economy grow. >>>

ering where one speaker was Jared Taylor. (In November of that year, Taylor started *American Renaissance*, a racist journal focusing on race, genetics and intelligence. In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in 2005, Taylor would write that when black people are left on their own, “any kind of civilization disappears.”) Tanton was so enthused about Taylor that in 1991 he sent Graham materials from Taylor and offered to pay for his subscription to *American Renaissance*.

Tanton also wrote Graham in 1991 about the case of the SS *St. Louis*, a German boat loaded with Jews trying to escape Europe in 1939. After it was denied entry to the United States and other countries, it was forced to return to Europe, where many passengers eventually were murdered. Tanton suggested to Graham that Jewish support for immigration was based on “guilt feelings” about the episode.

In 1994, after years of negative publicity, FAIR stopped accepting funds from a racist foundation called the Pioneer Fund, which was set up in 1937 to “improve the character of the American people” by promoting procreation by those of white, colonial stock. Though by that time FAIR had taken \$1.2 million from Pioneer, the bad press had simply grown too damaging.

But that didn’t weaken Tanton’s private liking for the Pioneer Fund or for the pseudo-science it promoted — eugenics, the attempt to improve the human race through selective breeding. That same year, Tanton wrote to tell Graham that he was “right that we have a mutual friend in Harry Weyher,” referring to the man who then was running the Pioneer Fund. “I, too, have a strong interest in genetics.”

Tanton had long sought to rewrite the history of the Immigration Act of 1924, which is today widely seen as a racist statute that instituted a national origin quota system and completely barred Asian immigration. As part of that effort, he asked Graham several times to speak at FAIR board meetings or Writers

Workshops about key intellectuals in the nativist movement that led to the 1924 law. One of them was Madison Grant, author of *The Passing of the Great Race*, an influential but racist 1916 book that described race as the basic motor of civilization and history. In one letter to Graham, Tanton suggested that “maybe [Grant] was just ahead of his time!” In another, he asked Graham to explain to the FAIR board that another racist law, the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, was “just labor looking out for itself.”

The Later Years

In 1995, Mark Krikorian took over day-to-day operations of CIS as its new executive director. But Otis Graham remained on the CIS board of directors, where he is still today. At the same time, Graham also stayed on the editorial advisory board of a journal published by Tanton, *The Social Contract*, where Graham had served since it started in 1991. The two men’s close friendship continued.

Graham left *The Social Contract*’s advisory board in 2003, but he was still there when it published a special volume entitled “Europhobia: The Hostility Toward European-Descended Americans.” The 1996 issue included articles by white nationalists and argued that multiculturalism was wrecking white culture. He was also there when The Social Contract Press published a frankly racist novel depicting the overwhelming of gullible whites in France by dark-skinned immigrants.

In the years since, Graham has written several articles for *The Social Contract*, most recently a 2006 piece on immigration policy. He also still interacts with The Social Contract Press which publishes the journal. Last October, he spoke to a workshop hosted by the outfit entitled “Immigration Reform and America’s Unchosen Future.” Speaking from the same podium was Frosty Wooldridge, a rabid nativist who has accused immigrants of bringing a “disease jihad” to America and warned that continuing immigration will soon bring “internal civil conflict.”

“Back Where We Started: An Examination of Trends in Immigrant Welfare Use Since Welfare Reform”

(March 2003). This report argues that after declining in the 1990s, immigrants have made up “a growing share of all households using the welfare system” — in other words, they have been sapping public benefits. But the month after it was released, the study was thoroughly debunked by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (CBPP), which said CIS had manipulated data. First of all, CIS included as immigrant households even those headed by naturalized citizens and it also attributed “benefit use to an immi-

grant household in cases where the only members of the household receiving benefits are U.S. citizens.” CBPP pointed out that the CIS study itself found that use of Temporary Assistance to Needy Families, Supplemental Security Income and food stamps by these households had declined substantially between 1996 and 2001, but “because it finds that the share of such households with at least one member who receives Medicaid rose modestly,” it concludes “that the share of immigrant households using ‘at least one major welfare program’ has not declined since 1996.” The CIS report “fails to mention that the modest

increase in Medicaid participation by so-called ‘immigrant’ households is due entirely to an increase in Medicaid or State Children’s Health Insurance Program (SCHIP) use by U.S. citizens who live in households headed by foreign-born individuals.” “CIS inexcusably fails to disclose,” says CBPP, that “among both noncitizen adults and noncitizen children, Medicaid participation declined between 1996 and 2001.” Even worse, the CBPP report, “using the same database as CIS,” found that “the percentage of legal noncitizens participating in each of the major means-tested federal programs ... declined significantly since 1996.”

Graham isn't the only CIS official to write for *The Social Contract*. Both Krikorian and Steven Camarota, the CIS director of research, have done so, as have CIS Fellow Don Barnett and CIS board members Frank Morris, Vernon Briggs and William Chip. Chip also spoke last October at the Social Contract Press event.

Some at CIS have also written for a nativist hate site, VDARE.com, which is named after Virginia Dare, said to be the first English child born in the New World. They include CIS Fellow John Miano and board member Carol Iannone.

