

Hostile Takeover:

Race, Immigration and the Sierra Club

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The mission of the Center for New Community is to build justice, community and equality. The Center's Building Democracy Initiative works to counter emerging threats to civil and human rights.

Hostile Takeover:

Race, Immigration and the Sierra Club

By the Center for New Community

The Sierra Club is faced with the nightmare scenario of democratically structured private groups: the threat of a hostile takeover by well-organized outsiders with an ideological axe to grind.

Founded in 1892 by wilderness visionary John Muir, himself an immigrant, the Sierra Club is the oldest environmental organization in America. It is also the largest, one of the best known, and arguably one of the most effective, groups in the country. In recent years, however, the Club—as insiders call it—has been deeply torn by the repeated attempts of anti-immigration ideologues to redirect the organization to better match their own agenda. The clash between the anti-immigrationists and the more broadly-based leadership will come to a head in March 2004.

The openness and internal democracy of the Sierra Club is a prized and fiercely defended heritage; the Club is grounded in an organizational culture of volunteer participation and democratic elections. In fact, the organizational bylaws specify *any member*, even the most recent, is eligible to run as a “petition candidate” for the Board of Directors, provided only that he or she meets the appropriate filing deadline and collects a few hundred signatures. Candidates need not document any previous participation in nor service to the Sierra Club to be eligible to run. Such a commitment to openness and democratic process is laudable, and speaks to a certain organizational self-confidence and faith in the membership. And yet, such openness also makes the Club extraordinarily vulnerable.

A group of high-profile candidates, backed by organizations with agendas very different from that of the Sierra Club, could in theory take control of the Board of Directors—and thereby the organization, its budget, policies, name recognition and membership machinery.

Unfortunately for the Club, such a take-over attempt is now more than a theory. A Sierra Club faction known as SUSPS (formerly known as Sierrans for U.S. Population Stabilization), strongly backed by outside anti-immigration groups, has already managed to bring three anti-immigrationists—Doug Lafollette, Ben Zuckerman and Paul Watson—onto the 15-member board in the 2002 and 2003 elections. These three, along with their allies, already control a third of the board. If three more anti-immigration directors are elected to the Board in 2004, the SUSPS faction will have gained effective control of the

national organization. The consequences of a takeover, likely disastrous for the unity and credibility of the Sierra Club, would also have broader implications.

Immigration and the shifting demographics that go with it are likely to be *the* political issue of the coming decades. The contemporary anti-immigration movement has two principal wings: those who come primarily from a “population control” background, and those whose main motivation is a nativism which often shades over to racial nationalism.¹ The two wings come together in various organizations, including those backing SUSPS and its efforts to stack the Sierra Club board with anti-immigration directors.

Meet the Candidates

On the surface at least, the three principle SUSPS/anti-immigration candidates for the Sierra Club board are very respectable people. They are firmly associated with the population control wing of the movement, and are passionate about these issues precisely because they see population as the irreducible key to sustainability. Their records of public service and professional accomplishment are outstanding. Richard D. Lamm is the former Democratic governor of Colorado; Frank Morris is a former director of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation; David Pimentel is professor of Insect Ecology and Agricultural Sciences at Cornell University. Linking men such as these, with their top shelf mainstream credentials, to a radical nativist and often racist political movement should give us pause, and not only because SUSPS leaders have been rehearsing charges of McCarthyism and political correctness for months. The charges are serious, the stakes are high, and it is important to specify the *nature of the connections* of these men—and the SUSPS-supported board members already in place—to the larger anti-immigration movement, including its white nationalist wing. All three men have one thing in common: they are outsiders to the Sierra Club,² candidates who have apparently been recruited by SUSPS as well-credentialed, ideologically sympathetic outsiders willing to push the anti-immigration agenda on the Club’s board.

Richard Lamm

Lamm is a career politician, the governor of Colorado from 1975 to 1987, and before that a Colorado State legislator. Currently he is the co-director of the Center for Public Policy and Contemporary Issues at the University of Denver. Lamm is a well-published author and a careful thinker. His books include, among others, the widely-distributed *The Immigration Time Bomb: The Fragmenting of America*, with Gary Imhoff (Dutton and Company, 1985). He is the recipient of numerous honors such as the *Christian Science Monitor’s* Peace 2020 award and his position on the board of the Conservation Foundation. However, Sierra candidate Lamm fails to mention some of his more dubious relations on his candidate’s web page.³

In response to a question about other organizational affiliations on the Sierra Club’s candidate form, Lamm writes: “Federation for American Immigration Reform. I was a Board member for 18 years, since its inception. I am no longer an officer or Board member.”⁴ He omits this bit of history from his website and also fails to mention that he is listed on the FAIR website as the current Chairman of the National Board of Advisors.⁵

Nowhere does Mr. Lamm mention that he sits on the Advisory Board of Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS) where, not incidentally, recently-elected Sierra Club Board Member Ben Zuckerman is Vice-President. CAPS is an organization which has recently been supported by the Pioneer Fund, a foundation that specializes in funding “science” dedicated to demonstrating white intellectual and

moral superiority.⁶ Lamm's writings have also appeared in the pages of the social science journal *Population and Environment*, and the journal of opinion, *The Social Contract*.

