

## IMMIGRATION IMPACT SURVEY Concord, Massachusetts Area

Dear

Enclosed is a confidential survey to determine your awareness of the impact that the **substantially increasing levels of immigration** projected for your area may have on you, as a Concord resident, in the near future. For example:

- Have you been fully apprised of the dramatic increases in immigration levels that have been approved by Congress, and how it may affect your community?
- Have you been made aware of what percentage of your local taxes is slated to finance bilingual education and other support services and programs for immigrants and non-U.S. citizens?
- Were you aware that Massachusetts is now subject to a law requiring the printing of voting ballots in foreign languages? Were you given the opportunity to vote on this?
- Are you concerned about what the statistical increase in crime associated with the growing immigration rates may mean to the Concord area?

The rapid influx of immigration has already severely impacted educational facilities, social services, welfare rolls, Social Security and Medicare costs, tax bases, crime rates, property values and job opportunities in many regions of the country.

Population and sociological impact projections suggest that the state of Massachusetts, and the Concord area in particular, could soon be dramatically affected even more by these increases in immigration levels. We are sending you this survey to determine if you have been fully apprised of this potential impact and determine your candid views toward it.

**YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE KEPT STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.** So please take a moment to answer and return this important Immigration Impact Survey within the next 72 hours.

What prompted this survey project is that, with little fanfare, Congress has approved the most open, unrestricted immigration policy in U.S. history. As a result, immigrants, legal and illegal, are now coming into the United States in record numbers — at the rate of up to 10,000 a day.

(over, please...)

Many of the decisions to lower the immigration threshold and open the doors to virtually unrestricted immigration have been made behind closed doors, under intense political pressure, without openly informing the voting public about the impact of these decisions.

We are, therefore, mounting a campaign to urge our government to engage in **open debate and full disclosure** of the present and future impact of immigration on local communities across the nation.

The timing of the enclosed Immigration Impact Survey is intentionally aimed to coincide with the beginning of the 2000 presidential election year: the politicians are looking to the voters right now to determine their positions on this sensitive question. That is why we believe your immediate answers can have a direct, lasting impact on this issue. And it is why I want to urge you to please respond to this survey and return it within the next 72 hours.

We will release the results of this survey to newspapers, TV and radio stations across America; we will make it available to every candidate running for office; we will deliver the results directly to the Senators and Congressmen on Capitol Hill; we will make sure news programs, talk-shows and interview programs across the country receive a copy. In short we will make this an issue that can no longer be ignored, deflected or dismissed with vague answers and short-term solutions. Our primary tool for doing so is this enclosed Immigration Impact Survey.

So please — fill out your survey and return it immediately. And at the same time, let me urge you to please include a contribution of \$15, \$25, \$100 or whatever you can afford to help support this campaign to reform America's immigration policy.

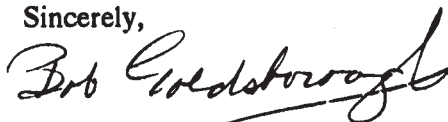
AIC is totally citizen-supported. We do not have the backing of any interest group, lobbying organization or foreign government. Our entire financial support for this effort must come from individual Americans such as yourself.

So please send what you can. Even just a \$10 contribution will be extremely helpful. But if you can send more -- \$15, \$25, \$50, \$100 or more -- please do so, because there is reason to believe that if we present a strong, united voice, there is hope for relief.

Over the past few years, for example, serious bi-partisan proposals to slow immigration and restore traditional guidelines have come from a few patriotic members of Congress. But so far, the political will has not been there to institute real change. As a result, since 1970 the percent of immigrant vs. native-born Americans has doubled; and from 1990 to 1994 as many immigrants came to the U.S. as in the entire decade of the 1970s.

Whether this is a good or bad policy should not be determined behind closed doors. It should be openly and honestly debated, discussed and decided by the American people. So please return your Immigration Impact Survey, and include the most generous contribution you can afford -- \$15, \$25, \$50, \$100 or more -- to help sustain this important project in democracy.

Sincerely,



Bob Goldsborough, President

## IMMIGRATION FACT SHEET

In 1965, President Johnson quietly signed into law the "Immigration Reform Act" which overturned America's traditional immigration policy and replaced it with the most liberal, "easy-access" immigration policy in our history. As a result, nearly one million immigrants now legally enter our country each year, plus unknown, but large, numbers of illegal aliens. Opinions differ as to whether this is good for America. But all agree that, this massive influx of unrestricted immigration is radically changing America in almost every way. Yet the politicians have yet to seriously address the issue of immigration policy and its ramifications for the future of this country.

American Immigration Control (AIC) is widely recognized as the leading organization in the country working to make the politicians face honestly and openly the full impact and consequences of their "open immigration" policy — some of which include:

**Ethnic balance.** U.S. Census projections indicate that if we stay on our current course, within 50 years our population will nearly double; non-Hispanic whites will account for barely half of all residents; and English will no longer be our clear, predominant language.

