



Is FAIR Unfair?

The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR)



Howard P. Berkowitz, *National Chair*

Abraham H. Foxman, *National Director*

Glen A. Tobias, *Chair, National Executive Committee*

Peter T. Willner, *Associate National Director and
Director, Development*

Kenneth Jacobson, *Assistant National Director and
Director, International Affairs*

Richard Glovsky, *Chair, National Civil Rights Committee*

Elizabeth J. Coleman, *Director, Civil Rights*

Alan M. Schwartz, *Director, Research and Publications Department*

This report was prepared by
Gerald Baumgarten, *Assistant to the Research Director*

Copies of this report are in the
Rita and Leo Greenland Library and Research Center.

© 2000 Anti-Defamation League

Printed in the United States

All rights reserved

Behind the ad blitz blaming our traffic snarls and crowded classrooms on an influx of immigrants is a loose group of organizations calling itself the Coalition for the Future of the American Worker. In a nationwide attack on immigration, members of the coalition have purchased air time or newspaper space in at least eight states . . . with the aim of convincing voters and their representatives in Congress that immigrants are burdening America. . . . Daniel Stein, executive director of the Washington-based Federation for American Immigration Reform . . . said the group spent “six figures” on the anti-sprawl ads . . .

— **Washington Post**, September 21, 2000

Introduction

John F. Kennedy rightly called America “a nation of immigrants.” This country’s culture and leadership have been immeasurably enriched by immigrants and the children of immigrants, from musicians to scientists to generals to Secretaries of State. Moreover, America has a rich (if blemished) history as a refuge for the persecuted. At the same time, isolationism, a quest for homogeneity and scapegoating of “otherness” also have roots here.

An enduring challenge since America’s founding has been to reconcile two competing imperatives: the welcoming of legal immigrants for economic, social and political reasons, and the need to exercise control over the nation’s borders. These differing goals, both of which are valid and legitimate, resonate in the long running debate between those who favor more restricted immigration and others who believe in a more expansive approach, asserting that the U.S. should remain a safe haven for all those who claim to need one.

Unfortunately, however, there are today, as in the past, some individuals and organizations whose anti-immigration position is marked by mean-spirited distortions, nativist bias, anti-foreigner fear-mongering, and even overt racism. These groups foment an atmosphere chilling to the notion of an open, tolerant America that respects all persons, regardless of origin.

Competition for government benefits, urban overcrowding and cultural tensions have fueled conflicts over immigration for years. More recently, the issue of bringing in

workers from abroad to support a flourishing high-tech economy has focused attention on problems involving American immigration policy. This climate has given rise to myths and misperceptions - such as allegations in a recent ad campaign around the country that immigration is largely responsible for “overpopulation” and suburban sprawl. It is therefore natural for immigrant groups to be asking the question: “How welcome are today’s newcomers into the life of this nation?” It is also timely for ADL to speak out on an issue involving ethnic stereotyping and intergroup conflict.

This report, focusing mainly on the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) — a key member of the nationwide Coalition for the Future of the American Worker— offers a glimpse into how advocacy can cross the line into a divisive and troubling tendency toward scapegoating of the foreign born. This situation bears watching; the growing but still vulnerable immigrant population deserves protection from baseless accusations, distortions and discrimination.

The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR)

The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR),* headquartered in Washington, D.C., describes itself as “a national, non-profit, public interest organization of concerned citizens who share a common belief that the unforeseen mass immigration that has occurred over the last 30 years should not continue.” Its stated goal is “to end illegal immigration” and “to set legal immigration at the lowest feasible levels consistent with the demographic, economic, social, and environmental realities....”

However, in recent years, FAIR has:

- acknowledged and defended having received grants reportedly totaling around \$600,000 from the Pioneer Fund, which has been described by *The New York Times* as having been established for the express purpose of promoting research into eugenics, and which has sponsored projects based on the notion that Blacks are genetically less intelligent than whites.

*FAIR is a 501(c)(3) organization to which contributions are tax-deductible. The group publishes a monthly newsletter, the *FAIR Immigration Report*; a quarterly, the *FAIR Information Exchange*, containing reprints of articles dealing with immigration; and a monograph series titled *FAIR Papers*. It maintains a library of materials on immigration containing books such as “Ten Steps to Ending Illegal Immigration” and “Immigration 2000: The Century of the New American Sweatshop,” and videocassettes such as “BorderLine,” FAIR’s former TV program.