These particular journals are of interest for the kinds of articles they publish, as well as for who runs them. The former journal is currently edited by Kevin MacDonald, a California State University, Long Beach professor of psychology who has written a book detailing an "evolutionary" explanation for anti-Semitism. Its former editor—during the period when Lamm's three articles were published—was Virginia Abernethy, another academic closely associated with racist and white nationalist ideas. The latter journal, *The Social Contract* (TSC), has published or re-printed (with permissions) at least ten articles by the Governor, including the complete text of a letter he received, allegedly from an impoverished Bangladeshi student begging for his help in immigrating to the United States, along with Lamm's response. In said response Lamm patiently explains that however moved by the appeal and impressed by its author, he must stand on principle—namely that there are already too many people in the United States and we don't want any more.⁷

Though Lamm's *Social Contract* articles are not bigoted in tone or content, the number of publications and reprints he has in this relatively obscure organ suggests a close and friendly relationship with its principals. TSC, like so many other anti-immigration efforts, was founded (and for many years edited) by fellow FAIR board member John Tanton. Though typically very careful with his language, Tanton once wondered aloud in a memo to other anti-immigrant activists if: "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? Why don't non-Hispanic Whites have a group identity, as do Blacks, Jews, Hispanics?"⁸ And Tanton commented, regarding the fertility of non-white immigrants versus white Americans: "Can homo contraceptivus compete with homo progenitiva if borders aren't controlled? Or is advice to limit ones family simply advice to move over and let someone else with greater reproductive powers occupy the space?"⁹

This is the same Tanton whom Lamm quotes approvingly in another TSC article from 1994, writing—somewhat quixotically—"As John Tanton has observed: 'The age of migration is coming to an end.'"¹⁰ Lamm's association with TSC has continued past Tanton's tenure to that of current editor, Wayne Lutton.

Lutton, a long-time Tanton collaborator, has strong connections to contemporary racist and white nationalist organizations. A central figure in the hardcore end of the movement, Lutton sits on the board of the New Century Foundation, which publishes the racist magazine *American Renaissance*,¹¹ and on the editorial advisory board of the *Citizens Observer*, the newspaper of the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), the largest, most influential openly racist group in the country.¹² He is also on the advisory board of *Occidental Quarterly* (along with both Virginia Abernethy and Kevin MacDonald), a recently-founded racist scholarly journal.¹³ In the concluding words to a 1994 speech to an American Renaissance conference, Lutton said: "Well, we all know what needs to be done. But as Madison Grant observed in 1924, Americans have as yet only an imperfectly developed national consciousness. They lack the instinct of self-preservation, in a racial sense, and unless such an instinct develops their race will perish, as do all organisms that disregard this primary law of nature."¹⁴

Should a man of Richard Lamm's public stature be held accountable for the political views of the people who edit the journals where his writings are published? The question is symptomatic because it goes to the matter of a very special kind of "tolerance": the evident tolerance of the "population control" wing of the anti-immigration movement for the racism and bigotry of their colleagues in the nativist/white

nationalist wing of the movement. The attitude would seem to be *anything goes—so long as they are against immigrants*. The point here is not to say that Lamm would agree with Lutton's views on race. The point is rather that a man who is so narrowly focused on immigration and population issues that he is willing to maintain a strong and cordial professional relationship with editors whose views do not differ substantially from David Duke's on issues of race, may not be an ideal choice for Sierra Club board.

David Pimentel

Many of the points made about former governor Lamm also apply to Professor Pimentel. To call this Ivy League professor's professional record distinguished is to understate the point. With hundreds of scientific publications to his credit and a widely acknowledged expertise on the subjects of agriculture and pest-control, this is a man of obvious intelligence and deep commitment to environmental causes. Unfortunately, this does not make him immune to questionable politics and troublesome alliances.

Like Lamm, Prof. Pimentel lists in his election biography a number of organizational affiliations and service positions, including a national board position with the Audubon Society and the American Institute of Biological Sciences.

