

# IMMIGRATION

## CONSERVATIVE AND ECONOMIC SOLUTIONS TO ACT NOW



Thought Leadership From



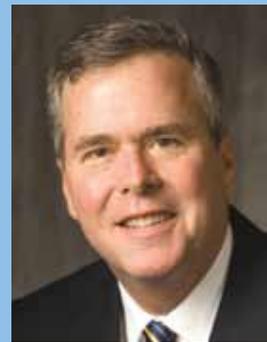
Dr. Ben Carson



Gov. Susana Martinez



Rep. Paul Ryan



Jeb Bush



Sen. Rand Paul



PARTNERSHIP FOR A  
NEW AMERICAN  
ECONOMY

A Special Report Prepared By The Washington Times Advocacy Department

# Conservative solutions for immigration reform run aplenty

To listen to some in the mainstream media, one might be misled to believe the conservative movement lacks the ideas, the passion or the principles to solve the immigration crisis. Nothing is farther from the truth.

From the hallowed halls of conservative think tanks to the impassioned speeches and writings of such conservative leaders as Paul Ryan, Rand Paul and Ben Carson, plenty of clear, consistent and pragmatic solutions have been proposed. From pro-business fiscal conservatives to social conservatives and tea party activists, there are consistent, constitutionally grounded solutions put on the table by the right.

The problem is that many of these reasoned, principled solutions for immigration reform that conservatives have offered have been drowned out by those seeking to use immigration as a political weapon or oversimplified into a single question of amnesty for those illegally in the country already.

We on The Washington Times Opinion pages believe it is critical that members of the new Congress understand the clear, comprehensive and pragmatic solutions that conservatives have recommended for addressing immigration reform. That's why we've assembled the best ideas

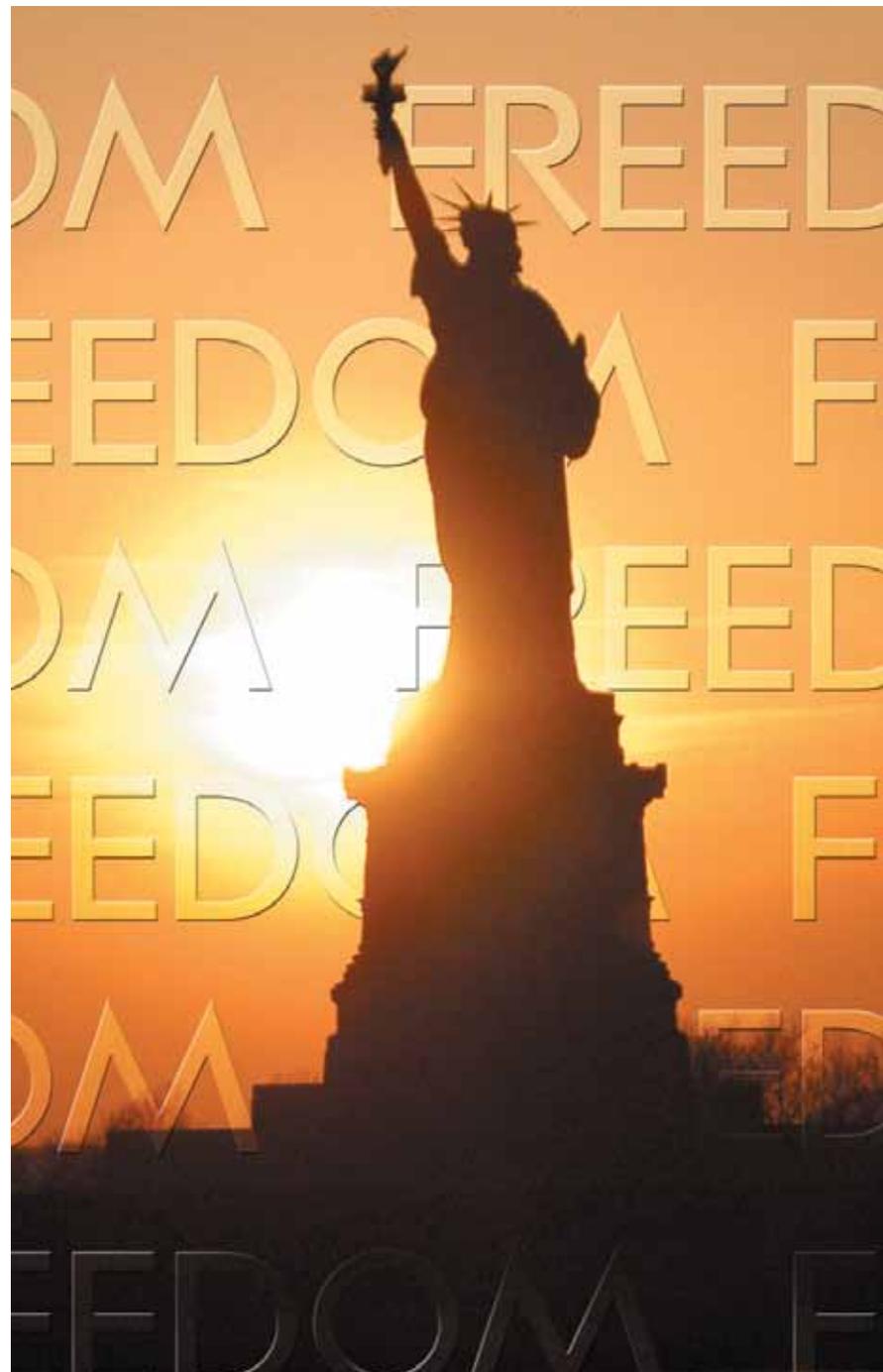


and arguments for a conservative solution to immigration in this special guide.

In assembling the talented cast of writers showcased in this section, we found there was enormous common ground among conservatives on such issues as securing the border, expanding guest worker visas, improving enforcement and changing the criteria for who should be allowed to cross the border legally. And we found there are some strong conservative-rooted ideas for carefully addressing those illegals in the country without granting amnesty.

Conservatives have the conviction, the values and the common sense to lead on this issue. They should not be intimidated by the cacophony on the left. Our Founding Fathers understood that controlling access to the country was an issue of law, rightfully bestowed in the Constitution to the purview of the legislative branch. The country needs clarity on this issue to secure the border and to give businesses regulatory certainty. The time to act is now upon us.

A Republican-led Congress can and should solve the issue immediately. The outlines of a comprehensive solution already exist. All that remains is the will and the votes to make it stick.

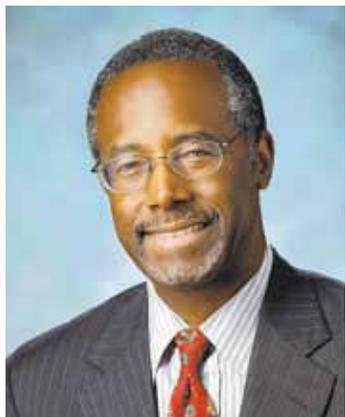


## STATEMENT OF THE PARTNERSHIP FOR A NEW AMERICAN ECONOMY

Americans of all backgrounds and political parties agree: our immigration system is broken. The current system hurts our economy. It puts our security at risk. It degrades the rule of law. Yet meaningful reform has been stalled for decades.

Conservative and Economic Solutions to Act Now puts forward a wide range of plans for ending the gridlock and reforming our immigration system in the new Congress. While the views expressed herein do not necessarily reflect those of the Partnership for a New American Economy, we supported this special section to bring some much-needed perspective to the immigration debate – and to foster the conversations that can help Congress fix immigration so that it better serves our economy and our country.