-
- expressed support for an anti-immigration op-ed article by John Tanton, a FAIR founder and board member, in which immigrants were compared to bacteria. (Linda Chavez, a former official of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, has called Tanton's views "anti-Hispanic, anti-Catholic, and not excusable.")
 - reflected hostility toward Hispanics and the Catholic Church when FAIR's executive director, Dan Stein, told an interviewer, "Certainly we would encourage people in other countries to have small families. Otherwise they'll all be coming here, because there's no room at the Vatican... Many [immigrants] hate America, hate everything the United States stands for. Talk to some of these Central Americans."
 - Sponsored a newspaper ad critical of a U. S. Senator's position on immigration legislation, in which a photo of the Senator, who is of Lebanese ancestry, was juxtaposed with one of a notorious Middle East terrorist; the ad suggested that the senator's position would cause Americans to be "needlessly exposed to the threat of terrorism from criminals like Osama bin Laden." The Detroit *Free Press* recently described FAIR's ad campaign regarding the senator (Spencer Abraham, R-MI) as "hysterical rhetoric ... disingenuous and nativistic. It comes perilously close to a smear."
 - expressed approval of China's forced abortion policy (in a column by Ben Wattenberg quoting Dan Stein) as an "international family planning program."
 - Provided a link on its Internet web site to that of the California-based Voice of Citizens Together (VCT), a strident anti-immigration group whose web site has referred to "Mexico's invasion of the United States," and predicted that "California will be taken over by Third World forces, led by Mexico, who have an axe to grind against European Americans."

FAIR'S Background

FAIR's Statement of Principles says that illegal immigration "can and must be substantially reduced by humane measures that are consistent with our democratic ideals." With respect to legal immigration, it has proposed that all admissions to the U.S. of foreign-born individuals come within a single, stable ceiling which is periodically reviewed and immigration laws be enforced with "no favoritism toward or discrimination against any person on the basis of race, color, or national origin." It says that the criteria guiding

the selection of immigrants should include the settlement of “our fair share of refugees,” concerns for reunification of nuclear families, and the nation’s manpower policy.

At the same time, FAIR has proclaimed that the U.S. “should not contribute to a brain drain that entices away the skilled and talented who are desperately needed in their homelands” but rather make greater efforts to encourage population stabilization, economic development, and the alleviation of poverty, “especially in countries of great migration.” In this connection, FAIR has declared: “[T]he era of mass international migration as a solution to national problems has come to an end; problems of poverty and overpopulation must be vigorously confronted where people live, rather than postponing their solution by either the export or the importation of masses of people.”

A 1997 article in the magazine *The Economist* reported that FAIR favors a five-year freeze on most immigration categories other than spouses and minor children of American citizens; an annual limit of 50,000 for refugees; a permanent reduction to 300,000 annually in immigration; and financial requirements for immigrants’ sponsors raised to 200% of the poverty level. In September 1999, FAIR executive director Daniel Stein, appearing on “The McLaughlin Group,” called for “a 50-year breather,” or moratorium, on immigration “to absorb and assimilate the waves that have come.”

Critics of FAIR have accused the group of engaging in old-fashioned nativism and xenophobia in its single-minded pursuit of immigration control, and of using racism to promote its message. In addition, the group has been accused of anti-Hispanic and anti-Catholic bias, based on comments made by some of its leaders. The group has rejected such allegations. Moreover, FAIR has been criticized for accepting financial support of approximately \$600,000 from the Pioneer Fund, a controversial New York-based tax-exempt foundation that has promoted eugenics.** In 1994 Daniel Stein told *The New York Times* that such contributions to FAIR came without any strings attached. More recently Stein said his job was “to get every dime of Pioneer’s money.”

** *The New York Times* profiled the Pioneer Fund in an article in December of 1977. It said the foundation, established in 1937, has supported research by a number of college and university scholars who believe that Blacks are genetically less intelligent than whites. The Fund’s charter proclaims its purpose to be “To conduct or aid in conducting study and research into the problems of heredity and eugenics in the human race generally...and research and study into the problems of human race betterment with special reference to the people of the United States.”

FAIR is led by Daniel Stein, its longtime executive director, who also operates a Web site called the “Stein Report.” In 1988 Stein succeeded Roger Conner, FAIR’s first executive director. Its Board of Directors has included John Tanton of Michigan, an M.D. who was instrumental in establishing FAIR and a group called U.S. English that seeks to make English the official legal language in the U.S.; Garrett Hardin, a biologist associated with the University of California who is a FAIR Board Member Emeritus; and Richard Lamm, a former Governor of Colorado who has served as Chairman of FAIR’s National Board of Advisors, which also has included such public figures as Eugene McCarthy and John V. Lindsay.

