

have been for the big-government hawks who had long controlled the Republican Party's foreign policy.

This is a large part of what makes Rand unique not only among Republicans but even among Tea Party paladins. Many outsider candidates give voice to voter discontent with the status quo, but Rand does so while offering a deeper philosophy that ventures beyond mere populism: a substantive conservative politics. The continuing mixture of Rand's ideas and the Tea Party could produce a more comprehensively conservative grassroots movement, just as the Tea Party has already produced a more politically successful Paul. Achieving this cross-pollination will require addressing the contradictions within the Tea Party—particularly its willingness to tolerate big government under the Department of Defense banner.

The same hardheadedness that required his wife to intervene in canceling a television interview is a stubbornness the U.S. Senate will now have to deal with. Rand told me that he would like to be judged by how he votes, not how he campaigns. The time I spent with him on the trail revealed a candidate who much prefers to come up with serious policy solutions rather than issue slogans or press statements. The campaign also revealed a man who is most at home with his family, including his famous father, and who realizes that his family's long-marginalized philosophical brand might now have the potential to become a transformative force in the Republican Party, if not American politics. ■

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Restrictionist Revival

Congress takes a right turn on immigration policy.

By Michael Brendan Dougherty

Two years ago, Mayor Lou Barletta of Hazelton, Pennsylvania lost his hard-fought campaign against longtime Democratic Congressman Paul Kanjorski. It was a replay of their match-up in 2006, and Barletta had every reason to be discouraged. He had been at the center of a national debate on immigration after he passed ordinances aimed at punishing employers and landlords who did business with illegal aliens. Though even today the particulars are being sorted out in court, nearly half of the illegal population of Hazelton moved out. Barletta had won a national following, but he couldn't win a seat in Congress. Pundits used his defeat to declare the immigration issue lost to conservatives.

But that moralizing didn't take into account the numbers. Democrats outnumber Republicans 2-1 in Pennsylvania's 11th district. And while Obama carried that territory by 15 points, Kanjorski won by only 3. The incumbent Democrat required a Bill Clinton appearance on the eve of the election and \$7 million in campaign contributions to defeat Barletta.

"After 2006, I couldn't sit on the sidelines and do nothing," says Barletta, "I had a lot of encouragement from friends and my own family, and even from Washington that if I ran again, it would be different." And it was. On his third try, Barletta won by 9 points in 2010.

His ascent to Congress comes just as Democrats are discussing another "comprehensive immigration reform" bill as

part of a strategy for dividing Republicans. "This will separate the reasonable Republicans from the pack running for president," said one senior Obama aide to reporter Richard Wolfe just before the election. But the politics of immigration has moved drastically in the restrictionist direction since Bush tried and failed to pass his immigration reform. The ranks of conservatives have been redoubled in the legislature, and one-time Republican champions of amnesty have abandoned their former positions.

Conservatives who would like to see a secure border and an end to illegal immigration are supremely confident that they can stop an amnesty bill this time. "George Bush could barely split us as a Republican president," says Congressman Steve King (R-Iowa), who is in line to head the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration. "Enough conservative Republicans stuck together and blocked his comprehensive amnesty plan. Obama has zero-loyalty factor with House Republicans."

Roy Beck, executive director of NumbersUSA, is similarly optimistic: "[Senator] Jon Kyl didn't want to do amnesty, but he is a good party man, a loyalist, and he did President Bush's bidding. But it was very destructive to him." Today the Obama White House doesn't even have a plausible path to getting any kind of amnesty bill to the floor. "I don't care what Obama tries to do to the Republican caucus," says Beck. "There is no way for

him to go around these new Republican Judiciary chairmen.”

Barletta is expected to reinforce King on the immigration subcommittee. “I have a lot to offer from my perspective as a mayor who experiences the drain illegal immigration has on a small city, a small budget, and the quality of life.” And there are good reasons to suspect Barletta can hold his seat. He had to win Democratic votes in 2010. And he previously won his mayoralty with 90 percent of the vote in his city, even taking over the Democratic ballot line as a write-in candidate. Pennsylvania Republicans also won overwhelming victories in the statehouse and control the coming round of congressional redistricting. Barletta won’t face strong headwinds anytime soon.