# A common-sense prescription for immigration



By Ben Carson

**W**e have all heard it said many times that America is a land of immigrants, some voluntary and some involuntary, but immigrants nevertheless. We have plenty of space in our country but insufficient resources to support everyone who wants to come here. When we see innocent children used as political pawns, it still tugs at our heartstrings, which is the intent. The real question is what are we going to do about it? Immigration reform has been a tough issue as well as a political football, and it has produced governmental stalemates and no useful solutions for decades.

President Obama's decision to act unilaterally outside of Congress is not the answer. Instead, Congress must use its lawmaking powers to fix a system that is so broken that only a legislative solution can fix it. The lack of policy progress has been incredibly frustrating, and the humanitarian border crisis this summer only highlighted how badly we need a system that deals efficiently and effectively with both illegal and legal immigration.

It is time for Congress to act, and to do so in a bipartisan fashion that engenders the confidence of the American people. There are many common-sense prescriptions within reach of our government. It is time to seize them.

To begin to solve this problem, we must have some understanding of why it exists. Despite all of its problems, America is still the place of dreams. As such, it is a small wonder that so many from other nations would like to

live here.

But right now, we have porous borders and unenthusiastic and inconsistent enforcement of immigration laws. Further incentives for illegal immigration are easy enrollment in public schools, easy employment for those willing to take jobs others don't want, easy access to

fully to local economies.

Any discussion of immigration reform should include bipartisan solutions that both address the undocumented population today and discourage illegal immigration going forward. If these issues are not addressed, solutions will fall short. On the other hand, if all of these issues are addressed

that we wouldn't be having this discussion. What they fail to account for is the fact that the issues have not been addressed.

A national guest-worker program makes sense and seems to work well in Canada. Noncitizens would have to apply for guest-worker permits and have guaranteed jobs

would be granted to individuals and not to groups. People already here illegally could apply for guest-worker status from outside of the country. This means they would have to leave first. They should in no way be rewarded for having broken our laws, but if they are wise they will arrange with their employers before they leave to immediately offer them legal jobs as soon as their applications are received. When they return, they still would not be U.S. citizens, but they would be legal, and they would be paying taxes. Only jobs that are vacant as a result of a lack of interest by American citizens should be eligible for the guest-worker program.

In return for greater certainty on immigration, employers must bear some responsibility for making sure that no illegal immigrants are hired. Employers who break the rules should receive swift, severe and consistent punishment that constitutes a real deterrent and not a mere inconvenience. A second infraction should be a criminal offense and treated as such.

All of this is irrelevant unless we have secure borders. There is much that can be learned from security personnel in prisons and other secured facilities, and there is a great deal of smart technology that can be employed to achieve secure borders. It is a matter of will rather than ability.

As long as we reward people who break laws, they will continue to break laws. We do need a continual flow of immigrants, but choosers need not be beggars. We make decisions based on our needs. People who refuse to comply with the rules must forfeit chances of legalization in the future. Anyone caught involved in voter fraud should be immediately deported and have his citizenship revoked. The point is this: We must create a system that disincentivizes illegal immigration and upholds the rule of law while providing us with a steady stream of immigrants from other nations who will strengthen our society. Let's solve the problem and stop playing political football.



health care and easy acquisition of public support through welfare programs. Yet this population cannot participate in the formal workforce, which means it cannot contribute

firmly and consistently, we can uphold the rule of law and discourage illegal immigration. Detractors will say that if it were that simple, it would have already been done and

awaiting them. Taxes would be paid at a rate commensurate with other U.S. workers, and special visas would allow for easy entry and egress across borders. Guest-worker status

# Washington must act on immigration

By Gov. Susana Martinez

**W**e live in a country whose very foundation was built by immigrants — families from all around the world who, despite their differences in culture and language, had one common thread: They wanted freedom and opportunity that could be found only in America. This sentiment has endured for more than 200 years.

We are a country enriched through our diversity: diversity of culture, background and, yes, even a diversity of opinion that comes with a free society. We want to remain a beacon of hope and opportunity for the world and a country that welcomes those with open arms who choose to come here legally seeking better lives. For this reason, and because of our nation's history, we cannot continue to neglect the issue of im-

migration. For far too long, our elected officials in the nation's capital have been unwilling to come together to solve our immigration problem. It takes courage, tenacity and determination to solve complex issues that have caused such intense emotions, human tragedy and

fear for the security of our nation. Instead, in Washington, they would rather play politics than address one of the core issues that defines us as a nation.

Until our representatives in Washington stop acting like politicians and start leading, the immigration issue will continue to go unaddressed. As a result of inaction, we have a dysfunctional system. Our border is porous and insecure and, as each day passes, the problem grows larger and the cost of inaction higher. What we need in Washington are public servants who are willing to come together in a bipartisan way and tackle the issue head-on.

Until they act, our immigration problem will continue to severely impact the states, leaving border governors like me to deal with another Washington failure.

For most of my life, I've lived along the border. In fact, I was a prosecutor for 25 years in a county that is less than an



New Mexico Gov. Susana Martinez waves to her supporters upon her arrival to the victory party on election night in Albuquerque, N.M., Tuesday, Nov. 4, 2014. Republican Susana Martinez was re-elected beating Democratic challenger Gary King. (AP Photo/Andres Leighton)



New Mexico Gov. Susana Martinez, second from right, poses with supporters for a selfie during the victory party on election night in Albuquerque, N.M., Tuesday, Nov. 4, 2014. Martinez was re-elected beating Democratic challenger Gary King. (AP Photo/Andres Leighton)

hour from one of the most violent cities in the world, Juarez, Mexico. As a border prosecutor, I've put criminals behind bars who worked for some of the most violent cartels in the world. I know firsthand the consequences of an unsecured border, and I understand how it

impacts lives and families. Now, as the governor of a border state, it is my responsibility to do whatever it takes to protect the people of New Mexico. That is why I have worked to repeal laws that jeopardize public safety, because my state will never be

a sanctuary for criminals. That wasn't the case before I took office. Illegal immigrants who committed crimes used to flock to New Mexico to seek sanctuary. One of my first actions as governor was putting an end to the "Sanctuary State" policy, and now our state police can inquire about the immigration status of anyone arrested for committing a crime. Today, our state is safer because we put an end to this dangerous policy.

We have also cracked down on fraud, busting elaborate operations that provided hundreds of driver's licenses to illegal immigrants from around the globe. As a result of our action, we have seen a 31 percent drop in illegal immigrants obtaining licenses.

However, problems remain. My predecessor allowed driver's licenses to be given to illegal immigrants — an unsafe practice that I am working to repeal. Every year since I've been in office, I have worked across the aisle to craft a bipartisan compromise to repeal this dangerous law, but partisans in the Legislature continue to stall efforts, even though 75 percent of New Mexico voters support repealing the law.

But what we do in the

states is not enough. We need Washington to take action and address immigration in a genuine and serious manner. Until Washington passes comprehensive immigration reform that starts with securing the border, members of Congress cannot claim with a straight face that they are putting the best interests of their constituents first. Instead, they are merely acting like politicians, not the leaders they are expected to be.

Solutions do not rest with rewards for lawbreaking, but neither do they lie in shutting America's doors and rolling up the welcome mat. The problems will continue to mount, and the challenges will only grow until we find some common ground.