In 2004, Graham also responded to suggestions from Tanton that he look at past immigration debates in the United States to ferret out "good material ... that should be brought back to life." In his *Unguarded Gates: A History of America's Immigration Crisis*, Graham claimed that a "mythistory" had been created during the civil rights movement that falsely depicted America as a "nation of immigrants" and "immigration restriction in the American past [as] a shameful expression of a bigotry called nativism." He depicted racist past policies as honest attempts to preserve a "working American nationality." He credited the 1924 statute's passage to the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, but failed to mention that it was indicted for sedition in 1942 because of its pro-Nazi activities or that its leader drew up plans to crush "Jewish subversives." And he dismissed the nearly 4 million-strong, angrily anti-Catholic Klan of the 1920s as "on the margins of immigration reform."

Tanton was with Graham every step of the way, advising him on materials and topics and reading the manuscript. Graham

also thanked CIS board members Briggs and Nunez, along with CIS policy studies director Jessica Vaughn, for their help.

Letting in the Light

CIS makes much of its mainstream credentials, saying it seeks "to expand the base of public knowledge" in an effort to show the need for immigration policies that serve "the broad national interest." And indeed, CIS' website shows that it has testified to Congress close to 100 times since Krikorian took over in 1995.

But the history of CIS make clear that it has always been part of a broad-based and well-planned effort to attack immigration in all forms. CIS Senior Policy Analyst Stephen Steinlight pretty much captured CIS' brand of "independent" analysis when he told the Inter Press Service News Agency in 2005 that immigration threatens "the American people as a whole and the future of Western civilization."

That is the real idea that lies behind CIS' worldview, even if CIS founder Tanton — who once warned of the "deadly disunity" that immigration was bringing to America — says it more clearly than most of CIS' officials today. It is much the same idea that has animated nativist extremists for centuries: the fear that Americans will be overwhelmed by foreigners who wreck the U.S. culture and economy.

NumbersUSA

The nativist lobby's grassroots organizer says it rejects racism, but its founder is linked to racist groups and individuals

Congressman Chris Cannon of Utah was bearing down. He'd questioned Roy Beck, head of the immigration-restriction group NumbersUSA, three years earlier, and he hadn't felt that he got straight answers then. Now, in the March 24, 2004, hearing before the immigration subcommittee of the House Committee on the Judiciary, Cannon was trying once again to pin down Beck's relationship to John Tanton, the racist

founder of many of the nation's key nativist groups.

"But you have had a long and intimate relationship with Dr. Tanton, [his organization] U.S. Inc., and the other allied groups..." Cannon asked.

"Well, I think I would like the definition of intimacy," Beck replied, allowing only that he had known Tanton "as a reporter" in the 1970s and 1980s.

Cannon: "But ... this is rather a close personal relationship where you guys share ideas and you perform functions that he thinks are important?"

Beck: "No, that would suggest that he would be my supervisor."

In the following minutes, a bizarre, parrying exchange between the two men unfolded, as Beck sought to convince Cannon that NumbersUSA had always been "programmatically autonomous," despite being an official program of Tanton's U.S. Inc. for five years. As Beck talked, Cannon grew obviously frustrated.

"You had lunch with John Tanton, I'm sure, did you not at some point?" Cannon asked Beck. (A few minutes later, the Republican explained that he was "talking about ideology and communicating ideological ideas" with Tanton.)

"No," Beck replied. "I think I've had dinner a couple of times."

Roy Beck was, to be kind, understating the relationship. The truth is that Beck was an employee, as Tanton has often written, of Tanton's U.S. Inc. for 10 years. He was one of the editors for Tanton's immigrant-bashing publication, *The Social Contract*, and helped edit a book by Tanton and another U.S. Inc. employee, white supremacist Wayne Lutton. He and his wife vacationed with Tanton, a man who calls the Becks "dear friends," and he once developed a program with Tanton that targeted Republicans for recruitment to the nativist cause. At one point, in fact, Tanton named Beck his "heir apparent," with Beck's consent. As recently as last year, Beck was an invited speaker at Tanton's *Social Contract* conference.

Clearly, the two men *had* "shared ideas," and often.

Why is Roy Beck downplaying his relationship to John Tanton, a man who was Beck's mentor and friend for decades? What, if anything, is he trying to hide?

Beck leads an organization that has reached the heights of mainstream legitimacy, a position that helped NumbersUSA achieve dramatic policy successes, most especially in June 2007, when his followers flooded the Senate with more than a million faxes. (The onslaught helped doom comprehensive immigration reform that had bipartisan support and had been expected by many observers to pass.) He has long insisted that NumbersUSA has no "vision of a homogenous white America," and his website decries all manner of "immigrant bashing" and racism.

But John Tanton has come to be an embarrassment. His longstanding connections to white nationalist ideologues, his flirtation with anti-Semitism, and his many racist statements about Latinos have become well known — and are a huge liability for Beck and his restrictionist program. Pressed, Beck claims he is not ashamed of his mentor. But Tanton's name is nowhere on his website. John Tanton, it seems, is undermining Roy Beck's respectability.

