

THE ANTI-WORKER TRUTH ABOUT THE REPUBLICAN HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

Introduction

After four years of Democratic control, Republicans are now in charge of the U.S. House of Representatives. House Republican leaders have placed a familiar cast of characters in position to draft the chamber's strategy on immigration:

- **Rep. Lamar Smith (R-TX)** is now the chair of the House Judiciary Committee, and he has declared that immigration will be a top priority for his Committee. Smith was the chair of the House Immigration Subcommittee in 1996 when Congress passed a series of laws that ramped up enforcement against both legal and undocumented immigrants—bills that collectively made the broken immigration system worse, not better. Despite following Smith's enforcement-only strategy for nearly fifteen years, the number of undocumented immigrants in our country has continued to rise.
- **Rep. Elton Gallegly (R-CA)** is now the chair of the House Immigration Subcommittee, and he is preparing to launch a series of hearings on immigration enforcement at the beginning of the 112th Congress. Gallegly also has a long track record on immigration, and has focused much of his efforts on attacking children. For example, since the early 1990s Gallegly has sponsored legislation to deny U.S. citizenship to babies born in America based on who their parents are. In 1996, he famously pushed an amendment to deny undocumented children access to an education—the federal version of California's Proposition 187.
- **Rep. Steve King (R-IA)** is now vice-chair of the House Immigration Subcommittee. He may have been passed over for the top spot because of his incendiary comments, such as his comparison of immigrants to livestock and suggestion that we install an electric fence at the border to keep them out. Still, Smith and Gallegly share King's policy positions on immigration, and he will continue to play a key role in crafting their approach.

In one of his first acts of the year, Rep. Smith (R-TX) changed the name of the Subcommittee on Immigration, Citizenship, Refugees, Border Security and International Law to the Subcommittee on Immigration Policy and Enforcement. The name change reflects the new priorities of the Committee—an enforcement-only approach with the goal of driving 11 million undocumented immigrants and their family members out of the country.

However, since a mass deportation policy is not popular with Latino voters, House Republicans are attempting to recast their approach in more palatable terms. Rather than change course and embrace comprehensive immigration reform—the only proposal that would truly level the playing field, turn workers into taxpayers, and restore the rule of law—they are simply recasting their anti-immigration agenda using pro-worker terms.

In this report, America’s Voice Education Fund (AVEF) peels back the pro-worker mask that Smith, Gallegly, and King are attempting to put on, and shows that they are motivated not by concern for workers but their desire to remove 11 million immigrants and their family members from the country. AVEF reviews their voting records on worker issues, and find that they have a long history of opposing policies to help American workers succeed, such as an increase to the minimum wage.

In reality, Smith, Gallegly, and King are simply carrying out the policies embraced by a shadowy coalition of anti-immigrant organizations—many of whom have been tied to white supremacists or labeled hate groups by the Southern Poverty Law Center. This report exposes that connection and makes it clear that groups like the “Coalition for the Future American Worker” are simply using American unemployment as the latest excuse to rail against immigrants. In the past, these same organizations have blamed immigrants for such diverse issues such as global warming, the housing crisis, a broken health care system, traffic congestion, and more.

Finally, AVEF examines why a mass deportation agenda is dangerous politics for the Republican Party. After pushing anti-immigrant policies for years and campaigning on the issue in the 2006, 2008, and 2010 elections, Republicans have boxed themselves in with Latino voters. Following the strategy of Smith, Gallegly, and King, they are the party of Proposition 187, the Sensenbrenner bill, the Arizona “papers, please” immigration law and copycat proposals in other states, the defeat of comprehensive immigration reform, and the defeat of the DREAM Act. Latino voters feel disrespected and attacked by the GOP, and are increasingly voting Democratic because of it.

As the 2010 Census results drive home, unless the GOP finds a way to reverse course on immigration and win at least 40% of the Latino vote, it will never see the inside of the White House again, and will become a minority party. With Smith, Gallegly, and King at the helm in the House, the GOP is poised to become a sinking ship with Latino voters unless real leaders in the Party step up.