**Taxes.** Services for immigrants, legal and illegal, cost taxpayers a record \$68 billion per year.

**Schools.** Bilingual education doubles the cost of alien schooling, with schooling of immigrants costing an average of 90% more per family. And classes are swollen to where, in some parts of the country, they would need to build a *new school a day* just to keep up with the influx of immigrants.

**English language.** The use of English as America's primary language is under assault — with everything from drivers' licenses, voting ballots and even citizenship ceremonies now being offered in dozens of foreign languages.

**Cultural identity.** Our pride in America's heroes, history and achievements is being undermined and replaced with an ethic of political correctness, self-criticism and the view of America as an "oppressor nation".

**Social Security and Medicare.** 400,000 foreigners now collect SSI benefits from the Social Security Administration without having to work *one day* in America. And immigrants get Medicaid benefits 64% more often than native Americans.

**Jobs.** Cuban-born economics professor George Borjas shows that immigration costs U.S.-born workers \$133 BILLION a year in job losses.

**Crime.** Over 25% of today's Federal prisoners are immigrants. And in some areas, 12% of felonies, 25% of burglaries and 34% of auto thefts are committed by illegal aliens.

Continue on Reverse...

**Welfare.** Immigrants are 50% more likely to get welfare than natives — with a full 75% being more likely to get food stamps, medical benefits and housing assistance. *Non-citizens* now collect nearly \$7 BILLION a year in benefits.

**Overcrowding.** Two-thirds of our population growth is due to immigration. And our cities, schools, highways, national parks, beaches, natural resources, even our water supply are all already straining under the mounting pressure.

How many of these problems have yet to manifest themselves in your community? How concerned are you that your area will be adversely affected by the decisions the politicians are making — without your knowledge and approval — regarding this highly controversial issue?

Our generous immigration policy encourages foreigners to exploit every loophole to get in. For example, more and more pregnant women sneak across the border so their babies will be legal citizens and open the door to their families. Some even “rent” children as passports into America. And elderly relatives of immigrants are brought in to take advantage of our Social Security, literally using America as a free deluxe retirement plan for the Third World.

Most of the policies that have allowed for these practices have been put in place behind closed doors with little if any public debate or exposure.

If you would like to participate in this campaign to openly debate and reform our nation’s immigration policy, please participate in the enclosed Immigration Impact Survey and return it immediately to:

American Immigration Control, N.C.  
PO Box 98274  
Washington, DC 20090-8274  
(202) 543-3719

A copy of the latest Financial Report and Registration filed by this organization may be obtained by contacting us at: 738 Main Street, Monterey, VA 24465, 540-468-2023 or by contacting any of these state agencies: **FLORIDA** - A COPY OF THE OFFICIAL REGISTRATION AND FINANCIAL INFORMATION MAY BE OBTAINED FROM THE DIVISION OF CONSUMER SERVICES BY CALLING TOLL-FREE, 1-800-435-7352, WITHIN THE STATE. REGISTRATION DOES NOT IMPLY ENDORSEMENT, APPROVAL, OR RECOMMENDATION BY THE STATE. **Mississippi** - The official registration and financial information of American Immigration Control, N.C. may be obtained from the Mississippi Secretary of State’s office by calling 1-888-236-6167. Registration by the Secretary of State does not imply endorsement. **New Jersey** - INFORMATION FILED WITH THE ATTORNEY GENERAL CONCERNING THIS CHARITABLE SOLICITATION MAY BE OBTAINED FROM THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY BY CALLING (201) 504-6215. REGISTRATION WITH THE ATTORNEY GENERAL DOES NOT IMPLY ENDORSEMENT. **North Carolina** - **Financial information about this organization and a copy of its license are available from the State Solicitation Licensing Branch at 919-807-2214. The license is not an endorsement by the state.** **Pennsylvania** - The official registration and financial information for American Immigration Control, NC, registered office 333 E. Six Forks Road, Suite 170, Raleigh, NC 27609, may be obtained from the Pennsylvania Department of State by calling toll-free, with-in Pennsylvania, 1-800-732-0999. Registration does not imply endorsement. **Virginia** - State Department of Consumer Affairs, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Services, PO Box 1163, Richmond, VA 23218. **WEST VIRGINIA** - Residents may obtain a summary from the Secretary of State, State Capitol, Charleston, WV 25305.



NOV 02 2001

EDWARD NELSON  
CHAIRMAN

Dear Border Control Member:

For the first time in several years, I am confident that real immigration reform is finally within our grasp, but I need your help right now to ensure we succeed.

It is upsetting that it took the death of six thousand Americans, brutally murdered by terrorists, to make our Congress focus on the open borders and lax immigration policies that made it so easy for the terrorists to sneak into our country and then blend into our society as they prepared for their attack on our nation.

But Congress has finally opened its eyes and is looking for answers. While we have their attention, you and I must do everything in our power to see that America regains control of her borders and passes the many reform measures that have been ignored or defeated by Congress, year after year.

We must do this to memorialize all those who died at the World Trade Center, the Pentagon and those brave passengers who gave their lives fighting to prevent a fourth plane from attacking the Capitol or the White House.

