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- 2 MARKUP OF: REAUTHORIZING ANTITRUST TASK
- 3 FORCE; H.R. 6598, THE "PREVENTION OF EQUINE
- 4 CRUELTY ACT OF 2008"; AND H.R. 6020, TO AMEND
- 5 THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT TO
- 6 PROTECT THE WELL-BEING OF SOLDIERS AND THEIR
- 7 FAMILIES, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES
- 8 Wednesday, September 10, 2008
- 9 House of Representatives,
- 10 Committee on the Judiciary,
- 11 Washington, D.C.

- 12 The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:27 a.m., in Room
- 13 2141, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. John Conyers
- 14 [chairman of the committee] presiding.

- 15 Present: Representatives Conyers, Berman, Nadler, Watt,
- 16 Lofgren, Jackson Lee, Waters, Wexler, Sanchez, Cohen,
- 17 Johnson, Gutierrez, Sherman, Baldwin, Schiff, Davis,
- 18 Wasserman Schultz, Ellison, Smith, Coble, Gallegly,
- 19 Goodlatte, Chabot, Lungren, Cannon, Keller, Issa, Pence,
- 20 Forbes, King, Feeney, Franks, and Jordan.
- 21 Staff present: Perry Apelbaum, Staff Director/Chief
- 22 Counsel; Ted Kalo, General Counsel/Deputy Staff Director;
- 23 George Slover, Legislative Counsel/Parliamentarian; Sean
- 24 McLaughlin, Minority Chief of Staff/General Counsel; Allison
- 25 Halataei, Minority Deputy Chief of Staff/Parliamentarian; and
- 26 Anita L. Johnson, Clerk.

- 27 Chairman Conyers. [Presiding.] Good morning. The
- 28 committee will come to order.
- We welcome everyone here. Before we begin our work this
- 30 morning, I would like to say a few words about our dearly
- 31 departed friend, Rachel King, who passed away in her home in
- 32 Wayne, Maine, overlooking Dexter Pond, surrounded by friends
- 33 and family after a long battle with cancer. She was a very
- 34 able staffer to the House Judiciary Committee, and she worked
- 35 on the Crime Subcommittee, and it was in fact Chairman Bobby
- 36 Scott that brought her to our attention.
- 37 Many of us knew here from her previous employment with
- 38 the American Civil Liberties Union, but what many didn't know
- 39 is that right up until the time she returned to Maine for the
- 40 last time, she was pursuing a master's degree in creative
- 41 writing at Johns Hopkins University.
- 42 She was well known and well loved in the criminal
- 43 justice and civil rights community, admired for her steadfast
- 44 dedication to criminal justice reform and her tireless
- 45 advocacy against capital punishment. Author of two books
- 46 about the death penalty, and we will remember her not only
- 47 for her experienced counsel she gave us on issues going to
- 48 the heart of what a criminal justice system ought to be like
- 49 in a civilized society and a democracy like ours.
- 50 We will also remember her gentle, but indefatigable
- 51 spirit. We are grateful that she chose to spend the last

- 52 year of her life working with us. I ask that we all pause.
- I yield to Lamar Smith.
- Mr. Smith. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- On behalf of the Republican members and staff of the
- 56 Judiciary Committee, I too want to express our condolences on
- 57 the passing of Rachel King. In addition to the work
- 58 highlighted by you, Rachel served as the counsel for the
- 59 Child Soldiers Accountability Act of 2008, which the House
- 60 passed on Monday by a vote of 371 to 0. This bill is just
- 61 one example of her commitment to human rights issues.
- 62 Even when Rachel's health began to deteriorate, she
- 63 continued to work to complete the Child Soldiers bill. It is
- 64 a tribute to her and her dedication to her work. I know my
- 65 staff, in particular on the Crime Subcommittee, Caroline
- 66 Lynch and Kimani Little, have worked closely with Rachel, but
- 67 we all will miss her.
- 68 I yield back.
- 69 Chairman Conyers. Could we all pause for a moment of
- 70 silence in memory of Rachel?
- 71 (MOMENT OF SILENCE)
- 72 Thank you.
- Pursuant to notice, I call up the resolution to
- 74 establish a task force on antitrust competition for
- 75 consideration. Everyone has a copy of the resolution. So
- 76 without objection, the resolution will be considered as read

77 and open for amendment at any point.

- 78 [The resolution follows:]
- 79 ******** INSERT ********

- 80 Chairman Conyers. Antitrust laws are the chief
- 81 protector of competition, which brings consumers better
- 82 products, lower prices, more innovation. The Supreme Court
- 83 has called the antitrust laws the Magna Carta of our free
- 84 enterprise system. Vigorous antitrust enforcement is vital
- 85 to maintaining the competitive marketplace that has helped
- 86 create the most innovative and resilient economy in all of
- 87 history.
- The task force helps ensure that we are organized in the
- 89 most effective way to conduct oversight into antitrust and
- 90 competition policy issues that warrant our attention,
- 91 including oversight of the antitrust enforcement agencies, as
- 92 well as competition issues that arise regarding specific
- 93 industries, technologies or market practices.
- 94 The committee has adopted similar resolutions in
- 95 previous Congresses. Unlike a subcommittee, the task force
- 96 is of course limited to conducting oversight. Any antitrust-
- 97 related legislation will continue to originate in the full
- 98 committee of Judiciary itself. The task force will have a
- 99 life-span that ends with the 110th Congress in January.
- 100 I am now pleased to recognize Lamar Smith, ranking
- 101 member.
- 102 Mr. Smith. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 103 I join you in support of this resolution. Vigorous,
- 104 unimpeded competition sustains our economy and keeps it

- 105 strong. It leads to innovative products that better our
- 106 lives and keep prices low. The antitrust laws ensure that
- 107 competition can continue without interference.
- 108 This committee has a long history of working in a
- 109 bipartisan fashion to support and maintain the antitrust
- 110 laws. This tradition continues today with the adoption of
- 111 this resolution. The three prior task forces held a total of
- 112 14 hearings on a variety of subjects, so this committee's
- 113 task forces have been very productive. As was the case with
- 114 the previous task forces, I understand that this task force
- 115 will exist for purposes of conducting oversight only, and
- 116 that any efforts to pass legislation in this area will remain
- 117 at the full committee level.
- 118 Mr. Chairman, I support this resolution and look forward
- 119 to continuing the important oversight work that the task
- 120 force will do.
- 121 I yield back.
- 122 Chairman Conyers. I thank my colleague.
- 123 Are there any other members that would like to just make
- 124 a very brief statement? If not, are there any amendments?
- 125 If not, the question is on the adoption of the resolution.
- 126 All in favor signify by saying "aye."
- 127 [A chorus of ayes.]
- 128 All opposed by saying "no."
- [A chorus of noes.]

- The ayes have it, and the resolution is adopted.
- 131 Pursuant to notice, I call up the bill H.R. 6598,
- 132 Prevention of Equine Cruelty Act of 2008, for purposes of
- 133 markup and ask the clerk to report the bill.
- The Clerk. H.R. 6598, a bill to amend Title 18, United
- 135 States Code, to prevent certain conduct relating to the use
- 136 of hormones for human consumption.
- 137 Chairman Conyers. H.R. 6598, okay, then I ask-
- 138 The Clerk. The short title, this act may be cited as
- 139 the Prevention of Equine Cruelty Act of 2008.
- 140 [The bill follows:]
- 141 ******* INSERT *******

- 142 Chairman Conyers. All right. Without objection, the
- 143 bill will be considered read. Allow me to begin our
- 144 discussion on this measure.
- 145 The bill, H.R. 6598, the Prevention of Equine Cruelty
- 146 Act, is one that is intended to remedy the problems that have
- 147 been raised at our hearings that make this legislation
- 148 necessary. I recall Dr. John Boyd, the president of the
- 149 National Black Farmers Association, who at the Crime
- 150 Subcommittee earlier this year said that the slaughter of
- 151 horses for human consumption is a right and wrong issue.
- 152 Our national culture is that we as Americans do not
- 153 raise horses for the purpose of human consumption. Although
- 154 the last few remaining facilities which were foreign-owned in
- 155 Texas and Illinois were shut down pursuant to state law, the
- 156 slaughterhouses have simply moved across the border into
- 157 Mexico and other places.
- 158 The process involved in the slaughter of horses for
- 159 human consumption is unquestionably cruel and inhumane.
- 160 These unfortunate creatures are transported long distances,
- 161 often for more than 24 hours without water, food or rest.
- 162 After they arrive at the slaughterhouse, they are frequently
- 163 brutally killed.
- 164 The San Antonio Express News, for example, Mr. Smith,
- 165 reported that a terrified horse was repeatedly stabbed to the
- 166 point of paralysis and then hoisted up by one of its legs

- 167 while it was still alive. It was thereafter slashed in its
- 168 neck so that it could then bleed to death.
- 169 I am skeptical about claims that this legislation may
- 170 result in unwanted horses being abandoned, although this
- 171 claim has been made. Although the number of horses going to
- 172 slaughter decreased from a high of more than 350,000 in 1990,
- 173 to about 120,000 last year, which is a dramatic reduction, we
- 174 are unaware of any current epidemic of unwanted horses
- 175 roaming loose.
- 176 Indeed, the Committee on Judiciary has received
- 177 countless letters from horse rescue organizations across the
- 178 nation describing their efforts to buy so-called "unwanted"
- 179 horses at local auctions, but being repeatedly outbid by
- 180 horse slaughter buyers. We have been assured by such
- 181 organizations as the National Black Farmers Association,
- 182 Animal Welfare League and others, that they will work to find
- 183 homes for many such horses.
- 184 At our Crime Subcommittee hearing, Judge Gohmert posed
- 185 an interesting question. What would be acceptable in the
- 186 eyes of most people with caring hearts and common sense? My
- 187 bill, I think, our bill brought before the full committee
- 188 today, I think answers that question.
- 189 So I conclude my statement, urging support for the bill,
- 190 and recognize once again the distinguished ranking member of
- 191 the Judiciary Committee, Lamar Smith.