House Republicans' Immigration Plan is Bad for Workers and the Economy

House Republican Judiciary Members Graded "F" for Voting Against Working Families

America's labor unions represent millions of dues-paying workers across the country. America's Voice Education Fund analyzed the voting records of Republicans on the House Judiciary Committee using key votes on issues that impact U.S. workers, according to unions and other worker advocates.

While House Republicans on the Judiciary Committee are now framing their long-standing policy of expelling millions of immigrants from America as a jobs program, these ratings paint a dramatically different picture of their motivations. They have a long record of voting against the interests of American workers, and an equally long record voting for policies advocated by the anti-immigrant lobby.

Below are grades given to veteran House Judiciary Committee Republicans from several major labor unions:

100% earned a grade of "F" from the AFL-CIO¹

**100% earned a grade of "F" from the
Service Employees International Union²**

**100% earned a grade of "F" from the
American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees³**

Specifically, House Judiciary Committee Republicans opposed landmark legislation that would raise wages and improve the working conditions of U.S. workers multiple times. For example:

**71% Voted Against
Increasing the Minimum Wage⁴**

**100% Voted Against
the Employee Free Choice Act⁷**

**100% Voted Against
Equal Pay for Women⁵**

**100% Voted Against
Foreclosure Relief⁸**

**100% Voted Against
Wall Street Reform⁶**

**94% Voted Against
Providing Parental Leave for Federal
Employees⁹**

Seven Republican Members of Congress who sit on the Judiciary Committee are freshmen and don't have Congressional voting records. However, two new members of the Judiciary Committee, Sandy Adams (FL-24) and Dennis Ross (FL-12), do have voting records from their service in the Florida State House. Rep. Sandy Adams received a grade of F from the Florida AFL-CIO for every year of her tenure, and Rep. Dennis Ross failed every year but one, when he

earned a D.¹⁰ The remaining five freshmen Members have no voting records available for analysis.

In sharp contrast, all veteran Judiciary Committee Democrats earned a lifetime grade of A from the AFL-CIO for voting in the interests of working families.¹¹

Additional information on the voting records of members of the House Judiciary Committee is available in the appendix.

Deportation is Not a Jobs Program; Comprehensive Immigration Reform Would Help the Economy

Clearly, jobs and the economy are top issues for the vast majority of Americans. But rather than fixing the economy, the House Republicans' immigration plan would only make a bad situation worse by spending billions more taxpayer dollars on deportation, pushing millions more workers into the underground economy, and continuing the status quo where unscrupulous employers hold a powerful advantage over their law-abiding competitors and a captive workforce.

Here are the facts about immigration and our current economic situation:

Organizations representing actual workers have developed solutions to the broken immigration system that will help all workers.

Unlike the single-issue anti-immigrant organizations behind the Coalition for the Future American Worker, the AFL-CIO, Change to Win and their member unions are principally dedicated to fighting for policies that would benefit the American worker. Combined, the two organizations represent over sixteen million members and over sixty unions.

The AFL-CIO and Change to Win crafted "The Labor Movement's Framework for Comprehensive Immigration Reform."¹² Their framework describes immigration reform as "a component of a shared prosperity agenda that focuses on improving productivity and quality; limiting wage competition; strengthening labor standards, especially the freedom of workers to form unions and bargain collectively; and providing social safety nets and high-quality lifelong education and training for workers and their families."

Their approach to immigration reform has five major interconnected pieces:

1. An independent commission to assess and manage future flows, based on labor market shortages that are determined on the basis of actual need;
2. A secure and effective worker authorization mechanism;
3. Rational operational control of the border;
4. Adjustment of status for the current undocumented population; and

5. Improvement, not expansion, of temporary worker programs, limited to temporary or seasonal, not permanent, jobs.

These groups that were founded to fight for the American worker have studied the issue extensively and concluded that comprehensive immigration reform is the solution to our broken immigration system. Clearly, they have more standing when it comes to “worker issues” than re-cast anti-immigration organizations.