Not only will the new Congress include more restrictionists like Barletta, the open-borders wing of the GOP is much more abashed than it was just four years ago. The failure of comprehensive reform during the Bush administration has chastened former Republican advocates of amnesty. John McCain faced an intense primary challenge from restrictionist J.D. Hayworth. Fearing the end of his career, McCain began running television ads promising to “complete the danged fence.”

“McCain went from being the absolute leader on comprehensive amnesty to saying he wouldn’t vote for his own bill in 2008 to claiming he is as tough as J.D. Hayworth on illegal immigration,” chortles Beck. “People may think he’ll flip back, but he’s gone too far now and says we must secure the border first. He’s kicked the can down the road.” King notes with some delight, “I have personally called Hayworth to thank him for improving McCain on this issue.”

Beck estimates that the number of what he calls “true immigration reformers” in Congress multiplied in the 2010 election. “In the last congress 38 members were committed to all our top 12

immigration priorities. Thus far in 2011 we now see 73 members. ... We’ve doubled our number of hard-liners.” While blocking an Obama-led amnesty may be easy for these new firebrands, finding an agenda that can navigate the Democrat-controlled Senate and get a signature from Obama will be extremely difficult. These “true reformers” have no comprehensive answer of their own.

Beck suggests that the SAVE Act—“Secure America Through Verification and Enforcement”—is passable even with Democrats in the upper-chamber and White House. The legislation would increase the border patrol by 6,000 members and expand the number of immigration judges. It would also require all employers to use the E-Verify system developed by the Department of Homeland Security to confirm that employees are eligible to work in the United States. Job applicants would have eight days to straighten out mismatches in their paperwork or be forbidden to work. The bill had attracted 111 bipartisan co-signers in April of 2010.

But King is worried that there is not enough support. “The SAVE Act has lots of components and carries with it a lot of verbiage,” he says. “Generally, stand-alone pieces of legislation are easier to debate and easier for the American people to understand.” King thinks the New Illegal Deduction Elimination Act, HR 3580, has better prospects of passing. This legislation would remove the tax-deductibility of wages paid to illegal workers and bring the IRS into immigration enforcement. Employers could avoid extra scrutiny by signing up for E-Verify. “It would cause businesses to willingly clean up their payroll lists.”

There is a reason why employers are at the center of the immigration fight today. Barletta noticed that this year voters were less interested in illegals *per se* than in what unlawful immigration meant for the economy. “You couldn’t find anyone

in my district who didn’t already know how I feel about illegal immigration, and so it didn’t come up as much in this campaign,” he says. “Instead people wanted to know about jobs.” That’s no surprise: unemployment is over 10 percent in his district and near 9 percent nationwide.

Barletta and other restrictionists are now finding ways to connect unemployment with immigration. “I know from experience how and who illegal immigration hurts the most, and it hurts legal immigrants more than anyone. It hurts Americans looking for jobs when our federal government allows this underground workforce to continue.”

Steve Camarota of the Center for Immigration Studies has shown in the past year that native-born citizens are in direct competition with illegal workers in this weak economy. “Many jobs often thought to be overwhelmingly immigrant are, in fact, majority native-born,” he said during his September testimony before the House Judiciary Committee. “For example, 55 percent of maids and housekeepers are native-born, as are 58 percent of taxi drivers and chauffeurs, 63 percent of butchers and meat processors, 65 percent of construction laborers, and 75 percent of janitors. There are 93 occupations in which at least 20 percent of workers are immigrants.” Overall, 24 million citizens are in industries in which illegal workers are heavily present. The results are crashing wages and benefits for American workers without college degrees.

Barletta emphasizes that bringing law and order to the workplace will accomplish a reduction in illegal immigration. “I believe in attrition through enforcement,” he says. “We need to eliminate the magnet that brings so many people to this country: illegal jobs. We can do this by punishing businesses that knowingly hire them and securing our border.” Beck’s case for the SAVE Act is that if it were made entirely about get-

ting Americans back to work there is a good chance Obama would have to sign it, having already committed himself to electronic verification in some form.

