

# APPLY THE BRAKES:

ANTI-IMMIGRANT  
CO-OPTATION OF THE  
ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

Presented by The Center for New Community

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# APPLY THE BRAKES: ANTI-IMMIGRANT CO-OPTATION OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

## Introduction

This report is intended to explore how anti-immigrant forces have corrupted the dialogue on population and the environment, and will examine the anti-immigrant environmentalist network that has influenced the environmental movement for the last 14 years. In 2009, an article in the Population Special Issue of the *Earth Island Journal*<sup>1</sup> mentioned a new organization and website named Apply the Brakes (ATB hereafter). A few months later, the Center for Immigration Studies<sup>2</sup> — an anti-immigrant organization known to trade in racism — cited ATB in a memorandum denouncing Sierra Club leadership for not addressing the issue of immigration. At a time when more people of color, labor and human rights organizations are engaging in environmental concerns such as climate change and “green jobs,” ATB could very well threaten those fragile coalitions.

## An Ecological Philosophy of Bigotry

Allegedly the “result of a meeting of long-time conservationists held in Western Oregon in the spring of 2006,”<sup>3</sup> ATB has kept a very low public presence outside of environmental circles, but its mission is clear: ATB concerns itself with “domestic population growth”<sup>4</sup> and has a pronounced anti-immigration focus.

The discussion that ATB seeks to broadcast is essentially neo-Malthusian. The theory was born when Thomas Malthus published “An Essay on the Principle of Population in 1798” in which he stated that the discrepancy between the rate of population and the rate of food growth would lead to a permanent food shortage for humans. Malthus’ works gained influence in rapidly-

transforming 19th Century England and, combined with later Social Darwinism, were used to justify ideologies that essentially blamed the victims of early industrial development — a development that swallowed up, displaced and destroyed populations, and which was itself highly artificial and environmentally destructive — for their own misfortune.

Specifically, anti-immigrant activists belonging to the neo-Malthusian tradition claim that populations are constrained by the carrying capacity of the environment, and that population growth causes environmental degradation. They argue that immigrants contribute to the degradation of the environment by urban sprawl, congestion, pollution, waste generation, water consumption, land conversion, depletion of natural resources, and biodiversity loss, and have gone so far as to create a formula (change in pollution multiplied by change in population) to demonstrate these relationships.<sup>5,6</sup> Neo-Malthusian doctrine has been invoked over the years by these individuals and organizations to argue that compassion for those starving and destroyed eventually backfires, leading to greater future catastrophe.

ATB arguments on immigrants and population pull directly from the neo-Malthusian stance — displacing blame from the negative influence of economic globalization onto populations that are the worst impacted. This push by ATB to distort “cause and effect” serves to intentionally transform a holistic environmental philosophy based on greater care towards the world and each other, into misanthropy. Ecological thinking based on dynamic and interconnected natural systems turns into a philosophy that treats national and state borders as

unchallengeable nature. People become pollutants, with all the racial overtones of such a social construction.

## The Genesis of Apply The Brakes

To fully understand the ATB network, it is important to understand not only the philosophy driving the organization, but also the histories of its key participants. Don Weeden is one of the leaders promoted on the ATB website,<sup>7</sup> and is involved with funding the project through his family foundation. William G. (Bill) Elder appears to have selected much of the ATB website content and is also listed as website editor.<sup>8</sup> Both Bill Elder and the Weeden Family Foundation have histories within the environmental movement that significantly precede the ATB network, and understanding their efforts provides much context for ATB as a whole.

While the majority of conservation leaders highlighted on the ATB website are united in their common advocacy for population “stabilization” and for stringent restrictions on US immigration, each spokesperson also provides his or her own unique slant. (Brief biographies are located in Appendix A.) The overall vision of the ATB consortium is brought into focus, however, only by examining the interwoven histories of its primary coordinator, William G. (Bill) Elder, the white nationalist John Tanton, the anti-immigrant network SUSPS (Sierrans for US Population Stabilization), and its main funding source, the Weeden Foundation.

## Bill Elder and SUSPS

Bill Elder, a former Boeing employee and health-care consultant<sup>9</sup> based in Issaquah, Washington, has long been involved in anti-

immigrant and population activism. Elder joined the Sierra Club in 1994<sup>10</sup> during a recruitment effort that drew in activists from anti-immigrant organizations. Elder served as the Population Coordinator for the Sierra Club's Cascade Washington State Chapter during the late 1990s<sup>11</sup> and into the new millennium.<sup>12,13</sup>

Past political efforts by Elder have focused on themes of population, planning, and growth. These endeavors include running unsuccessfully in 1996 for the Washington State House of Representatives as an independent candidate<sup>14</sup> and defeating two Issaquah, Washington school bond measures in 1998 and 1999. Elder also served as Executive Director for the now-defunct Alternatives to Growth Washington, an organization "committed to researching and fostering a re-examination of growth related public policy issues"<sup>15</sup> which existed in the early-2000s.<sup>16</sup> Alternatives to Growth Washington was heavily influenced by Alternatives to Growth Oregon, a group then headed by Andy Kerr.<sup>17</sup> Kerr is also affiliated with the present-day ATB consortium.<sup>18</sup>

It was during his tenure as Executive Director for Alternatives to Growth Washington that Elder became immersed in a controversial national network named SUSPS, originally referred to as Sierrans for US Population Stabilization.