“Is FAIR Being Fair?”

FAIR was founded in January 1979 and came to public attention in early 1980 when the *Chicago Tribune* of February 25 published an editorial entitled “Is FAIR being fair?” It noted that, in a lawsuit before a federal court in New York, lawyers for FAIR were demanding that the U.S. Census Bureau be prohibited from counting illegal immigrants in the census. “If the court rules in FAIR’s favor, and if the ruling is upheld on appeal, the census could be seriously delayed,” the paper said. It concluded: “FAIR has a legitimate case for immigration reform. U.S. immigration policy is a mess and enforcement is laughable. But the proper place to argue the case is before Congress and in the capitals of such countries as Mexico, which contribute to the problem. The U.S. Census Bureau...should be allowed to get on with it.”

FAIR’s suit failed to halt the census taking. In December 1980, Denver’s *Rocky Mountain News* reported that Colorado Governor Richard Lamm introduced FAIR’s then-executive director Roger Conner at a Statehouse press conference. Gov. Lamm said he had been searching “for the right forum to raise the immigration issue,” and endorsed FAIR’s goals. The same day, the Denver paper published an ad from FAIR headed “Our Grandparents Came To America To Escape Poverty And Despair. Will Our Children Want To Leave For The Same Reasons?” It stated: “Americans are divided on many issues. But when it comes to limiting immigration, they are nearly unanimous... Unfortunately, our political leaders have not heard this message. That’s why we have organized a national campaign to deliver it to them.”

A subsequent editorial in the rival *Denver Post* took issue with FAIR’s position. It concluded by declaring: “Those of us who got here first are fortunate to live in a nation

that is so attractive to the world's poor, oppressed and dissatisfied. But we wouldn't want to live in a nation that sets unnecessarily strict limits on how many new citizens it is willing to admit."

A Growing Public Profile

FAIR has asserted in many of its public statements that it is neutral and even-handed with regard to immigrants' race and ethnicity. In a May 20, 1981 op-ed column entitled "U.S. Immigration Overload: It Hurts Hispanic Americans Too" in the *Press-Telegram* of Long Beach, California, FAIR's Roger Conner said his group included Hispanic members. He said, "They know that tolerance for illegal immigration is built on the backs of today's Hispanic American workers, who are asked to silently accept unfair job competition with an endless stream of newcomers, eager to work more for less pay." He said that Florida's Cuban American community "has tragically witnessed the effects of immigration overload upon local community relations." Conner concluded by inviting "our fellow Americans of Hispanic descent to join with us in a resolute effort to put illegal immigration behind us, so that we can move on to the unfinished business of building a more equitable society — for all Americans."

A number of distinguished supporters views FAIR as respectable. On February 22, 1982, the *Washington Post* published an ad from FAIR headed "An Open Letter To Congress: It's Time To Do Something About Immigration." It was subheaded "Immigration To The United States Cannot Be Unlimited, and We Can Control Immigration Through Reform Of Our Laws." Its message was: "We must strengthen our basic immigration law by making it direct, simple, and workable. Congress must act in this session." The ad included an unusual array of supporters, among them President Gerald R. Ford, Charlton Heston, Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, retired Generals Maxwell D. Taylor and A.C. Wedemeyer, and Richard D. Lamm. FAIR published a similar open letter in *The New York Times* of May 11, 1982; additional supporters listed included Edward Asner, former Rep. Barbara Jordan, and Claire Booth Luce.

The *Washington Post* profiled FAIR in a November 29, 1983 article entitled "FAIR Leader Fights for Immigration Curbs." The article stated that "FAIR is the only national organization whose sole reason for existence is the promotion of stricter immigration controls." It reported that "FAIR is the brainchild of a trio including John Tanton, a Michigan

surgeon and a former president of Zero Population Growth; Otis Graham, a University of North Carolina history professor; and Sydney Swensrud, a retired chairman of Gulf Oil Corp.” It added: “The three had little in common except a concern about what they considered excessive immigration. They were joined by philanthropists Stewart Mott and Jay Harris and by William Paddock, former dean of the largest agricultural school in Central America.”

The *Washington Post* quoted FAIR executive director Conner on the parameters of the debate, as follows: “‘We wanted to be a catalyst in the movement [to limit immigration], to stay in the boundaries of major progressive democratic values,’ he said. ‘How are we going to do this without bringing the crazies out of the woodwork? Can we do it without people of ill will? Everything we’ve done since then has been evaluated against that. We do not want to tap into the racist, anti-immigrant feelings we all know in this country.’” The *Post* article, however, went on to say:

Despite this effort Conner has become a lightning rod for criticism. A host of adversaries say he has built up FAIR and fed the restrictionist viewpoint on a diet of anti-foreigner fears, on a theme of “us against them.”