Our government has a lot to make up for and a lot of work to do to restore our nation's security and the confidence of its citizens. We have an agenda already prepared for them. We know what needs to be done and we are wasting no time in letting them know.

But we can take nothing for granted. Don't forget that in the weeks preceding the attack, Congress was debating a massive amnesty for illegal aliens; Mexico's President had been demanding we give Mexican trucks unlimited access to every corner of our country; Congress was voting a six-fold increase in our bilingual education budget; and the INS had announced that we were going to allow unemployed H-1B foreign workers to remain in the country, violating their own rules that such workers must leave the country immediately.

All of this can change right now. But it is not guaranteed. The same powerful forces that brought us to this sorry state are still there and are as dangerous as ever.

\*\*The high tech industry is in serious financial trouble. And they will fight for their "right" to import cheap foreign labor instead of hiring Americans.

\*\* Mexico will continue to demand that we treat all the Mexicans who illegally migrate here as citizens and lavish them with all of our welfare benefits.

\*\* The huge Agri-business farms will send their lobbyists to argue they cannot bring their crops to market without using illegal migrant farm workers.

But, for the first time, they might not get their way. The spotlight is now focused on our border and immigration policies -- and most people are shocked at what they are discovering.

This is our chance to:

- \*\* impose major fines on employers of illegal aliens.
- \*\* impose major fines and imprisonment on alien smugglers.
- \*\* fingerprint and deport all illegal aliens.
- \*\* enforce all citizenship requirements.
- \*\* end automatic citizenship for the children of illegal aliens.
- \*\* make English the official language of the United States.
- \*\* defend our borders and control immigration.
- \*\* prevent aliens from voting in our elections.
- \*\* allow the military to assist the Border Patrol.
- \*\* empower local law enforcement agencies to arrest illegal aliens.

2002 could well be the year when we finally get the opportunity to enact many of these urgently needed reforms and that is why I hope you will stay with us as we battle to save our language, our culture and our American way of life from being overwhelmed by uncontrolled immigration.

How can you help? By renewing your membership in U.S. Border Control today. As you may already know, we rely solely upon the support we receive from individual members like you for everything we do.

Your contribution keeps our doors open, our website online, our lobbyists lobbying and our lawyers litigating for immigration reform. In short, your contribution ensures that your opinion will be heard, loud and strong, in Washington and in state capitals.

In order to do the job, we need you working with us, signing and mailing your postcards, sending email letters and writing letters to your local newspaper's editors.

Please renew today to ensure we have the money to do our job and to take advantage of this climate where Congress is suddenly anxious to solve our nation's border and immigration problems.

Thank you again for your continued support.

Sincerely,



Edward I. Nelson  
Chairman

P.S. We really need your support right now. Your contribution today will help us achieve much of what we have been working for these many years. Please try to be as generous as you can.

P.P.S. Renew now with a contribution of \$25 or more to get all of our wonderful benefits that will easily save you more than your membership dues the first time you use them. (see enclosed flyer).

# Secondary Source Materials

*(Materials about the anti-immigrant Right)*

# Eye on the Border

## CBS distorts picture of Mexican immigrants

By *Melanie Loun*

As George W. Bush arrived in Mexico in February to meet with new Mexican president Vicente Fox, **CBS Nightly News** dedicated an “Eye on America” segment (2/15/01) to the “nearly suicidal desperation” of Mexicans crossing illegally into California.

The report described the life-threatening hazards faced by illegal immigrants who cross the Mexico/California border by way of the severely polluted New River—“a sewer, really,” as correspondent Jerry Bowen explains. Agents of the Border Patrol marvel at the danger and filth of the river passage. “To me, it was unimaginable that somebody would jump in sewage and come north,” says Border Patrol agent Manuel Figueroa. “But people do it.” Fellow agent Harold Beasley notes, “We don’t want our officers going into that river because every disease known to man is there.”

The viewer is left wondering why anyone would risk contamination, disease and one’s life to cross the border. What reasons do immigrants give? **CBS** never explains, and no immigrants are asked.

### “Murky as the Rio Grande”

**CBS News** returns regularly to border issues, running eight segments in 2000, including four for “Eye on America.” Unfortunately, its sensationalized coverage largely overlooks the immigrant perspective. When **CBS** goes to the border, the dominant theme is that desperate and dangerous immigrants are inexplicably driven to imperil themselves, and U.S. residents and law enforcement along with them.

In February 2000, FAIR protested an “Eye on America” segment that seemed to sanction vigilante violence against immigrants (Action Alert, 2/25/00). Introduced by Dan Rather as “an in-depth report from the front lines of this country’s losing battle against unlawful immigration,” the piece profiled a

Texas rancher under investigation for allegedly shooting two Mexican immigrants in separate incidents.

Rather and correspondent Bob McNamara repeatedly invoked military images—referring to the area as a “border battleground,” and immigrants as “an army of invaders.” The segment provided no dissent from the dangerous implication that violence against illegal immigrants might be justified, instead ending with McNamara’s claim that the border is “a land where the line between right and wrong can often be as murky as the Rio Grande River.”