- 192 Mr. Smith. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 193 This bill makes it a federal crime to transport,
- 194 purchase or sell a horse in interstate or foreign commerce
- 195 that is intended to be slaughtered for human consumption. A
- 196 person convicted of this offense will face from 1 to 3 years
- 197 in prison. This is a broad expansion of the federal criminal
- 198 code. There are no slaughter plants operating within the
- 199 United States today. The three remaining plants were closed
- 200 just in the last few years.
- What this bill actually attempts to do is extend federal
- 202 jurisdiction into foreign countries, particularly Canada and
- 203 Mexico, by way of the criminal code. Proponents of this bill
- 204 are motivated by their desire for the humane treatment of
- 205 horses. According to industry experts, there are as many as
- 206 100,000 unwanted horses in this country every year, yet this
- 207 legislation makes no provision for the housing, care or
- 208 disposal of unwanted horses, or horses whose owners can no
- 209 longer afford to care for them. It simply prohibits the sale
- 210 of horses for slaughter.
- 211 The conduct criminalized by H.R. 6598 will expose horse
- 212 owners across the country to unwarranted persecution. Rather
- 213 than criminalizing the sale of horses to foreign countries,
- 214 our efforts would be better focused on addressing the
- 215 insufficient number of shelters and other rescue facilities
- 216 across the country to provide care to abandoned and unwanted

- 217 horses.
- The impact of this bill will be far-reaching. Many
- 219 horses will be abandoned or neglected by their owners.
- 220 Advocates of this bill argue that owners who no longer want
- 221 their horses should euthanize the animals, rather than
- 222 abandon or neglect them. However, the process to euthanize
- 223 an animal and dispose of its carcass can be very expensive,
- 224 costing over \$1,000 in some states.
- 225 I believe that this bill would lead to unwarranted
- 226 prosecutions, exacerbate the problem of unwanted and
- 227 abandoned horses, and would place a significant burden on
- 228 America's ranchers and farmers. So I urge my colleagues to
- 229 oppose this bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.
- 230 Chairman Convers. Thank you.
- 231 Are there amendments to the bill?
- 232 Mr. Issa. Mr. Chairman?
- 233 Chairman Conyers. Yes? Darrell Issa has an amendment.
- Mr. Issa. No. Actually, I move to strike the last
- 235 word.
- Chairman Conyers. Oh, all right. The gentleman is
- 237 recognized.
- 238 Mr. Issa. Mr. Chairman, I will be brief. I have
- 239 previously supported legislation to try to get a handle on
- 240 the exploitation of wild mustangs and burros. I have
- 241 previously been involved in legislation to end horse

- 242 slaughter. I will not be supporting this bill, and I say
- 243 this with great regret, for a much more technical reason than
- 244 the underlying compassion of those who would like to end some
- 245 of the types of cruelty that you described in your opening
- 246 statement.
- In a nutshell, Mr. Chairman, it is beyond my
- 248 comprehension of how I can criminalize the conduct in support
- 249 of something which is not criminal. We in America have a
- 250 right to take our horse, slaughter it, and eat it. That has
- 251 not been taken away. It is not criminal.
- 252 So our fundamental problem is, if in fact the underlying
- 253 consumption is not criminal, and the earlier bills that were
- 254 worked on did not make it illegal or criminal to export for
- 255 that purpose, as was sought in earlier legislation, quite
- 256 candidly, although I am not an eater of horse meat, I wanted
- 257 to make that very clear to the gentleman from FedEx's
- 258 hometown. As we saw yesterday in the hearing, we have to
- 259 look at what laws we pass and criminalize in light of the
- 260 underlying conduct.
- 261 So although I know many people have amendments and there
- 262 will be a lot of discussion, unless we can get to the
- 263 underlying challenge that the trafficking for something which
- 264 is not illegal cannot be made illegal, in my mind, then, Mr.
- 265 Chairman, I will not be able to support the bill. If the
- 266 chairman knows of some underlying precedent, I would

- 267 appreciate hearing it, because that is my frustration this 268 morning.
- 269 Chairman Conyers. I thank the gentleman. About that
- 270 luncheon appointment we had today, I am not going to be able
- 271 to make it.
- [Laughter.]
- 273 Sorry.
- 274 Mr. Issa. You know, regardless of what we are serving,
- 275 Mr. Chairman?
- 276 Chairman Conyers. Yes.
- [Laughter.]
- 278 Mr. Issa. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I regretfully am
- 279 not able in the present form to support the bill, and I yield
- 280 back.
- 281 Mr. Nadler. Mr. Chairman?
- 282 Chairman Conyers. Yes? Jerry Nadler of New York?
- 283 Mr. Nadler. I move to strike the last word.
- 284 Chairman Conyers. The gentleman is recognized.
- 285 Mr. Nadler. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- I have to reply or comment, rather, on what Mr. Issa
- 287 just said. We have innumerable laws in this country that
- 288 regulate or prohibit the shipment of various things in
- 289 interstate commerce for various purposes. In many cases, the
- 290 underlying purpose may not be illegal in a given state, but
- 291 we do regulate the shipment in interstate commerce of

- 292 anything for that purpose, or prohibit it.
- This is common to our law. Congress has the power
- 294 granted by the Constitution to regulate interstate commerce.
- 295 It does not have general police power. Only the states have
- 296 general police power. Congress does not have general police
- 297 power to regulate certain things, but it does have the power
- 298 in effect to regulate them by regulating the interstate
- 299 commerce as it affects them. We do that all the time.
- In fact, this Congress with certainly I believe the
- 301 support of the Republican members of this committee, if not
- 302 the Democratic members of this committee, a couple of years
- 303 ago passed legislation to criminalize "transporting" a person
- 304 across state lines for the purpose of getting an abortion, if
- 305 the circumstances of that abortion would have been illegal in
- 306 the state in which that person was leaving, but not in the
- 307 state to which she was going.
- 308 Now, forgetting the merits of that whole question, which
- 309 I don't want to re-debate now-
- Mr. Goodlatte. Would the gentleman yield?
- 311 Mr. Nadler. In a minute.
- 312 But there was an instance of our regulating through
- 313 interstate commerce power something that on a local level is
- 314 the state's power. So I mean, if you want to make an
- 315 argument on the merits of the legislation, fine, but the
- 316 argument that we shouldn't regulate through interstate

- 317 commerce something that isn't underlyingly illegal under
- 318 federal law, although it may be in many state laws, is simply
- 319 an argument that we don't do. We pass laws like that all the
- 320 time.
- I yield to whoever sought yielding.
- Mr. Goodlatte. I thank the gentleman for yielding.
- 323 Is the gentleman suggesting that while he favors
- 324 allowing laws that would transport women across state line
- 325 for performing abortions, he opposes laws that would permit
- 326 transporting-
- 327 Mr. Nadler. Reclaiming my time, I did not say that.
- 328 Reclaiming my time, as the gentleman should remember, I did
- 329 not favor that law for other reasons, for lots of reasons. I
- 330 don't want to re-debate the abortion issue. I simply wanted
- 331 to point out that the argument that you don't regulate
- 332 through or prohibit through interstate commerce what Congress
- 333 hasn't prohibited in the underlying conduct, I mean, we do
- 334 that all the time.
- So if you want to make an argument, make an argument on
- 336 the merits of the legislation, not on the interstate commerce
- 337 power, because that basically was settled 200 years ago.
- 338 I yield.
- 339 Mr. Issa. I thank the gentleman.
- 340 My question was much more narrow than that. I
- 341 appreciate that there are numerous examples in which there

- 342 are differences between states, and even two states in which
- 343 it is legal, you could still regulate, with alcohol being a
- 344 good example where we further limit than any one state.
- 345 My challenge is more specific. California has no
- 346 prohibition on these horse activities, including slaughter.
- 347 If an operation, and I have many in my district, and I have
- 348 race tracks in my district, produces a horse and sells it to
- 349 Mexico, or five horses, and sells it to Mexico for any
- 350 purpose, it is currently okay. We are picking one purpose,
- 351 which is not illegal in California or in Mexico, and picking
- 352 on it without an underlying finding in either California or
- 353 this jurisdiction that this consumption is wrong.
- 354 I share with the gentleman a lot of his concerns—
- 355 Mr. Nadler. Let me reclaim my time. I understand the
- 356 argument of the gentleman. I would simply say that by
- 357 passing this legislation, we are making clear our underlying
- 358 determination as to the morality or desirability, whatever
- 359 you want to call it, of the underlying conduct. Not being a
- 360 state or the federal government, or a part of the federal
- 361 government, we are using interstate commerce power to
- 362 regulate or prohibit the interstate shipment of something for
- 363 a purpose that we don't like. We are entitled to do that as
- 364 a power of Congress.
- Now, even if a state hasn't illegalized it internally,
- 366 that is their privilege. But we can certainly prohibit

- 367 interstate commerce in something that we don't approve or
- 368 that we want to stop. We do that all the time. Again, I
- 369 don't understand the argument here.
- 370 Chairman Conyers. Does the gentleman yield back?
- 371 Mr. Nadler. I yield back.
- 372 Mr. Forbes. Mr. Chairman?
- 373 Chairman Conyers. Yes? Mr. Forbes?
- Mr. Forbes. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last
- 375 word.
- 376 Chairman Conyers. The gentleman is recognized.
- 377 Mr. Forbes. Mr. Chairman, sometimes I do not totally
- 378 follow the logic of what we are trying to do in this
- 379 committee, and this happens to be one of those. Like
- 380 Congressman Issa, I favored legislation where we are trying
- 381 to reduce funding for federal facilities that are
- 382 slaughtering horses for human consumption, but over and over
- 383 again I hear our friends on the other side of the aisle
- 384 coming to this committee and bemoan the fact that when it
- 385 comes to violent crimes in this country, we are locking up
- 386 far too many people, that we lock up more people than any
- 387 nation in the world, that we are concerned about the number
- 388 of people that we have in our prisons.
- 389 And yet we come in with a piece of legislation like this
- 390 that could put farmers or other people across the country in
- 391 jail, federal jails, for 3 years, prisons for 3 years, and

- 392 there is no concern at all. There is no one coming in and
- 393 saying, I am concerned about all the people we may lock up.
- My biggest concern with this legislation, Mr. Chairman,
- 395 is we all know that we are going to have people that could
- 396 very easily ship an animal out of the country with no
- 397 intention at all for that animal to be used for human
- 398 consumption. I know this requires "knowingly," but they have
- 399 to go through a federal trial with all of the costs and all
- 400 the money that is involved, and having the risk of
- 401 imprisonment over their head. And we know that kind of thing
- 402 is going to happen, and yet we rush to pass this kind of
- 403 legislation.
- Mr. Chairman, it just doesn't make any sense to me, but
- 405 hopefully we will have some amendments to make it better.
- 406 Mr. Cannon. Will the gentleman yield?
- 407 Mr. Forbes. I would be happy to yield.
- 408 Mr. Cannon. Thank you, and thank you, Mr. Goodlatte.
- 409 Look, I love horses. My current occupation doesn't
- 410 allow me to spend much time with horses, but I do have on any
- 411 given day three to five in my front yard. I probably have
- 412 about as many horses in my district as anybody in the country
- 413 has.
- 414 It is absolutely clear that we can do what this bill
- 415 purports to do. But let me just tell you that you are going
- 416 to cause more pain and anguish to horses by doing this than