"It is amazing that Beck has attained the mainstream status he has, considering where he comes from," concludes Henry Fernandez, a senior fellow at the progressive Center for American Progress, a think tank based in Washington, D.C. "His extremely close and decades-long relationship with Tanton should give pause to anyone who deals with NumbersUSA."

Beck's Boss

In a long letter to the *Intelligence Report* and in other communications, Beck consistently emphasized his opposition to any kind of racism in the immigration debate. "We do not believe that immigration policy should be used to determine any particular racial makeup of this country," he wrote. As he does on his website, Beck cited concerns about the environment and poorer Americans as his main motivation for seeking lower immigration levels. He also wrote that he and his wife, Shirley, "have spent our entire adult lives" battling racial intolerance and ignorance.

Beck said that the couple had deliberately bought houses in integrated neighborhoods in Michigan, Ohio, Texas and

Virginia, even volunteering their sons for a court-ordered busing program in Dallas. He said his family had welcomed all kinds of minorities and immigrants, included undocumented ones, to their home, and he added that he had “led the forced integration of a segregated private club.”

“I and NumbersUSA have suffered the slings and arrows of racist restrictionists who decry our special concerns for minority Americans and by racist immigrationists who believe foreign workers are needed because non-employed Black Americans are too inferior to hire,” he said in his letter to the *Report*.

What Beck did not do is actually renounce Tanton. Instead, Beck said that he did not “choose to agree or disagree” with “snippets of quotes” from Tanton. In a later letter, he said, “To the extent that any of John’s actions may have provided any support to white supremacists, I would say those were harmful actions.”

Over the years, more and more information has emerged about the racial attitudes of John Tanton, who, like Beck, initially came to the immigration debate through concerns about overpopulation and the environment. As long ago as 1988, a set of his internal memoranda to the staffs of two groups he founded — the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and U.S. English — were leaked and showed Tanton warning of a coming “Latin onslaught,” questioning whether Latinos were as “educable” as others, and worrying that Latinos were outbreeding whites. A decade later, he told a reporter that whites would soon develop a racial consciousness, and the result would be “the war of all against all.” He hired and worked alongside Wayne Lutton, who has held leadership positions in four white supremacist hate groups. He published and endorsed a racist book on immigration, and he published numerous white supremacist tracts. Tanton compared immigrants to bacteria that will continue growing until the population crashes, and sneered at immigrants’ “defecating and creating garbage and looking for jobs.”

But that wasn’t all. Late last year, the *Report* revealed that over the course of some 20 years Tanton had corresponded with Holocaust deniers, former Klan lawyers, and leading white nationalist thinkers. He introduced leaders of FAIR, on whose board he still sits today, to the president of the Pioneer Fund, a racist outfit set up to encourage “race betterment,” at a private club. He promoted the work of an infamous anti-Semitic professor, Kevin MacDonald, to both FAIR officials and a major donor. At one point, pursuing his interest in eugenics, the utterly discredited “science” of breeding a better human race, he tried to find out if Michigan had laws allowing forced sterilization. His concern, Tanton wrote in a letter of inquiry, was “a local pair of sisters who have nine illegitimate children between them.”

These and other revelations came from an examination of Tanton’s correspondence, which is housed at the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, in Tanton’s home state. The same library contains Tanton’s correspondence with Beck, letters that illuminate their close relationship.

The Star Employee

Roy Beck was a print journalist for three decades, most notably as chief Washington correspondent for Booth Newspapers, a chain of small papers in Michigan. He first met Tanton in the 1970s, when he was an environmental reporter for the *Grand Rapids (Mich.) Press* and knew him, as he told Congressman Cannon in 2001, as “one of the premiere environmental activists in Michigan.”

The two developed an affinity early on. In 1988, when Tanton’s embarrassing memos to the staff at FAIR and U.S. English were leaked, Beck apparently wrote in a way that



pleased his news source. “It was nice to have something evenhanded and understanding after all the contrasting treatment I’ve received,” Tanton wrote Beck that year. Although Tanton resigned from U.S. English after prominent backers including Walter Cronkite and conservative GOP columnist Linda Chavez quit over his memos, Tanton told Beck “the damage is pretty well under control now.”

In 1991, a year after Beck says he left journalism to concentrate on writing about immigration, Tanton approached Beck about a job with his foundation, U.S. Inc. In 1992, Beck signed on as Washington editor of Tanton’s journal, *The Social Contract*, which in coming years would publish a roster of white nationalists and their fellow travelers. In his letter, Beck said Tanton offered him the job as “a way to earn some income.” But that apparently contradicts what Beck told Cannon in 2001, when he testified that he had been “an unpaid, part-time correspondent.”

Tanton liked his new editor. In a 1993 letter, he described Beck as one of three men who made up “the core of *The Social Contract* ‘team.’” The others were Robert Kyser and Wayne Lutton, who has belonged to and written for an array of white supremacist groups. By 1997, Tanton was describing Beck in a memo to his personnel file as “a very good and productive worker.” In several quarterly reports for U.S. Inc., Tanton referred to Beck’s work as “The Beck Projects,” noting in 1997 that those projects had “grown to be a sizeable part of our operations.”