Reforming our immigration system will not be easy, but I believe that by working together, we can rise to the challenge. If we succeed, our country will have more economic growth, a richer culture and greater security for everyone. That should be something, regardless of party, everyone can agree upon.

• *Susana Martinez is the governor of New Mexico and the first Hispanic woman elected governor in American history.*

# Why I'm committed to immigration reform



By Sen. Rand Paul

Originally published April 25, 2013

I am firmly committed to being part of reforming our nation's immigration laws. Conservatives and liberals agree that our complex immigration system is broken and in need of repair. Although the two sides disagree on solutions, I have three important ideas that should be part of the debate and that should please most Americans.

My "Trust but Verify" plan has three elements: secure the border, secure the vote and secure the taxpayer's dollar. If these three elements are met, I think, Congress can move forward on a comprehensive plan to reform immigration law.

Securing the border is my first priority. Under my plan, national and border security will move as the first element of any reform and would require annual votes of Congress to establish that the border is truly secure. No other reform can go forward until this happens. In addition to increased border security, our nation needs to modernize our visa system. We need to know who comes and goes on travel, student and other temporary visas. There must be a workable system to ensure that visitors don't use travel visas as a way to enter the country, then disappear. This will address the problem of visa overstayers.

National security has to be a cornerstone to any border-security and visa-reform initiative. Our nation needs to look back at the 9/11 Commission report and study the recommendations with regard to terrorists' use of visas to commit acts of violence against America. The Sept. 11

hijackers used visas to enter the country and to stay here while planning their attacks.

Strong border security includes using cutting-edge technology. Satellites, physical barriers, screening to bar criminals and terrorists from entry, increased patrols on the border and yes, surveillance drones all should be part of a comprehensive plan to physically protect the border. My idea is to take specific measures at the border and then have the office of inspector general for the Government Accountability Office produce a report to Congress on the progress of border security.

Securing the vote is also important in this debate, and I think Congress should look at reforming our "motor voter" laws to prevent fraud as a large bloc of immigrants are legalized but are not eligible to vote. President Clinton signed the National Voter Registration Act in 1993 that allows state governments to register voters when people come in to get driver's licenses. Still, some of these same states resist the idea that people need to produce a driver's license to prove who they are when they vote. Preventing noncitizens from being included on the voter

America is a nation of immigrants. Our Founding Fathers fled the tyranny of the British Empire and declared independence in 1776. Throughout history, our nation has been flooded with immigrants with a flavor for the home country, yet they have assimilated into what we know today as America. This idea, and the American dream, must be protected and preserved.

Immigrants are drawn to the magnet of free-market capitalism in the United States. Our nation should have open arms to immigrants who want to work hard to make a new life in a free na-

is a magnet that pulls people away from the American dream and toward an addiction to socialist government dependency.

I want federal and state agencies to coordinate with the Immigration and Customs Enforcement arm of the Department of Homeland Security to make sure immigrants don't get on the welfare rolls. If you come here to work, we have a place for you.

There is no way America can keep borrowing billions of dollars from China to fund annual deficits of more than \$1 trillion. Our national debt is a staggering \$16.8 tril-



My idea takes border security a step further than the proposals of anybody else in Congress. Under my plan, Congress will vote every year on border security. If Congress votes that the border is not secure, elements of immigration reform will cease going forward and visa programs will be slowed. If Congress does not think the border is secure after five years, every element of immigration reform will be stopped.

rolls is necessary for and consistent with fair immigration reform.

The third plank of my plan is to secure the taxpayers' dollars through welfare reform. When reforming immigration laws, our nation needs to make sure we don't explode our national debt with a pathway to the welfare state. In a perfect world, Congress would be debating welfare reform alongside immigration reform.

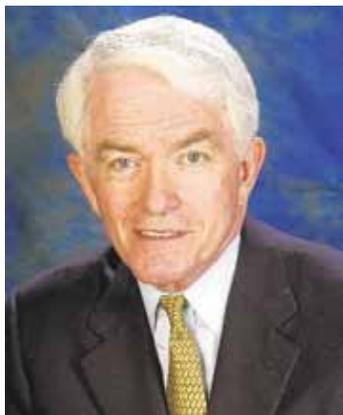
tion. As a libertarian-minded senator, I am attracted to the idea of somebody coming to this country with a couple of dollars in his pocket and then, through hard work, making it big.

That American dream has been attacked by welfare dependency and crony capitalism. The poor get hooked on welfare money that saps the will to work. Welfare is supposed to be a last-line-of-defense safety net, yet today, it

lion. Our nation is driving off a cliff of debt. Two chief reasons for this are the massive welfare state and crony capitalism. The government bails out corporations with friendly lobbyists for Republicans while funding a massive welfare state for Democrats. This must end.

I am committed to immigration reform that will secure the border, secure the vote and secure the taxpayers' money from the welfare state.

# The reason to not give up on immigration reform



By **Thomas J. Donohue**  
U.S. Chamber of  
Commerce

**W**inston Churchill said, “You can always count on Americans to do the right thing — after they’ve tried everything else.” Indeed, few nations have been tested as much as the United States has. Yet, time after time, we always manage to rise to the occasion, sometimes after many false starts. It will be no different with immigration reform. We will do the right thing — and

the sooner the better.

Although we are disappointed that Congress did not pass immigration reform so far this year, the business community and its coalition of partners are more determined than ever to fix our broken system. True immigration reform cannot be achieved through executive actions. We need a bipartisan legislative solution.

Reform is not only the right thing to do; it’s the necessary thing. It would help revitalize our economy by raising the gross domestic product, boosting productivity and attracting investment from around the world. It would spur innovation and entrepreneurship. It would create jobs for immigrant and native-born workers alike. And it would help us address our challenging demographic realities.

As we renew our push for a bipartisan solution in the new Congress, we will be reminding our elected leaders and all Americans of some simple truths about immigration reform.

Our current system is broken. It isn’t serving the needs of businesses and employees, state and local governments, the Border

Patrol and other law enforcement, or religious institutions. It isn’t working for our economy and society. Employers are often unable to hire high-skilled foreign-born professional workers — even those who are educated in the United States. Why? Because hiring caps were set more than 20 years ago when our economy was one-third its current size.

Congress hasn’t allocated visas for a single temporary foreign worker to legally enter our country for lesser-skilled year-round jobs — even if a business can’t find sufficient numbers of qualified and interested Americans through rigorous local labor market recruitment.

On top of that, we don’t have a uniform national mandatory electronic employment verification system. Without one, the United States will remain a magnet for illegal immigration. More needs to be done to secure our borders, and a system in which more than 11 million undocumented immigrants are living and working in our communities in de facto amnesty is indefensible.

Welcoming immigrants is good for our economy and our society. Immigrants do not typically

compete with Americans for jobs. The reality is that they create more jobs through entrepreneurship, economic activity and tax revenues. Immigrants complement U.S.-born workers and can help fill labor shortages across the skill spectrum and in key sectors. Immigrants also can help replenish the workforce as baby boomers retire, growing our tax base and raising the worker-to-retiree ratio, which is essential to support programs for the elderly and the less fortunate.

Support for reform has never been stronger. Proponents of common-sense immigration reform include lawmakers from both sides of the aisle, as well as labor, business, law enforcement, ethnic organizations, religious groups, and the high-tech industry. Most important, polls consistently show that the majority of voters believe that the status quo on immigration is unacceptable.

There will never be a perfect time for reform. The political landscape isn’t going to be any more conducive to reform in two years or four years. For too long, the can has been kicked down the road. And while we’ve failed to act, the problem has only grown

worse. It is in our national interest to get immigration reform done.