## The Leadership of SUSPS

The exact structure of SUSPS has never been clear, and the group's leadership has lacked transparency from its inception, which SUSPS lists as 1996.<sup>19</sup> SUSPS is unincorporated, and roles within the coalition shift often; individuals step up or stand aside in order to provide the most effective messenger for the most pressing message. For instance, in 2001, Bill Elder testified before a congressional subcommittee in the capacity as "SUSPS Chairperson,"<sup>20</sup> but a 2004 article listed Elder as merely a "spokesperson" for SUSPS.<sup>21</sup> That same year another article simply referred to Elder as an individual who "leads" the network.<sup>22</sup> Other "leaders" of SUSPS included Brenda Walker and Fred Elbel.<sup>23</sup> Walker is a regular

columnist for the white nationalist website VDARE — named after Virginia Dare, allegedly the first white child born in the United States.<sup>24</sup> Elbel is a founder of Defend Colorado Now who, when challenged about statements blaming impoverished people of color for environmental problems, wrote "Damned right. I hate 'em all - negroes, wasps, spics, eskimos, jews, honkies, krauts, ruskies, ethopans, pakis, hunkies, pollocks and marxists; there are way too many of them [original spellings maintained throughout]."<sup>25</sup>

## John Tanton and the birth of SUSPS

The original impetus for the establishment of SUSPS was a 1996 decision by the Sierra Club Board of Directors to adopt a policy of neutrality on US immigration — a decision in response to warnings that a cadre of anti-immigrant activists were attempting to push immigration restriction as a Club focus.<sup>26</sup>

As the oldest and largest environmental organization in the US, the Sierra Club had long been a target of anti-immigration activists. In 1986, John Tanton — a white nationalist who has also played a significant role in the birth or funding for a dozen other anti-immigration groups<sup>27</sup> like the Social Contract Press, Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), VDARE, and SAGE — wrote in a memo that "the Sierra Club may not want to touch the immigration issue, but the immigration issue is going to touch the Sierra Club!"<sup>28</sup> Prior to the founding of FAIR and other radical anti-immigration environmental groups, Tanton himself headed the Sierra Club's Population Committee during the early 1970s.<sup>29</sup> Members of FAIR and others from among the Tanton network of anti-immigrant organizations — linked to the eugenics movement and organized white supremacy<sup>30</sup> — would be significantly involved in the controversies to come.

## Anti-Immigrant Backlash Targets the Sierra Club

Though difficult to see what SUSPS intends

to keep hidden about its genesis, what is clear is that SUSPS was synonymous from its inception with dramatic attempts to shift the Sierra Club to a strict platform of immigration restriction. In 1998, SUSPS activists placed a proposition on the ballot within the Sierra Club that would have reversed the Board's neutrality policy, and would have forced the Club to adopt an anti-immigration stance. The proposition failed 60%-40%,<sup>31</sup> and as a result of this loss, SUSPS changed tactics from ballots to board elections.

The nebulous nature of SUSPS worked to its political advantage, allowing it to dodge issues of membership and funding while still working in close association with more highly structured and better-funded anti-immigrant groups and leaders. In the 2002 and 2003 Sierra Club elections, three SUSPS-backed candidates were elected to the 15-member board — first Ben Zuckerman (board member of the racially-tinted Californians for Population Stabilization), followed by Paul Watson (Founder of the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society) and Doug LaFollette (Wisconsin's Secretary of State).<sup>32</sup>

By the 2004 Sierra Club elections, SUSPS needed to elect only three additional candidates to the board in order to control the organization and impose its anti-immigration plank. Its three main candidates were Richard D. Lamm, national advisor to Tanton's Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR); Frank Morris, board member of Tanton's Center for Immigration Studies; and David Pimental, board member of the Carrying Capacity Network whose president, Virginia Abernethy, described herself as a "white separatist." As newcomers to the Sierra Club, this SUSPS slate was supported by mailings from anti-immigrant organizations and postings on white supremacist websites urging their audience to join the Club and influence the vote. This targeting of the Club for a takeover was described by a former Club President as the "greatest threat in [the organization's] 112-year history."<sup>33</sup> In a highly contested election, the SUSPS-

backed candidates were defeated by a large margin, and the threat of a Sierra Club takeover was averted by its membership.<sup>34</sup>

In 2005, SUSPS again tried to both field candidates and put a ballot measure to Sierra Club voters — all of which were also defeated by wide majorities.<sup>35</sup> Additional background on SUSPS, its candidates during the 2004 election, and the role of Tanton's network of anti-immigrant organizations during this period, is covered in greater detail in a Center for New Community's 2004 special report *Hostile Takeover: Race, Immigration and the Sierra Club*.<sup>36</sup>

After these failures, SUSPS leader Bill Elder appears to have refocused his attention to a project more capable of paving the way for anti-immigrant “population control” successes. In a 2005 *E Magazine* article, Elder was described as a “dissident Sierra Club member whose focus now is on creating the Environmental Leaders Forum to address population issues.”<sup>37</sup> The “Environmental Leaders Forum” appears to be an earlier name for Apply The Brakes, and is mentioned as a “Weeden Foundation project” in the summary of a grant given to The Rewilding Institute (TWI) for the 2009 financial year. TWI is headed by long-time ecology activist Dave Foreman, and according to documents from the Weeden Foundation, TWI and “Environmental Leaders Forum,” planned to “work closely [...] to get conservation groups and activists to endorse a position recognizing the role of population growth in harming biodiversity and causing climate change.”<sup>38</sup> Not surprisingly, three Rewilding Institute fellows, including Foreman, double as ATB leaders.<sup>40,41,42</sup> In his current position as editor for ATB, Elder provides overlap in leadership between the earlier efforts of SUSPS and the “green” anti-immigrant organizing of today.

## The Weeden Foundation

Despite the leadership of Bill Elder and the road laid by SUSPS, there would be no ATB network without the Weeden family, whose

foundation is in the business not just of conserving habitat, but of molding opinion — within the environmentalist milieu as well as in the public at large. The Weeden Foundation provided seed money for ATB,<sup>43</sup> and the Weeden Foundation and Apply The Brakes share the same mailing address and phone number.<sup>44,45,46</sup> Don Weeden, the head of the Weeden Foundation, speaks regularly about the ATB network at environmental conferences and meetings on population growth.<sup>47</sup>

Created in 1963 by the late Frank Weeden, The Weeden Foundation provides grants “used to address the adverse impact of growing human populations and overuse of natural resources on the biological fabric of the planet.”<sup>48</sup> Its funding is significant; for the financial years 2001-2008, total annual grants from the Foundation exceed a million dollars in all but two years.<sup>49</sup> Alongside its funding for national and international “Biodiversity” projects, the Foundation also has a “Population/Consumption Program”<sup>50</sup> whose domestic grants often go to fuel anti-immigrant bigotry. From 2001-2008, the Weeden Foundation disbursed nearly \$700,000 in grants to controversial Tanton organizations with ties to white nationalists, such as Californians for Population Stabilization, the Center for Immigration Studies, and NumbersUSA.