Like Lamm he also leaves out a point or two of concern, namely that he also sits on the board of directors of the Carrying Capacity Network (CCN).¹⁵

No organization has been more closely linked to the population reduction wing of the anti-immigration movement than CCN, and not-so-ironically CCN also serves as a bridge to the nativist/white nationalist wing of the movement in the person of board president Virginia Abernethy.¹⁶ While CCN itself is focused on population and immigration, the organization's self-positioning goes well beyond a concern with the disproportionate consumption of Americans. A recap of its policy positions on the organizational website states: "Most of America's main problems—from traffic, to classroom crowding, to pollution, depletion, welfare dependency, increasing taxes, and cultural fragmentation, have deep roots in our unsustainable population growth. Because of that, CCN focuses on stabilizing our population. We are even willing to face the awkward demographic fact that immigration is the cause of most of our recent growth (at current rates, immigration will cause about 80% of our growth as we double in an estimated 50 years or so)."¹⁷

But veiled references to "cultural fragmentation" are a far cry from the ideas expressed by the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), namely that minorities are turning the U.S. population into a "slimy brown mass of glop"—a process likened to "genocide."¹⁸ Abernethy is intensely involved with this organization. All of the CCC's core issues are racially charged: official recognition of Confederate battle flags, preserving monuments to the Confederacy, attacks against non-white immigration and the undermining of affirmative action. As founder Robert Patterson wrote in the group's flagship publication, the *Citizens Informer*, "Western civilization with all its might and glory would never have achieved its greatness without the directing hand of God and the creative genius of the white race." He continued, "Any effort to destroy the race by a mixture of black blood is an effort to destroy Western civilization itself."¹⁹ Abernethy sits on the editorial advisory committee of this publication, contributes articles, and attends conferences.²⁰

Nor is Abernethy the only extremist on the CCN board, which includes only five others besides candidate Pimentel. Another of Professor Pimentel's co-directors is Louis T. March. Like Abernethy, March is a supporter of the Council of Conservative Citizens, and sits on the executive committee of its North Carolina chapter.²¹ March's extreme, xenophobic views are documented in two short books,

Immigration and the End of Self-Government (Raleigh, North Carolina: Representative Government Press, 1999) and *The Great Betrayal: The Elite's War on Middle America* (Raleigh, North Carolina: Representative Government Press, 1995), with Brent Nelson.

Among the gems of wisdom in the former text is the statement: "In 1965, Congress overturned America's historically restrictive immigration policies with passage of the Immigration Reform Act. Signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson, the Act eliminated the national origins quota system. That system had preserved our country's ethnic composition by limiting immigration from each country according to that group's proportion of the U.S. population."²² And again: "The most serious flaws of current immigration policy are its lax enforcement and anti-European bias, which have allowed a peaceful penetration of the U.S. from throughout the world."²³

The latter work tells us that "Third World colonization of the U.S. is well under way. The English language and American culture are under unremitting multiculturalist attack."²⁴ And just in case we had any lingering doubts about his essentialist, biological determinist view of life, March tells us, "Those few women who may have benefited from Affirmative Action, mostly of the Hillary Rodham and Janet Reno ilk, are far outweighed by the millions of working women who find that the significant men in their lives can no longer provide enough for them and their families. Not just the traditional male role but also the natural (sociobiological) male role has been destroyed."²⁵

These are the views and affiliations of two of only six total board members, including the board president Abernethy. Is Professor Pimentel responsible for the views of his CCN colleagues? The question is far from idle, because though there is no evidence that Pimentel's own views are racist, it is quite clear that his views on population reduction and immigration "reform" are quite congenial to the extreme nativists and white nationalists he sits beside. CCN is the nexus of a handful of outside anti-immigration organizations with intricately overlapping leaderships that seem to be influencing the Sierra takeover effort.

Besides Pimentel, fellow board candidate Frank Morris is on the CCN's advisory board, as is current anti-immigration Sierra Club board member Doug LaFollette. Pimentel and Morris reverse roles with the Diversity Alliance for a Sustainable America (DASA), where Morris is a board member and Pimentel, along with Lamm, are on the advisory board.

Frank Morris

All of this brings us to the third SUSPS–supported outside candidate, Frank Morris. The erstwhile executive director of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Morris is another very smart, very credible candidate. He is an African-American with a Ph.D. from MIT and any charge of racial bigotry is liable to shatter on this man's credentials. His candidate biography even cites a strong commitment to issues of environmental justice.

