

Anti-Immigrant Leaders in the Media:

Dan Stein – Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), President
Mark Krikorian – Center for Immigration Studies, Executive Director
Roy Beck – NumbersUSA, Founder and President
Bob Dane – FAIR, Communications Director
Ira Mehlman – FAIR, Media Director
Janice Kephart – Center for Immigration Studies, National Security Fellow; Secure Identity & Biometrics Association, Founder and CEO
Jessica Vaughan – Center for Immigration Studies, Director of Policy Studies
Kris Kobach – Immigration Reform Law Institute, Attorney
Leah Durant – Progressives for Immigration Reform, Executive Director; Black American Leadership Alliance, Founder
Rosemary Jenks – NumbersUSA, Director of Government Relations
Stephen Steinlight – Center for Immigration Studies, Senior Policy Analyst
Steven Camarota – Center for Immigration Studies, Director of Research
Susan Tully – FAIR, National Field Director

“How can we preserve America if it becomes 50% Latin American?”
- Dan Stein

“My guess is Haiti’s so screwed up because it wasn’t colonized long enough.”
- Mark Krikorian

Prominent Collaborators and State-Level Groups:

Coalition for a Secure Driver’s License – Washington, DC – Brian Zimmer, President
Dustin Inman Society – Georgia – D.A. King, President
Floridians for Immigration Enforcement – Florida – David Caulkett, Founder and Vice-President
Grassroots Rally Team of Ohio – Ohio – Julie Aldrich, Organizer
Help Save Maryland – Maryland – Brad Botwin, Director
Midwest Coalition to Reduce Immigration – Wisconsin – Dave Gorak, Executive Director
NC Listen – North Carolina – Ron Woodard, Director
New Jersey Citizens for Immigration Control – New Jersey – Gayle Kesselman, Co-Chair
New Yorkers for Immigration Control and Enforcement – New York – Joanna Marzullo, President
Oregonians for Immigration Reform – Oregon – Cynthia Kendall, President
Remember 1986 – Arizona – Rusty Childress, Founder
Scientists and Environmentalists for Population Stabilization – California – Stuart H. Hurlbert, President
Texans for Immigration Reduction and Enforcement – Texas – Larry Korkmas, President
The Remembrance Project – Texas – Maria Espinoza, National Director
We the People Rising – California – Robin Hvidston, Executive Director

Funders of the Anti-Immigrant Movement:

The **Colcom Foundation** provided over \$35 million dollars in funding to anti-immigrant groups from 2008 to 2012. These organizations include the Federation for American Immigration Reform, Center for Immigration Studies, NumbersUSA, Immigration Reform Law Institute, Progressives for Immigration Reform, U.S. Inc., VDARE and Negative Population Growth. The Colcom Foundation’s vice president, John Rohe, worked for John Tanton at his foundation, U.S., Inc. The late Cordelia Scaife May, who founded Colcom in 1996, was a close friend of John Tanton and one of FAIR’s early major donors.

In 2005, the year of her death, Scaife May left \$404 million in cash and property to the Colcom Foundation and other charitable organizations.

The **Sarah Scaife Foundation** and the **Scaife Family Foundation** provided over \$2.1 million to Tanton Network groups from 2008 through 2011. These organizations include Federation for American Immigration Reform, Center for Immigration Studies, NumbersUSA and ProEnglish.

For more information, contact:

Center for New Community

47 W. Division, #514
 Chicago, IL 60610
 newcomm.org

Read the
 Center for New Community blog:
 imagine2050.org

Follow us
 on twitter:
 @imagine2050
 @nativismwatch

The 21st Century Anti-Immigrant Movement

A report from Center for New Community

Across 2006 and 2007 immigration reemerged as a hot-button issue, as powerful anti-immigrant groups strongly opposed efforts for humane reform. The anti-immigrant movement, led by groups like Federation for American Immigration Reform, NumbersUSA and Center for Immigration Studies, rose to prominence by managing to help block the Comprehensive Reform Act, a bill mired in debate.

The victory afforded the anti-immigrant movement exposure, but also unwanted scrutiny. Today, it continues to inspire congressional inaction on immigration reform by working with powerful legislative allies, even as the credibility of the aforementioned groups – led respectively by Dan Stein, Roy Beck, and Mark Krikorian – has eroded.

The modern day anti-immigrant movement owes its existence to John Tanton, who founded the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) in 1979. FAIR sits atop an elaborate network of organizations that disseminate and support anti-immigrant positions and policies across the country. In 1985, Tanton founded the Center for Immigration Studies, a think tank that buttresses the movement’s efforts. Under Tanton’s guidance, Roy Beck founded NumbersUSA in 1996 as a vehicle to mobilize grassroots support.

For decades, Tanton’s network has spawned dozens of front groups, legislative networks and special interest organizations with a singular agenda: to malign the presence of immigrants in order to eliminate future immigration.