The status quo is not an option.

Opponents of comprehensive immigration reform have argued against reform both in times of high and low unemployment. Their continued attempts to block progress on immigration reform mean we are left with the status quo—a situation that most Americans agree is untenable. Indeed, continued failure to fix the broken immigration system has become another example of how Washington just doesn’t work. Reps. Smith, Gallegly, and others have primary responsibility for that failure. The immigration laws they passed in 1996 have not brought control and order to the system, and they refuse to advance solutions that would.

Comprehensive immigration reform would ensure that twelve million taxpayers are on the tax rolls and that their employers are paying their fair share as well. It would gut the underground economy that drives down standards for all workers. Stalling on comprehensive immigration reform only benefits bad-actor employers who profit from the race to the bottom.

Mass deportation is not a credible solution to America’s unemployment situation.

Some Members of Congress have asserted that the solution to high levels of unemployment is the deportation of millions of immigrants and their families. They compare the number of unemployed Americans to the number of undocumented workers, and suggest that unemployed Americans simply step into the jobs of undocumented workers. But spending billions more taxpayer dollars to crack down on hardworking busboys and housekeepers is not an American jobs program.

Sending an out-of-work auto worker and her family in Michigan to pick strawberries in California is not a credible answer to the many Americans desperately in need of good jobs at high wages with good benefits.

Removing immigrants from the economy would also remove jobs, as industries such as agriculture are decimated, related jobs in transportation and production are sent overseas, and consumers are removed from the economy.

The Republican policies promote a race to the bottom and rely on economic strategies that would hurt, not help, our country’s jobs problem. Comprehensive immigration reform would expand labor rights and create a level playing field to ensure better jobs and working conditions for all.

America cannot build a strong economy on the back of a broken immigration system.

Comprehensive immigration reform would generate billions in new tax revenues, and allow our immigration enforcement agencies to focus their resources on the worst of the worst, rather than non-criminal workers. Had the Senate's comprehensive immigration reform bill become law in 2006, the Congressional Budget Office estimates that it would have generated \$66 billion in new income and payroll taxes from 2007-2016.¹³

Mass deportation of twelve million undocumented immigrants is not a practical alternative to comprehensive reform. According to the Center for American Progress, even if a program could be designed to deport nearly 11 million immigrants who entered illegally or stayed here after their visas expired, it would cost nearly \$300 billion to implement.¹⁴ A study by the Perryman Group concluded that deportation of the undocumented workforce would shock the economy, to the tune of \$1.8 trillion in annual lost spending and \$651.5 billion in annual lost output. The study also finds that if Congress passed legislation to restructure labor markets and the economy to move workers into jobs previously held by the undocumented, the nation would suffer \$552.6 billion in annual lost spending and \$245 billion in annual lost output.¹⁵

Even the conservative CATO Institute has said that "legalization of low-skilled immigrant workers would yield significant income gains for American workers and households."¹⁶

Comprehensive immigration reform would help to end the race to the bottom and improve the welfare of *all* workers.

Studies have shown that for nearly all workers, immigration has increased wages across the board.¹⁷ However, in certain industries, our government has allowed bad actor employers to cheat the system, taking advantage of workers by paying substandard wages "under the table" or misclassifying them as independent contractors or temporary and part-time employees. Comprehensive immigration reform would help correct this unfair situation.