“There are three things which you can use to raise money: love, fear and hate. Roger has chosen fear,” said one immigration specialist who asked not to be identified. “‘We have too many people, our borders are being overcome’ – those are all legitimate on the surface by the raw data, but FAIR uses it to make people fearful of foreigners, fearful of change, fearful of new people, essentially, and on that he raises a lot of money.”

“Roger is absolutely not a racist, he is absolutely not antiforeigner, but he uses racism,” the specialist added.

Generating Controversy

In January 1990 *Newsweek* magazine reported that Hispanic groups in Houston, Texas were accusing FAIR of racism. *Newsweek* stated: “The issue: the test-marketing of anti-immigration ads in which actors lament the ‘millions’ of immigrants who could flood into the country if new laws aren’t passed to stop them.” The newsweekly said that

Hispanics were particularly angered by the fact that an Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) official actually appeared at a meeting to promote the ads. The magazine added that the controversy had become so heated that all the radio stations broadcasting the ads pulled them from the air.

In mid 1990 FAIR executive director Dan Stein (who succeeded Conner in 1988) authored an op-ed article entitled “Let’s Not Lift the Floodgates For a Wave of New Immigrants” that was published in *Newsday* of Long Island, N.Y. In it, Stein charged: “A coalition of special interests – cheap labor contractors, immigration lawyers, ethnic advocacy groups and some libertarian think tanks – have been bringing considerable pressure to bear on Congress to expand immigration levels in the United States.” Stein referred to a bill called “The Family Unity and Employment Opportunity Immigration Act of 1990.” He concluded by saying that, “In an era when the American people are becoming increasingly skeptical about the ability of government to promote and guarantee their interests, congressional efforts to reintroduce large-scale immigration further reinforces the feeling that Washington is out of touch with the people.”

In May 1992 New York’s *Newsday* reported on a Roper Organization poll on immigration that was commissioned by FAIR. It said that, according to the results of the Roper poll, most Americans believe that the country lets in too many lawful immigrants a year. The article quoted FAIR’s Dan Stein as saying about the poll: “The results are unequivocal. The American people are unhappy with the current direction of U.S. immigration policy and they want changes.” But, in rebuttal, the *Newsday* article also quoted Reynaldo Guerrerro, Executive Director of the Center for Immigrants’ Rights, as saying: “We know FAIR’s agenda is to restrict and limit immigration. They will do surveys and studies that will substantiate their concerns.”

In January 1994 *The New Republic* magazine published a full-page ad from FAIR headed “Why All Americans Should Support A Moratorium On Immigration.” It stated in part: “Thousands of illegal immigrants enter the country every day — three million illegal entries a year. The law admits more immigrants and other workers than the economy can absorb. Fake documents are easily obtained, providing access to benefits meant for legal residents.” FAIR’s ad went on to charge that “immigration policymakers seem more concerned with pleasing the special interests than doing the will of the people they are elected to serve.”

In a June 11, 1995 opinion-piece in *The Washington Times*, columnist Cal Thomas took issue with FAIR. Stating that Rep. Chris Smith (R.-N.J.) had authored an amendment to the American Overseas Interests Act to restore the Reagan-Bush interpretation of U.S. asylum law – whereby an applicant who could prove he or she had been subjected to forced abortion or sterilization, or had a “well-founded fear” of being subjected to such measures, was eligible for asylum – Thomas said: “Opponents of the Smith amendment, such as the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), an organization with close ties to ... Zero Population Growth, claim that it would make the entire childbearing population of China eligible for asylum in the United States.” “It would not,” Thomas declared. “The amendment clearly states the applicant must not merely ‘claim’ persecution but must support it with proof.”

In the latter part of the 1990s, FAIR spokespersons were increasingly quoted in the media on issues relating to immigration. In a March 14, 1996 *New York Times* article reporting that the United States was undergoing a profound demographic shift fueled by immigration and higher birth rates among Hispanic women, executive director Dan Stein was quoted as saying: “The most important part of the story is that this is happening and no one has asked the country is this what we want. Do we really want another 100 million people?”