We must reform our system so that we can reassert our competitiveness. For the United States to build a 21st century workforce in a global economy — and for businesses to have access to the employees they need to compete and succeed — we must welcome the world’s talent to our shores.

Immigration is a deeply emotional issue that ignites people’s passions. But there is virtually no dispute over the fact that our current system is broken. The arguments are over how to fix it, not whether to fix it. So let’s have that debate, resolve it and get to work.

The business community and its partners will continue to make the case for meaningful reform. We’re going to use every tool and resource at our disposal, and we’re going to keep pushing our leaders to do the right thing for our country. We know that immigration reform will ultimately get done — because it must get done.

• *Thomas J. Donohue is president and CEO of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.*

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## Why immigration is good for U.S. growth



By **John Engler**

**I**f one thing unites almost everyone in the United States, no matter their political views, it is this: We need greater investment and growth with more jobs and opportunity for as many Americans as possible. If there is another thing that most Americans can agree on, it is that too many elected leaders in Washington seem unwilling or unable to tackle the most pressing issues that face our country.

Meanwhile, business leaders are more united than ever on one issue: the importance of fixing America’s immigration system for the long term. The economic case to do so is powerful and clear. Passing immigration reform would provide the opportunity for Washington to show Americans that policymakers can work together to solve big problems and boost the economy at the same time.

Immigration reform would improve economic growth. The Bipartisan Policy Center estimates that reform would boost gross domestic product by 4.8 percent and productivity by 1.0 percent over 20 years. Reform would also increase U.S. employment and raise wages. The Congressional Budget Office projects it would add 9 million workers to the labor force while slightly increasing wages over 20 years.

This expansion would have a powerful effect on easing our massive fiscal challenges. The Bipartisan Policy Center

estimates that federal deficits would decrease by almost \$1.2 trillion over 20 years. This is a strong antidote to the deficits that make vital activity like infrastructure investment and worker training programs so hard to fund today.

Immigration also creates businesses. The Partnership for a New American Economy estimates that immigrants are nearly 50 percent more likely to start a business than native-born workers. These businesses create jobs and bring more customers into the supply chain, which in turn generates more revenue for local governments and resources for communities across America. It is important to note that immigrants or their children founded more than 40 percent of U.S. Fortune 500 companies — turning their American dreams into American jobs. That is just one reason why high-skilled immigrants are so critical to growth.

Beyond the numbers are the people themselves who

make the case for reform. In a report the Business Roundtable released this year, “Contributing to American Growth,” we featured stories of our member CEOs and senior executives in their companies who immigrated to America (many through use of higher-skilled visas) and have contributed to economic growth and job creation. The story of immigration is the story of America, and America needs a system that allows people to come here and contribute their talents and skills to economic prosperity for all. Today, there is a global competition for talent, and we cannot afford to lose out to other nations.

Creating an immigration system that reflects the realities of today’s economy needs to start with strong, meaningful reform that secures our borders, protects our citizens, enforces our laws and helps our economy grow again. The right reforms include improving America’s technological capability to

enforce immigration laws, such as resources for border security and an E-Verify system for U.S. employers; welcoming legal immigrant workers to contribute to U.S. economic growth and job creation by increasing visas for higher-skilled workers and establishing a system for lower-skilled workers; and developing a process for undocumented immigrants already residing in the United States to come forward, undergo background checks, pay a penalty and earn legal status.

An immigration system that works for America would strengthen national security while making the American economy healthier. We urge Congress and the president to put the U.S. economy first and fix our broken immigration system.

• *John Engler is a former governor of Michigan and the current president of the Business Roundtable, an association of CEOs of leading U.S. companies.*

# Jeb Bush: Congress should lead on immigration

As he flirts with a run for the White House in 2016, former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush has been one of the strongest voices calling on Congress to act on its own to reform the nation's immigration system. He also has been among the Republicans to offer the most specific solutions.

"The Constitution requires Congress to pass laws, not the president," Mr. Bush said last month, imploring Congress to act after the election on immigration rather than leave the job to President Obama to carry out through executive action.

Mr. Bush, the son of the 41st president and brother of the 43rd, laid out some of his most detailed ideas this summer as waves of children flooded the border. He argued for a multi-tiered solution to strengthen border security, remove incentives for illegal border crossings and expand legal immigration with a focus on economic growth.

"A chief reason so many people are entering through the back door, so to speak, is that the front door is shut ...," Mr. Bush wrote in a Wall Street Journal op-ed in July co-authored with Clint Bolick. "The best antidote to illegal immigration is a functioning system of legal immigration. We must rebuild one that is economically driven — for example, looking for those whose skills and drive will make a difference — in our national interest and true to our immigrant heritage."

Mr. Bush also has implored his fellow Republicans to show courage and act on their own, rather than let face a solution imposed by regulatory powers. He has applauded some of the "more pragmatic ideas" that congressional lawmakers have offered and declared in his op-ed that, "Now is the time for House Republicans to demonstrate leadership on this issue."

Mr. Bush's voice is particularly influential on the issue because he governed one of the nation's largest

states with one of the largest immigrant populations, and he is respected for offering not just platitudes but concrete ideas for conservatives to rally around.

Among the solutions Mr. Bush has offered over the last year:

- Closing loopholes that allow illegal immigrants to be released from federal custody between hearings.
- Removing the incentives that encourage foreigners to violate U.S. immigra-

- Expanding legal immigration policy while eliminating "chain migration" resulting from extended family preferences. His ideas include increasing the number of visas for highly skilled workers and expanding the guest worker program.

"Nearly two-thirds of the 1 million lawful immigrants admitted into the U.S. each year do so through family preferences. That means that unless someone seeking to immigrate has a

other specific solutions, including increasing the rights of states to enforce immigration laws and to determine which services must be provided to illegals.

He also has made repeated pitches to start the process of immigration reform with a strong focus on securing the border. He has been an early supporter of allowing the president to use drones, the National Guard and active-duty military troops to enforce and patrol the border and for

United States. Currently, Mr. Bush does not support a special path to citizenship but said in 2013 he could support a special legal status under which illegal immigrants could declare themselves in the United States and attempt to gain legal residency through various avenues, such as work permits.

Mr. Bush told The Washington Times this week he believes Mr. Obama should defer to Congress on immigration reform to ensure



Former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush speaks during a voting rally for state Republican candidates, in Castle Rock, Colo., Wednesday, Oct. 29, 2014. Senate candidate Cory Gardner and gubernatorial candidate Bob Beauprez were among the candidates who joined Bush at the Douglas County Fairgrounds. (AP Photo/Brennan Linsley)

- Carry out interdiction strategies that head off illegal immigration before it gets to the U.S. border, including increased cooperation with Mexico and strategic targeting of human trafficking cartels.

relative in America or can squeeze into the relative handful of available work-related or asylum visas, the only way they can enter is illegally," he lamented in his op-ed.

Last year, the former Florida governor wrote a book that offered many

requiring biometrics in the identification cards of legal immigrants. He also has urged stepped-up enforcement against companies that hire illegals.

Mr. Bush also has waded into the issue of what to do with the millions of illegal immigrants already in the

a lasting resolution and to avoid both legal and political conflicts.

"We need a permanent solution passed by Congress that will fix our broken immigration system. It's in our nation's best long-term interests," he told the Times.