The objective of the Weeden Foundation in funding these organizations is to create enough anti-immigrant leadership overlap to steer the environmental movement towards a course fueled by bigotry and racism. The leadership of the foundation is not content merely to fund these organizations, but to hold high-level leadership positions as well. For example, Weeden Foundation Executive Director Don Weeden<sup>51</sup> is also on the Board of Directors for the Tanton-created NumbersUSA,<sup>52</sup> whose Executive Director Roy Beck was a featured speaker at the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens in 1997. Additionally, Alan Weeden,<sup>53</sup> the father of Don Weeden, serves on not just the Board of Directors of the Weeden Foundation, but also on the Board of Directors of FAIR, also

founded by white nationalist John Tanton.<sup>54</sup> During the early 1990s, the Weeden foundation made at least one donation to FAIR at the same time that FAIR was still accepting funds from the pro-eugenics and white supremacist Pioneer Fund.<sup>55</sup> Alan Weeden was also one of the FAIR board members who met with then Pioneer Fund President Harry Weyher in 1997 — three years after FAIR had ceased taking Pioneer Fund money — to discuss fundraising for FAIR.<sup>56</sup>

A set of Weeden Foundation grants strategically made during the 1990s was extremely significant for “green” anti-immigration efforts to come. In 1990, the Weeden Foundation gave a grant of \$275,000 to the Sierra Club, earmarked for population work. At the time, Alan Weeden was a member of the Sierra Club Foundation's Board of Trustees, as well as a member of the Club's national Population Committee. This initial amount was followed by supplementary grants in the following years — spending that made “population advocacy in Washington [...] the best funded of all Sierra Club programs” at the time.<sup>57</sup> The funding may have helped the mushrooming of population committees within the Club. As Club member Frank Orem described:

*In 1989, when I got into the Sierra Club and population issues, there was only the national Population Committee and one local committee in Los Angeles. There are now [in 1993] 200. I came in to work on population, among other things. There are some people on the population committees who have been leaders on other environmental issues. Others are activists outside in groups which are concerned with population and immigration and they came into the Club to work on that.*<sup>58</sup>

This trend — of expanding Sierra Club population committees by drawing in activists from anti-immigration organizations — may be seen in retrospect as setting the stage for the attempts (which were also funded by the Weeden Foundation) by SUSPS to take control of the Sierra Club between 1998 and 2005.<sup>59</sup>

The Foundation's funding strategies are deft and effective because they produce short, medium and long-term results. Weeden's spending on domestic population campaigning — for the most part anti-immigration activism — makes up only small portion of its total annual grants, but this funding is leveraged for maximum possible effect.

## The Weeden Strategy

Recipients of Weeden Foundation grants end up amplifying each other's work and establishing feedback loops. For example, in 2005, *E Magazine* — a legitimate and respected environmental journal — received a \$15,000 grant “to underwrite the research, writing, and public relations/distribution costs for their coverage of population and immigration topics.”<sup>60</sup> The magazine then published an article on immigration matters that both cited materials prepared by the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) and also quoted Roy Beck of NumbersUSA.<sup>61</sup> Both CIS and NumbersUSA had received Weeden Foundation grants that same year.<sup>62</sup> In addition, the article also cites Tanton's Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR,) and Bill Elder is quoted several times. While the article presents opposing voices and is clearly editorial in nature, it illustrates the manner in which Weeden Foundation-supported anti-immigrant projects are situated close enough to each other to create a virtual echo chamber. It is precisely this echo chamber that the Apply the Brakes network currently aims to strengthen, as its ranks become more visible, and as it promotes its ideas into environmental and ecological discourse.

There should be no taboo on discussing population — a topic clearly tied to environmental concerns, as in fact is every human interaction within ecological systems. What should be rejected are racism and simplistic arguments that over-emphasize the “numbers game” at the expense of other factors — interlocking issues of production and consumption, patterns of land use, technology and planning, globalization

and poverty, the status of women in society, as well as wasteful cycles of boom and bust. This remains true no matter how much ecological damage we believe societies may have produced. Such a social and ecological outlook is vitally important in overcoming “man versus nature” thinking.

## An Ecological Future Worth Fighting For

Environmentalists who believe in holistic diversity need to be on guard — not just regarding Apply The Brakes, but also regarding other anti-immigrant groups using similar rhetoric. Groups with misleading or seemingly transparent names like Progressives for Immigration Reform, Negative Population Growth, and NumbersUSA — as well as others in Tanton's network of anti-immigrant organizations — all seek to inject bigotry into environmental and population issues. [See Appendix B for a full listing of such anti-immigrant organizations.]

While ATB claims that its arguments are solely influenced by ecological concern over population numbers, and that essential conversation is being blocked by “political correctness,” their political alignment and associations raise serious questions. The precarious ecological state of the world should be the impetus for environmentalists to reexamine our history, and to change our current practices to those of an eco-politic that pays particular attention to the voices and experience of women, people of color, and working class people. It is not political correctness, but environmental conscientiousness that pushes us to challenge environmental leaders who promote, work alongside, or excuse white nationalist and eugenic interests, and to ask whether these people should be allowed to lead the population debate.