On November 8, 1996, *The Washington Post* reported that two conservative think tanks, the Cato Institute and Empower America, praised Alfredo Rascon Velasquez, a Mexican-born hero of Vietnam for having contributed greatly to the nation’s defense, along with other immigrants. The *Post* story also included criticism of the think tanks’ report by FAIR’s executive director. Dan Stein was quoted as saying the report’s sponsors were “fronting for corporations and ethnic lobbies that want both high- and low-skilled cheap labor from abroad.” He added: “Importing a million people every year, half of whom have no occupation at all, just to get a handful of occasional military leaders makes no more sense than buying a haystack to find needles.” In addition, a FAIR statement listed other, less-reputable immigrants.

Stein was also sought out by the media for op-ed pieces pertaining to immigration. In an article in the *New York Daily News* of May 2, 1996 on whether female genital mutilation should be grounds for asylum, Stein declared: “Asylum claimants do not use the front door by which we welcome legal immigrants and refugees. They seek entry through a back door. These uninvited newcomers are not screened, like immigrants, to see if they

pose a health hazard or are likely to permanently burden U.S. taxpayers. Most Americans want the immigration door narrowed, especially against illegal aliens and other uninvited newcomers.” In an article in the *New York Daily News* of October 1, 1996, on whether city workers should report illegal aliens, Stein declared, in the affirmative, that “People who have no legal right to be in the United States should not expect taxpayers to support them.”

Targeting a United States Senator – and Immigrants in General

In January 1997 *The New York Times* reported that, with the retirement of Sen. Alan K. Simpson (R.-Wyo.), one of the Senate’s main advocates of reducing legal immigration, and his replacement as head of the Senate immigration panel by Sen. Spencer Abraham (R.-Mich.), a supporter of legal immigration, efforts to reduce legal immigration would lose impetus in Congress. It quoted Sen. Abraham, a grandson of Lebanese immigrants, as saying: “Legal immigration has been a positive thing and something we must continue to defend.” The article also quoted FAIR’s executive director, Dan Stein, who was described as an advocate of lower legal immigration, as saying: “We’ve made no secret of our displeasure with Abraham. He’s basically for sale to these high-tech companies that want to import cheap programmers and engineers.”

From time to time, rhetoric from those associated with FAIR has crossed a line into stereotyping and innuendo. In March 1997 the *Detroit Free Press* published an op-ed piece by John Tanton entitled “A doctor takes aim at Abraham: Anger over senator’s pro-immigrant stance spurs possible campaign,” in which the FAIR board member compared immigrants to bacteria. Subsequent letters to the editor commented on the benefits of immigrants. One letter was from FAIR’s Stein, who declared: “Sen. Spencer Abraham and the Free Press are firm proponents of the notion that immigration is inherently positive, in spite of evidence that it is causing enormous social, cultural and economic stress in many parts of the United States.” Stein concluded: “A policy that is largely designed to perpetuate endless chains of relatives of other recent immigrants does not serve any national interest. It does not select people based on their ability to contribute economically and, as the numbers grow, impedes the assimilation process.”

In April 1997 the *New York Daily News* reported that thousands of immigrants marched in the nation’s capital to protest new welfare restrictions, charging that they unfairly target newcomers to the country. The article included a quote from FAIR’s Stein. He said the march was “eroding the public’s already eroded views on the value of immi-

gration” and asked: “What is the purpose, if it produces a steady stream of immigrants clamoring for benefits?” In the July 18 issue of *Forward*, an Anglo-Jewish weekly, Ira Mehlman, FAIR’s Director of Communications, was quoted in defense of his group’s position on immigration: “We like to think we handle this issue responsibly. People on the other side of the issue automatically want to equate any criticism of our immigration policy with hostility toward immigrants. I don’t think you can tar everybody with the same brush.”

FAIR and Population Control: Accusations of Racism

In October 1997 FAIR was put on the defensive. In an op-ed piece in *The Wall Street Journal*, Tucker Carlson, a staff writer for the conservative magazine *The Weekly Standard*, noted that, in the debate over immigration policy, no single group has received more attention than FAIR, whose supporters have included *National Review* magazine, Richard Lamm, Pat Buchanan, and Eugene McCarthy. He went on to note the influence on FAIR’s thinking of Garrett Hardin, whom he identified as the author of a 1960 polemic against population growth and Americans’ “freedom to breed.” He quoted Hardin as having said that feeding starving Africans will only “encourage population growth.” He also charged that Hardin had supported China’s coercive population control programs and was in favor of infanticide as “an effective population control.”