A study by Cornell University found that in New York State alone, between the years 2002-2005 employers in select industries underreported over \$4 trillion in taxable wages due to misclassification of their employees. The study also found that misclassification enabled "unscrupulous employers to ignore labor standards," denied "many workers protections and benefits that they are entitled to," and destabilized "the business climate, creating an un-level playing field and causing law-abiding businesses to suffer unfair competition."¹⁸

The Labor Movement's Framework for Comprehensive Immigration Reform presents a real solution that would benefit all American workers.¹⁹

The Framework warns that without an effective policy to legalize undocumented immigrants, "we will continue to have a large pool of unauthorized workers whom employers will continue to exploit to drive down wages and other standards to the detriment of *all* workers. Having

access to a large undocumented workforce has allowed employers to create an underground economy, without the basic protections afforded to U.S. citizens and lawful permanent residents, and in which employers often misclassify workers as independent contractors, thus evading payroll taxes and depriving federal, state and local governments of additional revenue. An inclusive, practical and swift adjustment-of-status program will raise labor standards for all workers. ²⁰

House Republicans’ Immigration Plan is Mass Deportation, Thinly-Disguised

House Republican Judiciary Members Receive “A” Grade from Anti-Immigrant Lobby

Every two years, the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) publishes a “Congressional Voting Report” evaluating Members of Congress on their immigration stances. FAIR is no ordinary interest group. It has been designated a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center for its disturbing connections to white nationalist organizations and individuals, and is part of a network of extremist organizations created by well-known white nationalist John Tanton. FAIR is also the organization behind the Coalition for the Future American Worker, a front group designed to put a “pro-worker” face on the anti-immigrant lobby’s anti-worker agenda.

America’s Voice Education Fund analyzed FAIR’s most recent Voting Report and found that every Republican on the House Judiciary Committee voted according to FAIR’s recommendations at least 90% of the time.²¹

Additional information on the voting records of members of the House Judiciary Committee is available in the appendix.

House Judiciary Republicans’ Allies

The Coalition for the Future American Worker (CFAW) is the “pro-worker” face of the hard-line anti-immigrant lobby. But like FAIR’s champions in Congress, who cast themselves as having the interests of American workers at the heart of their anti-immigrant agenda, the Coalition for the Future American Worker is not what it claims to be.

CFAW has no staff, no office and does not pay its own bills – it is simply a project of hard-line anti-immigrant groups, many of which have disturbing histories and ties. Its website is registered to FAIR staff and Dan Stein, president of FAIR, Roy Beck of Numbers USA and Brantley Davis, partner in FAIR’s public relations firm, Davis & co. have served as spokespeople for CFAW.

No international unions are associated with the Coalition for the Future American Worker in any way. Only one local union, the Communications Workers of America Local 4250 is listed as a member of the coalition.

Unlike the grassroots, labor oriented persona that it seeks to project, most CFAW member organizations²² are part of the anti-immigrant network created by noted white nationalist John Tanton.²³ The network includes organizations that have been designated as hate groups by the Southern Poverty Law Center and which share ties with extremist organizations. These organizations have spent hundreds of thousands of dollars for advertising under the “Coalition for the Future American Worker” name, with the goal of preventing action on comprehensive immigration reform. Member organizations of CFAW include:

- **Federation for American Immigration Reform.** Founded by John Tanton, who currently sits on the FAIR board of directors. FAIR has been designated a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center for its close ties to white nationalist individuals and organizations.²⁴ FAIR has employed staff of white nationalist organizations and has received over \$1.2 million from the Pioneer Fund, a foundation which promotes eugenics.²⁵
- **American Immigration Control Foundation.** AICF has also been designated a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center²⁶ and has received funding from John Tanton and the Pioneer Fund. AICF president John Vinson is an advisor to the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), the reconstituted segregationist White Citizens’ Councils of the 1950s. According to CCC, a part of its mission is to “oppose all efforts to mix the races of mankind.”²⁷ Vinson is a frequent author for the Citizen Informer, a regular publication of the Council.²⁸
- **Numbers USA, Education & Research Foundation.** NumbersUSA was founded and has been funded by John Tanton. It is the Internet activism arm of the anti-immigrant movement, which directs its dedicated online membership to send faxes and make calls to Congress in opposition to comprehensive immigration reform with a wide variety of rationales.²⁹ John Tanton called Roy Beck, the director of NumbersUSA his “heir apparent” and worked at Tanton’s controversial publication, the Social Contract Press, which was also designated a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center. Beck has been the featured speaker at a conference of the Council of Concerned Citizens.³⁰
- **Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS).** Diana Hull, president of CAPS, serves on the FAIR board of advisors and is a regular author for the John Tanton’s Social Contract Press. CAPS has been funded by Tanton, shared key staff with FAIR, and shared board members³¹ with the Center for Immigration Studies, the Tanton-founded “think tank” of the anti-immigrant lobby. CAPS’ leaders have also spoken at events hosted by the Council of Concerned Citizens, and the organization is reported to have spent millions of dollars on political advertisements charging that immigrants are the cause of global warming and pollution.³²
- **American Council on Immigration Reform.** The leader of the Council is Michael Cutler, a fellow at the Center for Immigration Studies, a group founded by John Tanton.³³ The Council is the face of the anti-immigrant lobby’s “national security” message.