# Paul Ryan: A detailed plan for Congress to act on immigration

Inside the House Republican caucus, Rep. Paul Ryan is the “idea’s guy,” unafraid to get a conversation going by putting forth fresh and concrete solutions to the nation’s most pressing problems. He’s done it for the federal budget, for reforming Medicare and most recently for transforming America’s broken immigration system.

Over the last two years, Mr. Ryan has been an unrelenting voice for immigration reform that starts with securing the border and includes expanding legal opportunities to immigrate to America to meet the needs of our economy.

“We should reform our immigration system because it will help America,” Mr. Ryan declares on his official congressional Web site. “... We need an immigration system that upholds the rule of law and helps our economy grow.”

Mr. Ryan, chairman of the powerful House Budget Committee, has proposed one of the most detailed immigration reform proposals of any Republican in Congress. It rests on four guiding principles:

- Secure the border, expanding the resources and tools for those who patrol it and working with independent experts to achieve operational control and situational awareness along the border.
- Enforce the current laws, particularly by implementing an improved exit/entry visa tracking and a mandatory employment verification system.
- Encourage legal immigration with a guest-worker visa program that is tailored to meet the needs of the economy and attracts the best and brightest talents in the world.
- Give those already in



the country illegally an opportunity to get right with the law without granting them amnesty.

On the last issue, Mr. Ryan has suggested two solutions: 1.) that the children of illegal immigrants – often referred to as “Dreamers” -- be allowed to stay since they didn’t break any laws, their parents did;

and 2.) adult illegals should be given the opportunity – if certain requirements are met – to serve a lengthy period of probation to get right with the law. Those who violate any terms of that probation should immediately lose probationary legal status.

“A conservative deals with the world as it is, not how it

should be,” Mr. Ryan said recently. “...We need to deal with the undocumented population because right now we have de facto amnesty. We need to invite people to get right with the law, without letting them cut in line.”

Mr. Ryan also has been a strong voice for letting Congress solve the immigration crisis, telling *The Washington Times* he believes it would be a mistake for President Obama to act on his own.

“I hope the President will not issue an executive order because it would effectively poison the well in Congress, making real immigration reform that much harder to accomplish. Rather than go around Congress, I would encourage the President to give the House time to develop solutions that respect the rule of law, secure our border, and fix our broken system for good,” he told the *Times* this week.

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## Respecting the law by fixing it

By Sen.-elect Cory Gardner

Our immigration system is broken and both parties are to blame. But now is not the time for pointing fingers and inciting division—now is the time for solutions.

For hundreds of years, people from across the world have traveled to America in search of opportunity and a better way of life. The United States continues to serve as a beacon of hope for individuals and families determined that tomorrow will be brighter than today.

We are also a nation of laws. Generations of new American families have waited in line, completed mountains of paperwork, and followed strict rules to secure a spot in the greatest country on Earth. Moving forward, we must stress respect for the law—but also recognize that existing law simply isn’t working.



Of the 11 to 12 million individuals currently in the country without documentation, approximately 40 percent of them entered the United States legally using valid work permits, visas, or other means. Our inability to ensure that these individuals remained in the country with legal documentation is perhaps the best example of why

our system needs reform.

Immigrants play a critical role in our communities—they attend school with our children, serve in our military, and worship in our churches. They contribute significantly to the economy, especially in my home state of Colorado as employees, entrepreneurs and small business owners.

That’s why it’s so important to get immigration reform right. We must strengthen border security, but border security isn’t complete without a strong guest worker program. Streamlining our visa programs, especially for STEM workers, and promoting legal immigration are also critical elements of reform.

Eliminating bureaucracy and red tape is beneficial for immigration reform and would help reduce the skyrocketing national debt. These are only a few of the solutions where we can find bipartisan agreement on moving forward sensible immigration reform.

Unfortunately, President Obama has indicated that he may circumvent Congress and issue yet another immigration-related executive order. This would further erode trust between President Obama and House Republicans and send a message to the newly-elected

Senate that he is unwilling to cooperate on this issue.

We have reached a point where prospective immigrants still see hope and opportunity in this country, but where our laws and outdated systems have fallen behind. While some efforts at reform have failed, I remain confident that Congress and the President can find common ground on this issue.

As we near the start of the new Congress, I urge the President not to issue this executive order and ask him to work with me and other Members interested in enacting long-term solutions to immigration reform. It’s time to set aside partisan bickering and focus on what has made this country so strong.

.....  
Cory Gardner currently serves in the U.S. House of Representatives and was recently elected to represent Colorado in the U.S. Senate starting in January.



## The Time to Win the Future is Now



By Grover Norquist

**W**e won our independence as a nation with 3 million Americans. Today we are the freest, richest and most powerful nation in the world with more than 300 million Americans. Immigration made us strong. Powerful. Economically dynamic. Growing.

If we were limited to just those born of the 3 million, we would never have filled the continent. Never become strong enough to stand alone and free. Immigration built this nation. Is this nation.

What is America? Are we all adherents of one religion? No. There is no state church, temple or mosque. Are we one race or

ethnicity like the Germans or Greeks? Never. Not now and not from the start when people from many nations filled the 13 Colonies.

America is a people of the book, the Constitution. Your passport to being an American is your commitment to liberty and the government structures designed by the Constitution to protect that liberty.

Every generation has had its failure to recognize this. The president of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, once told Leo Crowley, a Catholic, "Leo, this is a Protestant country, and the Catholics and the Jews are here on sufferance. It is up to both of you (he was referring also to Henry Morgenthau, his Jewish secretary of the Treasury) to go along with anything that I want at this time." Roosevelt was very wrong.

All names are American names.

Everyone agrees that immigration made America great, prosperous and strong. Our great-grandparents may have whined about the newest immigrants, but our grandparents and parents married them, and they are us and we are them. We know America was blessed by the wave of immigrants

"back then." Yet some with 20/20 hindsight cannot see the future unfolding ahead of us.

Not too long ago, we were told that Japan was No. 1. America's best days were behind her. Now we hear that China will soon pass us by. Nonsense. Because we do immigration better than other nations, we control our destiny. Japan and Germany are already declining in population. Culturally, they do not do immigration well. Failure to welcome immigration is a stunting disease in any nation. China has many people today, but it decided to enforce a one-child-per-couple policy and for cultural reasons does not absorb immigrants well. Other nations might welcome immigrants, but they are not governed in a way that makes them the preferred destinations for most immigrants.

The best talent in the world would like to work in America. The hardest-working young men and women see their best futures with us. Kind of like our grandparents. Immigrants will tell you America did them a great favor by accepting them. Looking back, we know the immigrants, their hard work and dedication, and their children were gifts to our nation and its future. They manned our armed

forces and filled our engineering schools and science labs.

Once again, the American people are debating how many immigrants we should welcome. Polls show that majorities of Republicans, Democrats and Americans at large support comprehensive immigration reform and see immigration as a net benefit to our nation. Yet some loud voices confuse some in the media. The labor unions and radical environmentalists and zero population growth advocates have argued that more people would make us poorer. But America knows that people are resources, not costs. Men and women produce as well as consume. We celebrate births and mourn at funerals.

America alone could decide next year to bring 1 million engineers to our shores or 1 million 20-year-olds filled with energy and love of liberty. There are many sources of energy. We can drill and frack for oil and natural gas here in America or we can leave the oil underground as President Obama and congressional Democrats have demanded in Alaska and off our coasts. Immigrants can join our nation and make us stronger, or our immigration laws can strand them overseas in nations whose laws and traditions keep

them from prospering and producing.