Carlson moreover said that Stein did not flinch when confronted with Hardin’s long-standing support of eugenics, saying: “What is your problem with that? Should we be subsidizing people with low IQs to have as many children as possible, and not subsidizing those with high ones?” He noted that, several years ago, FAIR was forced to defend itself against charges of racism when it was revealed that the organization had received more than \$600,000 from the Pioneer Fund, a foundation established in 1937 to support “research in heredity and eugenics.” Carlson said that although Stein has sought to downplay the Pioneer Fund’s “nasty reputation,” — saying “My job is to get every dime of Pioneer’s money” — “an unpleasant odor remained.”

Carlson added that FAIR also has been accused of hostility toward Hispanics and the Catholic Church. He quoted Stein as telling him: “Certainly we would encourage people in other countries to have small families. Otherwise they’ll all be coming here, because there’s no room at the Vatican.” He further quoted Stein as saying that

“Immigrants don’t come all church-loving, freedom-loving, God-fearing. Some of them firmly believe in socialist or redistributionist ideas. Many of them hate America, hate everything the United States stands for. Talk to some of these Central Americans.” Carlson concluded his critical article by asking whether conservatives who embrace FAIR “know all they should about the object of their affections?”

In April 1998 an article in the New York-based Anglo-Jewish newspaper *Forward* noted that then CNN “Crossfire” co-host Pat Buchanan was joined by FAIR’s Dan Stein to press the case for members of the Sierra Club to favor lobbying to limit population growth by curbing immigration, thus allegedly reducing the drain on America’s natural resources. The article said that FAIR was one of the groups that helped get the measure on Sierra Club ballots to members, and noted that John Tanton was a former Sierra Club activist. In connection with Tanton, it mentioned that Linda Chavez, a former Bush Administration official, had resigned from the board of U.S. English, calling Tanton’s views “anti-Hispanic, anti-Catholic, and not excusable.”

FAIR Renews Its Campaign Against Senator Abraham

In April 1999 FAIR renewed its campaign in Michigan against Sen. Spencer Abraham with an ad in *The Grand Rapids Press* headed “Why Is a U.S. Senator Trying to Make It Easy for Osama bin Laden to Export Terrorism to the U.S.?” The controversial ad showed a picture of Sen. Abraham, alongside which was a photograph of Osama bin Laden, identified as an “International Terrorist.” It charged that, “Senator Abraham, as chairman of the Senate immigration subcommittee, has already delayed – and is trying to kill – Section 110 of the 1996 immigration reform law which would help protect America from terrorists by requiring the INS to know when foreign visitors who enter our country on temporary visas fail to leave.” It added that, “Without the basic border security Section 110 provides, U.S. citizens are needlessly exposed to the threat of terrorism from criminals like Osama bin Laden.”

The ad, which cited two examples of terrorism, both from Middle East sources, went on to proclaim that “The 70,000 supporters of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) urge their United States Senators and Representatives to insist that the INS implement Section 110 without further delay.” It concluded by stating that, “If a preventable terrorist attack occurs inside the U.S., FAIR and the American people will hold you accountable.”

More recently, both the Michigan Catholic Conference and the Jewish Community Council in Detroit have urged radio and TV stations not to air FAIR's ads. FAIR's executive director defended his group's messages as "First Amendment-protected grass-roots ads."

Condemnation of FAIR by Conservative Columnists

"Potomac Watch" columnist Paul A. Gigot, writing in *The Wall Street Journal* of March 31, 2000, in an article headed "Mainstream Left Is Silent About Nativist Right," took note of the FAIR ads with side-by-side photos of Sen. Abraham and Osama bin Laden. Stating that the "only link" between the Senator and bin Laden is "Arab ethnicity," Gigot characterized FAIR as "a group of population-control zealots whose goal is no immigration at all."

Syndicated columnist Ben Wattenberg, writing in *The Washington Times* of April 20, in an article headed "FAIR Unfair to Abraham," took note of the anti-Abraham campaign in Michigan, characterizing FAIR as "a curious organization with a mainstream front but a sometimes seamy history and curious allies on both the racist right and the hard-green left."

Wattenberg went on to quote from "a paper trail of FAIR's history":

A 1988 Associated Press story quotes Dr. Tanton saying that too many new American immigrants are Roman Catholic. FAIR board member and environmental guru Garrett Hardin favors infanticide to reduce population... He thinks the forced abortion law in China is "not strict enough," while Mr. [Dan] Stein describes it as an "international family planning program." FAIR has received millions from the Pioneer Fund, which backs studies in eugenics and comparative racial intelligence.