- **American Jobs Coalition.** This group was created by Glenn Jackson, a member of the FAIR national board of advisors,³⁴ to promote the anti-immigrant lobby's agenda with a "pro-jobs" message.
- **American Engineering Association.** This organization has been supported by John Tanton's funding organization, U.S. Inc. Its former president and head of government relations are authors for Tanton's Social Contract Press.³⁵

In 2004 and other years, CFAW spent an untold amount on advocacy advertising on television, directed at pro-labor candidates for office. One of their many ad campaigns, designed to damage the candidacy of then Congressman Martin Frost (D-TX), who received *a lifetime grade of A* from the AFL-CIO, was designed to benefit Rep. Pete Sessions (R-TX), who has *a lifetime grade of F* from the AFL-CIO. That same year, CFAW also sponsored ads to damage the candidacy of labor-supported candidates in Kansas and Iowa. Quickly after the ads began to run, Mark Smith, President of the Iowa Federation of Labor called them "just racist stuff with no factual basis." The NBC affiliate in Des Moines, IA pulled the ads from broadcast and its general manager labeled them "borderline racist."³⁶

During the controversy, NumbersUSA director Roy Beck, then spokesman for CFAW said, "We don't represent any union members in Iowa, but we do represent the interest of labor."³⁷ In fact, Roy Beck and his colleagues in the anti-immigrant lobby have made a pattern of "representing" constituencies of which they are not a part.

- **Progressives.** Progressives for Immigration Reform (PFIR)³⁸ was created in January, 2009 by the anti-immigrant lobby to present a "progressive" face on the anti-immigrant lobby's agenda. Roy Beck of Numbers USA helped to recruit its new director, Leah Durant, a former attorney for FAIR and its legal arm the Immigration Reform Law Institute. Curiously, Durant's tenure at FAIR is missing from her biography on the PFIR website. The vice president of PFIR is a board member for FAIR and the Center for Immigration Studies. Its blogger, Philip Cafaro is an author for Mark Krikorian's Center for Immigration Studies.³⁹
- **Environmental movement.** Similar to the model used to create the Coalition for the Future American Worker, FAIR other anti-immigrant organizations have created front groups such as "America's Leadership Team for Long Range Population-Immigration-Resource Planning" and others to promote their hard-line anti-immigrant agenda. Leaders of the anti-immigrant movement even went so far as making a failed attempt to take over the Sierra Club board of directors in 2004⁴⁰ to force the club to adopt an anti-immigration platform. And in 2005, a ballot question to strike the Sierra Club's longstanding policy⁴¹ of not engaging on immigration was defeated by Sierra Club members 84 – 16 percent.⁴² These failed takeover attempts are the vision of John Tanton himself who wrote in 1986, "The Sierra Club may not want to touch the immigration issue, but the immigration issue is going to touch the Sierra Club!"⁴³