Yet Morris' biography, like Lamm's and Pimentel's, seems to leave off a couple of key points. While Morris mentions his involvement with the Diversity Alliance for a Sustainable America²⁶ and his awards from the NAACP, he neglects to mention that he serves on the board of directors of the Center for Immigration Studies, a group that was spun off of FAIR to serve as a respectable research front. As previously mentioned, he also serves on the advisory board of the Carrying Capacity Network.

It would, of course, be absurd to suggest that Morris's involvement with CCN is motivated by white supremacy. But just as intelligence and commitment are no guarantees against a politics that lends itself to nativist and/or xenophobic themes, neither is race. None of these three men, in fact, has said or

done anything that reflects the kinds of extremist views held by their close colleagues. Yet the very leadership of the population control organizations that connect them—Virginia Abernethy, Louis T. March, Wayne Lutton and John Tanton—do hold and actively work to promulgate such views. And it is these organizations that have, over a period of years, first coveted and now orchestrated a bid to take control of the Sierra Club with its long and proud tradition of environmental advocacy.

The Take-Over Campaign

John Tanton himself, the godfather of the anti-immigration movement, has roots in the Sierra Club. From 1971 to 1975, he was chairman of Sierra's National Population Committee. Increasingly dissatisfied with the stance of traditional environmental and population control groups such as Zero Population Growth (where he was president from 1975 to 1977), Tanton began to establish his own organizations in the late 1970s, focused on controlling population by stopping immigration. These organizations include FAIR, the Center for Immigration Studies, U.S. English, and the journal *The Social Contract*. Yet for all of his organization founding, Tanton continued to covet influence inside the Sierra Club. As he wrote in a 1986 memo to fellow anti-immigrationists, correctly predicting an ugly future, "The Sierra Club may not want to touch the immigration issue, but the immigration issue is going to touch the Sierra Club!"²⁷

However, it was only in the 1990s as the anti-immigration movement continued to grow, spurred by the efforts of well-funded activists, highly visible political campaigns such as California's Proposition 187, and the changing demographics of the nation, that the struggle over immigration policy did touch the Club. In 1996, in accordance with the vital observation that *at root, population is a global rather than national problem*, the Sierra Club's national board issued a statement that it would take no stand on U.S. immigration as an organization. This took place only after activists aligned with the Federation for American Immigration Reform, backed by John Tanton, began to agitate for a more explicit anti-immigration policy from the Club.

In 1997 anti-immigration activists inside the Sierra Club, led by Alan Kuper, the chair of the Ohio chapter's Population-Environment committee and one of the original leaders of SUSPS, pushed the issue to a membership vote. The vote occurred in early 1998 and 60% of Sierra's membership rejected the anti-immigration proposal put forward by the anti-immigration faction in favor of a board-sponsored alternative. The board language approved by the membership reaffirmed that the Sierra Club would take no position on immigration and added that population expansion was a global problem that needed to be addressed globally, through policies that empower women and promote economic security. Migration patterns, it was affirmed, are a symptom and part of a worldwide pattern—a symptom not unrelated to the same causes of environmental distress the Club traditionally opposes.

The FAIR *Immigration Report* eagerly followed the Sierra controversy, no doubt anticipating a political windfall if the membership voted in favor of the anti-immigrant proposals. They published four articles on the subject in 1996, 1997 and 1998, though the final piece was a dismissive sidebar titled, "Sierra Club Members Take No Stand on Immigration."

After the divisive vote, the anti-immigrationists refused to take no for an answer. They continued to agitate within the Club, vowing to take it over. In 2002 the anti-immigrationists inside the Club managed to elect Ben Zuckerman, and in 2003 Doug LaFollete and animal rights activist and ally Paul Watson, with Zuckerman in particular advocating an anti-immigration agenda for Sierra.

From the fall of 2003 at the latest, the drive to stack the Sierra Club board with anti-immigration activists has moved beyond agitation inside the club to an active effort to recruit outsiders to join and vote for the SUSPS candidates. This was a well-coordinated effort, making ample use of the resources of pre-existing outside organizational mechanisms.²⁸

