

# Bell Curve Politics

## *The Pioneer Fund and Proposition 187*

The clamor over *The Bell Curve* receives political expression in California's Proposition 187, which would deny undocumented workers and their children from receiving public health care or education services, and compel state employees to report them to the INS. The Golden State has an especially poisonous nativist tradition. For much of this century, California barred Japanese from holding property. During the 1930s California and several neighboring states forcibly deported nearly half a million Mexican immigrants, some legal residents.

One organization with a keen interest in 187, though keeping a low profile for political reasons, is the rabidly anti-immigrant Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR). One of FAIR's top lobbyists, former INS commissioner Alan Nelson, helped draft the initiative in 1993. During that year Nelson was paid \$70,000 from FAIR, his sole client.

FAIR was founded in the late 1970s by the notorious John Tanton, also the founder of U.S. English, an English-only lobbying outfit. In 1984 Tanton, who still sits on FAIR's board, drafted a revealing memo to members of a coalition of anti-immigrant forces. He wrote: "Can homo contraceptivus compete with homo progeneriva 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?...Perhaps this is the first instance in which those with their pants up are going to get caught by those with their pants down!"

Another FAIR board member is Garrett Hardin, a University of California at Santa Barbara professor. He argues that "spectacular results could be

obtained by preventing the breeding of numerous members of the subnormal classes."

CounterPunch reviewed IRS reports and found that FAIR has received substantial funding — \$1,080,000 between 1982 and 1992 — from the white supremacists at the New York-based Pioneer Fund. That makes FAIR the second largest of Pioneer's 22 grant recipients.

The original aim of Pioneer, established in 1937 by textile magnate and Nazi admirer Wickliffe Draper, was to promote the breeding of "white persons who settled in the original thirteen colonies prior to the adoption of the Constitution and/or from related stock."

Its first president was Harry Laughlin, who in the 1930s lobbied to prevent Jews fleeing Germany from entering the United States. Laughlin, who called Nazi sterilization laws "a most exciting experiment," was honored with an honorary degree from the University of Heidelberg in 1936.

Pioneer has funded a number of right-wing academics who promote black inferiority. Murray does not appear to be directly linked to the Fund but virtually all of Pioneer's leading grant recipients are cited reverentially in *The Bell Curve*. Among the most abhorrent beneficiaries of Pioneer largesse are:

- J. Philippe Rushton (\$656,672 between 1982 and 1992), University of Western Ontario. Rushton, whose work received a rave notice in the Sept. 12 *National Review*, once revealed his intellectual talents on "Geraldo."

He links cranium and gonad size with IQ, levels of aggression and altruism. Rushton also posits that Africa, with its warm but unpredictable climate, led its inhabitants to reproduce

in mighty proportions. The European cold, on the other hand, encouraged, less frenzied procreation but a more careful nurturing of children.

One of Rushton's obsessions is penile throw weight. According to a recent story in *Rolling Stone*, he used Pioneer money to conduct a survey at a shopping mall in which participants — one-third white, one-third Asian, one-third black — were asked about the size of their penis and their maximum distance of ejaculation. "There is a black-white difference in testosterone levels," he once remarked.

Murray and Herrnstein defend Rushton, saying his work is "not that of a crackpot or a bigot," and that "he paints with a broad brush." In justifying its ties to Pioneer, FAIR says the organization's funding recipients, including Rushton, are "reputable, distinguished scientists."

(On Oct. 16 Malcolm Browne of *The New York Times* reviewed a book by Rushton along with *The Bell Curve*. He wrote that the authors of these splendid works were "recognized by colleagues as serious scholars." A writer in *The Toronto Star* remarked that Browne must have been referring to "Professor Beavis and Professor Butthead.")

- Richard Lynn (\$388,187) of the University of Ulster. Lynn is an honorary associate editor of *Mankind Quarterly*, a magazine dedicated to "race science" and which has links to former Nazi geneticists. One past editorial advisor was Otmar, Baron Von Verschuer, a former teacher of Joseph Mengele and the man who recommended the "Angel of Death" for his post as Auschwitz camp doctor.

In an Oct. 24 article in *The Times* (of London), Lynn defended *The Bell Curve*. "The bottom line is that the underclass has an intelligence deficit," he charged, adding that "with an average IQ of 77, the chronic unemployed are not much above the level of mental retardation." The one thing the underclass is good at, according to Lynn, "is producing children." These mutant

offspring "tend to inherit their parents' poor intelligence and adopt their sociopathic lifestyle."

A man of broad interests, Lynn in 1993 took time off to testify in court in favor of smacking children. Murray and Herrnstein describe him respectfully as "a leading scholar of racial and ethnic difference."

• **Michael Levin** (\$124,500), a philosophy professor at the City University of New York who says, "Blacks are less intelligent. That's why they don't get ahead." Like Murray, he calls for an immediate end to welfare, saying such a step would have "a very excellent demographic effect."

• **Arthur Jensen** (\$108,994), University of California at Berkeley, who argues that blacks suffer irreversible genetic deficiencies which make social spending a waste of money.

• **William Shockley** (over \$100,000 during an earlier period), who proposed that blacks be compensated in

exchange for undergoing sterilization. He once said that under the Nazis "there was some significant amount of elimination of genetic diseases," and that "just as the autobahns were a good thing, maybe there were some other good things about Hitler." In addition to FAIR, Pioneer has generously en-

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dowed two other groups involved in immigrant bashing, the American Immigration Control Foundation (AICF) and the Coalition for Freedom. The latter (\$195,000) raised \$700,000 for Oliver North's defense fund and until recently served as a front for Sen. Jesse Helms of North Carolina. Helms broke with the group after the IRS stripped it of tax-exempt status for illegally engaging in political activities and for funneling money and business to right-wing activists.

An outfit generously showered with Coalition dollars was the Raleigh, North Carolina-based firm of Jefferson Marketing Inc. (JMI), one of whose owners, Thomas Ellis, is a former Pioneer Fund director. Investigators found that the company received money for projects which were rarely completed. JMI did manage to produce, though years later than promised, a video attacking welfare.

In the early 1980s Ronald Reagan nominated Ellis to the Board for International Broadcasting, which oversees Radio Free Europe. His name was withdrawn when it was learned that Ellis owned extensive property in South Africa, a country he had visited at the expense of the former apartheid government.

The AICF (\$153,000), based in Virginia, calls immigration a "national security threat," and demands that the armed forces patrol U.S. borders. Its president, John Vinson, says that U.S. cities "are ceasing to be American in anything but name. Citizens there feel like strangers in their own country."

Literature distributed by the AICF a few years ago, signed by Vinson's predecessor, Susan Stacy, said: "My forefathers and yours entered America legally. They understood through hard work, obeying the law and contributing to the nation's good, they would EARN the right of citizenship in this great land of opportunity. But what we're dealing with today is quite different. Statistics show our borders have become a flood-gate for millions who see America as nothing more than a vast welfare state." The Foundation has also distributed the works of FAIR's founder, Tanton.

CounterPunch called the AICF, seeking information on 187. Vinson, who claims to represent an organization of 100,000, answered the phone. His organization, he said, is distributing literature in favor of 187 and is promoting the measure in its newsletter. Vinson also says he is in regular contact with pro-Proposition forces.

Murray insists he is a disinterested intellectual without a political agenda, but publication of his book must surely be pleasing to the fanatics behind Prop 187 (Murray himself espouses nativist views, fearing that immigrants with "low cognitive ability" will water down the nation's genetic pool). Indeed, the ugly coalition backing Prop 187 represents the naked face of bell curve politics and the logical outgrowth of Murray's polite racism. ■

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