- **Latinos.** FAIR’s Media Director, Ira Mehlman, is the contact person for FAIR’s “Latino” front group, “You Don’t Speak for Me.”⁴⁴ The group’s handful of spokespeople have appeared on news programs as representative of a grassroots movement of Latinos, despite being wholly a project of FAIR, and despite public opinion research from a variety of sources that shows comprehensive immigration reform to be an important issue to Latino voters.
- **African-Americans.** Choose Black America⁴⁵ was created by FAIR to advocate their anti-immigrant agenda with African American spokespeople and FAIR’s press secretary, , Bob Dane, served as the press contact for CBA.⁴⁶ Several of the African American spokespeople at their opening press conference acknowledged that they had never spoken to one another – one even immediately distanced himself from the group upon learning more about them.⁴⁷ While the CBA website, and therefore the organization, has been shut down, one of its spokespeople, Frank Morris, a board member for the Tanton founded Center for Immigration Studies later became a spokesperson for CFAW.
- **Vietnamese.** Vietnamese for Fair Immigration (VIR)⁴⁸ was backed financially by FAIR and created by Tim Brummer under the Vietnamese pseudonym he created, “Tim Binh.” VIR sponsored high-priced billboard ads featuring Latinos saying “no racist amnesty,” which Brummer claims were paid for by the VIR membership. Brummer, aka Binh, is also a member of the Tanton-funded Californians for Population Stabilization. When it was revealed that “Binh” was actually Brummer, he said: “I speak Vietnamese, I eat Vietnamese food, I live with Vietnamese, in my mind, I’m half Vietnamese.”⁴⁹

House Republicans – Dangerous Ambassadors to the Latino Community

The common theme uniting the House Judiciary Committee’s immigration agenda in the 112th Congress is its underlying goal of expelling millions of immigrants and their family members from this country. Not only is this mass deportation approach clearly bad policy – it would decimate the agriculture and other industries, fuel the underground economy, cost hundreds of billions of dollars to implement, reduce tax revenues, and ultimately fail in fixing the immigration system – but it’s an approach that could end the Republican party’s hopes of regaining the White House for a generation.

Perhaps it is fitting that the House Judiciary Committee will likely define the Republican brand to Latino voters in 2012. In fact, it was the actions of this same committee that galvanized Latino voters on the issue of immigration reform in 2006, contributing to the Democratic sweep of Congress that year.

On December 16, 2005, the Republican-controlled House passed a notoriously anti-immigrant bill authored by Judiciary Committee Chairman Jim Sensenbrenner (R-WI). The so-called “Sensenbrenner bill” was a laundry list of anti-immigrant lobby priorities – the same priorities that the new Judiciary Committee leadership espouses today, using different rhetoric.

The legislation sparked an unprecedented backlash in Latino and immigrant communities and delivered a crushing blow to the Republican brand that was felt at the ballot box in 2006, ending the gains that President George W. Bush made with this community.

Now, with Reps. Lamar Smith, Elton Gallegly, and Steve King at the helm of the Judiciary Committee, it looks like the Republican Party is preparing to double down on its past mistakes.

In 2004, Latinos voted for Democratic nominee John Kerry over President George W. Bush by 59% to 40%, or a 3-2 margin. With respect to Latino immigrant voters, Kerry and Bush ended up even closer (52% for Kerry and 48% for Bush). Latino voters were a key factor in the Democratic takeover of Congress in 2006⁵⁰ and Barack Obama's win in 2008.⁵¹

In an otherwise overwhelmingly favorable year for Republicans, Latino voter support for Democrats in 2010 continued the pattern of the previous two election cycles. In 2010, Latinos voted for Democrats over Republicans by roughly 75%-25%, or a 3-1 margin according to election eve polling of Latino voters conducted by Latino Decisions in eight key states (AZ, CA, CO, FL, IL, NM, NV, TX).⁵² Overall, Latino *immigrant* voters (foreign-born, now naturalized citizens) supported Democrats by even larger margins.⁵³

Latino support for Democrats in 2010 acted as a firewall in key Senate races in the West, helping to keep the Senate in Democratic hands and stopping the Republican wave at the Rockies.⁵⁴ Senators Boxer (CA), Bennet (CO), and Murray (WA), as well as Reps. Gabrielle Giffords (D-AZ) and Raul Grijalva (D-AZ) and other House Members, won against tough challengers with strong support from Latino voters. And in the most-anticipated match-up of the 2010 cycle, Sharron Angle of Nevada bet the farm on her anti-immigrant wedge strategy and lost handily, as Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid won the Latino vote 90 to 8.⁵⁵

Immigration is the biggest driver behind this shift toward Democrats over the past six years. Specifically in 2010, sixty percent of Latinos said immigration was either the most important issue or one of the most important issues in their decision to vote and who to vote for.⁵⁶ Only 14% said it was not a factor.