Take-Over Timeline

- ▶ October 13, 2003. "Immigration Reform" email goes out asking people to (re)join the Sierra Club, to place announcements in "newsletter, e-zine, or email alert" and to "Ask all concerned immigration reduction activists to please join the Sierra Club."
- ▶ Fall 2003. Social Contract Press encourages readers to join the Sierra Club and to "make a difference" by electing candidates who will "redirect this vital organization."²⁹
- ▶ October 15, 2003. ProjectUSA e-zine runs the same ad as Social Contract Press.³⁰
- ▶ Fall/Winter 2003 issue of the Negative Population Growth *Population and Resource Outlook* newsletter runs a news story called "Sierra Club's 2004 Vote" encouraging its members who also belong to the Sierra Club to vote anti-immigration in the upcoming election. The majority of the wording is a verbatim copy of the ProjectUSA and Social Contract wording.³¹
- ▶ November 1, 2003. Alan Kuper, a founder of SUSPS billed as "an award-winning environmental activist in the Sierra Club", raises the Sierra Club issue at the Midwest Immigration Summit in Indianapolis, Indiana. The meeting, sponsored by FAIR and the local group, Americans for Legal Immigration, also includes leaders from NumbersUSA, Midwest Coalition to Reduce Immigration, and the Colorado Alliance for Immigration Reform (a group run by Fred Elbel, who is also one of the SUSPS principles).
- ▶ November 2003. FAIR *Immigration Report* Newsletter runs the same ad.³²
- ▶ December 1, 2003. SUSPS sends out another alert urging supporters to please re-join the Sierra Club.³³
- ▶ January 8, 2004. SUSPS activist Brenda Walker publishes her article on the extreme nativist website VDARE entitled "Save The Sierra Club From The Treason Lobby—Act Now!"³⁴
- ▶ January 17, 2004. Brenda Walker's V-DARE response. It concludes, "Now to the math. The Sierra Club budget currently runs in the seventy million range. Even thousands of additional \$25 memberships will not put the club in substantially higher clover. But just a few thousand votes can change the outcome. Last year, for example, fewer than nine percent of members participated in the board election. The top candidate received a mere 28,814 votes." She further tells her ultra-nativist and white nationalist readers on V-DARE: "Your vote *is* important. Join NOW!"³⁵
- ▶ January 21, 2004. "Only 10 more shopping days to join the Sierra Club!" email from SUSPS goes out to supporters.³⁶
- ▶ January 28, 2004. ProjectUSA e-zine – "Immigration issue roiling even enviro groups" Before encouraging e-zine readers to join the Sierra Club, the e-zine dismissed the previous Sierra Club vote, "Back in the 1990s, when the entire nation was gripped by the 'diversity-is-our-strength' hysteria, the Sierra Club abandoned its traditional commitment to an environmentally sound U.S. population policy. A faction of diversity extremists within the leadership incapacitated the Club's ability to fight for environmentally responsible immigration policies by subordinating the group's power and influence to a confused and environmentally irrelevant ideological agenda based on skin color, diversity, and 'social justice.'"³⁷

- ▶ February 19, 2004 – “SUSPS Action Alert – Sierra Club election” email goes out.³⁸
- ▶ February 22, 2004 – “Democracy In Sierra Club” email. Formation of www.democracysierra.org by Fred Elbel.³⁹

Though it will be difficult to tell until after the votes are counted in April, all of this agitation amongst anti-immigration groups—perhaps coupled with the increased exposure of the Sierra Club in the mainstream media, has apparently led to a significant increase in membership. Membership seems to have jumped by 17,000 from December 2003 to January 2004 (which is the deadline for voting privileges in the March election). This increase is a number significantly above December to January membership increases of previous years.

Who is SUSPS

SUSPS is an unincorporated phantom organization which has refused to divulge either its leadership or its funding, in spite of repeated requests from Sierra Club members. It is a Sierra Club faction apparently led by Fred Elbel and supported by Brenda Walker, which has been instrumental in acting as the bridge between Sierra and the outside anti-immigration groups.

Fred Elbel is the head of a group called Colorado Alliance for Immigration Reform (CAIR). He is the principle force behind SUSPS and his organization is closely linked to the extreme end of the “population control” wing of the anti-immigration movement. In fact, both the Chair, David Durham, and the President, Virginia Abernethy of the Carrying Capacity Network, are on CAIR’s seven member advisory council.⁴⁰ It is Elbel who has sent out a number of reminders to Sierra Club members to vote anti-immigration in the upcoming election. Walker is involved in a number of web-based anti-immigration efforts including www.limitstogrowth.org and www.immigrationshumancost.org, as well as contributing regularly to *The Social Contract* journal (edited by Wayne Lutton) and the VDARE nativist/white nationalist website.

Though current anti-immigrationist board member Ben Zuckerman is on the record as saying, “I don’t feel like Brenda is any kind of a racist or any of these names that are being called her,”⁴¹ Walker’s record suggests a strong affinity for the more extreme variety of nativism and xenophobia.