By contrast, other major networks covering border vigilantism seemed to have no problem finding condemnation of violence. In a May 28, 2000 **NBC Nightly News** story, correspondent Jim Cummins reported, “The Mexican government is outraged with American ranchers taking the law into their own hands.” In the same broadcast, Mexican foreign minister Rosario Green commented, “It is a fact that Mexicans are being chased like animals,” and then–secretary of state Madeleine Albright declared, “I think that it’s very important that it be totally clear that vigilante justice is unacceptable.”

**CBS News** relies frequently on Border Patrol sources, but it was **ABC (World News Tonight, 5/14/00)** that quoted one of the Patrol’s top officials, David Aguilar, saying, “We do not advocate, support or condone anybody, any civilian taking the law, any law, into their own hands.”

### NAFTA? What’s that?

Of the 32 sources included in **CBS’s** eight segments, eleven were Border Patrol agents. By contrast, only two immigrants were interviewed with translation; and only one of these two was identified. Two immigrant advocates (a civil rights attorney and a representative of the American Friends Service Committee) presented what

might be called an immigrant perspective, and two Mexican consuls made brief statements. These people made some critical points, but with the exception of the attorney, who participated in a debate, their statements were brief and reactive, never providing the main focus or starting point for a story.

The dreadful risk of the journey from Mexico to the U.S. was a recurrent theme. But with little attention to the views of immigrants or their advocates, **CBS** gave viewers slight insight into what might motivate people to undertake it. Bob McNamara (9/13/00) did refer to the “ghosts of hunger and hard times,” and Sandra Hughes (6/29/00) to the “grinding poverty” that pushes immigrants out of Mexico; what’s missing was discussion of the other part of the equation: the U.S. businesses that employ illegal immigrants.

One of the two immigrant advocate sources featured, Roberto Martinez of the American Friends Service Committee, broached the issue, telling **CBS Evening News** (7/23/00): “They’re willing to risk their lives to get jobs here because, let’s face it, here they can make \$5 or \$6 an hour, where in Mexico, they only earn maybe \$3 or \$4 a day.” But that’s as far as **CBS** goes.

Nor do any of **CBS’s** border segments address the impact of NAFTA, which promised to reduce migration from Mexico. Many believe the effect has been just the opposite, that the “trade pact has driven large numbers of [Mexican] farmers, small-business owners and laborers out of work,” as the **San Francisco Chronicle** reported (10/15/98). “These people are left with few options but to seek a better life in the United States.”

Forecasted Mexican jobs have not materialized, and U.S. employers seeking low-wage workers have shown themselves impervious to fines levied on them for hiring undocumented immigrants. Any serious consideration of



border issues would have to address this economic context, yet aside from frequent references to immigrants' "desperation," economics are mostly missing from CBS border reporting.

#### Deadly Gatekeeper

Despite returning several times to the "danger and chaos along the U.S.-Mexico border" (6/6/00), CBS News doesn't really engage head-on the main fact of that story: the impact of Operation Gatekeeper, a Clinton administration border strategy that many say has been nothing short of disastrous.

Begun in 1994, Gatekeeper greatly increased Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) presence along the border near San Diego. The ostensible objective was to discourage illegal border crossing, but instead illegal immigration shifted to more dangerous regions—towards the California and Arizona deserts. This shift has proved deadly: Reported immigrant deaths rose from 23 in 1994 to 145 in 1999 (*Foreign Affairs*, 9/00), and increased a further 57 percent in 2000 (*L.A. Times*, 11/2/00).

Operation Gatekeeper has been linked to so many deaths and charges of abuse that in February 1999 the ACLU of San Diego and Imperial Counties and the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation filed a petition with the Organization of American States, accusing the U.S. government of human rights violations.

Likewise, U.N. human rights commissioner Mary Robinson criticized U.S. policy after visiting the Tijuana border in November 1999, charging that Gatekeeper is "deflecting people at risk to their lives when they decide to immigrate." In March 2000, the U.S.

division of Amnesty International cited "credible evidence that persons detained by the INS have been subjected to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, including beatings, sexual assault, denial of medical attention, and denial of food, water and warmth."

#### Threats make news

CBS sometimes seemed to acknowledge Gatekeeper's impact, stating in one segment (6/29/00) that "immigrants take the dangerous routes to avoid beefed-up security in other areas of the 2,000 mile border." On other occasions, though, this view is presented as just an opinion, as when McNamara (9/13/00) said that "some Mexican officials say" the Border Patrol's tougher policies are "a reason more illegals are drowning."

Sandra Hughes concluded a heart-rending segment about families dying in 110 degree heat (*CBS Morning News*, 8/10/00) by saying, "Critics claim INS policy blocking other sections of the border pushes people into this dangerous desert." But she continues, "Border officials deny that, blaming the smugglers for the new human pipeline that leaves agents to search for those who disregard the law and take their chances crossing the desert."

