

Center for New Community Special Report

Divide and Conquer: **A Profile of the** **Federation for American Immigration Reform** **(FAIR)**



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The Center for New Community is a faith-based organization committed to building democratic communities for justice and racial equality. Founded in 1995, its commitments are carried out through its Building Democracy Initiative, which counters organized hate group activity, and through its Faith Based Organizing initiatives with congregations and communities across the country to address a wide range of social, economic, and racial justice issues identified by those communities.

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The Federation for American Immigration Reform, better known by its acronym FAIR, was founded in 1979 by retired Michigan ophthalmologist John Tanton. It is a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization which acts as an umbrella for the anti-immigrant movement, providing research, publications, funding and organizational acumen to local grassroots groups, and serving as the public face of the movement in the media and in testimony to Congress.

Ideology

FAIR represents the “mainstream” of the American anti-immigrant movement, carefully crafting its message to appeal to economic and environmental concerns associated with increasing population. FAIR nativism, at least on the surface, is of the soft variety, preferring for the most part to reference the needs of future generations and the importance of population control to decrying how “Third World” immigrants are “different.” Thus the bulk of FAIR’s public pronouncements are innocuous, even reasonable, but in this context it is important to understand FAIR not in isolation, but in its role within a larger social movement. This is made explicit in the recently released biography *Mary Lou & John Tanton: A Journey into American Conservation* (2002), in which it is acknowledged “FAIR’s moderate position allowed new immigration organizations to employ a more emotional appeal. For example, Palmer Stacey, a staffer for Senator East, a conservative southerner interested in immigration, founded the American Immigration Control Foundation (AICF) by using appeals far more strident than FAIR’s.”¹

Despite this division of labor, FAIR demonstrates a full awareness of the range of arguments that can be deployed in opposing immigration, and it flirts from time-to-time with xenophobia. Thus its 1997 training manual *How to ~~Survive~~ Win the Immigration Debate* acknowledges four types of anti-immigration arguments—traditional, economic, social, and population/environment.² It is, of course, the third type of argument, euphemistically termed “social,” that can prove troublesome for FAIR. Glossed in the aforementioned manual by the sentence “Too much immigration causes

¹ John F. Rohe, *Mary Lou & John Tanton: A Journey into American Conservation*, (Washington, D.C.: FAIR Horizon Press, 2002), p.83.

² Federation for American Immigration Reform, *How to ~~Survive~~ Win the Immigration Debate*, (Washington, D.C: FAIR, 1997), p.3.

unhealthy social strain,”³ this area of argument is open to claims that pathologize immigrants for endemic social problems and play on peoples fears and prejudices.

FAIR is not above working closely with more radical groups and individuals. For example, FAIR has participated with the American Immigration Control Foundation in sponsoring advertising campaigns, and has given grants directly to Glenn Spencer’s Voices of Citizens Together—a group that preaches a crude anti-Mexican conspiracy theory—and to U.S., which is headed by FAIR founder John Tanton.

Tanton himself, though usually identified as a conservationist, counts Wayne Lutton, a man who has shown little discomfort in the company of outright racists, as collaborator and employee.

Moreover, Tanton was forced out of the leadership of U.S. English because of a paper he wrote for a private study group involved with the campaign for an English-only law in Arizona. In that paper, he employs explicit racist references when he writes, “Will the present majority peaceably hand over its political power to a group that is simply more fertile? As Whites see their power and control over their lives declining, will they simply go quietly into the night? Or will there be an explosion? ... Perhaps this is the first instance in which those with their pants up are going to get caught by those with their pants down?”⁴

Publications

FAIR Immigration Report, published monthly. Training manuals and special reports on immigration and related topics.

Partial List of Guests to appear on FAIR’s weekly television show, *Borderline*

Roy Beck, NumbersUSA
Peter Brimelow, author *Alien Nation*
James Robb, The Social Contract Press
Jared Taylor, American Renaissance⁵
Sam Francis, syndicated columnist^{6 7}

³ *ibid*, p.3.

⁴ John Tanton, paper for the WITAN study group, 1986, as referenced in Jean Stefanic & Richard Deldago, *No Mercy: How Conservative Think Tanks and Foundations Changed America’s Social Agenda*, (Temple University Press, 19998), p. 11.

⁵ American Renaissance is the leading “think tank” of the white nationalist movement.

⁶ Samuel Francis has been described as the “philosopher-general of American white nationalism,” More than any of his white nationalist peers Francis has successfully articulated it as a battle plan for taking white nationalism to middle America. Francis used to be part of the conservative establishment he now blasts. He once worked for North Carolina Senator John East and the Heritage Foundation – a leading conservative think-tank. In 1986, Francis began writing editorials for the *Washington Times*.