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# Appendix A

## Lester Brown

**Founder of Worldwatch and Earth Policy Institute**



**Current Residence:**

Washington, DC

**Profession:**

Lester Brown founded the Worldwatch Institute — a research institute devoted to analyzing global environmental problems. In 2001, Brown founded the Earth Policy Institute, which aims “to provide a global plan (Plan B) for moving the world onto an environmentally and economically sustainable path.” A widely published author, Brown’s books including *Man, Land and Food*, the Plan B series, *World Without Borders*, *Building a Sustainable Society* and *Who Will Feed China?*

**Organizational Affiliation:**

Brown is the President of the Earth Policy Institute and is affiliated with many other boards and committees, including Population Connection.

Brown is a contributor to the Social Contract Press, notably providing an interview and four articles to a special issue of the journal dedicated to his work. Brown was listed as a speaker at a 1997 event sponsored by the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), Negative Population Growth and the Social Contract Press. Brown also contributed a testimonial for a biography of Mary Lou and John Tanton, published by FAIR and featured on John Tanton’s website. Brown is listed as an endorser of the Sierrans for US Population Stabilization (SUSPUS) population-immigration ballot question voted on by the Sierra Club board in 1998. The referendum sought to overturn the Sierra Club’s decision to not take a position on immigration levels or on policies governing immigration to the United States.

**Currently:**

Founder, President and Senior Researcher, Earth Policy Institute  
Advisory Board, Population Media Center  
National Advisory Board: Population Connection, (which used to be Tanton’s Zero Population Growth)  
National Advisory Board, Population Connection  
Advisory Council Member, Global Footprint Network  
Advisory Board, Friends of the Earth

## Brock Evans

**President, Endangered Species Coalition**



**Current Residence:**

Washington, DC

**Profession:**

Brock Evans was Executive Director of the Endangered Species Coalition for seven years, and became its President in 2004.

**Organizational Affiliation:**

Brock Evans is on the Board of Directors for RESTORE: The North Woods. Evans is also a member of the National Board of Advisors to the Carrying Capacity Network. Evans was involved with founding the Idaho Environmental Council, the Yukon Conservation Society, and the Hells Canyon Protection Council. He was a board member of the National Hispanic Environmental Network. Evans appealed to the board of the Sierra Club in 1998, just before it was due to vote on a proposition on the ballot within the Sierra Club that would have reserved the Board’s neutrality policy, and would have forced the Club to adopt an anti-immigration stance. Its decision to not take a position on immigration levels or on policies governing immigration to the United States. Evans argued in favor of such a stance. He is listed by Sierrans for US Population Stabilization (SUSPS) as one of the endorsers of the referendum.

## Dave Foreman

**Director of The Rewilding Institute, co-founder of Earth First! and Wildlands Projects (now Wildlands Network)**



**Current Residence:**

Albuquerque, New Mexico

**Profession:**

From 1973 to 1980, Foreman worked for The Wilderness Society as Southwest Regional Representative in New Mexico and as Director of Wilderness Affairs in Washington, DC. He was a member of the board of trustees for the New Mexico Chapter of The Nature Conservancy from 1976 to 1980.”

published anti-immigrant writing and even a misanthropic celebration of AIDS. Foreman was arrested in 1989 as part of an eco-sabotage conspiracy, but the most serious of his charges were eventually dropped. In 1990, Foreman left Earth First! due to ideological differences. Foreman served as a member of the national Board of Directors of the Sierra Club from 1995 to 1997. He is the author of, amongst other books, Confessions of an Eco-Warrior.

### Organizational Affiliation:

After leaving Earth First!, Foreman founded the Wildlands Project (now Wildlands Network) and served as its Chairman and the executive editor of Wild Earth (its periodical) from 1991-2003. He is now Director of The Rewilding Institute, “a conservation ‘think tank’ advancing ideas of continental conservation.” He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the New Mexico Wilderness Alliance. Foreman is listed as an endorser of the Sierrans for US Population Stabilization (SUSPUS) population-immigration ballot, voted down by the Sierra Club Board in 1998, that would have reversed the Board’s neutrality policy, and would have forced the Club to adopt an anti-immigration stance.

The Rewilding Institute received annual grants of \$20,000 from the Weeden Foundation from the years 2006 – 2009. The grants were for the circulation of Institute perspectives, especially the “Around the Campfire” electronic editorial series and Foreman’s other writings on population and immigration. The Weeden Foundation has funded the Center for Immigration Studies, US, Inc., Californians for Population Stabilization, Alliance for a Sustainable USA (formerly Diversity Alliance for a Sustainable USA) and NumbersUSA, all members of the John Tanton Network.

## John Davis

### Co-Founder of the ReWilding Institute



### Current Residence:

Elizabethtown, NY

### Profession:

John Davis formerly edited Wild Earth magazine and served as Biodiversity Program officer of the Foundation for Deep Ecology, which provided funds to the Carrying Capacity Network and Negative Population Growth, an affiliate of the Tanton Network. He is a fellow of The Rewilding Institute and has been an editor for many conservation publications.

For most of his active time in the environmental movement, Davis he has worked closely with Dave Foreman. Davis was an editor of the Earth First! Journal from 1986 to 1989. In 1990, Davis co-founded Wild Earth magazine with Foreman and with Reed Noss, David Johns, and Mary Byrd Davis. Davis served as editor of Wild Earth from 1991 to 1997, and then went to California to serve as Biodiversity & Wildness program officer of the Foundation for Deep Ecology

### Organizational Affiliation:

Davis now serves as land steward for the Eddy Foundation’s conservation land holdings in Split Rock Wildway. He is also still involved in editing environmental publications. He serves on the boards of the Wildlands Network, RESTORE: The North Woods, the Conservation Land Trust, and several other conservation groups.

Davis is the Editor for Dave Foreman’s “Around the Campfire” electronic editorial series for the Rewilding Institute.