Ironically, the closest CBS came to a real discussion of questions of abuse against immigrants was in a debate occasioned by threats against the U.S. Border Patrol. A June 6, 2000 episode of the *Early Show* addressed the threat, made by a Mexican group called the Citizens Defense Committee, to kill Border Patrol agents found on the "wrong side of the border." The group claimed this was in response to killings of immigrants by federal agents and landowners. The *Early Show* featured the president of the National Border Patrol Council, T.J. Bonner, who called charges of abuse "totally unfounded," and civil rights attorney Ray Gill, who retorted: "There have been a number of abuses. There have been deaths; a recent shooting in Brownsville of an unarmed immigrant by a Border Patrol agent."

In addition to the *Early Show*, the Citizens Defense Committee's call for violence against the Border Patrol was the hook for segments on CBS

*Morning News* and *CBS Evening News* that day. CBS has yet to devote a news segment to any of the charges of abuse by the Border Patrol.

CBS News' most recent look on border issues—the segment on the New River cited above (2/15/01)—represented little advance by the network. It's unfortunately typical in that immigrants do not speak but are spoken about, and in terms that make them sound barely human, as when an unnamed Border Patrol agent says, "When we apprehend them, we're basically handling them like they're contaminated because of the chemicals in there. We try to send them back to Mexico as quickly as possible."

As with previous reports, the motives of those crossing the border, their economic and political situation, and the U.S. role, were not explored. Careful viewers might even note that two of the taped comments in the February 2001 piece—from Border Patrol agents Manuel Figueroa and Harold Beasley—are the exact same clips CBS aired on July 23, 2000. Evidently, for CBS, it's the same old story. ■

*Melanie Lown is a senior at Sarah Lawrence College and a FAIR intern.*

#### Intern Applications

FAIR's internship application forms

are available by writing to:

FAIR Internships

130 West 25th Street, New York, NY 10001

[www.fair.org/internships.html](http://www.fair.org/internships.html)

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# Anatomy of the English-Only Movement

*By James Crawford*

This article is available online at:  
<http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/jWCRAWFORD/anatomy.htm>

excerpts from

## Right-wing politics and the anti-immigration cause.

by Sara Diamond

### Organizing Against Immigrants

During the 1980s, a small number of right-wing intellectuals devoted themselves to developing anti-immigration arguments. At the same time, two national lobbying organizations kept the issue alive for a larger constituency: those who subscribed to right-wing magazines and, therefore, also received direct mailings from the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and the American Immigration Control Foundation (AICF). Only in the 1990s did scores of small grass-roots organizations mobilize, mostly in California and other border states, to fight local campaigns against immigrants.

Before immigration became a hot issue, and while most of the Right was fixated on the Communist “menace” abroad, the leading promoters of anti-immigration thinking were the self-identified “paleoconservatives” (Diamond, 1995). The paleoconservatives were a group of intellectuals who viewed themselves as heirs to the Old Right, from the decades before the Cold War, when rightists advocated a non-interventionist role for the state in foreign affairs and the capitalist economy, combined with a “traditionalist” view of society as inherently unequal and undemocratic: Paleoconservatives, joined by Patrick Buchanan, opposed U.S. participation in United Nations-conducted wars (e.g., Iraq, 1991). They also opposed any kind of civil rights legislation to achieve racial and gender equality. While most right-wing activists of the 1980s, including Patrick Buchanan, were busy aiding and abetting anticommunist “freedom fighters” in Central America and elsewhere, the paleoconservatives fought a polemical campaign against their chief nemeses, the Cold War liberals, who by the 1980s

had become neoconservatives and who, despite the rest of their reactionary agenda, nevertheless viewed the United States as ideally an ethnically pluralistic society.

Unlike the libertarians who viewed lax immigration policies as a boon to employers of cheap labor, the paleoconservatives rejected economic arguments, one way or another, on immigration. The organizational headquarters for the paleoconservatives was the Illinois-based Rockford Institute, publisher of the monthly *Chronicles of Culture* magazine. This was the outlet to follow on the immigration issue during the 1980s. The paleoconservatives ignored the question of whether “illegal” immigrants take jobs away from U.S. citizens and instead focused on the threat to cultural homogeneity posed by the influx of nonwhite immigrant groups. In a decade’s worth of articles, the paleoconservatives argued that ethnicity, not a shared belief in core American values, was what gave the nation its identity. Some of the *Chronicles* writers went further, claiming that liberal elites sought to use large numbers of immigrants from Third World countries to increase the power of the state, by creating a new “underclass” and increased social problems — crime, illiteracy, and interethnic conflict — that only a New Class of elite bureaucrats would then be able to solve (Francis, 1995).

The focus on cultural homogeneity was central to early anti-immigrant activity. The most successful project was U.S. English, which sponsored state ballot initiatives to outlaw the use of languages other than English in the public realm. U.S. English began as a Washington, D.C., lobby founded by California’s retired U.S. Senator S.I. Hayakawa in 1983 (Crawford, 1992: 4). U.S. English seized on local conflicts brewing, especially in Southern California, over bilingual education and the rise of an Asian immigrant merchant class. (Many Chinese and Korean store owners posted signs only in their native languages.) Hayakawa’s group organized meetings in Anglo-dominated areas to suggest an action plan for white citizens worried about the growth of communities of color in their neighborhoods. Then in 1986 California’s Proposition 63, an Official English amendment to the state constitution, was approved by 73% of California voters (Ibid.: 15-16). Thereafter, Official English bills

were introduced in the legislatures of 37 states, and by 1990, 17 states had passed laws or constitutional amendments declaring English their official language (Ibid.: 16).