Lawmakers Charge FAIR with 'Smear Campaign'

On April 19, 2000, 16 Republican Senators sent a letter to colleagues in support of Senator Abraham, charging that FAIR was "engaging in a smear campaign against immigrants in general and one of our colleagues in particular." The open letter stated: "One of the great privileges of being an American is the right to say things that are stupid and even

offensive; FAIR is clearly exercising that right. However, other Americans, even U.S. senators, have an equal right — indeed, responsibility — to speak out in response. Accordingly, we strongly condemn and reject this sort of smear campaign and urge all of our colleagues, regardless of party, to do the same. FAIR’s venom may be able to go uncensored, but it should never go uncensored or uncondemned.”

Earlier, on April 14, commenting on former Sen. Alan Simpson’s resignation from its board, FAIR acknowledged to the Associated Press that his “concern was that we did not treat Senator Abraham with proper respect in our advertisements in Michigan.” FAIR said that it respected his decision and appreciated his years of service to the group.

In a letter published in *The Washington Post* of May 29, 2000, FAIR’s Dan Stein defended the group’s position: “FAIR opposes foreign guest worker programs and has used paid advertisements as a way of raising awareness of [proposed] legislation.” He added that FAIR’s legislative ad campaign opposing more guest workers was not encouraged or endorsed by either political party.

The Controversy Goes On

In June 2000, in an article in *The New Republic* on the “guest-worker problem,” writer John B. Judis criticized “the nativist organization FAIR, which has run ugly ads against [Sen.] Abraham in Michigan impugning his Arab heritage.” In July, in a letter to the magazine, FAIR’s executive director denied that his group’s ads, “which have been run intermittently in Michigan since mid-March, ever mentioned Abraham’s, or anyone else’s, ethnicity.” In the same issue, Judis responded by referring back to the 1999 FAIR ad. He said: “The despicable implication was clear: Abraham, an Arab-American, wanted to repeal the provision in order to protect his terrorist kinfolk.”

This prompted yet another letter to *The New Republic* by Stein. He stated that “FAIR has far-reaching expertise in the importance of land border-crossing issues, yet Judis dismisses our concerns as nothing but a smoke screen for a concern about Abraham’s ethnic background.” Judis replied to the charge by stating: “I did not dismiss FAIR’s concern about [immigrant] workers. I criticized the organization for attempting to discredit Senator Spencer Abraham’s views on immigration by impugning his ethnic heritage. In a full-page ad that was also used as a fund-raising letter, FAIR displayed Abraham’s picture

next to Osama bin Laden's and used the text and headline to draw a connection between Abraham's proposal and two other Arab terrorists."

Conclusion

FAIR's activities in support of immigration control have been characterized by some political observers as promoting nativism and xenophobia, and critics have accused FAIR of using racial innuendo to promote its message. Other critics have accused FAIR of being anti-Hispanic and anti-Catholic, based on the comments of some of the group's leaders. Such charges have been rejected by FAIR.

FAIR opened itself to such criticism with unretracted offensive statements by several FAIR leaders, and by its willing acceptance of financial support from the Pioneer Fund, a controversial foundation with a tainted history that was established to promote the discredited "science" of eugenics, and that continues to financially support questionable research into the comparative intelligence of ethnic minorities.

Immigration is, to be sure, a legitimate policy issue. Unfortunately, FAIR and other anti-immigrant groups have used reckless, distorted language and tactics that cloud and inhibit responsible debate.