## Amy Gulick

### Photography, writer, and speaker



### Current Residence:

North Bend, WA

### Profession:

Amy Gulick is a photographer, writer, and speaker. Her work has appeared in Sierra, Audubon, E Magazine, and High Country News. “In addition, her work has been featured in the conservation campaigns of the Alaska Wilderness League, Ocean Conservancy, Sierra Club, and the Alaska Rainforest Campaign. [...] Gulick is a national speaker on the current oil drilling debate regarding the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. Her Internet story ‘Arctic National Wildlife Refuge: Wilderness or Wasteland?’ won a Lowell Thomas Travel Journalism Award presented by the Society of American Travel Writers Foundation.”

### Organizational Affiliation:

Founding Fellow, International League of Conservation Photographers  
Member, Society of Environmental Journalists  
Member, North American Nature Photography Association

## Andy Kerr

### The Larch Company



### Current Residence:

Washington, DC / Ashland, Oregon

### Profession:

Andy Kerr owns The Larch Company, a “for-profit non-membership conservation organization.” He worked for twenty years with the Oregon Natural Resources Council (now Oregon Wild).

### Organizational Affiliation:

Kerr is a founding board member of the North American Industrial Hemp Council and currently remains on this board. Kerr has directed the National Public Lands Grazing Campaign and advised the Soda Mountain Wilderness Council on how to rid the Cascade-Siskiyou National Monument of livestock. He is also currently involved in advocating for additional Wilderness and Wild and Scenic Rivers in Oregon.

Kerr has been involved in many other environmental organizations. Formerly, Kerr was on the boards of Friends of Opal Creek, the Oregon League of Conservation



Voters, the Coast Alliance, and Alternatives to Growth Oregon.

Kerr's Alternatives to Growth Oregon group inspired Bill Elder to form Alternatives to Growth Washington. Elder is now the website editor for Apply the Brakes.

## Don Weeden

**Executive Director, Weeden Foundation**



### **Current Residence:**

Ossining, New York

### **Profession:**

Don Weeden is the Executive Director of the Weeden Foundation. Prior to this, he was a “veteran of a nearly 25-year career in the international population and economic development field, serving in various field and management positions for Columbia University, International Planned Parenthood Federation, and others.”

### **Organizational Affiliation:**

Don Weeden currently sits on the Steering Committee of the Environmental Grantmakers Association’s working group on Sustainable Production and Consumption. He is Co-chair of the Consultative Group on Biological Diversity’s Land and Freshwater Conservation Working Group, and is a member of International Union for Conservation of Nature’s Mountain Biome group. Weeden participated in a 2009 Center for Immigration Studies debate with Philip Cafaro and Andrew Light, in which he voiced his anti-immigration perspectives.

### **Information about the Weeden Foundation:**

The Weeden Foundation is based in New York City. According to Weeden, the foundation has historically “focused on protecting biodiversity exclusively.”

“The Foundation’s population program, initiated over 20 years ago to address both international and domestic population growth, continues to support high leverage advocacy projects that seek to influence policy makers and opinion leaders. The program’s primary domestic population objective is for the U.S. to follow the recommendations of President Clinton’s Council on Sustainable Development by adopting a national policy to deal effectively and equitably with all sources of U.S. population growth, including immigration.”

Not only did the Weeden Foundation provided seed money for Apply the Brakes, but the Weeden Foundation’s mailing address and phone number are the same as those of Apply the Brakes.

The Weeden Foundation funds anti-immigration organizations such as the Center for Immigration Studies, Californians for Population Stabilization and NumbersUSA. All of these organizations are part of the Tanton Network — groups either founded or funded (through grants from Tanton’s umbrella organization US, Inc.) by John Tanton.

Don Weeden is on the Board of Directors for NumbersUSA. His father, Alan Weeden, is on the Board of Directors for the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR.)

Alan Weeden and Don Weeden are close friends and colleagues of Douglas Tompkins (see profile), and the Weeden Foundation is involved with Patagonia conservation projects alongside Tompkins.

## Philip Cafaro

**Associate Professor of Philosophy at the Colorado State University**



### **Current Residence:**

Fort Collins, Colorado

### **Profession:**

Cafaro is an associate professor of philosophy at Colorado State University in Fort Collins, Colorado, he teaches environmental ethics. Previously he was a ranger with the US National Park Service. He is the author of *Thoreau’s Living Ethics: Walden and the Pursuit of Virtue*, and numerous academic articles and opinion pieces. Currently, he is writing a book on immigration policy: *Bleeding Hearts and Empty Promises: A Liberal Rethinks American Immigration*. He is also co-editing a special issue of the *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* with Ron Sandler.

### **Organizational Affiliation:**

Cafaro is on the Board of Advisors to Progressives for Immigration Reform, an affiliate of the Tanton Network. Cafaro is also a member of Northern Coloradoans for Immigration Reduction. Cafaro has blogged on Progressives for Immigration Reform’s website in which he describes his desire to drastically change US immigration policy. A recent blog post by Cafaro directed its readers to the website of *The Social Contract*, a journal edited by white nationalist Wayne Lutton. Cafaro has written one report for the Center for Immigration Studies.

## Eileen Crist

**Associate Professor of Science and Technology at Virginia Tech’s Blacksburg campus**



### **Current Residence:**

Blacksburg, Virginia

### **Profession:**

She researches animal behavior and the ways scientists conceptualize the question of animal consciousness. She is the author of *Images of Animals: Anthropomorphism and Animal Mind* and co-edited *Gaia in Turmoil: Climate Change, Biodepletion, and Earth Ethics in an Age of Crisis*.

### **Organizational Affiliation:**

She teaches at Virginia Tech in the Department of Science and Technology. She is an advisor for the undergraduate program in Humanities, Science, and Environment. She has authored many academic papers and contributed to the journal Wild Earth.

### **Recent Papers:**

- “Beyond the climate crisis: a critique of climate change discourse”
- “Against the social construction of nature and wilderness”
- “Can an insect speak? The case of the honeybee dance language”
- “Concerned with trifles? A geophysiological reading of Charles Darwin's last book”
- “Serpentes---the ultimate other”
- “Limits-to-growth and the biodiversity crisis”
- “The inner life of earthworms: Darwin's argument and its implications”

## **Veronica Egan**

**Executive Director, Great Old Broads for Wilderness**



### **Current Residence:**

Durango, Colorado

### **Profession:**

Veronica Egan is the Executive Director for Great Old Broads for Wilderness, based in Durango, Colorado.