As Tanton’s hand-picked leadership built a more visible platform in the 2000’s, his history of propagating white nationalism raised alarming questions about the movement’s true agenda. In a 1993 letter to Garret Hardin, a eugenicist who promoted pseudoscientific ideas of racial purity, Tanton wrote: “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.”

Tanton’s views came to light most prominently in 2011 on the front page of a New York Times Sunday edition. The Times exposé led to Tanton leaving the board of directors of FAIR only to later join its national board of advisors.

Tanton’s role in these organizations has diminished, but the leadership he groomed has carried his vision into the 21st Century.

Despite attempts by Stein, Beck and Krikorian to publicly distance their organizations from Tanton, his legacy remains intact. Current leadership has maintained active involvement with population control extremists who are invested in the research and coercive testing of Quinacrine sterilization. Many associate with white nationalist activists from groups like the Council of Conservative Citizens and VDARE.com, and they have supported neo-Nazis and self-proclaimed “ethnic separatist” activists in Arizona. More recently, these leaders have been collaborating with anti-Muslim organizations and activists.

Kansas Secretary of State Kris Kobach, who moonlights as an attorney at FAIR’s legal arm, has become the face of efforts to pass anti-immigrant policies at the state and local level. As many such measures have been ruled unconstitutional, Kobach has recently expanded his legislative purview to include voting policies designed to disenfranchise minority voters.

Today’s leaders parlayed Tanton’s racially extreme ideas into a powerful movement that positions itself as a credible, unbiased source for media and lawmakers. The ease with which Kobach often operates as both a public official available for comment and a leader within a politically extreme movement illustrates this, and though the influence of some groups has diminished, the efforts of those steering this network should not be underestimated. The damage this movement has inflicted on America’s social fabric is evident through today.



The Beltway Big Three:



= shares leadership with the Big Three



= financial connection to the Big Three



= relies on the Big Three for ideas and talking points

Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR):

Founded in 1979 by John Tanton, who served on the board until 2011 and continues on FAIR's advisory board. Under the leadership of Dan Stein since 1988. Lobbies and drafts anti-immigrant legislation while coordinating a network of seemingly independent state-level groups. Argues for strict quotas and even a moratorium on immigration. Works closely with legislators active in the legislative networks detailed below.

Center for Immigration Studies (CIS):

Founded in 1985 by Tanton to serve as an immigration restrictionist think-tank, the group exists to win "the Battle of Ideas" within the immigration debate. Beginning in 1986, the group was probably the first to openly advance variations of the doctrine of "attrition through enforcement," aka "self-deportation." Launched as a project of FAIR, Mark Krikorian (a former FAIR staffer) has led the group since 1995.

NumbersUSA:

Founded as a project of Tanton's U.S., Inc., the group is led by Roy Beck. Tanton's fundraising efforts helped sustain the group until 2002 when Beck distanced it from his mentor. From 1994 to 2001, Beck worked under Tanton as the Washington Editor of *The Social Contract* journal. NumbersUSA has spent over \$4 million lobbying Congress and DHS on immigration since 2003. NumbersUSA has spent over \$4 million lobbying Congress and DHS on immigration since 2003, while simultaneously applying pressure to Congress using various internet and mobile one-click activism tools.

Nuts and Bolts Groups:



Immigration Reform Law Institute (IRLI):

Founded in 1989 by Tanton, operates as a project of FAIR. Works closely with lawmakers to draft legislation that targets immigrants by flooding state legislative dockets with anti-immigrant bills. Written by Kris Kobach (attorney for IRLI) and Russell Pearce, Arizona's SB 1070 is the most recognizable example. Kobach and FAIR (via IRLI) have helped push bills in Alabama, Georgia, as well as in cities in Nebraska, Texas and Pennsylvania, costing taxpayers millions of dollars.

U.S., Inc:

Tanton's philanthropic foundation, launched in 1982. The group has provided initial seed money to the likes of NumbersUSA and CIS, while helping to sustain the project work of FAIR's state-level contact groups. Spent nearly \$1 million on lobbying from 2008 to 2012.

US Immigration Reform PAC:

Co-founded by Tanton and his wife, Mary Lou, who serves as its president. Current board member KC McAlpin is the former executive director of ProEnglish and FAIR's former deputy director. The PAC funds nativist politicians and candidates and is managed by Tim Dionisopoulos, who has a history of involvement with white nationalist groups.

Legislative Networks:



State Legislators for Legal Immigration:

Founded in 2007 by Pennsylvania State Rep. Daryl Metcalfe, this coalition of legislators has worked publically with FAIR and privately with the American Legislative Exchange Council to draft and to lobby anti-immigrant bills. More recently Metcalfe and others have focused on voter suppression bills. Dan Stein, Mike Hethmon (attorney for IRLI), and Russell Pearce were present at the network's founding press conference. The network gathers together like-minded representatives who are allies in executing FAIR's strategy of flooding state legislative dockets with anti-immigrant bills.