In reality, the Official English measures were largely symbolic and advisory, with virtually no impact on policy. What caught the attention of politicians was the broad popularity of what were, essentially, public referenda on the supremacy of Anglo culture.

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## Racial Reconciliation

There were anecdotal reports that some of the Proposition 187 signature gathering took place in evangelical churches. There was a common misperception that the initiative drew strong support from the organized Christian Right. The evidence shows the opposite. In fact, it is safe to say that anti-immigrant activism in California and elsewhere would have been much more widespread and more virulent were it not for the Christian Right's relative neglect of the immigration issue. Because the Christian Right was incorrectly perceived to be organized around explicitly racist policy goals, progressive activists assumed heavy Christian Right involvement in the pro-187 campaign. Here is what actually happened.

Toward the end of the fall 1994 campaign season, a number of California-based Christian Right groups and media outlets endorsed Proposition 187 among their lists of voting recommendations. Yet there was no high-profile, concerted effort to win support for the initiative. In the months leading up to the election, two articles in favor of fighting “illegal” immigration appeared in the bimonthly newspaper of the California Republican Assembly, which is an organization of state GOP activists from every legislative district. For the past several years, CRA has been dominated by Christian Right activists and political candidates. It is an agenda-setting apparatus for the movement's work in electoral politics, yet it gave little official support for Proposition 187.

This was also true for the two major national Christian Right organizations, Focus on the Family and the Christian Coalition.

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Despite the Christian Coalition's eagerness to be involved in all forms of electoral politics, the organization issued no position, pro or con, on Proposition 187. The Coalition's California director, Sara Divito Hardman, acknowledged in an interview with *Christianity Today* magazine that “most of our members were definitely in support of it,” but, she said, as a matter of legality, not morality (Zipperer, 1995: 42).

If we assume that most Christian Right constituents voted, along with a majority of California voters, in favor of Proposition 187, we must wonder why the movement's leading organizations have remained conspicuously inattentive to the anti-immigration cause. The answer has to do with the ways in which the anti-immigration issue poses liabilities for the rest of the Christian Right's agenda. Coinciding with the formation of dozens of small anti-immigration activist groups, the Christian Right grew in scope and influence as the only truly mass-based social movement on the Right and as a major faction of the Republican Party. Rooted in the evangelical subculture, the organized Christian Right was responsive to trends underway within the churches. Beginning in the late 1980s and early 1990s, one of these trends was called “racial reconciliation” (Diamond, 1994a). It was a drive led by white evangelical clergy to publicly repent for decades of institutional racism, the kind that led to the formation of racially segregated Baptist and Pentecostal churches in the first place.

During the 1990s, the evangelical press was full of reportage on interracial church events and editorials on the need to break down racial barriers and to build a more ethnically diverse body of believers. The National Association of Evangelicals and other prominent organizations built new, multiethnic church associations. Most of this activity went unreported by the mainstream press, perhaps because it challenged prevailing stereotypes linking “fundamentalists” to old-fashioned racial bigotry.

For Christian Right activists, racial reconciliation within the churches coincided with an imperative to defy the image that the Right is monolithically racist. Christian Right leaders saw conservative people of color as an untapped

source of new members, new allies, and new voters. The Reverend Louis Sheldon mobilized African American pastors to lobby for the confirmation of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas in 1991. Other prominent conservatives of color were useful spokespeople against the extension of civil rights protections for gays and lesbians. Just as a minority of people of color began to voice opposition to affirmative action policies, it became obvious that many people of color held conservative views on a range of social policy issues. In the fall of 1993, the Christian Coalition released the results of a poll it commissioned showing that large percentages of African Americans and Latinos opposed abortion, gay rights, welfare, and affirmative action. The validity of the poll data was dubious, but the purpose was clear. Christian Coalition executive director Ralph Reed pledged that his movement would no longer “concede the minority community to the political left,” and he announced that the Coalition would begin recruiting from within Black and Latino churches.

In recent years, the Coalition and other major Christian Right groups have invited prominent conservatives of color to speak at their conferences. This move looks like blatant tokenism, and it is. Few people of color are active within the Christian Right. But the racial reconciliation strategy has the potential to grow beyond rhetoric, to involve people of color in leadership roles.

Leaders of the Christian Right understood the changing ethnic composition of the United States, and they saw that recent Latino immigrants were responsible for impressive growth in many evangelical churches (Tapia, 1995). Many people in the Christian Right have backgrounds in foreign missionary work. They are not interested in working for the economic interests of people of color, but they see them more as potential converts than as adversaries.