Francis got into trouble after his appearance at a 1994 American Renaissance Conference where he put forth his connection between race and nation, “The civilization that we as whites created in Europe and America could not have developed apart from the genetic endowments of the creating people.” He was first demoted from the *Washington Times*, and then fired after he wrote a column attacking Christian clergy who were seeking to atone for the sin of racism. Francis is now the editor-in-chief of the *Citizens Informer*, the tabloid of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens. His columns have also appeared in the

Finances

Total Revenue by Year

2000: \$3,122,692⁸
1999: \$5,130,821⁹
1998: \$ No information
1997: \$3,952,783¹⁰
1996: \$3,000,945¹¹
1995: \$3,330,443¹²
1994: \$3,347,113¹³
1993: \$3,228,538¹⁴

For 1999, the most recent year for which financial information is available from the IRS, FAIR reported year-end net assets of \$12.5 million [S: 1999 IRS 990, line 21]. The bulk of its income for 1999, \$5.1 million, came in the form of support from contributions and foundation grants (\$4.5 million),¹⁵ the specifics of which are not open to public inspection. However, information from other sources indicates that FAIR received \$275,000 from the Sarah Scaife Foundation in 1999.¹⁶

For the year 2000, the FAIR annual report indicates that 63% of its income came from grants, 24% from contributions from the general public, 12% from investment income, and 1% from other sources. Expenditures for 2000 broke down as public education (21%), media (12%), research and publications (11%), fundraising (11%), field and grassroots organizing (9%), membership education (9%), general management (9%), lobbying (8%), and litigation (3%)—or a breakdown of 20% administrative overhead to 80% program.¹⁷

FAIR's two highest paid employees in 1999 were Executive Director Dan Stein, who received \$219,000 in salary and benefits and Deputy Director K. C. McAlpin, who was paid \$134,000.¹⁸ Program services was the largest area of expenditure in 1999, totaling \$2.8 out of a total of \$3.8 million, broken down as follows: \$853,000 for public education, \$496,000 for membership education and service, \$347,000 for field activism, \$353,000 for publications and research, and \$793,000 for other expenses.¹⁹

Spotlight, the weekly tabloid of the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby and the *New American*, the publication of the John Birch Society.

⁷ FAIR Immigration Report, March 1997

⁸ 2000 FAIR Annual Report, page 37

⁹ 1999 IRS 990, line 12

¹⁰ 1997 IRS 990, line 12

¹¹ 1996 IRS 990, line 12

¹² 1995 IRS 990, line 12

¹³ 1994 IRS 990, line 12

¹⁴ 1993 IRS 990, line 12

¹⁵ 1999 IRS 990, line 1a

¹⁶ Sarah Scaife Foundation Inc., Schedule of Grants, Statement 18

¹⁷ FAIR Annual Report 2000, page 36

¹⁸ 1999 IRS 990, Part V

¹⁹ 1999 IRS 990, line 44 and Part III

In years past a major contributor to FAIR has been the notorious Pioneer Fund (See Profile), an organization known for its support of racist, biological determinist and eugenic research and advocacy. According to the Institute for the Study of Academic Racism, Pioneer had contributed in excess of \$1.2 million to FAIR between the time of its founding and 1996, \$600,000 of which came between 1988 and 1994.²⁰

Activities

As the most visible face of the anti-immigrant movement, FAIR maintains a variety of programs, including the training of citizen activists, informing its membership and the general public on immigration related issues, and encouraging direct lobbying.

One of those lobbying efforts is the Immigration Legislative Network. FAIR notes, "To counter the forces of the special interests that promote mass immigration, FAIR coordinates a vast network of immigration reform activists through the Immigration Legislative Network (ILN). The ILN is FAIR's main tool for organizing and vocalizing in local, state, and national arenas the need for immigration reform. FAIR arms the ILN with timely congressional updates by phone, fax, e-mail, and regular mail. The ILN receives *Action Alerts* containing specific recommendations for furthering the cause of immigration reform including calling or writing Congress, opinion-editorial suggestions for their local newspapers, and talking points for the media. In 2000, ILN *Action Alerts* included calls to action to block illegal alien amnesties and to stop the H-1B bill from increasing the number of imported foreign workers, and information on the positions of all presidential candidates' on immigration."²¹

FAIR also participates in anti-immigrant advertising campaigns. For instance, FAIR lead the way in forming a new coalition after September 11 called "United to Secure America" which launched a series of TV and print ads in Iowa and several other Midwestern cities. The ads feature photos of some of the terrorists in the hijacking of planes that crashed into the World Trade Center on Sept. 11. The ad states that the federal government's immigration system "is too overwhelmed to protect us" and existing laws aren't enforced. The newspaper ad reads: "Call Congress now and demand a reduction in immigration to a number we can safely manage." The group is nothing more than a new façade for FAIR, NumbersUSA, American Immigration Control, and a few other groups.