- 417 you are by letting owners who love their horses take care of
- 418 them in a way that is the most humane. We have interfered
- 419 already with the process of dealing with horses. This takes
- 420 it one step further.
- It is possible to do this. It is appropriate to do
- 422 this, but let me just suggest to people who don't have horses
- 423 in their district, even though the horse is this great
- 424 American icon, and we love horses in America, and I love them
- 425 personally, but in fact what we are doing is likely to lead
- 426 to greater suffering to horses and the possibility of
- 427 criminalizing people who tend and love their horses.
- So I would deeply encourage the gentleman to re-think
- 429 this whole bill and the whole approach.
- 430 Chairman Conyers. Thank you. I thank the gentleman.
- 431 Would he yield?
- 432 Mr. Forbes. Reclaiming my time, Mr. Chairman.
- 433 I agree with the gentleman. I have three horses, love
- 434 them, I have always loved them, but I would be very concerned
- 435 under legislation like this that if I sold them, and they
- 436 were transferred. I have no intention of what was going to
- 437 happen to them, and I get caught up in some web of some
- 438 federal case that is coming down that I have to spend a half-
- 439 million dollars trying to defend myself.
- 440 Mr. Lungren. To the gentleman's point about horses
- 441 being exported form the country for other purposes and then

- 442 winding up in slaughter, there is a very famous case of a
- 443 derby winner, Ferdinand, a very successful race horse
- 444 exported to Japan for stud purposes, was not too successful
- 445 in that regard, and wound up being slaughtered in Japan for
- 446 consumption.
- So I would hate to think that the person who had
- 448 originally exported that without that intention would wind up
- 449 being a part of a lawsuit which they might be able to prevail
- 450 upon and prove that they didn't export for the purpose of
- 451 slaughter, but wound up in that situation.
- 452 Mr. Forbes. Mr. Chairman, reclaiming my time. I have a
- 453 few seconds left.
- 454 As the gentleman knows from all his work on federal
- 455 judiciary, and certainly the former attorney general from
- 456 California, many times you are caught up in this web and this
- 457 net and part of a criminal litigation that you have to try to
- 458 defend against, that it is not even the outcome of the
- 459 litigation, but it is the enormous cost, and that cloud that
- 460 hangs over you, that we are putting farmers under in
- 461 situations like this, and ranchers under, and people who are
- 462 just private owners of horses like me and the gentleman from
- 463 Utah, that makes very little sense for us at a time when we
- 464 bemoan the number of people we are locking up and putting in
- 465 jail for violent crimes, but we don't hesitate or blink an
- 466 eye at doing it for situations like this.

- 467 Mr. Chairman, I yield back.
- 468 Chairman Conyers. I thank the gentleman.
- We are going to, members of the committee, stand in
- 470 recess for the memorial of Stephanie Tubbs Jones that is
- 471 taking place in Statuary Hall at 11 o'clock. We are going to
- 472 come back and resume at 1 p.m.
- 473 Could I say to Chris Cannon, if he is still here, I
- 474 would like to go to lunch with him instead of Darrell Issa at
- 475 noon, if it is okay?
- 476 [Laughter.]
- 477 Mr. Issa. Because he loves horses more than I do?
- 478 Chairman Convers. This is not a contest about that at
- 479 all, sir.
- 480 Mr. Issa. Mr. Chairman, I was buying lunch. See if
- 481 Chris will do that for you.
- 482 [Laughter.]
- 483 Chairman Conyers. Let's stand in recess anyway.
- 484 [Recess.]
- 485 Chairman Conyers. The committee will come to order.
- Pursuant to notice, I now call up the bill, H.R. 6020,
- 487 the Lance Corporal Jose Gutierrez Act of 2008, for purposes
- 488 of markup, and ask the clerk to report the bill.
- 489 The Clerk. H.R. 6020, a bill to amend the Immigration
- 490 and-
- 491 Chairman Conyers. Wait a minute. Is your mic on?

The Clerk. H.R. 6020, a bill to amend the Immigration
493 and Nationality Act to protect the well-being of soldiers and
494 their families and for other purposes.

495 [The bill follows:]

496 ******** INSERT *******

- 497 Chairman Conyers. I ask unanimous consent that the bill
- 498 be considered as read and open for mark up at any point.
- 499 I would invite the chair of the Immigration
- 500 Subcommittee, Ms. Zoe Lofgren, to make the majority's opening
- 501 statement.
- Ms. Lofgren. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- Over the last 1 1/2 years as chair of the Immigration
- 504 Subcommittee, we have heard many stories of soldiers,
- 505 veterans, and their families trying to navigate our complex
- 506 and dysfunctional immigration system that is unforgiving,
- 507 even to those who serve our country.
- Take Navy Airman Karla Arambula de Rivera. Airman
- 509 Rivera was a little girl when she was brought to the United
- 510 States. In 2004, she married a United States citizen and was
- 511 given conditional permanent resident status based on her
- 512 marriage. In 2007, she joined the United States Navy.
- 513 Married to a U.S. citizen and serving our country, one would
- 514 think that Airman Rivera would not have had any trouble with
- 515 our immigration system, but nothing could be further from the
- 516 truth.
- 517 When Airman Rivera could not file her application to
- 518 remove the condition on her permanent residence because she
- 519 was in the midst of Navy training, she was advised by the
- 520 Navy lawyers that she could instead file to naturalize under
- 521 the provisions of our current law. At the same time, the

- 522 Department of Homeland Security placed her in removal
- 523 proceedings.
- Despite the fact that she was eligible for U.S.
- 525 citizenship because of her service in the Navy, the Homeland
- 526 Security Department insisted that Airman Rivera go through
- 527 removal proceedings at the same time that she was applying
- 528 for naturalization. She was forced to appear at immigration
- 529 court in L.A. when she was stationed in Norfolk, Virginia.
- Airman Rivera was advised that if she had to be deployed
- 531 overseas with her unit, the Navy would have to leave her
- 532 behind in Kuwait because she would have been considered to
- 533 have self-deported under our immigration laws. Luckily,
- 534 Airman Rivera was able to become a U.S. citizen before she
- 535 had to be deployed abroad and did not have to make the
- 536 difficult choice between her duties to her country and fellow
- 537 soldiers, and protecting her legal immigration status.
- 538 In another case, Air Force Captain Christine Navarro, a
- 539 U.S. citizen, a graduate of the Air Force Academy, and a KC-
- 540 135 aircraft commander, must now be permanently separated
- 541 from her husband because once, a long time ago, he made the
- 542 mistake of verbally claiming to be a U.S. citizen. For that
- 543 one mistake, everyone must suffer permanently.
- 544 Captain Navarro, her high school sweetheart husband, and
- 545 their son, who was recently diagnosed with cerebral palsy-
- 546 they can never live as a family again in the United States

- 547 because our immigration laws do not forgive this mistake even 548 for those who serve our country. Today, Captain Navarro and 549 her husband live separate lives—he in Mexico and she in the 550 United States—trying to care for their child as a de facto 551 single parent, while faithfully serving the country who 552 deported her husband.
- After listening to one too many of these stories from 554 our soldiers and their families, I decided it was time to 555 change the law. I worked with several of our colleagues on 556 both sides of the aisle, including Chairman Conyers, 557 Representative Mike Pence, our colleagues on the Armed 558 Services Committee, Representative Mac Thornberry, who was 559 the lead Republican on the bill, Congresswoman Sanchez on 560 Armed Services, and Congressman Turner also on Armed 561 Services, as well as the chairman of the Intelligence 562 Committee, Chairman Reyes.
- The result of that bipartisan work is H.R. 6020. This
 564 bill enjoys strong support from organizations such as the
 565 American GI Forum and the Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of
 566 America. In addition, Lieutenant General Ricardo Sanchez,
 567 the former commander of ground forces in Iraq, has strongly
 568 endorsed this bill. As he so eloquently states in his letter
 569 of support, "These families have earned the right to call
 570 themselves Americans because they have answered the call to
 571 duty during a time of crisis, while many naturally born

- 572 Americans have not. It matters greatly that those who fight
- 573 for this country know that America values their sacrifices.
- 574 As leaders it is our duty to sustain the readiness, morale
- 575 and warfighting spirit of our warriors."
- 576 He also explains that, "We should not continue to allow
- 577 our citizenship laws and immigration bureaucracy to put our
- 578 warfighting readiness at risk." He observes that, "The last
- 579 thing I needed was a soldier to be distracted by significant
- 580 family issues back home. Resolving citizenship status for
- 581 family members while serving our country, especially during
- 582 combat, must not be allowed to continue to detracting from
- 583 the readiness of our forces. When soldiers have to worry
- 584 about their families, individual readiness falters, which can
- 585 lead to degradation in unit effectiveness and the risk of
- 586 mission failure. I have personally witnessed this on the
- 587 battlefield."
- 588 And the Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans Association
- 589 similarly says, "All our military families are making a
- 590 tremendous sacrifice on behalf of our nation, and the last
- 591 thing they should cope with while their loved ones are
- 592 defending this nation overseas is more bureaucracy and red
- 593 tape here at home."
- 594 Without objection, I would like to submit to the record
- 595 the letters of support from General Sanchez, from the Iraq
- 596 and Afghanistan Veterans Association, and from the American

597 GI Forum into the record.

Chairman Conyers. Without objection, so ordered.