Here we see a split between two camps of rightists. Short-term opportunists, such as Governor Pete Wilson, use anti-immigrant themes to win support from fearful white voters. More farsighted pragmatists, such as Christian Right strategists, want to make common cause with conservative people of color. The pragmatists wish to claim to represent a majority of Americans. They

seek to organize winning electoral coalitions around issues of traditional “morality,” not around overt race-baiting.

This divergence of opinion among rightists was reflected in the limited debate that took place regarding Proposition 187. At the height of the campaign, when polls showed the initiative headed for victory, a major Republican think tank publicized its opposition. Empower America was founded by Jack Kemp, William Bennett, Jeane Kirkpatrick, and former Congress member Vin Weber on the heels of the 1992 presidential elections. Their goal was to solidify and represent a bloc of Republicans committed to Reaganite foreign, economic, and social policies, but opposed to the kind of ultra-nationalist rhetoric espoused by Patrick Buchanan (Diamond, 1993).

In 1994, Empower America tried to exert leadership on the immigration issue. Weeks before the election, Bennett and Kemp released a statement, summarized in a *Wall Street Journal* op-ed piece, calling on Republicans to retreat from a crusade against immigration. Bennett and Kemp stressed their support for curbing illegal immigration using existing laws. Yet they worried that “the legitimate concerns about illegal immigrants are broadening into an ugly antipathy toward all immigrants” (Bennett and Kemp, 1994). They argued that immigrants are a “net positive gain economically,” and that immigrants come to the United States with the kind of “impressive energy and entrepreneurial spirit” and “a deeply rooted religious faith” that makes them ideal future citizens (Ibid.).

The nub of Bennett and Kemp’s statement was that the anti-immigration cause, “perceived to bring short-term political advantage,” was actually in the longer term “a loser for the GOP.” They argued that the Republicans risked turning away potential new voters among growing Asian and Hispanic populations, nationwide and especially in California. Moreover, they argued that since immigration is opposed strongly by African Americans, unionists, and environmentalists — all key constituencies for the Democratic Party — the GOP ought to encourage the Democrats to be the ones associated with hostility toward new immigrants, while Republicans ought to “welcome” them (Bennett and Kemp, 1994). They

cited an article in the Heritage Foundation's *Policy Review* magazine (Fall 1994) in which businessman and one-time California gubernatorial candidate Ron Unz argued that "if used properly, immigration could serve as the issue that breaks the Democratic Party and forges a new and dominant conservative/Republican governing coalition" (Unz, 1994: 37).

The Bennett-Kemp statement received minimal play in the mainstream press, which was focused on reporting poll data showing Proposition 187 beaded for a big victory. On the Right, the Bennett-Kemp statement went over like a lead balloon. *Human Events* newspaper reported that California Republicans were "furious" and determined to sink any hopes Kemp had of running for president (Human Events, 1994). *National Review* magazine responded with a cover article, "Why Kemp and Bennett Are Wrong on Immigration." In it, William F. Buckley, Jr., acknowledged that with California's growing Asian and Hispanic populations, initiatives such as 187 could "evolve into massive anti-GOP resentments by the majority of Californians." Yet Buckley supported the proposition on grounds that Californians should not have to pay for social services for immigrants (Buckley, 1994: 78).

*National Review* editor John O'Sullivan, like the paleoconservative writers who had spent years

honing anti-immigration arguments, tried to shift the debate away from either economic or electoral considerations. The issue for O'Sullivan boiled down to a single theme: for too long, liberals have claimed that America is an idea, rather than a nation, and that what unifies Americans are not blood ties, but ideals of liberty and equality. For O'Sullivan the reverse was true. What unifies and ought to unify the nation is a shared (Anglo) ethnicity and culture. To link national identity to a philosophy of cultural pluralism is, O'Sullivan wrote, to strengthen the welfare state, particularly in its role as distributor of benefits to particular aggrieved groups (O'Sullivan, 1994: 36-45, 76).

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SARA DIAMOND has written about right-wing social movements for many years. She is the author of *Roads to Dominion: Right-Wing Movements and Political Power in the United States* (Guilford Press, 1995); *Facing the Wrath: Confronting the Right in Dangerous Times* (Common Courage Press, 1996); and *Spiritual Warfare: The Politics of the Christian Right* (South End Press, 1989).

These excerpts reprinted with permission of *Social Justice: A Journal of Crime, Conflict, and World Order*. A complete version of the article, including footnotes and references, first appeared in the Fall 1996 issue of the Journal. *Social Justice*, Fall 1996, vol. 23, no.3, p.154(15).

## Further Secondary Sources

Of the many valuable articles on the anti-immigrant Right, only a few have been reprinted here. In light of the abundance of resources now available on the Internet, we point you to our website, [www.publiceye.org](http://www.publiceye.org), where we have a frequently updated listing of these materials. Please see our links to online resources and articles at [www.publiceye.org/ark/immigrants/im\\_main.html](http://www.publiceye.org/ark/immigrants/im_main.html). The following is an annotated listing of some particularly useful online materials and other selected print and video resources.