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

NATIONAL OFFICE (webmaster@adl.org) 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017	(212) 885-7700
WASHINGTON OFFICE 1100 Connecticut Avenue, NW (Suite 1020), Washington, DC 20036 (natlgov@adl.org)	(202) 452-8320
REGIONAL OFFICES	
ALBUQUERQUE P.O. Box 21639, Albuquerque, NM 87154 (new-mexico@adl.org)	(505) 823-2712
ARIZONA The First Interstate Tower, 3550 North Central Avenue (Suite 914), Phoenix, AZ 85012 (arizona@adl.org)	(602) 274-0991
ATLANTA (Southeast) One Securities Centre, 3490 Piedmont Road NE (Suite 610), Atlanta, GA 30305 (atlanta@adl.org)	(404) 262-3470
BOSTON (New England) 126 High Street, 4th Floor, Boston, MA 02110 (boston@adl.org)	(617) 457-8800
CHICAGO (Greater Chicago/Upper Midwest) 309 West Washington (Suite 750), Chicago, IL 60606 (chicago@adl.org)	(312) 782-5080
CLEVELAND (Ohio/Kentucky/Allegheny) 505 Terminal Tower, Cleveland, OH 44113 (cleveland@adl.org)	(216) 579-9600
CONNECTICUT 345 Whitney Avenue, New Haven, CT 06511 (connecticut@adl.org)	(203) 772-1300
DALLAS (North Texas/Oklahoma) 12800 Hillcrest Road (Suite 219), Dallas, TX 75230 (dallas@adl.org)	(972) 960-0342
DC (District of Columbia/Maryland/Virginia/North Carolina) 1100 Connecticut Avenue, NW (Suite 1020), Washington, DC 20036 (washington-dc@adl.org)	(202) 452-8310
DENVER (Mountain States) 1120 Lincoln Street (Suite 1301), Denver, CO 80203-2136 (denver@adl.org)	(303) 830-7177
DETROIT (Michigan) 4000 Town Center (Suite 420), Southfield, MI 48075-1402 (detroit@adl.org)	(248) 355-3730
HOUSTON (Southwest) 4635 Southwest Freeway (Suite 400), Houston, TX 77027 (houston@adl.org)	(713) 627-3490
LAS VEGAS 1050 East Flamingo Road (Suite N339), Las Vegas, NV 89119 (las-vegas@adl.org)	(702) 862-8600
LONG ISLAND 6800 Jericho Turnpike, Suite 112W, Syosset, NY 11791 (long-island@adl.org)	(516) 496-0328
LOS ANGELES (Pacific Southwest) 10495 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA 90025 (los-angeles@adl.org)	(310) 446-8000
SATELLITE OFFICE	
SAN FERNANDO VALLEY, 22622 Vanowen Street, West Hills, CA 91307 (san-fernando-valley@adl.org)	(818) 464-3220
MIAMI (Florida) 2 South Biscayne Boulevard (Suite 2650), Miami, FL 33131-1802 (miami@adl.org)	(305) 373-6306
SATELLITE OFFICE	
BROWARD COUNTY, 1 Financial Plaza (Suite 2600), Fort Lauderdale, FL 33394 (broward-county@adl.org)	(954) 779-3090
NEW JERSEY 743 Northfield Avenue, West Orange, NJ 07052 (new-jersey@adl.org)	(973) 669-9700
NEW ORLEANS (South Central) 925 Common Street (Suite 975), New Orleans, LA 70112 (new-orleans@adl.org)	(504) 522-9534
NEW YORK (all of New York State except Long Island) 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017 (new-york@adl.org)	(212) 885-7970
OMAHA (Plains States) 333 South 132nd Street, Omaha, NE 68154 (omaha@adl.org)	(402) 333-1303
ORANGE COUNTY/LONG BEACH 959 South Coast Drive (Suite 374), Costa Mesa, CA 92626 (orange-county@adl.org)	(714) 979-4733
PALM BEACH COUNTY The Commerce Center, 324 Datura Street (Suite 223), West Palm Beach, FL 33401 (palm-beach-county@adl.org)	(561) 832-7144
PHILADELPHIA (Eastern Pennsylvania/Delaware) One Penn Center, 1617 John F. Kennedy Blvd. (Suite 1160), Philadelphia, PA 19103 (philadelphia@adl.org)	(215) 568-2223
SAN DIEGO 7851 Mission Center Court (Suite 320), San Diego, CA 92108 (san-diego@adl.org)	(619) 293-3770
SAN FRANCISCO (Central Pacific) 720 Market Street (Suite 800), San Francisco, CA 94102-2501 (san-francisco@adl.org)	(415) 981-3500
SEATTLE (Pacific Northwest) Plaza 600 Building (Suite 720), 600 Stewart Street, Seattle, WA 98101 (seattle@adl.org)	(206) 448-5349
ST. LOUIS (Missouri/Southern Illinois) 10420 Old Olive, Suite 208, St. Louis, MO 63141 (st-louis@adl.org)	(314) 432-6868
OFFICES OUTSIDE THE U.S.	
JERUSALEM 21 Jabotinsky Street, Jerusalem, Israel 92141 (adl@netvision.net.il)	011-972-2-566-7741
VIENNA Spiegelgasse 21/14, A-1010 Vienna, Austria (lauder.adl.vienna@netway.at)	011-43-1-513-7772
CANADA	
Cooperative Association with the League for Human Rights of Canadian B'nai Brith 15 Hove Street (Suite 210), Downsview, Ontario, Canada, M3H 4Y8 (league@bnairbrith.ca)	(416) 633-6224



Anti-Defamation League, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017 www.adl.org