In one recent article posted to V-DARE—an online anti-immigration “resource” that features the writings of hardcore white nationalists such as Sam Francis (Council of Conservative Citizens) and Jared Taylor (*American Renaissance*)—she refers to the leadership of the Sierra Club that is not obsessed with immigration as part of the “treason lobby.”⁴² She writes, “the Treason Lobby is working to pull the Sierra Club even further from genuine environmentalism,” but assures the nativist readers of V-DARE that they can help. She writes: “If you care about protecting the planet, including the American chunk of it, then *join the Sierra Club NOW and have your vote influence this debate.*”⁴³

The phrase “Treason Lobby” is itself a bit of insiders’ jargon deployed by Sam Francis and other V-DARE columnists to refer to politicians and activists who don’t believe that attempting to shut down the U.S. borders is either the practical nor the humane thing to do, especially post-9/11 when many anti-immigrationists have tried to link terrorism to immigration.⁴⁴

In an article in *The Social Contract*, Walker makes the statement that “The belief that all cultures are equal—the central tenet of multicultural society—does not bear even the most cursory examination.”⁴⁵ In another piece, this one a book review, she denigrates the efforts by some media outlets to make the

news more inclusive. She writes, “Hint: average Americans are not represented in those newly favored demographics.”⁴⁶ On her own website, www.limitstogrowth.org, she has written, “Our country appears to have lapsed into one of its occasional periods of hysteria over a stubborn social problem. The residue of racism has created some unfortunate reaction in very inappropriate directions. Those of us who have been involved in immigration reduction have grown accustomed to shrieks of ‘racist’ from excitable people convinced that they are on the side of virtue—or from professional ethnics who play the race card like a drum.”⁴⁷

These are the Sierra Club members behind SUSPS, acting as the crucial bridge from the venerable environmental organization to the new-style nativists and white nationalists, as well as the hard-edge of the population control movement.

Conclusion

Consciously or not, Lamm, Pimentel and Morris appear to be front people for an anti-immigration agenda aimed squarely at the Sierra Club. These are men with great credibility and name recognition, but little or no Club experience. Bringing in name-brand outsiders is an old tactic in organizational in-fighting; it is technically legal, but of a distinctly Machiavellian style.

Simply pointing at the SUSPS candidates and labeling them as front people is not nearly enough. What is at stake in this election is how an organization like the Sierra Club, already doing vital work on a dozen different fronts, is going to confront a crucial issue of social justice—which may be a microcosm for how we will all confront it in the years to come. Both the United States and the world have ultimate resource limits that we will likely reach in the next few microblinks of geologic time. The question is not “should we be moving toward population stabilization as a country and as a species,” for the obvious and uncontroversial answer is that we obviously should. The question is about the justice—and even the practicality—of attempting an America First-style immigration policy that seals off the borders and denies the increasing interconnectivity of the planet.

In other words, do campaigns and policy positions like those of the SUSPS people—however well intended—ultimately do anything more than inflame white nationalist passions and fuel the fires of divisiveness that they claim so hard to be against?

The Sierra Club cannot afford to elect leadership which is unexamined on this crucial if complex issue of human justice. If the SUSPS takeover attempt is successful, the influence, budget and resources of the Sierra Club will be diverted to an ideological cause that reflects neither environmental realities nor cherished democratic values. It will abruptly alter how the Sierra Club impacts the world—for the worse.

Notes

¹A variety of terms have been coined to describe those who oppose immigration and/or immigrants. *Xenophobia* is the most general and refers to fear, loathing and/or hatred of foreigners, outsiders, and others, and particularly the prospect of being in close proximity to such persons. The phobia can apply to racial, ethnic, religious, national or cultural outsiders—the only point is that they are regarded by the xenophobic individual as different. The term *nativism* refers specifically to an ideological preference for the “native born” over immigrants, in whatever programmatic form such preferences might take. Logically, all xenophobes are nativists, but not all nativists are necessarily xenophobic in that nativist preferences can theoretically be grounded in non-xenophobic motivations. Racial nationalism, and more specifically, white nationalism, is a programmatic belief in the racial essence of nations, the association of specific racial groups with specific cultural traditions. For American white nationalists, the United States is a white nation that should be forever dominated by “European culture” and the admixture of non-whites in non-trivial numbers a necessary threat to American existence as such.

² A letter by Sierra Club President Larry Fahn states, “This may not be surprising, since none of them appears ever to have attended a Sierra Club meeting (group, chapter, regional or national) and one of them, Governor Lamm of Colorado, joined the Club shortly before filing to run for the Board of Directors.”