599 [The information follows:]

600 ****** COMMITTEE INSERT *******

- Ms. Lofgren. I can understand that some may have issues 602 with specific provisions or need amendments to clarify and 603 address concerns, and I am certainly eager to work through 604 any technicalities. But the general point is that Congress
- 605 must do what it can to ease the burden our soldiers face with 606 our broken immigration system.
- I strongly urge my colleagues to support this bill, H.R.
- 608 6020. I think doing otherwise risks betraying the soldiers
- 609 and their families, who sacrifice for our nation every day.
- 610 I would like to note, with gratitude, the amendment that was
- 611 adopted at our subcommittee, an amendment offered by our
- 612 colleague, Ms. Jackson Lee, to name this bill after Lance
- 613 Corporal Jose Gutierrez, who was the first American soldier
- 614 to lose his life in the Iraq War, an immigrant to the United
- 615 States and the first American soldier to be lost.
- So with that, Mr. Chairman, I recommend the bill and
- 617 yield back.
- 618 Chairman Conyers. Thank you very much.
- The chair is pleased to recognize the distinguished
- 620 ranking member of the Judiciary Committee, Lamar Smith.
- Mr. Smith. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- Mr. Chairman, I strongly oppose this bill. The bill's
- 623 title proclaims its purpose to be, "protect the well being of
- 624 soldiers and their families." However, if Congress had to
- 625 abide by truth in advertising laws, the bill would be titled

- 626 differently. It would more accurately state that it is
- 627 designed to, "protect illegal immigrants and criminal
- 628 aliens."
- Mr. Chairman, this bill goes far beyond the case of
- 630 Airman Rivera, whose story we just heard from the chair of
- 631 the Immigration Subcommittee-far, far beyond that,
- 632 particularly, and that instance is heart-rending itself. I
- 633 want to say that one of the Republican sponsors who was just
- 634 mentioned a while ago, Representative Thornberry, I have
- 635 talked to him about this bill and while he was sympathetic to
- 636 the case as described about Airman Rivera, he was not clear
- 637 about the fact that this bill actually grants waivers to
- 638 criminal aliens, or possibly might grant waivers to criminal
- 639 aliens who have committed some of the most horrible types of
- 640 crimes. So he, I think, may well have concerns about this
- 641 bill as it is written.
- 642 H.R. 6020 grants amnesty and relief from the
- 643 consequences of committing serious crimes to almost anyone
- 644 who has ever served in the United States military, no matter
- **645** how briefly or how long ago he or she served. These
- 646 immigration benefits also go to illegal immigrant family
- 647 members of persons in the military. The American people are
- 648 opposed to amnesty for lawbreakers. The American people want
- 649 criminal aliens deported and our communities made safe.
- 650 Unfortunately, this bill is on the wrong side of the American

- 651 people.
- When we look at an American soldier or veteran, we
- 653 almost always see someone who has made a sacrifice to uphold
- 654 the American Constitution and the rule of law. This bill
- 655 cheapens that image and does a disservice to the vast
- 656 majority of our non-citizen soldiers and their family members
- 657 who have in fact abided by the law.
- Who is advocating for this bill? It certainly isn't
- 659 American veterans. Let me mention what the American Legion
- 660 has to say about this bill. The national commander of the
- 661 American Legion recently stated in a letter that, "On behalf
- 662 of 2.7 million members of the American Legion, I am writing
- 663 in opposition to H.R. 6020. The center point for
- 664 disagreement with this measure is our unequivocal opposition
- 665 to granting amnesty to those residing illegally in the United
- 666 States.
- 667 "Fundamental to our position is a distinction that must
- 668 be made between legal and illegal immigrants. H.R. 6020
- 669 would reward non-citizen lawbreakers and undocumented
- 670 immigrants with a shortcut to citizenship that is nothing
- 671 less than an official pardon for illegal acts and amnesty.
- 672 Non-citizen service members' relatives who have entered the
- 673 U.S. illegally or overstayed a visa or who may be fugitives
- 674 from justice, deserve no special treatment.
- "No special pardon, no reprieve from lawlessness, no

- 676 exoneration for bad behavior is given to the citizen soldier
- 677 or their family because one wore the uniform of the United
- 678 States military. The American Legion remains adamantly
- 679 opposed to the granting of pardons to illegal aliens."
- The benefits of this bill extend to immigrants who have
- 681 in fact committed horrible crimes decades after separating
- 682 from the service. This bill means that an immigration judge
- 683 will have the opportunity to let an alien who served in the
- 684 military and who then went on to commit serious crimes after
- 685 they served in the military, stay in the country. Almost any
- 686 criminal ground of deportability may be waived, even for the
- 687 most serious of crimes such as murder, rape, sexual abuse of
- 688 children and fraud. All can potentially get a waiver from a
- 689 sympathetic judge.
- 690 It sets an extremely bad precedent to pick a particular
- 691 group of aliens who can receive immigration waivers for
- 692 serious crime. The amnesty and criminal waivers are
- 693 available for the family members of soldiers, too, and not
- 694 just for their spouses and minor children. The bill extends
- 695 these benefits to the adult sons and daughters, parents, and
- 696 even siblings of service members.
- This bill would make our soldiers currently on active
- 698 duty attractive marriage prospects for illegal immigrants
- 699 under these provisions. Not only does the bill encourage
- 700 marriage fraud, it also contains a provision that removes a

- 701 crucial safeguard against marriage fraud. The bill lets
- 702 alien service members and veterans marry U.S. citizens
- 703 without having to go through the 2-year conditional status
- 704 required of all other immigrants who marry U.S. citizens.
- 705 We should stand with the American Legion in opposition
- 706 to this bill. It gives unprecedented rights to illegal
- 707 immigrants. It encourages marriage fraud, and it makes light
- 708 of serious crimes.
- 709 Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.
- 710 Chairman Conyers. Thank you very much.
- 711 We will invite all other statements to be included in
- 712 the record.
- 713 Mr. King. Mr. Chairman?
- 714 Chairman Conyers. The gentleman, Steve King, seeks
- 715 recognition for what purpose?
- 716 Mr. King. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would move to
- 717 strike the last word.
- 718 Chairman Conyers. Well, we can't do that right now
- 719 because I just agreed to put everybody's statement in the
- 720 record. I would love to make an exception for you, so if
- 721 there is no objection, we will recognize you.
- 722 Mr. King. Mr. Chairman, I thank you for making an
- 723 exception.
- 724 Also, I thank the members for not taking exception. I
- 725 appreciate the opportunity to be recognized on this bill,

- 726 which I know that you are aware that I oppose.
- 727 Chairman Conyers. What?
- 728 [Laughter.]
- 729 Mr. King. It is a shock, Mr. Chairman, but I know that
- 730 when donkeys were included in the previous bill, we had to
- 731 move on to something else objectionable. So here we are with
- 732 the servicemen's bill before us. Our nation owes a debt of
- 733 gratitude to those legal permanent residents who serve in the
- 734 U.S. armed forces, the same debt we owe to citizen soldiers.
- 735 But since September 11, 111 non-citizen service members
- 736 have made the ultimate sacrifice and been granted posthumous
- 737 citizenship. They have a special place in our hearts and
- 738 they should. Congress has long sought to facilitate the
- 739 naturalization of non-citizens serving in the armed forces.
- 740 In fact, our immigration laws have long contained three
- 741 special naturalization provisions just for service members.
- 742 Then, after we learned that some of the members of the
- 743 military who died in combat during Operation Iraqi Freedom
- 744 were not U.S. citizens, Congress acted to provide enhanced
- 745 benefits to permanent resident service members and their
- 746 families. However, this bill is about much different
- 747 propositions.
- 748 It is not about easing the naturalization of U.S.
- 749 service members and providing substantive immigration
- 750 benefits to the legally present family members of service

- 751 members killed in action. Rather, this bill is about
- 752 granting amnesty to illegal immigrants who are family members
- 753 of U.S. service members. This bill is about waiving many
- 754 grounds of removability for non-citizens who are serving in,
- 755 or who have ever served in the military, and for the non-
- 756 citizen family members of service members.
- 757 These include those grounds predicated on the most
- 758 serious of crimes. Our soldiers fight and in some cases give
- 759 their lives to preserve the rule of law. That has been a
- 760 principle that I have stood on clearly here. It seems ironic
- 761 indeed that some would propose to disregard the rule of law
- 762 as just another reward or inducement to serve our country.
- 763 H.R. 6020 waives many grounds of inadmissibility and
- 764 deportability for aliens in the military. These benefits
- 765 also go to most aliens who have ever served in the military
- 766 no matter how short or long ago were their periods of
- 767 service. And they go to aliens who are the spouses, minor
- 768 children, adult children, parents and minor siblings of
- 769 service members.
- Just what grounds are waived? Well, among them are
- 771 illegal entry into the U.S.-that should be no surprise,
- 772 actually—and the 3-and 10-year bars to reentry for aliens who
- 773 have been illegally present in the U.S., that is those who
- 774 have been illegally present for more than 6 months.
- 775 Additionally, immigration judges are given the

- 776 discretionary authority to waive most other non-terrorism-
- 777 related grounds, including the authority to waive most
- 778 criminal grounds and document fraud, falsely claiming
- 779 citizenship, and illegal voting. How soon we forget that the
- 780 abuse of discretion by liberal immigration judges forced
- 781 Congress to remove much of their discretion in 1996.
- 782 Thus, aliens who arrived in the U.S. illegally cannot be
- 783 removed and can reenter the U.S. despite having been in the
- 784 U.S. illegally for extended periods of time. Immigration
- 785 judges will have the ability to waive all the criminal
- 786 grounds of deportability for very serious crimes, including
- 787 murder, gang crimes and rape, and other crimes on down the
- 788 list. Remember, these waivers apply not just to service
- 789 members, but to their family members and to most aliens who
- 790 have ever served in the military.
- 791 What else does the bill do? It prohibits the use of
- 792 expedited removal against illegal immigrants and immigrants
- 793 convicted of aggravated felonies as long as they served
- 794 honorably in the military at any time. It also would
- 795 prohibit the reinstatement of removal orders against such
- 796 aliens who illegally return to the U.S. after being removed.
- 797 This bill, Mr. Chairman, will create a perverse
- 798 incentive for persons to intentionally enter the military for
- 799 the express purpose of procuring amnesty or relief from the
- 800 immigration consequences of serious crimes, that for

- 801 themselves or their extended family members. This is not
- 802 what service to our country is all about. I would point out
- 803 that our discussions on this have focused on anecdotes, not
- 804 data, and for us to take a look at the broader picture of
- 805 this.
- What it really means if we are to suspend the rule of
- 807 law, grant discretion to judges that were denied that
- 808 discretion in 1996 for good cause by this Congress, and open
- 809 up the door to provide a perverse incentive for those who are
- 810 perhaps in this country illegally to join the military and
- 811 then bring their family members in with a path to
- 812 citizenship. I think that it is an offense to those who
- 813 stand up for the rule of law, to those who have given their
- 814 lives for the rule of law.
- I think it runs contrary to the principles of this very
- 816 Judiciary Committee. We know what lenient liberal judges do.
- 817 That is why we had to restrain them and eliminate their
- 818 discretion in 1996. Why would we reward lawbreakers and
- 819 their families? Let's stand up for the rule of law. I
- 820 oppose this bill. Mr. Chairman, I do have an amendment, but
- 821 I yield back the balance of my time.
- 822 Chairman Conyers. Thank you very much.
- Mr. Lamar Smith?
- 824 Mr. Smith. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the
- 825 desk, amendment number one.