As witnessed by such recent events as former Florida Governor Jeb Bush's Hispanic Leadership Conference in South Florida, some Republican leaders have sensed the danger of continuing to follow the lead of House Judiciary Republicans on immigration and are speaking out.⁵⁷ However, the true challenge for these leaders is that the Republican Party needs to do more than change its rhetoric—it needs to change its policy proposals too. That will be hard, with Smith, Gallegly, and King driving the agenda in the House.

Syndicated conservative columnist Ruben Navarette recently noted, "When it comes to immigration, the Republican message is toxic. There is too much dishonesty, too much racism and too many simplistic solutions to what is a complicated problem. If the GOP wants to make a serious play for Hispanic voters in 2012 and beyond, this has to change."⁵⁸ And Linda Chavez, Reagan Administration official and conservative political commentator, wrote in December

2010, “The refusal of all but a tiny handful of Republicans to vote for the Dream Act will become a future nightmare. Hard-line anti-illegal immigrant rhetoric already has cost Republicans at least two U.S. Senate seats, Nevada and Colorado, even in a GOP landslide election.”⁵⁹

Quite simply, if the GOP continues to follow Rep. Lamar Smith and his House Judiciary Republicans on immigration, it will follow them over the cliff with Latino voters.

Appendix A: Members of the U.S. House Judiciary Committee

Republicans	Democrats
Rep. Lamar Smith (TX-21) <i>Chairman</i>	Rep. John Conyers (MI-14) <i>Ranking Member</i>
Rep. Elton Gallegly (CA-24) <i>Chairman, Immigration Subcommittee</i>	Rep. Zoe Lofgren (CA-16) <i>Ranking Member, Immigration Subcommittee</i>
Rep. Steve King (IA-5) <i>Vice-Chairman, Immigration Subcommittee</i>	
Rep. James Sensenbrenner (WI-5)	Rep. Howard Berman (CA-28)
Rep. Howard Coble (NC-6)	Rep. Jerrold Nadler (NY-8)
Rep. Bob Goodlate (VA-6)	Rep. Robert Scott (VA-3)
Rep. Dan Lungren (CA-3)	Rep. Melvin Watt (NC-12)
Rep. Steve Chabot (OH-1)	Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee (TX-18)
Rep. Darrell Issa (CA-49)	Rep. Maxine Waters (CA-35)
Rep. Mike Pence (IN-6)	Rep. Steve Cohen (TN-9)
Rep. Randy Forbes (VA-4)	Rep. Hank Johnson (GA-4)
Rep. Tente Franks (AZ-2)	R.C. Pedro Pierluisi (PR-AL)**
Rep. Louie Gohmert (TX-1)	Rep. Mike Quigley (IL-5)
Rep. James Jordan (OH-4)	Rep. Judy Chu (CA-32)
Rep. Ted Poe (TX-2)	Rep. Tom Deutch (FL-19)*
Rep. Jason Chaffetz (UT-3)	Rep. Linda Sanchez (CA-39)
Rep. Thomas Reed (NY-29)*	Rep. Debbie Wasserman Schultz (FL-20)
Rep. Tim Griffin (AR-2)*	
Rep. Tom Marino (PA-10)*	
Rep. Trey Gowdy (SC-4)*	
Rep. Dennis Ross (FL-12)*	
Rep. Sandy Adams (FL-24)*	
Rep. Ben Quayle (AZ-3)*	

*These Members of Congress were elected in 2010 and therefore do not have voting records available for analysis.