³ <http://www.dicklamm.org>

⁴ http://www.sierraclub.org/bod/2004election/candidate_forum/candidate_lamm.asp

⁵ See the FAIR web page, <http://www.fairus.org/About/AboutList.cfm?c=21> (February 28, 2004). Founded in 1979 by John Tanton, the man most responsible for breathing life into the contemporary anti-immigration movement. FAIR represents the “mainstream” of the movement. Even so, the FAIR agenda has proven congenial to the racist Pioneer Fund, which has given over a \$1 million in support to the organization since its inception—during the time when Lamm was on the board.

⁶ See the CAPS web page at http://www.cap-s.org/about_us/board_of_directors.html for listings of Zuckerman on the Board and Lamm on the Advisory Board. According to the 2002 IRS form 990 filing of the Pioneer Fund, CAPS was given a \$5,000 general operation fund grant. The Pioneer Fund is infamous not only for its funding of classic eugenics research in the pre-World War II era, but also for continued funding of opposition to civil rights and racist science. The current Pioneer director is University of Western Ontario psychologist J. Philippe Rushton. Rushton is best known for his advocacy of a theory correlating genital size inversely with intelligence and morality and parsing this by race (J. P. Rushton, *Race, Evolution and Behavior* [New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Press, 1995], chapter 10). For a closer look at the Pioneer Fund see W. H. Tucker, *The Funding of Scientific Racism: Wickliffe Draper and the Pioneer Fund* (Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

⁷ “A Humble Appeal: Richard Lamm Responds to K. S. Shahryer,” *The Social Contract* (Summer 1995), pp. 272 – 73.

⁸ In a memo dated October 10, 1986 from John Tanton to attendees of the WITAN IV conference. WITAN is an Old English word referring to “wise men” who give advise to the king. The conference was part of series of meeting held during the height of an English only campaign in Arizona and the memo was leaked by participants who considered Tanton’s ideas to be extreme and his wording insensitive.

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ Richard D. Lamm, “Immigration: The Shifting Paradigm,” *The Social Contract* (Fall 1994), p. 54.

¹¹ The New Century Foundation is another organization that has received grants from the Pioneer Fund.

¹² The Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC) is the largest and most influential white nationalist organization in the United States. Based in St. Louis, Missouri, CCC is one of the most enduring white supremacist groups in the post-Brown v. Board of Education era. Since the 1990s, the CCC has also been at the forefront of pushing anti-immigrant racism. CCC put its dues-paying membership base at around 15,000. The bulk of that membership hails from the South but growth is also occurring along the east coast, in the Midwest, and in California. According to CCC leaders, 34 members of the Mississippi state legislature are members. In addition, the CCC has benefited from the presence of Mississippi Governor Kirk Fordice, U.S. Representative Bob Barr (R-GA), and Senator Trent Lott (R-MS), among others, at their meetings.

The CCC has its roots in the Citizens Councils of America (CCA), more commonly known as the White Citizens Councils. The CCA formed in the wake of the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling that outlawed segregation in public schools. The Councils did all they could to fight the *Brown* decision—by supporting segregationist politicians, inundating the South with segregationist propaganda and forming whites-only private schools. Under the slogan, "States Rights. Racial Integrity," the CCA attempted to maintain an air of respectability. However, much of its membership overlapped with the Ku Klux Klan. One member with dual membership was Byron de la Beckwith, the man who murdered civil rights leader Medgar Evers.

Anti-immigrant racism has been central theme of the CCC for nearly a decade. The CCC has also added several leading anti-immigrant activists to the editorial advisory board of the *Citizens Informer* including, Virginia Abernethy of the Carrying Capacity Network and Population Environment Balance, Wayne Lutton of *The Social Contract*, Brent Nelson of the American Immigration Control Foundation.

¹³ <http://theoccidentalquarterly.com/> and go to Editorial Advisory Board (February 28, 2004).

¹⁴ Lutton also has the distinction of having published over a dozen articles in the *Journal for Historical Review* (JHR), under the pseudonym Charles C. Lutton. JHR is the journal of the Institute for Historical Review, the foremost disseminator of anti-Semitic Holocaust denial ideas in the United States, originally founded by Willis Carto. See W. H. Tucker, *The Funding of Scientific Racism: Wickliffe Draper and the Pioneer Fund* (Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

¹⁵ According to both the most recent publicly available copy of CCN IRS form 990 (2002), where Pimentel is listed as Vice President/Director and the organizations' web site, (<http://www.carryingcapacity.org>), as of February 29, 2004.

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ <http://www.carryingcapacity.org/whatis.html> (February 29, 2004).