But Beck makes it sound like he wasn't really a part of U.S. Inc., even though *The Social Contract* is legally one of its projects. (For instance, he told Cannon in 2004 that although the NumbersUSA project had been under U.S. Inc. until 2002, he personally controlled its bank account during that period. Later, he conceded he "did not have personal access to that bank account." Beck also told Cannon that "you're ascribing a management pattern that just didn't exist," although Tanton referred to Beck repeatedly as an "employee.") In his letter to the *Report*, Beck said that he was only active with the journal until 1994, when he began work on several books, even though his name stayed on the masthead until 2002. He said he spent most of 1996 on a book tour, that he then worked briefly on a U.S. Inc. project created for him by Tanton, and then, the same year, started on another project, NumbersUSA.

Beck portrayed NumbersUSA as his own group, started up with his own money but incorporated as a program under Tanton's U.S. Inc. as a convenience — a way to get financial and legal services from the parent body in return for a small fee. He said that he raised all the money for NumbersUSA and set all its policies. He said similar things to Cannon, calling his group "programmatically autonomous."

But that's not the way Tanton described the relationship. Until 2002, when Beck reorganized his group as a freestanding entity, Tanton repeatedly referred to him as an employee, subject to U.S. Inc.'s personnel policies. (In his testimony, Beck finally told Cannon that his paychecks came from U.S. Inc.) Tanton described Beck as guest-editing entire editions of *The Social Contract*, and, in 1993, helping to edit *The Immigration Invasion*, a book by Lutton and Tanton so raw in its immigrant bashing that Canadian border authorities have banned it as hate literature.

Tanton's trust in Beck reached new heights in 1997, when he focused on him as a potential heir at U.S. Inc., writing that "there is no other contender." He wrote Beck asking him to sign on as his "heir apparent" in the case of his death and, on Jan. 6, 1998, to thank him vociferously for agreeing to do so. Although Beck today says he was "honored" by Tanton's request, you'd never know that from reading his website, which makes no mention whatsoever of Tanton and describes Beck simply as "a journalist for three decades before founding NumbersUSA."

Palling Around With Racists?

In the 1980s, a notorious eugenicist outfit known as the Pioneer Fund — a foundation focused on race, intelligence and genetics and described by the London *Sunday Telegraph* as a "neo-Nazi organization closely integrated with the far right in American politics" — began to get some very bad publicity. When it was reported in 1988 that FAIR had received substantial Pioneer funding, Tanton claimed he had no idea what the fund's background was. But FAIR continued to take its cash.

That finally ended six years later, during the debate over California's anti-immigrant Proposition 187, when Pioneer grants were linked to ads bought by FAIR. By then, FAIR had

received a total of \$1.2 million from Pioneer (since 1985).

It was three years after that very public, 1994 debacle that Tanton and his wife vacationed with the Becks in Florida. The Tantons took the Becks to dine with John Trevor Jr., the son of a key architect of the 1924 Immigration Act that formalized a racial quota system that would only be dismantled in 1965. The younger Trevor was something else as well — a board member for several decades at the Pioneer Fund.

In his letter to the *Report*, Beck said he had "almost forgotten" about the 1997 Trevor dinner and wasn't sure if he knew then about Trevor's Pioneer post or even what the fund was. He described the Trevors as "a very warm, erudite and genteel older couple" and said he was "sure nothing of a racial nature" came up.

It's hard to believe that Beck knew nothing at the time of the Pioneer Fund, given that his mentor had been in such public hot water over it — and that FAIR's acceptance of Pioneer money became public in the same year that Beck wrote his story about Tanton's controversial FAIR memos. That, and the fact that Tanton had written Beck a year before the Florida visit to tell him that Trevor "serves on the board of the Pioneer Fund and his father was a key person" in 1924.

Another thing Beck said he only "vaguely remember[ed]" was Tanton's 1996 effort to create his own eugenics organization, the Society for Genetic Education (SAGE). In any event, Beck said, he has never had any interest in eugenics.

That same year, while on a tour promoting a book on immigration, Beck addressed a meeting of the Council of Conservative Citizens, a white supremacist group that has spread racist propaganda since 1985. His lecture came just six months after his fellow editor, Lutton, spoke to the same group. In his letter, Beck suggested that his talk had been set up by a publicist for his book, said he "had no idea who the group was," and added that he didn't recall "hearing anything racist being said by any of the speakers." He did see "overt racism" reflected in the exhibits in the halls of the meeting but decided to stay and was given "a respectful hearing."

'Sharing Ideas'

John Tanton frequently wrote Beck or copied him on letters sent to others — and the letters sometimes expressed ugly ideas. In 1996, he wrote Beck wondering "whether the minorities who are going to inherit California (85% of the lower-grade school children are now 'minorities' — demography is destiny) can run an advanced society?" "I have no doubt that individual minority persons can assimilate to the culture necessary to run an advanced society," Tanton wrote his friend, "but if through mass migration, the culture of the homeland is transplanted from Latin America to California, then my guess is we will see the same degree of success with governmental and social institutions that we have seen in Latin America." (He also said that "there is scarcely any group more chauvinistic than the Orientals.")