It is time to reform our immigration laws step by step or in one comprehensive package. Mr. Obama and Democrats in Congress have a problem. They spent 2009 and 2010 with supermajorities in the House and Senate and did nothing to reform immigration. The union bosses stopped them as they did in 2007 when Robert Novak reported that Sen. Obama was their messenger, telling the Senate that President Bush's immigration reform was dead.

Immigration reform is an easier call for Republicans. The communities of faith, the business community and registered Republicans at the grass-roots level all support comprehensive reform. The Southern Baptists, the Mormon Church, the Catholic Church and the Jewish groups are in. So are the Chamber of Commerce, the farmers, ranchers, dairy owners, and high-tech, small and large companies. Pro-lifers know that people are assets, not liabilities. Free-market Republicans know that more people produce more wealth.

The time to win the future is now.

● Grover Norquist is president of *Americans for Tax Reform*.

Dear Republican Members of Congress,

As Republicans, we believe the new Republican majority control of both houses of Congress provides an opportunity to be the problem-solver our country needs. Specifically, there is an opportunity for Congressional Republicans to be the architects of reform that will reflect our priorities and genuinely addresses our country's needs.

We implore you to reform our immigration system so that it discourages the rising tide of illegal immigration, while fixing the unnecessary obstacles that send talented individuals elsewhere and make it harder for American companies to compete, grow, and create jobs for American workers. We must be the Party that celebrates hard work and risk taking. Welcoming immigrants who want to come here and contribute to our economy and our society is an important piece of that.

Simply put, our immigration system is in shambles. There is a humanitarian crisis at our border that neither the President nor Congress has done anything to adequately address. Meanwhile arbitrary and antiquated visa laws wreak havoc on our economy and threaten our competitive advantage in a global marketplace.

Due to Washington's inaction, businesses in key growth industries are unable to hire the workers they need to expand and compete in a global marketplace. As demand for local produce goes up, American production goes down because our farmers don't have the workers they need to harvest, leaving us to import more fruits and vegetables. We end up growing someone else's agriculture sector, when we could be growing ours. Entrepreneurs who want to start businesses here and hire American workers are turned away. And when we say no, China, Germany, Australia, and many others say yes. In a global economy, that makes us weaker not stronger. We need to be exporting goods, not talent.

Immigration reform is not only an economic imperative. It's also a political imperative. Good policy is good politics. Inaction on this issue is not good policy. If the only legislation our Party has recently advanced on immigration is viewed as anti-immigration or not immigrant-friendly, we stand to alienate troves of voters who otherwise agree with our principles. Republicans in Congress need to show that we can lead on tough issues and demonstrate appeal to broad sections of Americans.

Failure to fix our immigration system is failure to adapt to the new market, failure to address a security problem that goes beyond unaccompanied minors, and failure to plan for the future of our Party. Addressing our border security and the current crisis should be the beginning of broader reform, but it cannot be the end.

You have the opportunity to lead a legislative effort. Doing so will transform this country – and this Party – for the better. We urge you to take this opportunity.

Sincerely,

Secretary Spencer Abraham  
*10th United States Secretary of Energy*

Norman E. Adams  
*Co-Founder of Texans for Sensible Immigration Policy and President of Adams Insurance Service, Inc.*

Tina Aldatz  
*Founder and Board Member, Lincoln Club of Orange County*

Jorge E. Arrizurieta  
*Chairman, Arrizurieta and Associates*

Johnny Barnes  
*President and CEO, Farmpak & Barnes Farming*

Ambassador Frank E. Baxter  
*Chairman Emeritus, Jefferies and Company*

Lane Beattie  
*President and CEO, Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce*

David Bender

Donald "Boysie" Bollinger  
*Chairman and CEO, Bollinger Shipyards*

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*President, Braman Dealerships*

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Gary Chartrand  
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Jim Click  
*Owner, Jim Click Automotive Team*

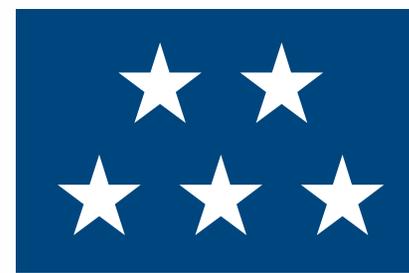
Dave Coburn  
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*President and CEO, All American Containers, Inc.*

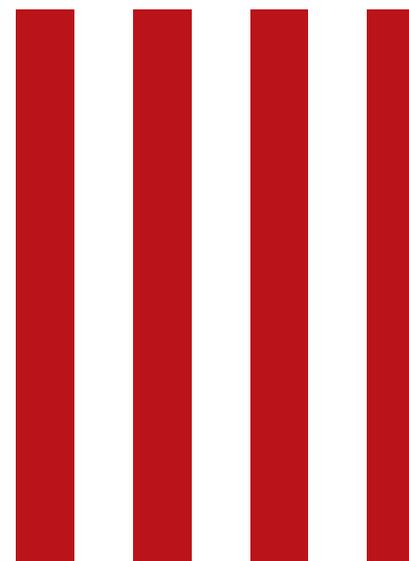
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Secretary Donald L. Evans  
*34th United States Secretary of Commerce*



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*Assistant Secretary, Manufacturing Services of U.S. Commerce Department*

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[Republicansforimmigrationreform.org](http://Republicansforimmigrationreform.org)

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Doug Robinson

Mario Rodriguez  
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Ambassador John Rood  
Chairman, Vestcor Companies

Ambassador Francis Rooney  
Former CEO, Rooney Holdings

Robert Ross  
Owner, Interurban Restaurants

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Chief and Executive Officer, Melaleuca, Inc.

Dwayne Vernon  
President, Vernon Masonry, Inc.

Massey Villarrel  
President & CEO, Precision Task Group, Inc.

Doug Whitley

G. Ed Williamson  
Chairman & CEO, Williamson Automotive Group

Senator Bob Worsley  
Legislative District 25, Arizona State Senate

Jon Wyss  
President, Okanogan County Farm Bureau

Fred Zeidman  
Managing Partner, Straight Path Communications Inc.

Jay Zeidman  
National Chairman, Maverick PAC

Spencer Zwick  
Finance Chairman, Romney for President

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# Hope for immigration reform in the 114th Congress

By Rep. Jason Chaffetz

**O**ur failed immigration policies in the United States don't work for anyone. I have long argued that we will never, ever solve this problem until we fix our legal immigration system. As long as the delays and penalties for navigating the legal process are more painful than the consequences of coming to the United States illegally, we will continue to have a problem regardless of how high or wide our fence is.

Contrary to public perception, there is a great deal of agreement on many of the solutions needed to address our immigration problem. If you set aside the divisive amnesty issue, you find that there is broad agreement on everything from border security to visa reform. Most of us recognize the need to address the brain drain of high-skilled students leaving our country, the urgency of deporting fugitive aliens who have been convicted of crimes, the value of a visa entry and exit program and reforms to our agricultural worker programs.

Unfortunately, those types of votes have been held hostage to the demands for a broad and immediate amnesty. With Democratic leaders pledging to reject any



Rep. Jason Chaffetz, R-Utah, the winner of Utah's 3rd Congressional District, waves as he walks on stage during the Utah State GOP election night watch party Tuesday, Nov. 4, 2014, in Salt Lake City. (AP Photo/Rick Bowmer)

bill that does not resolve the highest-stake issue — amnesty — in their favor, efforts to resolve even the smallest piece of the immigration

quagmire have been stalled.