**Votes of the Resident Commissioner were not assessed by the organizations cited in this report and therefore not included in our analysis.

Appendix B: Judiciary Committee Republicans

District	Name	Minimum Wage ⁴	Employee Free Choice Act ⁷	Equal Pay for Women ⁵	Foreclosure Relief ⁸	Parental Leave ⁹	Wall Street Reform ⁶	AFL-CIO Lifetime Score ¹	AFSCME Lifetime Score ³	SEIU 111th Congress Score ²	FAIR 111th Congress Score ²¹
TX-21	Smith, Lamar - R <i>Chairman, Judiciary Committee</i>	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	11%	10%	0%	100%
CA-24	Gallegly, Elton - R <i>Chairman, Immigration Subcommittee</i>	No	No	NV	No	No	No	13%	9%	3%	100%
IA-5	King, Stephen - R <i>Vice Chairman, Immigration Subcommittee</i>	No	No	No	No	No	No	8%	0%	0%	100%
UT-3	Chaffetz, Jason - R	NV	NV	No	No	No	No	5%	11%	0%	100%
NC-6	Coble, Howard - R	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	13%	7%	0%	100%
VA-4	Forbes, Randy - R	No	No	No	No	No	No	15%	8%	3%	100%
AZ-2	Franks, Trent - R	No	No	No	No	No	No	4%	0%	0%	100%
TX-18	Gohmert, Louie - R	No	No	No	No	No	No	10%	5%	0%	100%
VA-6	Goodlatte, Bob - R	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	10%	5%	0%	100%
CA-49	Issa, Darrell - R	No	No	No	No	No	No	13%	3%	3%	100%
OH-4	Jordan, James - R	No	No	No	No	No	No	3%	0%	0%	100%
CA-3	Lungren, Daniel - R	No	No	No	No	No	No	10%	5%	3%	100%
IN-6	Pence, Mike - R	No	No	No	No	No	No	6%	3%	0%	100%

TX-2	Poe, Ted - R	Yes	NV	No	No	No	No	15%	10%	0%	100%
WI-5	Sensenbrenner, James - R	No	No	No	No	No	No	10%	8%	0%	100%

Appendix C: Judiciary Committee Democrats

District	Name	Minimum Wage ⁴	Employee Free Choice Act ⁷	Equal Pay for Women ⁵	Foreclosure Relief ⁸	Parental Leave ⁹	Wall Street Reform ⁶	AFL-CIO Lifetime Score ¹	AFSCME Lifetime Score ³	SEIU 111th Congress Score ²	FAIR 111th Congress Score ²¹
MI-14	Conyers, John - D <i>Ranking Member, Judiciary Committee</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	94%	97%	100%	0%
CA-16	Lofgren, Zoe - D <i>Ranking Member, Immigration Subcommittee</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	92%	95%	100%	0%
CA-28	Berman, Howard - D	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	92%	96%	100%	0%
CA-32	Chu, Judy - D	NV	NV	NV	NV	NV	Yes	100%	100%	100%	0%
TN-9	Cohen, Stephen - D	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	97%	100%	100%	0%
TX-18	Jackson Lee, Sheila - D	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	NV	Yes	97%	98%	100%	0%
GA-4	Johnson, Hank - D	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	NV	Yes	98%	100%	100%	0%
NY-8	Nadler, Jerold - D	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	99%	99%	100%	0%
IL-5	Quigley, Michael - D	NV	NV	NV	NV	Yes	Yes	93%	80%	92%	0%
CA-39	Sanchez, Linda - D	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	98%	100%	100%	0%
VA-3	Scott, Robert - D	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	99%	99%	96%	0%
FL-20	Wasserman Schultz, Deborah - D	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	99%	100%	100%	0%
CA-35	Waters, Maxine - D	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	NV	Yes	98%	98%	96%	0%
NC-12	Watt, Melvin - D	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	98%	98%	96%	0%

End Notes

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