Also in 1996, Tanton wrote Beck's wife with a peculiar

request having to do with religion (the Becks are devout Methodists). “It occurs to me that the ‘Book of Joshua’ is a different version of welcoming strangers — after the walls of Jericho come tumbling down, the invading Jews killed everybody, man, woman, and child,” he wrote. He then asked, as a “bit of Biblical research,” about the Book of Ezra and its “strong prohibitions against intermarriage.” Tanton said that Jewish men were “called to task, after which they ‘put away’ their foreign wives and children they had borne.” Tanton had a specific question: What did “putting away” mean?

Tanton had a history of consulting Roy Beck about religion. In 1995, he asked Beck to “monitor” the Protestant press on immigration issues. In 1993, he suggested that Beck write a “Challenge to Religious Leaders” on immigration. In 1992, he criticized the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service to Beck, saying it “need[s] to have a supply of refugees to keep their jobs going.” (He also asked if members of the U.S. Committee for Refugees, a pro-migrant organization, were “Marxists.”) And he decried the Catholic Church’s ability to bring in priests from other countries, telling Beck that it was “a clear breach of the wall of separation of church and state.”

In 1998, two years after putting NumbersUSA under the rubric of U.S. Inc., Beck was still listed as Washington editor of Tanton’s *Social Contract* when the journal put out what may have been its most lurid edition ever, “Europhobia: The Hostility to European-Descended Americans.” The lead article came from John Vinson, head of the hate group American Immigration Control Foundation, who argued that “successful Euro-American culture” was being replaced with what he called “dysfunctional Third World cultures.” Tanton chimed in, decrying the “hatred and fear” of whites that he blamed on “multiculturalists” and immigrants.

Tanton’s correspondence shows that he and Beck regularly came up with program ideas together, with Tanton usually being the one to pitch them to U.S. Inc. donors. One of the ideas that was most developed by the pair was what they called “Recruiting Republicans,” a project Tanton described in 2001 as “an idea that can actually move the battle lines ... in our favor.” Tanton plugged the idea hard with major U.S. Inc. donors. “The goal is to educate these members about the political consequences of high-level immigration, to recruit at least some legislators to the immigration caucus in the House and to get them to act and vote accordingly,” he wrote to the late

Cordelia Scaife May’s foundation. (Indeed, the hard-line House Immigration Reform Caucus, which had just 10 members before the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, has grown to 112 members today, almost all of them Republicans.)

Tanton wrote another 2001 letter to Fred Stanback, a major funder of Beck’s U.S. Inc. work. “The goal is to change Republicans’ perception of immigration so that when they encounter the word ‘immigrant,’ their reaction is ‘Democrat.’”

The ties that bind the two men, even if considerably less public since Beck separated NumbersUSA from U.S. Inc, remain tight. In 2006, Tanton’s U.S. Inc. gave NumbersUSA a \$20,000 grant. Just last year, both Beck and his employee, Rosemary Jenks, spoke at a conference of Tanton’s Social Contract Press. And Beck currently works out of offices that he shares with another Tanton organization, ProEnglish.

Repudiating John Tanton

Roy Beck says that he is no racist, that he opposes racist ideology with every fiber of his being — and his website and other writings do not contradict that. But when he is confronted with facts that seem to call that into question — in particular, his long and intimate relationship with John Tanton, and what looks a lot like his seeking to obscure that fact — Beck has declined to take an explicit position.

Barack Obama faced a similar problem when explosive comments by his pastor of 20 years, the Rev. Jeremiah Wright, were publicized and then went viral on YouTube, where they drew 1.2 million views in the first 24 hours. The comments, as is now well known, bitterly attacked the United States as a racist nation. To many, they sounded like a racist condemnation of all whites and the entire government.