With new leadership in the Senate and a stronger Republican majority in the House, I am optimistic that

we will now be able to move forward on important pieces of the immigration reform puzzle on which there is broad agreement. Among these is a bill I sponsored that addresses the barriers facing high-skilled immigrants.

Despite passing the House by a vote of 389-15, my bill to remove the per-country caps on employment- and family-based visas stalled in the unproductive Democrat-led Senate. This bill simply removes some of the penalties and delays that discriminately affect people from high-population countries such as Mexico, India and China. It didn't stall because we couldn't agree. Both Democrats and Republicans recognize that visas should be available on a first-come, first-served basis without regard to country of origin. The bill stalled because the Senate never took a vote.

Last November, I introduced bipartisan legislation

that would create a consistent and reliable pay system within the Border Patrol. According to the Congressional Budget Office, this bill would save taxpayers upward of \$100 million annually. These pay reforms would also enhance border security by ensuring that a greater number of agents are in the field on a more consistent basis.

With a new Senate majority leader and newly elected House and Senate members who are committed to finding solutions, I believe the time is right to pass common-sense immigration reforms that fix our legal immigration system, creating incentives for would-be immigrants to come in through the front door again.

If immigration reform were easy, it would have been done by now. Nevertheless, we need to stop holding the simple fixes hostage to the resolution of the amnesty question.



# Immigration Reform: A conservative opportunity with Hispanics

By Daniel Garza and Hector Barreto

Last week, the Partnership for a New American Economy announced the Conservative & Hispanic Leaders for Immigration Reform Coalition comprised of prominent Hispanic leaders. Like all Americans, conservative Hispanics need to be united in calling for legislation that finds solutions to fix the broken system. That is why leaders such as Al Cardenas (former chairman of the American Conservative Union), Secretary Rosario Marin (41st Treasurer of the United States) and Alfonso Aguilar (American Principles in Action Latino Partnership) joined efforts with us to renew interest in passing common-sense immigration reform as soon as possible.

We know that the immigration system has been broken for quite some time, and that the issue is ripe for a solution. Studies show reform is good for America, it's good for our economy and it is good for families. Congress must make fixing our system a top priority, because meaningful reform can only happen through legislative action. Hispanic voters are paying close attention to this issue, and that should not go unnoticed by members of Congress.

America's immigrant voters are increasingly becoming a larger part of our nation's electorate. Although immigrant citizens have at times been portrayed as adhering to liberal values, we know that like all Hispanics, immigrant citizens are not monolithic and possess values across the political spectrum. Conservatives should not overlook these newly minted voters and understand the common ground they share on many important issues.

Of the immigrant citizens in the U.S. who are eligible to vote, 50 percent do not identify with either major political party. And immigrants who do identify with a party often identify less strongly



Jackson, left, and Jacob Sanchez, 2, wait while their mother, Jana Sanchez, votes on Election Day, Tuesday, Nov. 4, 2014, in Salina, Kan. Sanchez said she wasn't sure how bringing her two year old sons with her to vote would go, "but it was fun." (AP Photo/Salina Journal, Tom Dorsey)



Senate candidate Cory Gardner, left, greets supporters after a voting rally for state Republican candidates attended by former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush, in Castle Rock, Colo., Wednesday, Oct. 29, 2014. (AP Photo/Brennan Linsley)

with their party of choice than American-born voters.

Religious values among immigrants also provide a common ground on which

to connect with this group. In the last several years, the number of Hispanic immigrants who identify as Evangelical or born-again

Christians has surged. Young immigrants are also increasingly religious with forty-one percent of immigrants age 18 to 29 ranking religion as

"very important" to their lives, compared to only 32 percent of native-born Americans.

The midterm election proved Republicans who properly engaged and included the Latino community directly into their messaging gained support among Latino voters, and we believe candidates who do the same with new immigrant voters will be rewarded as well. Still, it must be said, many have turned away from the Republican Party in recent years due to the charged rhetoric and perceived hostility surrounding the issue of immigration. By enacting immigration reform, Republicans cannot only boost the economy, but also neutralize an issue that is currently alienating foreign-born Americans.

In a time when naturalized citizens make up 8.1 percent of the eligible voting age population, and 4.2 million newly naturalized Hispanics and Asians are projected to become eligible voters by 2020, conservatives cannot take immigrant voters for granted. By focusing on their shared common ground of conservative values and the principles of economic freedom, Republicans can close gaps with this key constituency and boost their party's supporters in future elections. Passing meaningful immigration reform is not only right for the country economically, but it makes good political sense for conservatives as well.

The Conservative & Economic Hispanic Leaders for Immigration Reform was launched as part of PNAE's Hispanic Engagement Campaign. It serves as a critical effort in coalescing conservative Hispanics who are calling for market-based, sensible reform with a strong, loud voice, a voice that will only get louder in 2016.

• Hector Barreto is Chairman of The Latino Coalition and the former U.S. Small Business Administrator.

• Daniel Garza is the Executive Director of The LIBRE Initiative.



# The need for a market-based agricultural worker program

With the midterm elections over, policymakers setting the agenda for the next Congress should keep in mind one important fact: America's immigration system needs work. This is a statement that most Americans and, in particular, most of America's farmers and ranchers, can heartily agree with. Inaction in Washington has brought us to this point, and it will take action from our elected leaders to start us on the path to a solution.

For many in agriculture, the biggest challenge they face is finding the workers they need to run their farms and ranches. After all, it does not matter what Mother Nature throws at you if you do not have people to help pick crops or care for animals through good years and bad. This is a challenge faced by lettuce growers in California, dairy farmers in New York, nursery owners in North Carolina, citrus growers in Florida and all farms from coast to coast.

It is an issue that impacts communities far beyond the farm, since each of the 2 million hired farmworkers in the U.S. supports two to three other jobs in sales, processing, marketing and transportation.

This shortage of farmworkers also bumps up against what is an open secret in agriculture: that of those 2 million hired employees, 60 percent to

70 percent are unauthorized to work in this country, though they show employment documents that appear genuine.

Even though unemployment is still a problem in many areas, farmers — often paying well above minimum wage — have a difficult time finding workers. The main factor is the seasonal and often transitory nature of the work. Most people do not want a job that lasts only six weeks; far fewer want to travel across the country from south to north each year after the harvest seasons.

In theory, the existing agricultural visa program could offer farmers a way to find workers. In reality, the program has become a bureaucratic nightmare that supplies less than 4 percent of the workers needed on America's farms, and the existing program is only for temporary and seasonal work. Farmers with year-round labor needs are shut out from using the program entirely.

To respond to this situation, a group of 70 or so organizations representing farmers, growers and agricultural employers came together to form the Agricultural Workforce Coalition to speak with one voice and find a path forward on immigration reform. Through the ups and downs on this issue over the past two years, the coalition has stayed united in calling for a solution that

deals with the reality of our agricultural workforce and with the need for a market-based agricultural worker program to address labor needs.

This January, Congress can turn the page on this issue and start anew. The only way to permanently fix agriculture's labor shortage is through legislation. We hope that in the new Congress, the House and Senate, Republicans and Democrats, Congress and the administration, can come together and agree on legislation to secure America's agricultural future.