- 826 Chairman Conyers. The clerk will report the amendment.
- Ms. Lofgren. Mr. Chairman, I would like to reserve a
- 828 point of order. As I am reserving the point of order, may I
- 829 make a request of the minority. If you have amendments, I
- 830 would very much appreciate seeing them in advance so we might
- 831 have an opportunity to review them and see if it is possible
- 832 if we could accept some of them, which it is difficult to do
- 833 if it is just brought out at the last minute. But I do
- 834 reserve the point of order on this.
- 835 Chairman Conyers. A point of order is reserved by the
- 836 gentlelady from California.
- The gentleman is recognized in support of his amendment.
- Mr. Smith. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 839 Mr. Chairman, this amendment strikes section five of the
- 840 bill. Section five contains the provisions of the bill that
- 841 are offensive to American veterans and to the American
- 842 people. These are the provisions granting amnesty.
- Chairman Conyers. I am sorry, but the clerk will report
- 844 the amendment.
- The Clerk. Amendment to the amendment in the nature of
- 846 a substitute to H.R. 6020 offered by Mr. Smith of Texas.
- 847 "Strike section 5."

849 ******** INSERT *******

- Chairman Conyers. Without objection, the amendment will
- 851 be considered as read.
- The gentleman from Texas?
- Mr. Smith. Mr. Chairman, section 5 contains the
- 854 provisions of the bill that are offensive to American
- 855 veterans and to the American people. These are the
- 856 provisions granting amnesty-amnesty to the illegal immigrant
- 857 family members of service members and amnesty to just about
- 858 anyone who has ever served in the military.
- These are also the provisions that allow immigration
- 860 judges to waive the criminal grounds of removal for even the
- 861 most terrible of crimes. The provisions that this amendment
- 862 strikes represent bad policy, policy that is rejected by
- 863 American veterans.
- I have already quoted the national commander of the
- 865 American Legion. Let me now quote from the American Legion's
- 866 testimony before our Immigration Subcommittee last May. The
- 867 director of the American Legion's National Legislative
- 868 Commission stated that, "No special pardon, no reprieve from
- 869 lawlessness, no exoneration for bad behavior should be given
- 870 to service members, veterans or the families of service
- 871 members. He stated that "service members' relatives who have
- 872 entered our country illegally or overstayed a visa, or who
- 873 may be fugitives from justice, deserve no special adjustment
- 874 of their alien status."

875 Let me cite just some of the grounds of removability 876 that section 4 allows immigration judges to now waive. This 877 bill allows for reprieves for the following crimes: crimes 878 involving moral turpitude, aggravated felonies, multiple 879 criminal convictions with aggregate sentences of 5 years or 880 more, serious criminal activity for which aliens received 881 immunity, particularly severe violations of religious 882 freedom, trafficking in persons, prostitution, pimping, money 883 laundering, failing to register as sex offenders, espionage, 884 treason, sedition, and threats against the president, 885 domestic violence, stalking, child abuse, unlawful voting, 886 falsely claiming U.S. citizenship, and document fraud. 887 Allowing these crimes to be waived indicates a lack of 888 concern about both serious crimes and the illegal immigrants 889 who commit them. In 1996, a bipartisan majority in Congress 890 restricted the leeway immigration judges had to allow 891 criminal aliens to remain in the U.S. Information this 892 committee received from the Justice Department under subpoena 893 revealed that 37 percent of criminal aliens whom the INS 894 released were subsequently convicted of another crime in the 895 U.S. 896 We should take the side of the American people, not the 897 side of criminal aliens. Unfortunately, this bill takes 898 crime less seriously than do the American people. Consider 899 this precedent from the bill. Other groups understandably

- 900 will claim that their members also should have waivers
- 901 available for crimes committed. I urge my colleagues to
- 902 reject amnesty for illegal immigrants and protect Americans
- 903 from criminal aliens by supporting this amendment.
- Mr. Chairman, let me also say that if this amendment is
- 905 adopted, it will save us a lot of time because if it isn't,
- 906 we were going to go through a series of crimes and see how
- 907 individual members feel about the waiving of those particular
- 908 crimes. So I urge my colleagues to make this day a short
- 909 markup and approve this amendment.
- 910 Chairman Convers. Would the gentleman yield?
- 911 Mr. Smith. I would be happy to yield.
- 912 Chairman Conyers. I thank him. This is very
- 913 encouraging news. Am I to construe from his warning, or
- 914 notice, to the members that if we accept his amendment, we
- 915 will be able to pass the bill?
- 916 Mr. Smith. Mr. Chairman, if you will yield for a
- 917 minute, if we accept this amendment, it will save us
- 918 considering a half-dozen other amendments on particular
- 919 crimes committed. It will not necessarily be the end of the
- 920 markup.
- 921 Chairman Conyers. It will save time, but it won't
- 922 secure the support needed to vote the bill out of the
- 923 committee?
- 924 Mr. Smith. That is a fair statement, Mr. Chairman.

- 925 Chairman Conyers. All right.
- 926 Ms. Lofgren. Mr. Chairman?
- 927 Chairman Conyers. For what purpose does the gentlewoman
- 928 from California seek recognition?
- 929 Ms. Lofgren. First, I would like to withdraw my point
- 930 of order. The amendment is germane, and I would like to
- 931 strike the last word.
- 932 Chairman Convers. The gentlelady is recognized.
- 933 Ms. Lofgren. I oppose the amendment. Let me say a
- 934 couple of reasons why. The current state of the law actually
- 935 is surprising to people when they find out that there is
- 936 absolutely no ability in the current law to forgive even
- 937 innocent error. I will give you an example.
- 938 If a person, an infant, is brought to the United States
- 939 by his parents and told by his parents that he is a United
- 940 States citizen. He grows up believing that he is a United
- 941 States citizen. And why wouldn't he believe that? He is
- 942 going to school here. His parents have told him that. But
- 943 it turns out that they didn't tell him the truth. And he has
- 944 wrongly, incorrectly stated over and over again that he is an
- 945 American citizen. That person is deportable, even though his
- 946 representation-although untrue-was innocent, there is no
- 947 ability in the law to waive that.
- 948 So, for example, if we have an American soldier in that
- 949 situation, we would have a person on active duty, risking

- 950 their life in Iraq, who is deportable with no ability to 951 change that. That is just one example of many.
- 952 I want to quote-
- 953 Mr. Issa. Would the gentlelady yield?
- 954 Ms. Lofgren. Not at this time. When I am finished, I
- 955 would be happy to yield.
- 956 I want to cheer someone who is probably the most
- 957 prominent veteran on the scene today, and that is Senator
- 958 John McCain, who said this January-and this is a quote-he
- 959 said, "I will secure the border, but I am not going to call
- 960 up a soldier and tell him I am deporting his mother. I am
- 961 not going to do it. You can do it. And during the Myrtle
- 962 Beach debate, he said this, "The three GIs who were missing
- 963 last year in action, one of them was still missing in action.
- 964 His wife was about to be deported from this country. I am
- 965 not going to deport the wife of a fighting service man who is
- 966 missing action. I am going to handle it in a humane,
- 967 compassionate fashion."
- This section of the law allows for common sense
- 969 decisions to be made for servicemen and their families who
- 970 have run afoul of a law that has no room for common sense
- 971 currently. Now, much has been said about the criminal law
- 972 waivers. I will note that there has been ongoing and
- 973 substantial discussion with Congressman Lungren's staff to
- 974 narrow the list of crimes. I had thought we would reach

- 975 agreement. We have not. I am prepared to do a narrowing of 976 the list of crimes.
- 977 But in the 1996 act, we went overboard and we took
 978 crimes that are actually misdemeanors and arbitrarily
 979 upgraded them to aggravated felonies. Here is the situation
 980 we find ourselves in today. The U.S. Army is waiving
 981 relatively minor criminal offenses for people who want to
- 982 join and volunteer to fight for our country. So that person,
- 983 let's say you have several petty thefts in your background.
- $984\ {\mbox{I}}$ am not for that, but some minor thing, and the Army lets
- 985 you join anyhow, and you can go and you can fight for our
- 986 country. But those same crimes are going to get you
- 987 deported.
- 988 So we have a situation where a legal permanent resident
- 989 can go and fight for our country, but because of the minor
- 990 misdeeds that were not important enough to keep him out of
- 991 the service, our Immigration Service will deport that guy.
- 992 That doesn't make any darn sense at all.
- 993 Mr. Issa. Would the gentlewoman yield?
- 994 Ms. Lofgren. I want to finish because I think it is
- 995 important to put this into context. I am more than willing,
- 996 and I think we will probably not finish all of this today, to
- 997 limit these offenses to the type that we have in mind. In
- 998 fact, I had planned to do that, as I say, with a member
- 999 across the aisle, and I will do it myself if necessary if we

- 1000 can't get bipartisan agreement on it.
- 1001 But to completely eliminate the ability for a judge to
- 1002 consider the factors-and I want to mention it because I think
- 1003 it has been very much distorted-the factors that a judge is
- 1004 to consider: what are the grounds of the admissibility; the
- 1005 nature of the alien's service to the U.S. military; the
- 1006 degree to which the alien's removal would affect a close
- 1007 family member who is serving or has served in the armed
- 1008 forces; the length of time the alien has lived in the United
- 1009 States; the degree to which the alien would be impacted by
- 1010 his or her removal; the existence of close family ties; the
- 1011 degree to which the alien's removal would adversely affect
- 1012 the alien's United States citizen or lawful permanent
- 1013 resident spouse, children, or daughter; history of
- 1014 employment; and whether the alien's removal would adversely
- 1015 affect a United States employer or business.
- 1016 This is about what is good for America. So I must
- 1017 oppose this amendment. It is over-broad, but I will note
- 1018 that I will happily work with anyone who wants to-
- 1019 Mr. Smith. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that
- 1020 the gentlewoman have an additional 2 minutes so she could
- 1021 yield to me.
- 1022 Chairman Conyers. Without objection.
- 1023 Ms. Lofgren. I would be happy to yield to Mr. Smith.
- 1024 Mr. Smith. I thank the chairwoman for yielding.