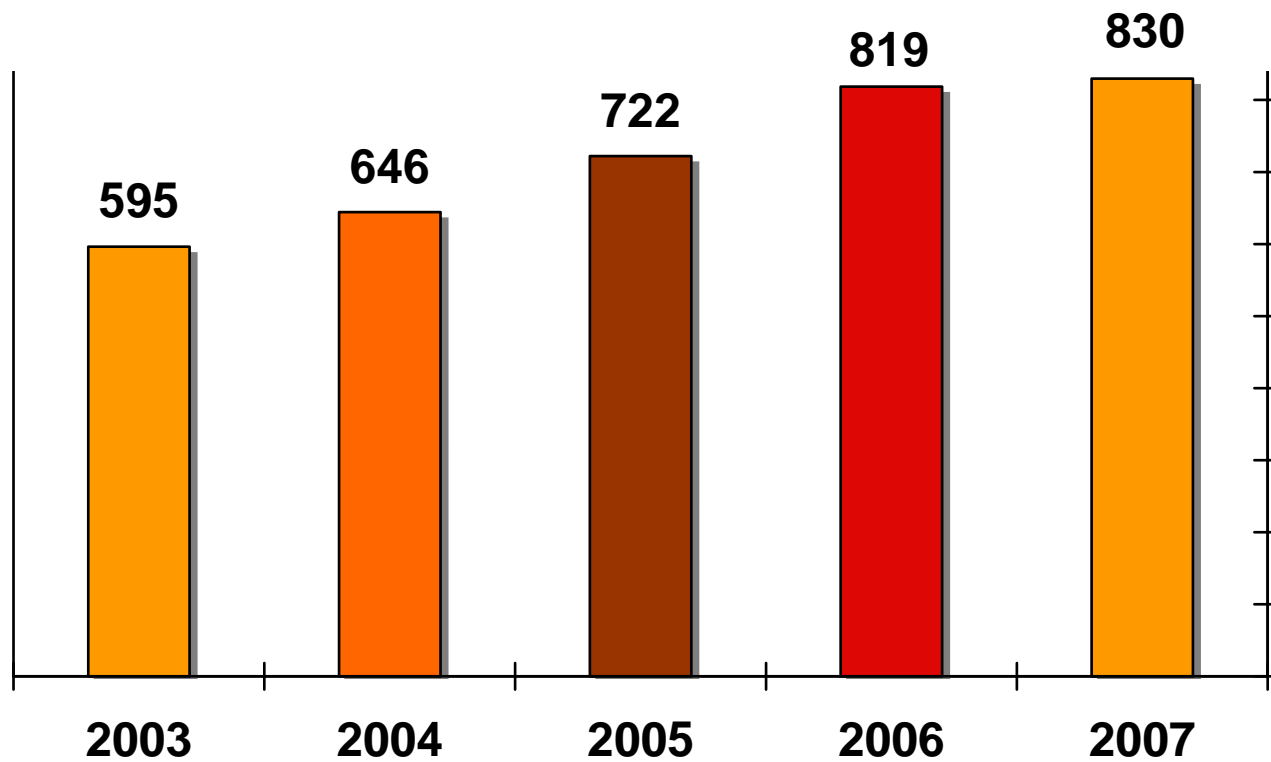
To stay in the presidential race and remain viable, Obama had to react publicly, and he did. He said he “vehemently disagree[d with] and strongly condemn[ed]” the “inflammatory and appalling” remarks made by Wright. He gave a major speech where he said that Wright’s “incendiary language” had “rightly offend[ed] white and black alike.” He said the remarks “expressed a profoundly distorted view of this country.” After Wright continued to speak out, Obama said he was “outraged” and “saddened” and quit the Rev. Wright’s church for good.

Perhaps it’s time for Roy Beck to take a hint from our new president.