### **Organizational Affiliation:**

“Veronica joined Broads's staff in the fall of 2002. [...] She had been a Great Old Broad for 12 years [...] and was a Board member for 2 years before taking on the role of Executive Director. [...] She has been a staff member for the Santa Fe Mountain Center, an experiential education program, and has served on the Boards of the Backcountry Horsemen of New Mexico, Rio Arriba County Fair, Espanola Animal Shelter and Life Education Network of the Southwest. Veronica has worked for years in environmental advocacy, volunteering for the New Mexico Sierra Club, the Central Clearing House in Santa Fe, and the Santa Fe Trails Coalition.”

### **About Great Old Broads for Wilderness:**

“Great Old Broads for Wilderness is a non-profit, public lands organization that uses the voices and activism of elders to preserve and protect wilderness and wild lands.” Its website points to twenty-four local groups in fourteen different states.

The Fall 2005 and Summer 2006 issues of BroadSides, the Great Old Broads for Wilderness newsletter, contained articles concerning immigration and current US border policy, and the related environmental impacts along stretches of the US/Mexico border.

The Great Old Broads for Wilderness website links to Apply the Brakes.

## **Katie Lee**

**Singer, author, environmental activist**



### **Current Residence:**

Jerome, Arizona

### **Profession:**

Katie Lee is an actress, folk singer, and a writer as well as an environmental activist. “As an actress in Hollywood (Gunsmoke, The Great Gildersleeve, and several movies) in the 1950s, she began running the Colorado River through the Grand Canyon and Glen Canyon. [...] When a dam was proposed to flood incomparable Glen Canyon, she helped lead the fight against it. Since the dam was built, she has been an irreverent, fiery, uncompromising force for protection of wild rivers and wildlands. She's long been a popular folk singer and has several albums [...] Her books include Ten Thousand Goddam Cattle, All My Rivers Are Gone, and Sandstone Seduction.”

### **Organizational Affiliation:**

“Lee serves on the Advisory Board of the Glen Canyon Institute, a nonprofit organization that advocates the draining of Powell Reservoir and restoring the natural ecosystem, health and beauty of the Colorado River through a truncated Grand Canyon.”

## **Susan Morgan**

**Conservationist and wilderness advocate**



### **Current Residence:**

Washington State

### **Profession:**

Morgan began her involvement in the conservation movement in 1968 as Director of Education for The Wilderness Society, and has been active in a wide variety of groups and projects since then. She was active in the early years of Earth First! and was listed as a contact in Dave Foreman's notable 1981 article (publicizing the new movement) for The Progressive.

“She wrote her dissertation on how wilderness advocacy and conservation biology together shaped The Wildlands Project. She lives in rural northwestern Washington State and advises various conservation groups, as well as working as a freelance editor.”

Morgan is a fellow of The Rewilding Institute and the Publisher of Dave Foreman’s “Around the Campfire” electronic editorial series.

**Organizational Affiliations:** past and present

The Wilderness Society  
University of the Wilderness  
Earth First!  
Project Lighthawk  
The Wildlands Project (now Wildlands Network)  
The Rewilding Institute (current, Conservation Fellow)  
Forest Guardians (now WildEarth Guardians)  
Wilderness Watch (current, Board of Directors)

## Roderick Nash

**Professor Emeritus, Environmental Studies and History Departments, University of California Santa Barbara**



**Current Residence:**

Crested Butte, Colorado and Santa Barbara, California

**Profession:**

Nash founded the problem-oriented, interdisciplinary major called Environmental Studies at University of Santa Barbara that he chaired for five years. He has written ten books and over 150 essays, Nash is best known for Wilderness and the American Mind.

**Organizational Affiliations:** past and present

Journal of Environmental Education: Editorial Board  
Environmental Review: Editorial Board  
Journal of American Culture: Editorial Board  
Environmental Ethics: Editorial Board  
International Journal of Wilderness: Associate Editor  
Wilderness Public Rights Fund: President  
Rock the Earth: Board of Advisors

## Tim Palmer

**Author and photographer**



**Current Residence:**

Oregon

**Profession:**

Tim Palmer is an author of 19 books on rivers, conservation, and the environment.

**Organizational Affiliation:**

Palmer is listed as an endorser of the Sierrans for US Population Stabilization (SUSPUS) population-immigration proposition ballot, voted on by the Sierra Club board in 1998 that would have reversed the Board’s neutrality policy, and would have forced the Club to adopt an anti-immigration stance. The referendum sought to overturn the Sierra Club’s decision to not take a position on immigration levels or on policies governing immigration to the United States.

American Rivers: Board member (1980s)

River Network: Board member (1995-2004)

Ecological Restoration Society: Keynote Speaker

The American Rivers Management Society: Keynote Speaker

The International Erosion Control Association: Keynote Speaker

**Selected Books:**

Trees and Forests of America

Luminous Mountains: The Sierra Nevada of California

Rivers of America

California Wild

Oregon: Preserving the Beauty and Spirit of Our Land

The Heart of America: Our Landscape, Our Future

## Douglas Tompkins

**Founder, Foundation for Deep Ecology. Founder, North Face clothing company**

no photo available

**Current Residence:**

South America

**Profession:**

In 1966, Tompkins founded the North Face clothing company with his first wife. They later founded the Esprit clothing line. Tompkins founded The Foundation for Deep Ecology which provided funds to the Carrying Capacity Network and Negative Population Growth, an affiliate of the Tanton Network. Tompkins later married Kris McDivitt, former CEO of Patagonia. Together, they have spent about \$150 million buying 2.2 million acres of Chile and Argentina as environmental preserves.