I just want to say to her, her comments were very, very 1026 encouraging because my question to you was going to be, would 1027 you agree to eliminate the waivers for other crimes, other 1028 than the kind of example you gave, because as I understand

1029 it, it was an unintentional misrepresentation.

Now, as the gentlewoman knows, ICE has prosecutorial 1031 discretion not to prosecute that kind of an individual, but I 1032 think a compromise might be, rather than my insisting that 1033 they have that option and therefore we shouldn't allow for 1034 it, is if we can narrow the bill down to those kinds of 1035 examples that the gentlewoman has given today, and eliminate 1036 the possibility that waivers will be granted for other more 1037 serious crimes, then I think we can come up with something 1038 that we might all agree to.

1039 Ms. Lofgren. I think it is possible, but I will say
1040 this. I am not able to simply refer to the 1996 act because
1041 we went overboard on the 1996 act. So we have to take a look
1042 at the actual nature of these. Right now, and you know
1043 hindsight is 20/20, but how unsatisfactory are the words "I
1044 told you so." In 1996, I remember saying that the way we had
1045 changed the act—in California, petty theft was a prior as a
1046 felony. And so we have situations now where you have 501047 year-old woman who did two petty thefts when she was 19 and
1048 is deportable and there is no relief. That doesn't make any
1049 sense.

- 1050 Mr. Smith. If the gentlewoman will yield, I disagree
- 1051 with the description of the aggravated crimes from the 1996
- 1052 bill because one of the requirements is that you have to have
- 1053 been sentenced to at least 1 year in jail. I don't think
- 1054 anyone is going to be sentenced to a year-
- 1055 Ms. Lofgren. Or could have been.
- 1056 Mr. Smith. -for petty theft. You know, and then we
- 1057 heard that people were going to be deported because of
- 1058 shoplifting. That wasn't the case.
- 1059 Ms. Lofgren. That has, in fact, happened in California.
- 1060 Mr. Smith. It turns out in those cases that we have
- 1061 looked at there was far more involved than shoplifting, and
- 1062 that is why the sentence could have been more. We don't need
- 1063 to debate this.
- 1064 Ms. Lofgren. Reclaiming my time, I will simply say that
- 1065 we had hoped to have a bipartisan amendment. Apparently,
- 1066 that is not going to be the case. We will put forward an
- 1067 amendment to narrow this in a way that we think is rational.
- 1068 But the amendment offered by the ranking member is, in my
- 1069 judgment, over-broad and I would urge that we defeat it.
- 1070 Mr. Issa. Mr. Chairman?
- 1071 Chairman Conyers. Yes?
- 1072 Mr. Issa. I move to strike the last word.
- 1073 Chairman Conyers. The gentleman from California is
- 1074 recognized.

- 1075 Mr. Issa. Well, it appears as though my amendment on 1076 horse slaughter will not be offered today, in spite of my
- 1077 preparation to do so.
- 1078 Chairman Conyers. But we had a great lunch without you.
- 1079 Mr. Issa. Yes, I recognize that lunch was better
- 1080 without, but I think we are in the same situation. The
- 1081 gentlelady has a bill which this committee has previously
- 1082 looked at a number of fixes. When I came to Congress, in my
- 1083 own district, including Camp Pendleton, we had a Marine
- 1084 killed in action and his wife was beyond not being deported
- 1085 because he wasn't an American citizen at the time of
- 1086 deportation. In fact, he no longer could be her sponsor. We
- 1087 fixed that.
- 1088 There were existing inconsistencies between honorable
- 1089 service in the United States military and the ability to
- 1090 maintain a family unit, either during service or even if
- 1091 killed in action or in some other line of duty. I would hope
- 1092 that over the week that it now begins to look like we are
- 1093 going to have before this bill is finally considered for all
- 1094 its amendments, that we can in fact narrow it to some common
- 1095 denominator.
- 1096 I think if we look at narrowing the family to the
- 1097 dependent family that essentially relies on the veteran or
- 1098 the service member, if we looked at essentially making it
- 1099 service member-related and no more, and if we look at

- 1100 misdemeanors-
- 1101 Ms. Lofgren. Would the gentleman yield?
- 1102 Mr. Issa. I will in just a second.
- 1103 I think there is common ground. There has been common
- 1104 ground for our men and women in uniform before, and I would
- 1105 hope that we can get there. I have to be honest. I share
- 1106 with the ranking member's feeling that we are not there, and
- 1107 I would hope that we do act on a bipartisan basis reaching
- 1108 that consensus, and not arbitrarily, but I would yield to the
- 1109 author of the bill.
- 1110 Ms. Lofgren. Thank you, Mr. Issa.
- 1111 I just want to make a comment, because I know there are
- 1112 some amendments to limit this to minor children and spouses
- 1113 only. I would like to make a principled argument against
- 1114 that. I have a 23-year-old son. I will tell you, the ties
- 1115 between my son and me are as strong at age 23 as they were
- 1116 when he was 17. I also want to put in a plea for the parents
- 1117 who lose a son or daughter in the armed services. I think
- 1118 the concept that you would be deporting the grieving parent
- 1119 of a soldier who has just been killed is something we really
- 1120 don't want to do.
- 1121 Mr. Issa. I recognize the gentlelady's point, and
- 1122 reclaiming my time, I would say certainly when we are talking
- 1123 about a fallen son or daughter, America can find room for
- 1124 family members that are no longer children and probably very

- 1125 much include a mother or father. I think when we are talking
- 1126 about somebody who happened to serve in the military-a
- 1127 discharged veteran or a current veteran alive and well-that
- 1128 perhaps at least in this legislation we should look at
- 1129 narrowing it because the adult parent, perhaps the one that
- 1130 told the veteran he was a citizen when in fact he wasn't, and
- 1131 by the way, when we discover he is not a citizen, he still
- 1132 remains in the military and gets his citizenship.
- 1133 Ms. Lofgren. But now he is deportable.
- 1134 Mr. Issa. We have today men and women who are not
- 1135 citizens. We have men and women throughout the Gulf War,
- 1136 this war-the war on terror-who have been discovered to have
- 1137 been not in a permanent status, but in fact who serve in our
- 1138 military and gained citizenship.
- 1139 Ms. Lofgren. If the gentleman would yield on that
- 1140 point?
- 1141 Mr. Issa. Of course.
- 1142 Ms. Lofgren. The problem in the 1996 act, and I have
- 1143 discussed with some members who have private bills on this
- 1144 very point, is that if you make a false claim to citizenship,
- 1145 there is no excuse under the law. You can't naturalize and
- 1146 you are deportable. I think that is a problem entirely,
- 1147 because there are many circumstances where that might happen
- 1148 where the person is completely innocent. There is no room in
- 1149 the law even for innocence, which is something I think we

- 1150 ought to address overall, but certainly in the case of
- 1151 soldiers.
- 1152 I thank the gentleman for yielding.
- 1153 Mr. Issa. Thank you.
- 1154 I thank the chairman for his thoughtful consideration
- 1155 today on this and other bills. I do believe that if we are
- 1156 going to move incrementally on things which are good, we
- 1157 should do it on a bipartisan basis. In this case, this bill
- 1158 is not an over-arching bill. It is designed to deal with a
- 1159 relatively narrow problem, and hopefully we can come to a
- 1160 consensus to make it appropriately narrow.
- 1161 I would say today that both sides of the aisle need to
- 1162 spend more time talking to the gentlelady from California,
- 1163 and hopefully we can reach that. I would urge the chairman
- 1164 to look at the rest of our itinerary and perhaps move those
- 1165 which are most movable today. The amendments on horse
- 1166 slaughter may not be, but we will get to that next week.
- 1167 With that I yield back, and thank the chairman for his
- 1168 consideration. And I thank my colleague from California.
- 1169 Chairman Conyers. I thank you, Mr. Issa.
- 1170 Ms. Jackson Lee. Mr. Speaker?
- 1171 The chair recognizes the gentlelady from Houston, Texas.
- 1172 Mr. Issa. Only because she called you "speaker."
- 1173 [Laughter.]
- 1174 Ms. Jackson Lee. I sure did.

- 1175 Chairman Conyers. Sheila Jackson Lee, for as much time
- 1176 as she may consume.
- 1177 Ms. Jackson Lee. We are all in the family.
- 1178 [Laughter.]
- 1179 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 1180 I will use that in order to get those kinds of remarks
- 1181 offered again.
- 1182 I do want to maybe challenge my good friends on the
- 1183 other side of the aisle. I think I heard my good friend, the
- 1184 chairwoman of the subcommittee, indicate that we have begun
- 1185 to look at the issues which the opposition speaks, about
- 1186 potential criminality that would then be pardoned or then be
- 1187 allowed to stand, and the family reunited.
- 1188 There are many ways to ensure that the fairness of what
- 1189 we are attempting to do moves forward. It is clearly a very
- 1190 fair process. I have a great deal of respect for the
- 1191 American Legion, but as well just a few weeks ago I was able
- 1192 to amend the voting rights bill to add Hector Garcia, who
- 1193 comes out of Texas and who originated the GI Forum. The GI
- 1194 Forum takes no back seat in its patriotism, comprised of
- 1195 Hispanic soldiers, citizens from around the nation.
- 1196 The GI Forum supports this legislation. Dr. Hector
- 1197 Garcia is reminded of when a fallen soldier came home in
- 1198 World War II, he was not allowed to be buried in a cemetery
- 1199 in Texas. So out of his energy, they moved that fallen

1200 soldier to the Arlington National Cemetery. This has some
1201 similarities because it is clear that these are enlisted
1202 soldiers who have gone through the vetting process, and that
1203 if they have fallen upon some criminal element, there is no
1204 doubt that there will and can be a fix, but also there is no
1205 doubt that many of those individuals be weeded out by our own
1206 military code and the laws dealing with that military

1207 soldiers.

1216

So there are certainly ways to oppose this legislation,

1209 but as I named it after the first fallen soldier, any of the

1210 members—and I know that our friends on both sides of the

1211 aisle have been to Iraq. They have spoken to soldiers with a

1212 variety of last names and cultures. I know that although

1213 they have not asked them, that many of the soldiers that they

1214 have spoken to and hugged and said thank you, have families

1215 at home who are in need of legal status.