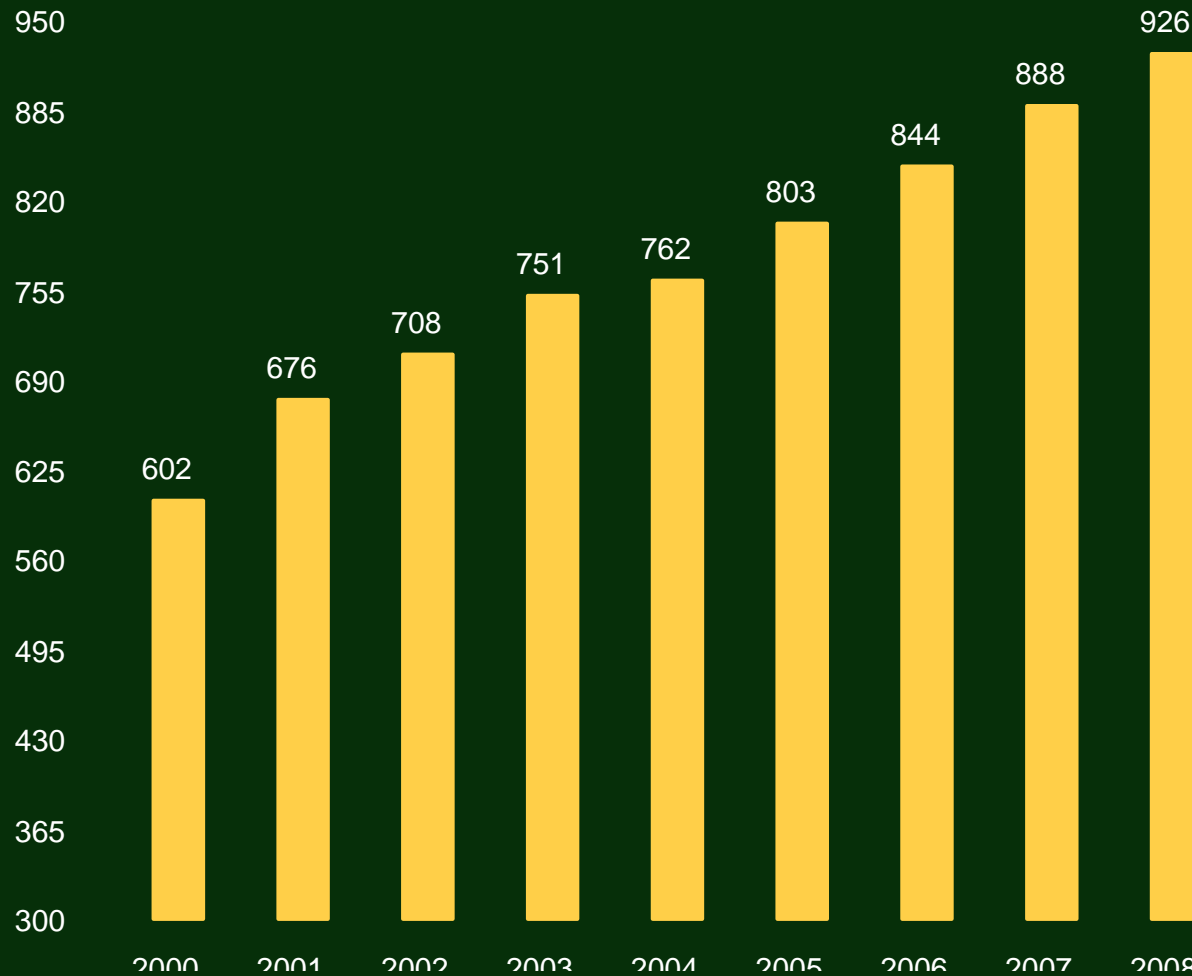
Hate Crimes Against Latinos

Number of Victims



FBI Hate Crime Statistics

Number of U.S. Hate Groups



SPLC Data



NCLR *Myth vs. Reality*

For years, myths about the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) have been propagated by opponents of immigration reform as a means of minimizing our voice in the immigration debate. No stranger to political debate, NCLR has always pushed aside such rhetoric in the interest of keeping the focus on solutions to our broken immigration system.

Unfortunately, over the last several years, some of these accusations have become part of a broader effort to build fear and anger among those Americans who perceive immigrant communities as a threat to the United States. As a consequence, the stakes of such rhetoric have become unconscionably high. Hate groups targeting Latinos have risen steadily over the past five years, as have hate crimes against Latinos.

In 2006, just prior to the last debate over immigration, the late Representative Charles Norwood gave voice to many of these myths in an article in the far right publication *Human Events*. Until that point, this fiction was fodder for only for fringe groups and websites—those frequented by vigilantes, hate groups, and White supremacists. Today, however, you can hear some of these myths repeated on cable network television and talk radio despite efforts by NCLR to set the record straight. As many of these absurd claims will undoubtedly resurface in the coming debate over immigration, NCLR has chosen to address them head on in this guide. For a more in-depth discussion, see “The *Truth* About NCLR: NCLR Answers Critics” at www.nclr.org/truth.

MYTH #1

The National Council of La Raza translates as “The National Council of The Race.”

FACT #1

Hispanic and Latino are an ethnicity, not a race. Hispanics can be and are members of any and all races. While one translation of “raza” is indeed “race,” its use in our name refers to the Spanish definition of “la raza,” meaning “the people” or “the community.”

Our name derives from the term “*la raza cósmica*,” meaning the “cosmic people,” which was coined by Mexican scholar José Vasconcelos to reflect the fact that the people of Latin America are a mixture of all of the world’s races, cultures, and religions.

As this point is often brought up by those who oppose our point of view on immigration policy as a way to distract people from our message, we have had a comprehensive description of the origins of our name on our website (www.nclr.org) for years.

Some of this confusion stems from the fact that “la raza” is a commonly used term among a host of organizations, clubs, universities, newspapers, and radio stations. This is why NCLR always refers to itself by its initials or by its full name.

MYTH #2

NCLR advocates *reconquista*, i.e., “taking back” the American Southwest for Mexico.

FACT #2

Conspiracy theories like this one would be silly if they were not so often used to create fear and distrust of all Hispanics. At no time in its more than 40-year history has NCLR endorsed, supported, or condoned such a concept. NCLR is an American institution founded to help Latino American families live the American Dream.

MYTH #3

NCLR is akin to a “Tan Klan.”

FACT #3

NCLR is a civil rights and advocacy organization that has a long history of helping Latino families realize the American Dream. Founded in 1968, NCLR serves all Latino subgroups in 41 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico.

We are very proud of our record of accomplishment and impact: We have provided housing counseling to nearly 150,000 families and helped more than 25,000 families buy their first home. We support a network of 100 community-based schools that serve 25,000 children a year. We have helped build health clinics and train lay health educators, which provide care and disease prevention assistance to 100,000 people annually.

Nearly half of NCLR’s Affiliates are working every day to integrate immigrants fully into American society by providing English-language and civics classes, and help with naturalization and voter registration. In fact, NCLR, its partners, and its Affiliates helped mobilize more than 200,000 voters in 2008, helping to make the Latino vote one of the key voting blocs in the historic 2008 election.

MYTH #4

NCLR labels everyone who disagrees with it as “racist.”

FACT #4

At NCLR, the term “racist” is very rarely used and only in extreme instances. Over the past several years, we have raised serious concerns over the rise of hate and the role of extremist groups in the immigration debate. Our website “www.WeCanStopTheHate.org,” is designed to draw attention to the mainstreaming of American extremes.