### **Organizational Affiliation:**

North Face outdoor clothing company: Founder  
Esprit clothing company: Co-Founder  
Foundation for Deep Ecology: Founder and President  
Conservation Land Trust: Founder and President

### **Information about Foundation for Deep Ecology & Conservation Land Trust:**

“The Foundation for Deep Ecology, The Conservation Land Trust, and Conservation Patagonica have offices at Fort Cronkhite in the Marin Headlands in Sausalito, California.

# George Wuerthner

## **Ecological Projects Director for the Foundation for Deep Ecology**



### **Current Residence:**

Richmond, Vermont

### **Profession:**

George Wuerthner is the Ecological Projects Director for the Foundation for Deep Ecology. He also works as a full-time writer and photographer, with 34 books to his name. Several of these books have seen print, thanks to the Foundation for Deep Ecology's publishing program. In addition to these activities, Wuerthner also leads classes and wilderness tours through his company Raventrails.

### **Organizational Affiliation:**

As well as his work with the Foundation for Deep Ecology, Wuerthner is the Board Chair for RESTORE: The North Woods. He is also on the Board of Directors for the Conservation Land Trust, and the Board of Directors for the Conservation Planning Institute. He serves on the advisory board for Alliance for the Wild Rockies, and the advisory committee for the Southern Plains Land Trust.

# The Anti-Immigrant Movement & Environmentalism

The anti-immigrant movement is attempting to channel environmental concerns into bigotry. White nationalist John Tanton is the progenitor of the most influential anti-immigrant network in the country. Tanton launched Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and U.S. Inc. 30 years ago and from there seeded most of today's anti-immigration groups, including the Center for Immigration Studies, Negative Population Growth (NPG), Progressives for Immigration Reform (PFIR), and NumbersUSA.

Complementing the efforts of Tanton's Network are pseudo-environmental groups that include, for example, the Carrying Capacity Network (CCN), and Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS).

The CCN's president, Virginia Abernethy, is a self-identified white separatist who also sits on the editorial advisory board of *The Occidental Quarterly*, an anti-Semitic publication. Abernethy served on the editorial advisory board for *The Citizens Informer*, the quarterly publication of the Council of Conservative Citizens (CofCC), formerly known as the White Citizens Council. Abernethy has also appeared at several CofCC conferences. The editor of John Tanton's *The Social Contract*, Wayne Lutton, has been active with CofCC, and NumbersUSA president Roy Beck presented at one of its annual conferences.

CAPS' national media director, Rick Oltman, is also a member of CofCC. Like the Carrying Capacity Network, Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS) taps into environmental constituencies around "immigration and its negative impact on the environment."

Like John Tanton, CAPS received funding from the pro-eugenics foundation Pioneer Fund and shares leadership

with the Tanton Network groups, NumbersUSA, FAIR, and PFIR.

The Tanton Network, CAPS, and Carrying Capacity Network work in tandem to promote anti-immigrant environmentalism by embedding their leaders and ideology into the mainstream environmental movement. This map details the nature of their relationships to dozens of environmental groups throughout the United States.

In 2004, the Sierra Club faced a hostile takeover by well-organized anti-immigrant groups with an ideological axe to grind.

A Sierra Club faction known as SUSPS (formerly known as Sierrans for U.S. Population Stabilization), strongly backed by outside anti-immigration groups, managed to elect three anti-immigrant activists - Doug LaFollette, Ben Zuckerman and Paul Watson - to the Club's 15-member board in the 2002 and 2003 elections. The consequences of a takeover would have been disastrous for the credibility of the Sierra Club. After months of public education and hard work by Sierra Club leaders and members, a referendum brought by anti-immigrant board members was voted down and the takeover attempt was roundly defeated.

Today the anti-immigrant movement is back. And environmental organizations cannot afford to remain silent.

If the anti-immigrant movement is successful, the focus of the environmental movement will no longer be on ecological problems, nor will it reflect America's cherished democratic values. Such a turn will abruptly alter how the U.S. environmental movement impacts the world.

# The John Tanton Network

Network of anti-immigrant organizations built by John Tanton starting with U.S. Inc. and Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR).

Center for  
Immigration  
founded by

## Californians for Population Stabilization

Received funding from the Pioneer Fund and shares leadership with FAIR and PFIR

### Population Connection

Leadership writes for The Social Contract and shares leadership with Population Media Center

### The Population Institute

Shares leadership with the Tanton Network

### Floridians

State contact for F

### The Population Press

Shares leadership with the Tanton Network

### Dancing Star Foundation

Shares leadership with CAPS

### ASAP! All

Project directly un

### Population-Environmental Balance

Shares leadership with the Carrying Capacity Network

### Sprawl City

Shares leadership with CAPS and the Tanton Network

### Vermonters

Shares leadership v

### World Population Balance

Shares leadership with Carrying Capacity Network

### RESTORE: The North Woods

Shares leadership with Carrying Capacity Network

### The Found

Financial ties to Ca

### Endangered Species Coalition

Shares leadership with Carrying Capacity Network

### The US Sustainable Population Poli

Joint project of the Carrying Capacity Network and the Tanton Network



CENTER FOR  
NEW COMMUNITY

P.O. Box 479327 • Chicago, IL 60647 312-20

**Center for  
Population Studies**  
by John Tanton

**The Social  
Contract Press**  
white nationalist publish-  
ing house founded by John  
Tanton and home of the  
quarterly journal The  
Social Contract.

**Negative Population  
Growth**  
received funds from FAIR

**NumbersUSA**  
Tanton Network  
project, has received  
funds from US Inc., and its  
president and founder is  
a former editor of The  
Social Contract

**Progressives for  
Immigration  
Reform (PFIR)**  
leadership is supported  
by the Tanton Network

**Carrying Capacity Network**  
President Virginia Abernethy is a self-identified white separatist, and CCN shares leadership with the Tanton Network.