²⁰ **The Pioneer Fund** was founded in 1937, based on the monetary endowment of Wickliffe P. Draper. Draper started the Fund in order to further his interest and goal of purifying the American gene pool by encouraging the descendants of white colonialists to procreate. Since that time the Pioneer Fund has become a centerpiece in keeping scientific racism alive through allocating grants for pseudo-academic studies. The Pioneer Fund serves as a primary supporter of the eugenics movement and has given it both the space to grow and the chance to politicize its research and theories.

The Fund can also be held partly responsible for the successes of several of its grant recipients. The Fund has given significant amounts of money to the likes of: J. Philippe Rushton who received \$333,405 between 1994-1996, to research such topics as "cranial size and IQ in Asian Americans" and "brain size and cognitive ability: Correlations with age, sex, social class, and race; Roger Pearson who receive \$568,000 between 1981-1991 and \$159,500 between 1994-1996, to help argue that a breeding program be started to save the white race from inferior gene pools.

²¹ FAIR 2000 Annual Report, p. 18.

Like many other anti-immigrant groups, FAIR presents itself as pro-labor and pro-environment. In January 2000, another FAIR umbrella group called "Coalition for the Future of the American Worker" ran ads that blamed layoffs on immigrants. The ads were so factually inaccurate that several Iowa stations pulled the ads.

FAIR has also worked in Iowa with leaders to shape public policy and even met with several African-American congregations to drive the political and racial edge between them and Hispanics.

The organization also provides direct support to grassroots anti-immigrant groups. Between 1993 and 1999 FAIR has provided grants and direct allocations to 12 organizations totaling over \$230,000. In many cases these funds have helped to launch a new grassroots organization that would not otherwise exist. (See: FAIR Grants). Through this distribution of funds, information and technical support FAIR is able to support a range of anti-immigrant strategies, including those of groups like U.S., Inc. and American Patrol, both of which are more closely tied to white nationalist and conspiratorial motivations and strategies.

When Glenn Spencer of American Patrol planned to bring his unguarded hate to Iowa this spring, he revealed that his trip was going to be partially coordinated by FAIR. American Patrol's racist vigilantism hasn't driven away FAIR. FAIR has given Spencer at least \$11,000 in financial support. (See: *CNC Background Brief: American Patrol* for complete details).

FAIR Grants

Border Solutions Task Force:	2,100	<i>Nat. Grassroots Alliance:</i>	5,146
Citizens of Dade County United:	1,000	San Diego Crime Commission:	3,000
Citizen Protection Fund:	3,000	Texans for FAIR Immigration:	2,250
FLLA187 Committee, Inc.:	30,000	The 21st Century Fund:	9,000
Ins. for Development Training:	5,000	<i>U.S., Inc.:</i>	155,000
<i>Midwest Coal. to Reform Immig.:</i>	6,950	<i>Voices of Citizens Together:</i>	11,000
		Total:	233,446 ²²

Who's Who

Board of Directors: Sharon Barnes, *Chairwoman*, Nancy S. Anthony, Henry M. Buhl, Donald A. Collins, Sarah G. Epstein, Otis Graham Jr., Garret Hardin (Board Member Emeritus),* Richard D. Lamm, Stephen B. Swensrud, John Tanton,* Max Thelen Jr., Alan Weeden.²³

National Board of Advisors: Hon. Richard Lamm, Chairman, Duke Austin, Hon. Anthony Beilenson, Hon. Ernani Bernardi, Gwat Bhattacharjie, Gerda Bikales, Hon. Brian Bilbray, Dorothy R. Blair, Edith Blodgett, Frances Burke, Ph.D., Cleveland Chandler, Ph.D., William W. Chip, Esq.,

²² IRS 990s for years 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, & 1999

²³ Fair Letterhead, letter dated Aug. 16, 2001.

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Staff & Spokespersons: Executive Director Dan Stein, Associate Director Jennifer Denson, Associate Director Dave Ray and 22 others.²⁵

²⁴ Fair Letterhead, Aug. 16, 2001

²⁵ 200 FAIR Annual Report, page 38