¹⁸ Thomas B. Edsall, "Barr Spoke to White Supremacy Group," *Washington Post*, (December 11, 1998), Page A23.

¹⁹ Robert Patterson, "Citizens Forum: Prophetic Words," *Citizens Informer* (3rd Quarter 1998), p. 12.

²⁰ Abernethy has been involved with the Council of Conservative Citizens for a number of years, and according to the masthead their tabloid, the *Citizens Informer*, she serves on the editorial advisory board.

She made an appearance on the "Immigration - Are We Being Overrun?" panel at the November 14, 1997 CCC National Conference. She also was on the "Immigration: Is the debate over?" panel at the July 9-10, 1999 National CCC conference and the "Invasion of America" panel at the June 8-9, 2001 National CCC conference. She also spoke at the September 23, 2000 Mississippi CCC meeting in Bahalia, Mississippi, and the St. Louis, Missouri CCC "Discussion Club" dinner on September 14, 2000 where she delivered a speech entitled "Mass Immigration Thirty-Five Years Later: A Critical Look." She also was on an "Immigration Invasion" panel at their 2001 conference in Asheville, North Carolina; and the 2003 Conference outside of Memphis, Tennessee.

²¹ See, for example, "Unity Meeting Savors Victory," *Citizens Informer* (Winter/Dec. 1994), p. 1. See also, *Citizens Informer*, July/August 2000, p. 14.

²² Louis T. March, *Immigration and the End of Self-Government* (Raleigh, N.C.: Representative Government Press, 1999), p. 103.

²³ *ibid*, p. vii – viii.

²⁴ Louis T. March and Brent Nelson, *The Great Betrayal: The Elite's War on Middle America*, (Raleigh, N.C.: Representative Government Press, 1995), p. 64.

²⁵ *ibid*, p. 128.

²⁶ DASA has received funding from the ultra-rightwing Sarah Scaife Foundation.

²⁷ WITAN memo, October 10, 1986 from John Tanton to attendees of the WITAN IV conference.

²⁸ The slate of candidates has even hired the legal team of Thelen Reid and a public relations firm and has "benefited" from promotion in the journals, websites and membership announcements of various anti-immigration organizations.

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- ²⁹ “You Can Make a Difference,” *The Social Contract* (Fall 2003), p. 55.
- ³⁰ <http://www.projectusa.org/ezine/2003/03-10-15-identity-crisis.html>, (October 15, 2003).
- ³¹ “Sierra Club’s 2004 Vote,” *Population and Resource Outlook*, Fall/Winter 2003, p. 4.
- ³² “Environmentally Minded?” FAIR *Immigration Report* <http://www.fairus.org/Research/Research.cfm?ID=2269&c=54> (November 2003).
- ³³ Fred Elbel, SUSPS email, (December 1, 2004).
- ³⁴ http://www.vdare.com/walker/long_march.htm (January 8, 2004).
- ³⁵ http://www.vdare.com/letters/tl_011704.htm (January 17, 2004).
- ³⁶ Fred Elbel, ““Only 10 more shopping days to join the Sierra Club!” email, (January 21, 2004).
- ³⁷ <http://www.projectusa.org/ezine/2004/01-28-sierra.html> (January 28, 2004).
- ³⁸ Fred Elbel, “SUSPS Action Alert – Sierra Club election” email (February 19, 2004).
- ³⁹ Fred Elbel, “Democracy In Sierra Club” email (February 22, 2004).
- ⁴⁰ <http://www.cairco.org/info/about.html> (February 29, 2004).
- ⁴¹ Sierra Club Board Conference Call, January 30, 2004.
- ⁴² Brenda Walker, “Save the Sierra Club from the Treason Lobby—Act Now!” V-DARE.COM (http://www.vdare.com/walker/long_march.htm), January 8, 2004.
- ⁴³ *ibid*
- ⁴⁴ See, e.g. Sam Francis, “The Treason Lobby Attempts Damage Control,” V-DARE.COM (<http://vdare.com/francis/blind.htm>), October 15, 2001.
- ⁴⁵ Brenda Walker, “The Canary is Choking: It Would Be if We Considered Europe an Immigration ‘Coal Mine’,” *The Social Contract* (Fall 2002), p.61.
- ⁴⁶ Brenda Walker, “Color the Newsroom Gray,” *The Social Contract* (Spring 2002), p. 173.
- ⁴⁷ Brenda Walker, “Hysteria over ‘Hate’: Free Speech is Endangered by Political Correctness Panic,” <http://www.limitstogrowth.org/WEB-text/hysteria-over-hate.html> .