There are other ways the new Republican House can pursue immigration control. Because all appropriations bills must originate in the House, restrictionists plan to put financial pressure on the mayors of “sanctuary cities” that refuse to comply with federal immigration

HARDLY ANYONE ON OUR SIDE MENTIONS ETHNICITY, WE TALK ABOUT LAW AND ORDER. IT’S THE PEOPLE FOR AMNESTY WHO ARE CONSTANTLY TRYING TO DIVIDE US ON RACE. THIS IS NOT AN ISSUE OF ETHNICITY OR NATIONAL ORIGIN.

laws. “I don’t think we should abolish all the funds into sanctuary cities right away,” says King, “but we can start the process of squeezing the funding down.” Barletta adds, “Mayors don’t have the option of deciding which federal laws they want to enforce. They raise their hands and swear to defend the constitution and the people. We can remind them of their responsibilities.”

House Republicans could also return to their playbook from five years ago, when they added enforcement and immigration-reduction amendments to nearly every bill that they could. Bush’s cherished free-trade deals in 2005 were passed with provisions to restrict the importation of foreign workers. Homeland Security grants were tied up with amendments to increase cooperation between local law enforcement and the federal government in deporting illegal aliens involved in other crimes. These smaller votes on amendments help to pin down unsteady allies of enforcement and put open-borders legislators on the record so they can be targeted by restrictionists in future primaries.

King wants to take the next two years to feel his way toward a more thorough

solution to unchecked immigration. “I don’t see a big comprehensive enforcement bill materializing soon,” he says, since the president “will come down on the side of amnesty.” But he adds that a new Republican Congress can “gather all the facts on enforcement and investigate the results. The administration tells us we are interdicting 25 percent of border-cross attempts. But they laugh at me when I say that at the border. We’re

spending \$12 billion a year, nearly \$6 million a mile, and only getting 10 or 25 percent.” He characterizes current federal policy as “catch and return to the border.”

King’s goal would be to find a solution that can be made “like a business case.” For him, a fence along the southern border and stepped-up interior enforcement offer the best bang for the buck.

Restrictionists are also hoping to fine-tune their political rhetoric. Beck urges enforcement-first politicians and activists to police their ranks tightly. “Hardly anyone on our side mentions ethnicity, we talk about law and order. It’s the people for amnesty who are constantly trying to divide us on race. Nonetheless we have to emphasize that this is not an issue of ethnicity or national origin. People on our side would be just as offended if there were 11 million Canadians, Irish, or Polish illegal immigrants.” King says that “American exceptionalism can’t be preserved with an open border,” but adds that he wants to proceed “with a respect for mankind,” admitting, “I can do better on that.” In that struggle, Barletta is a key ally. “He’s been tested by fire,” says Beck.

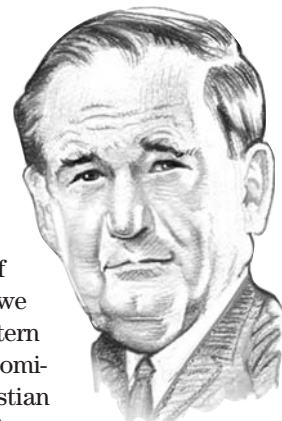
“I haven’t wavered because I understand how this problem is affecting us,” says Barletta, “People come here for a better opportunity, but that dream can’t become real if we allow illegal immigration to continue.” By pursuing enforcement against employers and squeezing sanctuary cities, Barletta believes “we can begin to solve this problem without knocking on doors in the middle of the night and tearing people out of their homes. We enforce the law, and people will make their own arrangements.”

Restrictionists have reason to be confident about the long term. Get-tough initiatives have won victories in every state where they have been tried, proving that it was Bush’s policies, not border-talk, that sank Republicans in 2006 and 2008. And these initiatives are beginning to work. Mexican authorities have reported that nearly 24,000 of their citizens returned to Mexico from Arizona between June and September of 2010, after Arizonans passed SB 1070, the Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act.

Conservatives have shown that they can stop amnesty even when the White House and major figures within the GOP advocate higher immigration. They are poised to brush aside an Obama amnesty with ease. After six years of frantically playing defense, restrictionists are putting themselves in a position to change the federal government’s unofficial policy of neglecting enforcement now and passing amnesty later. “When Americans voted for change they didn’t want to change America,” says Barletta. “They wanted to change Washington. We can start with immigration.” ■

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Middle American Radicals



OTHER THAN BEING the highest-profile Republican victims of Tea Party candidates, what do Lisa Murkowski, Mike Castle, Charlie Crist, and Arlen Specter have in common?