House Immigration Reform Caucus:

Founded in 1999 by former US Rep. Tom Tancredo as a network of Congressional Representatives who support the Beltway Big Three's views. Members like Reps. Lamar Smith, Louie Gohmert, and Steve King use their influence within the House Judiciary Committee to obstruct integrative legislation while advocating for anti-immigrant measures. Lamar Smith, perhaps the Caucus's most influential member, has maintained a relationship with FAIR since 1990. Former Rep. Brian Bilbray, who was a lobbyist for FAIR from 2002 to 2005, served as its long-time chair. Rep. Ted Poe serves as its current chair.

Reclaim American Jobs Caucus and Border Security Caucus:

Launched by Rep. Lamar Smith in March 2010 and February 2014, respectively. These caucuses promote two of the anti-immigrant movement's core messages: jobs and the economy and the "enforcement-first" stance on immigration reform. Smith now sits on HIRC's four person executive committee and continues his close working relationship with the Beltway Big Three.

Active Front Groups:



Progressives for Immigration Reform:

Founded in 2009, shares board members with FAIR, Center for Immigration Studies, and more overtly population-control focused organizations, like Carrying Capacity Network and Californians for Population Stabilization. Led by Leah Durant, a former attorney for IRLI who belongs to groups like the Republican Women of Clifton (VA). PFIR exists to "green-wash" population control and anti-immigrant messaging. It also operates The Institute for Sustainable America, another front-group, and was instrumental in the 2013 founding of the Black American Leadership Alliance.

Black American Leadership Alliance:

Founded in 2013 and led by Leah Durant of PFIR with direct support from the Beltway Big Three. BALA falsely claims that immigrants are taking jobs from African American workers. In 2006, Choose Black America – BALA's first incarnation – was launched jointly by NumbersUSA, FAIR, and CIS. BALA has also existed as America's Black Shield, Blacks for Equal Rights Coalition, and the African American Leadership Council.

Special Interest Groups:



Negative Population Growth:

Founded in 1972, this group has received funding from FAIR and was once led by Sharon Stein, Dan Stein's wife. In 1995, Donald Mann, current president of NPG and a FAIR national board of advisors member, openly advocated for sterilizing the poor and "deny[ing] maternity leave to women who have more than two children."

ProEnglish:

Founded by Tanton in 1994, this group pushes English-only measures at all levels of government, framing each with warnings of multiculturalism and the "Balkanization" of the United States. Former executive director KC McAlpin, now of U.S., Inc., sits on its board of directors alongside Tanton and controversial nativist principals like Phil Kent. Robert Vandervoort, its current executive director, has worked for Citizens United and once led the overtly white nationalist group Chicagoland Friends of American Renaissance. The latter directly promoted the efforts of infamous white nationalist figurehead Jared Taylor.

Social Contract Press:

Founded in 1990 by Tanton to serve as a publishing house for his works and those of thinkers and researchers he deemed valuable. In 1995, SCP reprinted Jean Raspail's nativist novel *The Camp of the Saints*. SCP also publishes a quarterly journal which blends anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant, and white nationalist sentiments. Anti-immigrant leaders like Dan Stein, Mark Krikorian, Rosemary Jenks, and Peter Brimelow have published in the journal. The press's editor, Wayne Lutton, has been a member of the white nationalist Council of Conservative Citizens and maintained close ties to Jared Taylor.

VDARE.com:

Founded in 1999 by white nationalist Peter Brimelow, the website serves as a hub where white nationalist and nativist writers publish anti-immigrant, racist, and Islamophobic grievances. Brimelow roots his website in the rhetoric of the "Culture War," from which its writers purport that civilization extends from white Western-Europeans and that the United States as a culture and nation will perish if that heritage is not preserved above all others. In 1995 Brimelow authored *Alien Nation*. Tanton's private correspondence indicates that the book project was Tanton's idea, one which he convinced Brimelow to undertake. Tanton also helped secure Brimelow's initial funding, and FAIR underwrote the hiring of his freelance researcher.

Californians for Population Stabilization:

Works to connect fears of overpopulation, sprawl, pollution, and environmental degradation to immigration. Received funding from the Pioneer Fund (like FAIR) and shares funding sources such as the Colcom and Weeden Foundations with the Beltway Big Three. John D. Weeden is a CAPS advisory board member. Rick Oltman, the group's one-time national media director and senior writing fellow, has been a member of the white nationalist Council of Conservative Citizens, has worked with FAIR, and heads the Immigration Tea Party. Senior writing fellow Joe Guzzardi worked as an editor for VDARE.com. Recently, some CAPS leaders and associates launched a new front-group called Scientists and Environmentalists for Population Stabilization.