.....  
*Founding members of the Agriculture Workforce Coalition:*

*Bob Stallman*  
 President  
 American Farm Bureau Federation

.....  
*Michael V. Geary*  
 President & CEO  
 AmericanHort

.....  
*Mike Stuart*  
 President & CEO  
 Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association

.....  
*Frank A. Gasperini, Jr.*  
 Executive Vice President  
 National Council of Agricultural Employers

.....  
*Charles F. Conner*  
 President & CEO  
 National Council of Farmer Cooperatives

.....  
*Roger Johnson*  
 President  
 National Farmers Union

.....  
*Jim Mulhern*  
 President & CEO  
 National Milk Producers Federation

.....  
*Tom Stenzel*  
 President & CEO  
 United Fresh Produce Association

.....  
*Chalmers R. Carr*  
 President  
 USA Farmers

.....  
*Jim Bair*  
 President & CEO  
 U.S. Apple Association

.....  
*Tom Nassif*  
 President & CEO  
 Western Growers

.....  
*Michael Marsh*  
 CEO  
 Western United Dairymen

# The conservative case for immigration reform



By Alex Nowrasteh, Cato Institute

**T**he debate over immigration reform, intensified by the surge of unaccompanied child migrants at the U.S.-Mexico border, has many conservatives worried. Republican strategist Lanhee Chen explained that conservative opposition to immigration reform in the United States “is a very visceral reaction to what America should be about.” According to conservative opponents of immigration reform, immigrants will change America.

Reforming our immigration system to allow more immigration would indeed mark a significant change. But far from representing a liberal diversion from American principles, such reform would marginally change America back

to the way it used to be.

It's important to understand how America's immigration laws have changed over time. The first naturalization law, passed in 1790, did not put any restrictions on immigration. It wasn't until 1882 that Congress, in its first major legislative restriction, passed a blanket ban on Chinese immigrants. Over the next 40 years, Congress passed laws banning immigration of the Japanese and illiterates, and it imposed low quotas on immigration from European countries whose members were supposedly “unassimilable” — all at the insistence of nationalists, labor unions, progressives and eugenicists.

Few people would argue for a return to the completely free immigration system set up by the Founders, or for the kind of restrictions that existed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Sensible approaches to immigration, however, are to be found in our not-so-distant past.

During the 1950s, the Bracero guest-worker visa program channeled migrants into a legal and regulated market, shrinking the illegal immigrant population by 90 percent. The Border Patrol handed visas to migrant workers when they entered and sometimes even gave illegal immigrants work visas after they were discovered working on American farms. Instead

of building fences or putting troops on the border, the Bracero program welcomed migrants willing to work in the legal migration system of the time. Such a system does not exist today.

Some small reforms and a few tweaks to our current system — such as allowing migrant workers to easily switch jobs, removing quotas, removing or streamlining minimum wage regulations that apply to migrants and allowing more sectors of the economy to hire migrant workers — could recreate a workable migration system like the one we had in the heyday of the Eisenhower administration.

Conservatism is not an ideology that opposes all change. It is a reformist ideology that supports measured and practical changes based on our experiences, history, and institutions. It opposes social experiments that radically depart from the past but seeks to adjust our laws to better fit the realities of today, with a firm grounding in our institutions and traditions. Such a pragmatic and measured approach should lead conservatives to support immigration reform — at least in the direction of allowing more lawful immigration and guest worker visas.

The immigration restrictions of the late 19th and early 20th centuries were a vast social-engineering experiment that departed

from America's traditional open immigration policy. In contrast, allowing immigration to mostly be guided by the market would be a rejection of the social-engineering impulse that arose out of the progressive era.

Those restrictions caused the percentage of the country that was foreign-born to fall from around 14 percent in 1920 to 4.4 percent in 1965. Falling immigration levels over that period allowed for mass unionization, and, as historian Vernon M. Briggs Jr. argues, thereby enabled the New Deal and Great Society programs to be enacted.

Furthermore, opponents of immigration reform should consider that from 1860 to 1920 about 14 percent of America's population was foreign-born — compared with 13 percent today. American institutions and traditions aided in the assimilation of immigrants and their descendants in the past. The fast rate of cultural, linguistic, and economic assimilation among today's immigrants found by Duke University's Jacob Vigdor indicates that those American institutions and traditions of assimilation are thriving — even for the 11 to 12 million illegal immigrants here.

Conservatives who oppose deregulating the immigration system have some allies on the other side of the political spectrum. While

America's labor unions support legalizing the unlawful immigrants already here, they have supported even more restrictions on future migration of workers. Unions can bargain only by limiting the supply of workers available to employers, which is the root of their long-standing opposition to looser immigration policies.

American history and the opposition to worker migration from the left indicate that the conservative approach to reforming immigration should be to deregulate worker migration to allow more workers to come legally.

Such an approach has two benefits. The first is that it drives a wedge between Democratic politicians, who want to liberalize future immigration, and their labor union supporters, who want to further restrict immigration. The second is that it embraces the most important aspect of America's traditional immigration system: the principle that this country is willing to accept immigrants who will work.

Increasing immigration levels would be a return to the status quo that reigned for most of our nation's existence. Rather than opposing this return to normality, conservatives should embrace it and push for deregulation that allows foreign workers to legally migrate here.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ IMMIGRATION ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

## Giving U.S. manufacturers immigration certainty will help grow the economy



By Jay Timmons

**N**ow that a new Congress has been elected, it's time for our leaders to act on an issue that directly affects the health of manufacturing in the United States: immigration reform.

The immigration system, as it stands, puts our nation at a competitive disadvantage. It

encourages illegal immigration and discourages talented workers from staying in the United States.

Yet the human and political aspects of the immigration debate often overshadow the economic one.

In the past, opponents of immigration reform have used the politics of distraction effectively to prevent progress. These tactics do not change the reality that immigration reform is a competitiveness issue, particularly for manufacturers.

Manufacturing supports an estimated 17.4 million jobs in the United States, which translates to one in six private-sector jobs. But manufacturers face significant challenges and uncertainty due to high taxes, overregulation, rising health care costs and workforce changes.

Even in this time of persistent unemployment, manufacturers

struggle to find qualified workers. Some 600,000 manufacturing jobs are open because employers can't find workers with the right skills. This dearth of skilled workers costs the average manufacturer 11 percent of its revenue due to lost productivity.

The skills gap is a national phenomenon. According to a recent report, there will be a shortfall of 2 million manufacturing workers by 2025.

The National Association of Manufacturers is spearheading a number of initiatives to train and educate U.S. workers for careers in modern manufacturing, including aligning with community colleges, the military and high schools. Those efforts, however, will take time, and we need workers to fill manufacturers' immediate needs.

That's why it's essential that we reform our entire immigration

system now to allow foreign talent to be hired if qualified Americans are unavailable.

Paradoxically, the United States is already educating the best and brightest in the world, only to force them to leave after receiving their degrees. Without a rational set of reforms, we will continue sending homegrown talent to our competitors and turning away another generation of entrepreneurs.

In fact, more than 40 percent of Fortune 500 companies were either started by an immigrant or the child of an immigrant. American manufacturing enterprises founded by immigrants span all sectors, from technology to steel, to chemicals, to medical devices, to many others.

The argument for reform, of course, goes far beyond economics. Manufacturers are anchors of the communities they have

helped build. Immigration reform will strengthen the fabric of our communities.

At its core, America's story is an immigration story — of people who took enormous personal risk to better themselves and, in doing so, bettered our nation. That's why we believe immigration reform must include a pathway to citizenship for the millions of undocumented individuals in the United States.

The National Association of Manufacturers calls on the next Congress to do the right thing and fix the nation's broken immigration system.

Immigration reform will strengthen our national and economic security as well as the communities in which we work and live.

It's the wise thing to do, and it's the American thing to do.

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