How can you on one hand embrace and thank them in the

1217 heat of battle, as many of us have gone to do, and then we
1218 cannot provide a simple piece of legislation that does not
1219 open the floodgates, to regularize their family members? I
1220 am glad that my again friend and colleague cited the
1221 consistency of the presidential nominee of the party of the
1222 opposition. She didn't read the headline because it said
1223 "cheered and jeered." But the good news about this
1224 individual, and those who believe in fairness—Mr. McCain—is

- 1225 that he didn't yield or bend away his consistent position
- 1226 that I am not going to call up a soldier and tell him I am
- 1227 deporting his mother; I am not going to do it; You can do it.
- 1228 And he did not step away from the jeers.
- 1229 That is what this is all about. It is the political
- 1230 pressure, the jeers of constituents who don't seem to
- 1231 understand because their representatives don't want them to
- 1232 understand because if anyone dared to explain the simple
- 1233 premise of this legislative initiative, it is to regularize
- 1234 enlisted soldiers in the various military disciplines to
- 1235 ensure that their family members are not deported in the loss
- 1236 of life and injury, and it makes sense.
- 1237 So I would hope that we could move on and appreciate
- 1238 that this amendment would undermine the entire bill, and move
- 1239 to respect not only the American Legion, of which I have
- 1240 great respect for, but let us also respect the GI Forum
- 1241 comprised initially of Hispanic soldiers from around the
- 1242 nation.
- 1243 With that, Mr. Chairman, I ask opposition to the
- 1244 amendment and support of the bill. I yield back.
- 1245 Chairman Conyers. I am prepared to have a vote on this
- 1246 important amendment.
- 1247 All those in favor of this amendment, indicate by saying
- 1248 "aye."
- 1249 [A chorus of ayes.]

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1250
         All those opposed to this amendment, indicate by saying
1251 "no."
1252
        [A chorus of noes.]
1253
          Chairman Conyers. The noes have it, and Mr. Smith asks
1254 for a recorded vote.
1255
         The Clerk. Mr. Conyers?
1256
         Chairman Conyers. No.
1257
         The Clerk. Mr. Conyers votes no.
1258
         Mr. Berman?
1259
         [No response.]
1260
         Mr. Boucher?
1261
         [No response.]
1262
         Mr. Nadler?
1263
         Mr. Nadler. No.
1264
         The Clerk. Mr. Nadler votes no.
1265
         Mr. Scott?
1266
         [No response.]
1267
         Mr. Watt?
1268
          [No response.]
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1269

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1273

1274

Ms. Lofgren?

Ms. Lofgren. No.

Ms. Jackson Lee?

Ms. Jackson Lee. No.

The Clerk. Ms. Lofgren votes no.

The Clerk. Ms. Jackson Lee votes no.

- 1275 Ms. Waters?
- 1276 [No response.]
- 1277 Mr. Delahunt?
- 1278 [No response.]
- 1279 Mr. Wexler?
- 1280 Mr. Wexler. No.
- 1281 The Clerk. Mr. Wexler votes no.
- 1282 Ms. Sanchez?
- 1283 Ms. Sanchez. No.
- 1284 The Clerk. Ms. Sanchez votes no.
- 1285 Mr. Cohen?
- 1286 Mr. Cohen. No.
- 1287 The Clerk. Mr. Cohen votes no.
- 1288 Mr. Johnson?
- 1289 Mr. Johnson. No.
- 1290 The Clerk. Mr. Johnson votes no.
- 1291 Ms. Sutton?
- 1292 [No response.]
- 1293 Mr. Gutierrez?
- [No response.]
- 1295 Mr. Sherman?
- 1296 [No response.]
- 1297 Ms. Baldwin?
- 1298 Ms. Baldwin. No.
- 1299 The Clerk. Ms. Baldwin votes no.

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1300 Mr. Weiner?
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- 1301 [No response.]
- 1302 Mr. Schiff?
- 1303 Mr. Schiff. No.
- 1304 The Clerk. Mr. Schiff votes no.
- 1305 Mr. Davis?
- 1306 Mr. Davis. No.
- 1307 The Clerk. Mr. Davis votes no.
- 1308 Ms. Wasserman Schultz?
- 1309 Ms. Wasserman Schultz. No.
- 1310 The Clerk. Ms. Wasserman Schultz votes no.
- 1311 Mr. Ellison?
- 1312 Mr. Ellison. No.
- 1313 The Clerk. Mr. Ellison votes no.
- 1314 Mr. Smith?
- 1315 Mr. Smith. Aye.
- 1316 The Clerk. Mr. Smith votes aye.
- 1317 Mr. Sensenbrenner?
- 1318 [No response.]
- 1319 Mr. Coble?
- 1320 [No response.]
- 1321 Mr. Gallegly?
- 1322 Mr. Gallegly. Aye.
- 1323 The Clerk. Mr. Gallegly votes aye.
- 1324 Mr. Goodlatte?

- 1325 Mr. Goodlatte. Aye.
- 1326 The Clerk. Mr. Goodlatte votes aye.
- 1327 Mr. Chabot?
- 1328 Mr. Chabot. Aye.
- 1329 The Clerk. Mr. Chabot votes aye.
- 1330 Mr. Lungren?
- 1331 Mr. Lungren. Aye.
- 1332 The Clerk. Mr. Lungren votes aye.
- 1333 Mr. Cannon?
- 1334 [No response.]
- 1335 Mr. Keller?
- 1336 Mr. Keller. Aye.
- 1337 The Clerk. Mr. Keller votes aye.
- 1338 Mr. Issa?
- 1339 Mr. Issa. Aye.
- 1340 The Clerk. Mr. Issa votes aye.
- 1341 Mr. Pence?
- 1342 [No response.]
- 1343 Mr. Forbes?
- 1344 Mr. Forbes. Aye.
- 1345 The Clerk. Mr. Forbes votes aye.
- 1346 Mr. King?
- 1347 Mr. King. Aye.
- 1348 The Clerk. Mr. King votes aye.
- 1349 Mr. Feeney?

- 1350 Mr. Feeney. Aye.
- 1351 The Clerk. Mr. Feeney votes aye.
- 1352 Mr. Franks?
- 1353 Mr. Franks. Aye.
- 1354 The Clerk. Mr. Franks votes aye.
- 1355 Mr. Gohmert?
- 1356 [No response.]
- 1357 Mr. Jordan?
- 1358 Mr. Jordan. Aye.
- 1359 The Clerk. Mr. Jordan votes aye.
- 1360 Chairman Conyers. Are there any-Mr. Watt?
- 1361 Mr. Watt. No.
- 1362 The Clerk. Mr. Watt votes no.
- 1363 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Berman?
- 1364 Mr. Berman. No
- 1365 The Clerk. Mr. Berman votes no.
- 1366 Chairman Convers. Mr. Gutierrez?
- 1367 Mr. Gutierrez. No.
- 1368 The Clerk. Mr. Gutierrez votes no.
- 1369 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Delahunt?
- 1370 Mr. Delahunt. No.
- 1371 The Clerk. Mr. Delahunt votes no.
- 1372 Chairman Conyers. Yes?
- 1373 The Clerk. Mr. Coble, I do not have a vote.
- 1374 Mr. Coble. Aye.

- 1375 The Clerk. Mr. Coble votes aye.
- 1376 Chairman Conyers. The clerk will report.
- 1377 The Clerk. Mr. Chairman, 13 members voted aye, 17
- 1378 members voted no.
- 1379 Chairman Conyers. The amendment is not agreed to.
- 1380 Are there any other amendments? The gentleman from
- 1381 Texas, Mr. Smith?
- 1382 Mr. Smith. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the
- 1383 desk, amendment number two.
- 1384 Chairman Conyers. The clerk will report the amendment.
- 1385 The Clerk. Amendment-
- 1386 Ms. Lofgren. I would like to reserve a point of order,
- 1387 since I have not seen the amendment.
- 1388 The Clerk. Amendment-
- 1389 Chairman Conyers. The reservation is noted from the
- 1390 gentlelady from California.
- 1391 The Clerk. Amendment to the amendment in the nature of
- 1392 a substitute to H.R. 6020 offered by Mr. Smith of Texas.
- 1393 "Page 2, strike lines 13 through 21 (and redesignate
- 1394 provisions accordingly)."
- 1395 [The amendment by Mr. Smith follows:]
- 1396 ******* INSERT *******

- 1397 Chairman Conyers. By unanimous consent, the bill will
- 1398 be considered as read.
- 1399 The ranking member, Mr. Smith, is recognized in support
- 1400 of his amendment.
- 1401 Mr. Smith. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 1402 Mr. Chairman, immigration marriage fraud is an endemic
- 1403 problem that we hear about all too frequently. Let me just
- 1404 give a few examples. The Washington Post, December 23, 2006,
- 1405 stated that, "A ringleader in a massive marriage fraud scheme
- 1406 was sentenced to nearly 3 1/2 years in prison yesterday for
- 1407 arranging more than 100 phony marriages to help fellow
- 1408 Ghanaian immigrants stay in the United States."
- 1409 How did it work? The Post went on to say that
- 1410 "Immigrants would pay as much as \$6,000 to be introduced to a
- 1411 spouse, usually on the day of the marriage. They would then
- 1412 be coached on how to lie to immigration inspectors to make
- 1413 the marriage seem real."
- 1414 Or we can look at the Chicago Tribune from this year.
- 1415 The paper stated that, "An indictment unsealed Monday accused
- 1416 nine U.S. citizens and nine Eastern Europeans of marriage
- 1417 fraud. Authorities said the U.S. citizens were paid up to
- 1418 \$5,000 for each marriage and worked with each other to make
- 1419 the fake relationships appear real."
- 1420 Or we can look at U.S. Federal News from this May, "More
- 1421 than 80 individuals involved in various marriage fraud

- 1422 conspiracies throughout Florida were arrested this week.
- 1423 Those arrested included individuals who arranged sham
- 1424 marriages, American citizens who accepted bribes and foreign
- 1425 nationals who in some cases paid up to \$10,000 to obtain a
- 1426 benefit by committing fraud."
- 1427 The principal way that the Immigration and Nationality
- 1428 Act addresses marriage fraud is to grant aliens who marry
- 1429 U.S. citizens and legal permanent residents a 2-year
- 1430 conditional green card. After 2 years of marriage, the
- 1431 couple is interviewed by the Department of Homeland Security
- 1432 to determine whether the marriage was legitimate.
- 1433 In this bill, unfortunately, we eliminate the 2-year
- 1434 conditional green card requirement for most aliens who have
- 1435 ever served in the military. This amendment simply strikes
- 1436 this provision. The bill as it stands now encourages
- 1437 marriage fraud, and there is no justification to do this. It
- 1438 simply represents bad policy.
- 1439 Mr. Chairman, I urge my colleagues to support this
- 1440 amendment and retain the integrity of our immigration system.
- 1441 Mr. Chairman, I will yield back the balance of my time.
- 1442 Ms. Lofgren. Mr. Chairman?
- 1443 Chairman Conyers. The gentlelady from California is
- 1444 recognized in opposition to the amendment.
- 1445 Ms. Lofgren. Yes. First, I would like to withdraw my
- 1446 reservation. The amendment obviously is germane, and oppose