**Progressives for a Sustainable Population**  
Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR)

**Center for Population  
Stabilization**  
under the control of Population-Environmental Balance

**Progressives for a Sustainable Population**  
with the Tanton Network

**Center for Population  
Stabilization**  
Carrying Capacity Network and The Tanton Network

**Population  
Stabilization  
Project**

*Turn to the back page  
for more information  
about the groups  
listed here*

**MAP KEY:**

- Group tied to the John Tanton Network [JTN]
- Group tied to Californians for Population Stabilization [CAPS]
- Group tied to Carrying Capacity Network [CCN]

## Additional background on organizations connected to the Tanton Network, the Carrying Capacity Network & Californians for Population Stabilization:

**The John Tanton Network** was built by John Tanton starting with his founding of U.S. INC. and Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) over 30 years ago. John Tanton solicited and received 1.2 million from the Pioneer Fund in 1997 to financially support FAIR. The Pioneer Fund was founded to promote the genes of white European Americans and financially supports those who promote the pseudo-science, eugenics.

- Center for Immigration Studies was founded in 1985 as a project directly under the control of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR).
- Negative Population Growth received financial support from FAIR.
- NumbersUSA was founded in 1997 under the financial and administrative umbrella of Tanton's U.S., Inc.
- Progressives for Immigration Reform (PFIR) was founded in 2009. The executive director is the former legal counsel to FAIR.

**Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS)** shares leadership with NumbersUSA, FAIR, and PFIR. CAPS received funding from the white supremacist foundation The Pioneer Fund.

**The Carrying Capacity Network** shares leadership with the Tanton Network and its president, Virginia Abernethy, is a self-identified white separatist.

## Environmental Groups Primarily Linked to the Tanton Network

- **Coalition for a Sensible Immigration Policy** - Coalition of Tanton network organizations including FAIR, U.S. Inc., and Californians for Population Stabilization. Its website is registered to NumbersUSA whose executive director Roy Beck is a contributor to the white nationalist journal The Social Contract.
- **Population Media Center** - President William Ryerson is also the president of PFIR. *FAIR advisor Richard D. Lamm serves on the national board of advisors and NumbersUSA advisor David Pimentel serves on the board of directors. Lamm publicly stated that he believes multiculturalism is destroying America.*
- **Earth Policy Institute's** - Founder is Lester Brown, a contributor to The Social Contract.
- **The Weeden Foundation** - Finances Tanton Network organizations such as the Center for Immigration Studies, Californians for Population Stabilization and NumbersUSA<sup>1,2,3,4</sup>. Don Weeden serves as a Director on the board of NumbersUSA.
- **The Center for Research on Population and Security** - Website's owner, Dr. Stephen Mumford is active with Tanton Network organizations the Federation for American Immigration Reform and Negative Population Growth. Mumford claims membership with American Immigration Control headed by white nationalist John Vinson.
- **Worldwatch Institute** - Founded by Lester Brown, a contributor to The Social Contract and anti-immigrant group Apply The Brakes.
- **Population Connection** - National advisory board member Lester Brown contributes to The Social Contract Press. *Lester Brown is also on the board of advisors to Population Media Center. Formerly, Population Connection was known as Zero Population Growth, an organization over which John Tanton presided in the 1970s.*
- **The Population Institute** - Director William N. Ryerson is the current President of the Tanton Network organization Progressives for Immigration Reform.
- **Floridians for a Sustainable Population** - The Florida state contact for FAIR.
- **The Population Press** - Publication of Blue Planet United. Executive Director Marilyn Hempel was secretary for Progressives for Immigration Reform and served as a board member of FAIR. Hempel cosponsors the US Sustainable Population Policy Project.

## Environmental Groups Primarily Linked to CAPS

- **Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS)** - William N. Ryerson serves on the board of directors of CAPS and is the President of PIFR. Vice president of CAPS, Ben Zuckerman is an advisory board member to PIFR.
- **Dancing Star Foundation (DSF)** - President Michael Tobias is an advisory board member to CAPS.
- **Sprawl City** - Ben Zuckerman is on board of advisors to Sprawl City and is vice president of CAPS. Leon Kolankiewicz and Roy Beck of NumbersUSA are listed as authors of Sprawl City. Steven A. Camarota, Director of Research for the Tanton Network organization Center for Immigration Studies is an advisor to Sprawl City.
- **Population Communication** - President, Robert Gillespie is an advisory board member for CAPS and Population Media Center.

## Environmental Groups Primarily Linked to the Carrying Capacity Network

- **The Carrying Capacity Network** - President, Virginia Abernethy, is a self-described white separatist.
- **Population-Environmental Balance** - Director and chair is CCN's Virginia Abernethy.
- **ASAP! Alliance for Stabilizing American Population** - a direct project of Population-Environmental Balance whose signatories include CAPS, Floridians for Sustainable Population and Colorado Alliance for Immigration Reform, each of these organizations are identified as state contacts for the Federation for American Immigration Reform.
- **Vermonters for a Sustainable Population** - Vice-president Thom McKenna has served 12 years on the board of Population-Environment Balance. William Ryerson is an advisory board member to VSP and he is the president of Progressives for Immigration Reform.
- **World Population Balance** - Albert A. Bartlett is on the board of advisors for the Carrying Capacity Network and World Population Balance. Bartlett is a contributor to The Social Contract.
- **Endangered Species Coalition** - President Brock Evans is on the board of Carrying Capacity Network.
- **The Foundation for Deep Ecology** - Finances Carrying Capacity Network and Negative Population Growth.
- **RESTORE: The North Woods** - Brock Evans is on the board of Carrying Capacity Network and RESTORE: The North Woods.
- **US Sustainable Population Policy Project** - Co-sponsored by Carrying Capacity Network, and Tanton organizations such as NPG, CAPS, and FAIR state contact Floridians for a Sustainable Population.

1 Op. cit. (note 39) 2 Op. cit. (note 40). 3 Op. cit. (note 41). 4 Op. cit. (note 42). 5 Doug Henwood, "Antiglobalization," Left Business Observer, No. 71, January 1996, <<http://www.leftbusinessobserver.com/Globalization.html>>.