As NCLR does not track or label hate groups, we have relied on research compiled by the Southern Poverty Law Center, which does track and identify hate groups, to assist us in this effort. We have also relied on work done by the Anti-Defamation League to define “code words” used to disguise hate speech that have surfaced in past immigration debates.

Given their histories and missions, both of these organizations are deeply concerned with the rise of hate crimes against Latinos and the spike in hate groups targeting Latinos that has accompanied the immigration debate.

MYTH #5

NCLR believes that free speech should be curtailed.

FACT #5

As a civil rights organization, NCLR is and has always been a fervent advocate of free speech. What NCLR does do, however, is challenge news outlets—particularly cable television and radio networks—to provide better balance to their coverage of the immigration debate and to identify the backgrounds of many of their regular commentators on immigration who have ties to vigilantes, White supremacists, and nativists.

MYTH #6

NCLR’s motto is “Por la Raza todo. Fuera de La Raza nada,” which translates to “For the race, everything. Outside of the race, nothing.”

FACT #6

NCLR does not have a motto. It never has. Our website clearly states our mission: NCLR works to improve opportunities for Hispanic Americans.

MYTH #7

NCLR charter schools preach violence and sedition.

FACT #7

Such wild claims are often used to instill fear and anger against Latinos. All of our schools are sanctioned by their respective states, undergo rigorous scrutiny by their school districts, and are overseen by the public school authorities in their districts. Like many other schools serving different demographic groups, some of our schools educate their students about their native culture and language or use that language and culture in their curriculum to strengthen and enhance the student's educational experience and achievement.

MYTH #8

NCLR endorses the radical founding document of MEChA, a Latino student organization.

FACT #8

While MEChA's bylaws hardly reflect the current nature of the student organization today, which counts governors, mayors, and state legislators as alumni, they still contain radical language that NCLR has repeatedly denounced as extreme. NCLR's only "funding" of MEChA was a 2003 grant to the Georgetown chapter to pay for a barbeque for students who could not go home for Thanksgiving.

MYTH #9

NCLR believes in "open borders."

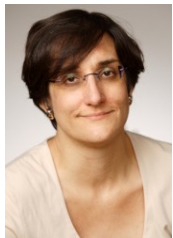
FACT #9

NCLR has consistently stated and affirmed its strong belief in American sovereignty and that the American government has every right and obligation to secure our borders. We have long supported strong, effective, and humane border enforcement.



Spokespeople

Lisa Navarrete, Vice President



Lisa Navarrete is Vice President of Special Projects and the Director of NCLR's Wave of Hope campaign, which focuses on the rise of hate targeting the Latino community, particularly in the immigration debate. She also oversees NCLR's media advocacy and telecommunications activities and is the coauthor of the report, *Out of the Picture: Hispanics in the Media*. From 1989 to 1997, Ms. Navarrete served as NCLR's Public Information Director. Before that, she was the Senior Civil Rights Policy Analyst for NCLR's Office of Research, Advocacy, and Legislation. Prior to joining NCLR, Ms. Navarrete spent ten years on Capitol Hill working with the staff of Senator Paul Sarbanes of Maryland, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, and Congressman Robert Garcia of New York. Ms. Navarrete has a master's degree in international relations from Johns Hopkins University and a bachelor's degree in politics from The Catholic University of America.

Clarissa Martínez De Castro, Director, Immigration and National Campaigns



Clarissa Martínez De Castro, Director of Immigration and National Campaigns, oversees the organization's work on immigration and efforts to expand opportunities for Latino engagement in civic life and public policy debates. She previously managed NCLR's state policy advocacy efforts and civic engagement work, and in 2007, she served as manager of the Coalition for Comprehensive Immigration Reform, a broad network of national, state, and local organizations committed to advancing policy solutions on immigration. Prior to working with NCLR, she served as a public policy coordinator for the Southwest Voter Research Institute, as assistant director of the California-Mexico Project at the University of Southern California, as an organizer with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and as a union representative with the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (HERE) Local 11. A Salzburg Seminar Fellow, she received her undergraduate degree from Occidental College and her master's degree from Harvard University. A naturalized U.S. citizen, she was born and raised in the Mexican State of Sinaloa.

John Amaya, Associate Director, Immigration



John Amaya is the Associate Director of Immigration. He oversees federal strategies, field work, and research activities in support of immigration policy, criminal justice, and civil rights enforcement. John began his career as a trial attorney with the U.S. Department of Justice. There he gained a wealth of experience as a federal litigator representing U.S. interests in federal circuit courts of appeals and federal district courts. Prior to joining NCLR, John was a legislative staff attorney for the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF). He designed and executed federal legislative

strategies related to civil rights enforcement, immigration policy, criminal justice, and judicial nominations. A native of Southern California, John holds a Juris Doctor and a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science from the University of Washington where he served on the Board of Regents. He is currently pursuing a Master of Laws degree at the Georgetown University Law Center.

If you wish to communicate with the following spokespeople, please contact Jackeline Stewart, Senior Media Relations Specialist, at (202) 776-1771.