### Selected Online Resources

(see our website, listed above, for links to the following articles)

**Martin A. Lee. (2001). "Apocalypse Again: White Supremacist Numbers Game." *San Francisco Bay Guardian*, January 2.**

Lee describes how White supremacists are rallying around the year 2050, when non-Latino Whites are predicted to be a minority in the United States, to incite anti-immigrant sentiment. Even as these groups have sought to recast themselves in less explicitly racist terms, they have participated in a sustained attack against immigrants.

**Syd Linsley. (2000). "Gendered Assaults: The Attack on Immigrant Women." *DifferenTakes*, no. 6, Fall.**

This article documents the attacks on immigrant women's reproductive rights as one part of the larger anti-immigrant movement. It connects population control arguments of this movement with legislation that has restricted immigrant women and children's access to welfare, health care and other public benefits.

**Syd Linsley. (2001). "The Greening of Hate Continues." *Political Environment*, no. 8, Winter/Spring.**

One in a series of reports on the anti-immigrant "environmental" movement, this issue includes sidebars on the funding sources of this movement and on an anti-immigrant group's success in convincing environmental organizations to sign onto its position.

**José Palafox. (2000). "Arizona Border: Immigration Tensions Bring Out the Worst and the Best in Human Nature." *borderlines UPDATER*, July 7.**

Looking at the vigilante activities of ranchers who have targeted undocumented immigrants crossing their lands, Palafox analyzes the complicity of anti-immigrant organizations, local authorities and the INS in the violence and scapegoating that these ranchers have promoted.

**Southern Poverty Law Center. (2001). "Blood on the Border." *Intelligence Report*, Spring, Issue 101.**

This article covers the recent activities and campaigns of local and national anti-immigrant groups on the border and across the nation, with a focus on these groups' ties to racist and White supremacist ideologies and organizations.

**Cathi Tactaquin. (1998). "The Greening of the Anti-Immigrant Agenda: Stopping Immigration to 'Save the Environment.'" *Network News*, Spring.**

This article provides a good introduction to how some population control theories have been used to promote immigration restriction. It focuses on the historical origins of these theories and points out the racism evident in their application.

### Further Reading

**Grace Chang. (2000). *Disposable Domestic: Immigrant Women Workers in the Global Economy*. Boston: South End Press.**

A comprehensive examination of the indispensable role of immigrant women in a globalized economy with special emphasis on the impact of structural adjustments through the World Bank on the international migration of working women.

***ColorLines*, a publication of the Applied Research Center, [www.arc.org](http://www.arc.org).**

This quarterly magazine is an excellent source of analysis and resources on racism and organizing for racial justice in the United States and internationally. The Spring 2002 issue examines "Race after 9/11"

and includes “The War at Home,” by Jane Bai and Eric Tang. This article looks at the increasing connections between the struggles for immigrant rights and racial justice, especially since September 11.

**National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights. (2001).** *From the Borderline to the Colorline: A Report on Anti-Immigrant Racism in the United States.* Prepared for the UN Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance.

This special report provides an in-depth picture of the nature of anti-immigrant racism in the United States today. These articles detail key issues impacting immigrant and refugee communities—from trafficking, enforcement, and detention centers, to policy, legislation, and social rights.

**José Palafox, guest ed. (2001).** “Gatekeeper’s State: Immigration and Boundary Policing in an Era of Globalization.” *Social Justice: A Journal of Crime, Conflict and World Order*, issue 84, vol. 28, no. 2.

This special issue focuses on how the policing the U.S.-Mexican border affects both undocumented migrants and the well-being of all U.S. citizens. Authors draw connections among militarization of the border, modern economic policies, and the realities of Mexican migrant labor life.

**Juan Perea. (1997).** *Immigrants Out! The New Nativism and the Anti-Immigrant Impulse in the United States.* New York: New York University Press.

Perea has collected over a dozen authors who reflect on the history of anti-immigrant sentiment and some current examples of nativist and nationalist thinking. Chapter topics range from the symbolism of the Statue of Liberty to an analysis of how racism and sexism impact anti-immigrant feelings.

**Jael Silliman and Ynestra King. (1999).** *Dangerous Intersections: Feminist Perspectives on Population, Environment, and Development.* Boston: South End Press.

This anthology brings together some of the best thinking of feminist scholars who challenge the assumption that population growth is the major reason for environmental destruction. By examining the role of global markets and international attitudes

about social justice for women, the book offers insights into population control policy worldwide.

## Videos

**Sasha Khoka, Ula Nilsen, Jon Fromer and Francisco Herrera. (2001).** *Uprooted: Refugees of the Global Economy*, (28 Min.) National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights.

Uprooted tells three stories of immigrants from the Philippines, Bolivia and Haiti who have been forced to leave their homes as the result of policies of the International Monetary Fund and U.S. corporations.

**Casey Peek and José Palafox. (2001).** *The New World Border*, (28 Min.) Peek Media.

This video documents increased tensions and human rights violations along the U.S.-Mexico border as a result of U.S. policies, such as Operation Gatekeeper, “free trade” agreements, and anti-immigrant organizing. It also describes a vibrant community that has sought to protect immigrants’ civil and human rights.