Other than being Tea Party insurgents who routed establishment Republicans in high-profile primaries, what do Joe Miller, Marco Rubio, Christine O'Donnell, Pat Toomey, Sharron Angle in Nevada, Ken Buck in Colorado, and Mike Lee in Utah have in common?

The answer, writes Tim Carney of the *Washington Examiner*, is that all the former are pro-choice on abortion, all the latter pro-life. Tea Party types and pro-life conservatives seem to be twins separated at birth. Carney continues: "Almost without fail the strongest advocates of limited government in Congress are pro-life and vice versa. Think of DeMint and Coburn in the Senate and Ron Paul and Jeff Flake in the House. They top the scorecards of the National Taxpayers' Union and also have perfect scores from National Right to Life."

Carney's point: while all Tea Party insurgents and Tea Party-backed candidates seemed to agree on the economic issues—deficits, debt, taxes, Obamacare—they also seem united on other issues. Looking at the down-ballot battles in 2010, being pro-life is just one of them.

Three Iowa Supreme Court judges who ruled that the state constitution requires recognition of same-sex marriages were denied retention, and Gov. Terry Branstad campaigned for giving Iowans a referendum to decide if they wish to outlaw it. Tea Party types and Iowa conservatives were not only opposed to the idea of men marrying men, they detest the idea of judicial dictatorship.

In Arizona, Ward Connerly's anti-affirmative action initiative, which prohibits

race, gender, and ethnic preferences, won with 60 percent of the vote. Michigan, California, and Washington have already adopted the Connerly amendment.

Tea Partiers also united to back the Arizona law that requires cops to determine the immigration status of anyone whom, in a routine police encounter, they suspect of being an illegal alien. Passage of the law last April brought crazed comparisons with Nazi Germany. Opponents tended to go mute, however, when they learned that 70 percent of America stood with Arizona. GOP candidates for governor subsequently ran on pledges to adopt similar statutes.

In Oklahoma, a proposition to prohibit use of Sharia law in state courts passed with 70 percent. Sharia law is the basis of law in many Muslim countries, as the Bible was once the basis of much law in America.

What do these overlooked stories of Election Day 2010 teach?

Far more than the Beltway Right, the Tea Party is in tune with the heart of America—not only on taxes, spending, and Obamacare but on social, cultural, and moral issues. National Republicans may stay out of these bloody battles, but they hold great potential for bringing out voters and driving wedges through Obama's national base.

Consider. Establishment Republicans recoil from the issue of gay marriage. But in 2008, while McCain was winning 5 percent of the African-American vote in California, blacks in California, urged on by pastors and preachers, voted 70 percent to outlaw same-sex marriage. The pro-life position is also a far more popular cause among black and Hispanic Americans than is the Republican Party.

Oklahoma's prohibition against any use of Sharia should be seen as a cry from

the heart of America that we remain a Western nation, a predominantly Christian country, and we wish to be ruled by our Constitution and laws enacted pursuant to it.

The national outpouring of support for Arizona after that state came under attack for its law requiring suspected illegal aliens to show ID demonstrates how explosive the immigration-amnesty issue is. Republicans should not run from it, for our elites are further out of touch with the people on this issue than any other.

As for the Connerly amendment abolishing affirmative action, if the GOP wishes to win in 2012, the party will put this measure on every possible state ballot, especially in crucial states like Pennsylvania and Ohio.

What this panoply of issues testifies to is the true identity of the Tea Party. These folks are not single-issue voters, and they are not motivated by pocket-book issues alone. They have seen the America they grew up in virtually vanish.

Look at how far we have traveled.

We seem no longer able to balance our budgets, win our wars, or secure our borders. Compared to what our culture was, it is a running sewer today. Working-class wages and middle-class incomes have been stagnant for decades. Factories and jobs continue to hemorrhage to Asia. Company towns become ghost towns. Made in China has replaced Made in America. And as one drives through cities and suburbs, one encounters vast concentrations of people who speak some language other than our own.

The Tea Party people are rising up to take their country back, and that's why they're not going away. ■