- 1447 the underlying amendment.
- 1448 Let me just start by saying, I don't think there is a
- 1449 member of this committee who approves of marriage fraud in
- 1450 the immigration system. I do not. None of the Democrats do
- 1451 and none of the Republicans do. The question is whether the
- 1452 amendment as offered really is targeted towards that issue.
- 1453 As the former chairman and I have discussed, the 2-year
- 1454 conditionality of permanent residents added into the act in
- 1455 1996 was actually rather arbitrary. There is no real reason
- 1456 to believe honestly that the 2-year provision has any impact
- 1457 on marriage fraud. I just say that gratuitously, but it is
- 1458 not at all clear that it has a positive impact.
- 1459 When that provision is overlaid with what we have
- 1460 already done on naturalization for soldiers, it becomes a
- 1461 very difficult problem. The example I used of our witness in
- 1462 the subcommittee is a perfect example. You have a person who
- 1463 is on active duty. In fact, the member of the United States
- 1464 Navy in question was not in a place where he could actually
- 1465 even file to remove the condition. She was on active duty.
- 1466 She has a valid marriage. In fact, she is still
- 1467 married, but it was because of her deployment that she was
- 1468 not in a position to file a piece of paper that I would argue
- 1469 is pretty meaningless anyhow. She instead applied later to
- 1470 naturalize, as advised by her lawyers. You have a situation
- 1471 in that case, and it is not the only time it has happened,

- 1472 according to the testimony we received from the Department of
- 1473 Defense, where you have an active duty member of the armed
- 1474 services who has a deportation order because of the lack of a
- 1475 piece of paper.
- 1476 So you end up with a situation where a member of the
- 1477 American armed services is faced with this choice. They can
- 1478 go AWOL from their unit and deal with the Homeland Security
- 1479 bureaucracy. Or they can deploy with their unit and be left
- 1480 behind in a hostile nation. What kind of country has
- 1481 immigration laws that require an active duty soldier to be
- 1482 left behind in a hostile nation because they have self-
- 1483 deported under our immigration laws? That is craziness. It
- 1484 is this provision of the act that precludes that from
- 1485 happening.
- 1486 So I am sure that because, although we don't agree on
- 1487 the details, I know that Mr. Smith would not approve of an
- 1488 active duty soldier being left in a hostile nation, but that
- 1489 is the impact of the amendment that he has offered. I
- 1490 strongly oppose it. I would urge my colleagues to oppose it.
- 1491 Mr. Smith. Would the gentlewoman yield?
- 1492 Ms. Lofgren. Yes, I would be happy to yield.
- 1493 Mr. Smith. Okay. What I wanted to ask you is, one of
- 1494 the instances you just mentioned—and you are right, I am
- 1495 sympathetic to it-is that, and I want to ask the gentlewoman
- 1496 if she would accept an amendment to the amendment that would

- 1497 delay the interview with the soldier until he returned home
- 1498 so as not to put him or his family in that kind of a
- 1499 continuous situation.
- 1500 Ms. Lofgren. I am not prepared—I mean, I wasn't even
- 1501 shown this amendment before it was passed out at the desk. I
- 1502 am certainly willing to have a discussion with the ranking
- 1503 member at any time on any subject, as you know, but I am not
- 1504 prepared to do this on the spot. But I would be happy to
- 1505 discuss it with you further at a later time.
- 1506 I yield back the balance of my time.
- 1507 Chairman Convers. All those in favor of the amendment
- 1508 offered by Mr. Smith of Texas indicate by saying "aye."
- 1509 [A chorus of ayes.]
- 1510 All those opposed say "no."
- 1511 [A chorus of noes.]
- 1512 I think the ayes have it, but a recorded vote has been
- 1513 requested.
- 1514 Ms. Lofgren. That is right.
- 1515 The Clerk. Mr. Conyers?
- 1516 Chairman Conyers. No.
- 1517 The Clerk. Mr. Conyers votes no.
- 1518 Mr. Berman?
- 1519 Mr. Berman. No.
- 1520 The Clerk. Mr. Berman votes no.
- 1521 Mr. Boucher?

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1522
          [No response.]
1523
         Mr. Nadler?
1524
         Mr. Nadler. No.
1525
          The Clerk. Mr. Nadler votes no.
1526
         Mr. Scott?
1527
          [No response.]
1528
          Mr. Watt?
1529
          [No response.]
1530
          Ms. Lofgren?
1531
         Ms. Lofgren. No.
1532
          The Clerk. Ms. Lofgren votes no.
1533
         Ms. Jackson Lee?
1534
         Ms. Jackson Lee. No.
1535
          The Clerk. Ms. Jackson Lee votes no.
1536
         Ms. Waters?
1537
          [No response.]
1538
         Mr. Delahunt?
1539
          [No response.]
1540
          Mr. Wexler?
1541
          Mr. Wexler. No.
1542
          The Clerk. Mr. Wexler votes no.
1543
         Ms. Sanchez?
1544
          [No response.]
1545
         Mr. Cohen?
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1546

Mr. Cohen. No.

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1547
          The Clerk. Mr. Cohen votes no.
1548
          Mr. Johnson?
1549
          Mr. Johnson. No.
1550
          The Clerk. Mr. Johnson votes no.
1551
          Ms. Sutton?
1552
          [No response.]
1553
          Mr. Gutierrez?
1554
          [No response.]
1555
          Mr. Sherman?
1556
          [No response.]
1557
          Ms. Baldwin?
1558
          [No response.]
1559
          Mr. Weiner?
1560
          [No response.]
1561
          Mr. Schiff?
1562
          [No response.]
1563
          Mr. Davis?
1564
          Mr. Davis. No.
          The Clerk. Mr. Davis votes no.
1565
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Ms. Wasserman Schultz?

The Clerk. Mr. Ellison votes no.

[No response.]

Mr. Ellison. No.

Mr. Ellison?

Mr. Smith?

1566

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1571

- 1572 Mr. Smith. Aye.
- 1573 The Clerk. Mr. Smith votes aye.
- 1574 Mr. Sensenbrenner?
- 1575 [No response.]
- 1576 Mr. Coble?
- 1577 [No response.]
- 1578 Mr. Gallegly?
- 1579 Mr. Gallegly. Aye.
- 1580 The Clerk. Mr. Gallegly votes aye.
- 1581 Mr. Goodlatte?
- 1582 Mr. Goodlatte. Aye.
- 1583 The Clerk. Mr. Goodlatte votes aye.
- 1584 Mr. Chabot?
- 1585 Mr. Chabot. Aye.
- 1586 The Clerk. Mr. Chabot votes aye.
- 1587 Mr. Lungren?
- 1588 Mr. Lungren. Aye.
- 1589 The Clerk. Mr. Lungren votes aye.
- 1590 Mr. Cannon?
- 1591 [No response.]
- 1592 Mr. Keller?
- 1593 Mr. Keller. Aye.
- The Clerk. Mr. Keller votes aye.
- 1595 Mr. Issa?
- 1596 Mr. Issa. Aye.

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1597 The Clerk. Mr. Issa votes aye.
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1598 Mr. Pence?

1599 [No response.]

1600 Mr. Forbes?

1601 Mr. Forbes. Aye.

1602 The Clerk. Mr. Forbes votes aye.

1603 Mr. King?

1604 Mr. King. Aye.

1605 The Clerk. Mr. King votes aye.

1606 Mr. Feeney?

1607 [No response.]

1608 Mr. Franks?

1609 Mr. Franks. Aye.

1610 The Clerk. Mr. Franks votes aye.

1611 Mr. Gohmert?

1612 [No response.]

1613 Mr. Jordan?

1614 Mr. Jordan. Aye.

1615 The Clerk. Mr. Jordan votes aye.

1616 Mr. Smith. Mr. Chairman, could we have an immediate

1617 final announcement of the tally?

1618 Chairman Conyers. Yes.

1619 Mr. Smith. I am teasing.

1620 Ms. Lofgren. There are some other members in the room.

1621 Chairman Conyers. Ms. Sanchez?

- 1622 Ms. Sanchez. No.
- 1623 The Clerk. Ms. Sanchez votes no.
- 1624 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Gutierrez?
- 1625 Mr. Gutierrez. No.
- 1626 The Clerk. Mr. Gutierrez votes no.
- 1627 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Coble?
- 1628 Mr. Coble. Aye.
- 1629 The Clerk. Mr. Coble votes aye.
- 1630 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Watt?
- 1631 Mr. Watt. No.
- 1632 The Clerk. Mr. Watt votes no.
- 1633 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Schiff?
- 1634 Mr. Schiff. No.
- 1635 The Clerk. Mr. Schiff votes no.
- 1636 Chairman Conyers. Mr. Sherman?
- 1637 Mr. Sherman. No.
- 1638 The Clerk. Mr. Sherman votes no.
- 1639 Chairman Conyers. The clerk will report.
- 1640 Oh, I am sorry. Mr. Feeney?
- 1641 Mr. Feeney. Aye.
- 1642 The Clerk. Mr. Feeney votes aye.
- 1643 Ms. Lofgren. Mr. Chairman, how am I recorded?
- 1644 The Clerk. Ms. Lofgren voted no.
- 1645 Mr. Nadler. Mr. Chairman?
- 1646 Chairman Conyers. Yes?

- 1647 Mr. Nadler. Could the clerk enlighten me as to how I am
- 1648 recorded please?
- 1649 The Clerk. Mr. Nadler voted no.
- 1650 Mr. Nadler. You are certain of that?
- 1651 Chairman Conyers. The clerk will report.
- 1652 The Clerk. Mr. Chairman, 13 members voted aye, 15
- 1653 members voted nay.
- 1654 Chairman Convers. The amendment does not prevail.
- 1655 Are there any other amendments?
- 1656 Mr. King. Mr. Chairman?
- 1657 Chairman Conyers. Yes, Mr. King?
- 1658 Mr. King. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the
- 1659 desk, number one.
- 1660 Chairman Conyers. The clerk will report the amendment.
- 1661 Ms. Lofgren. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order
- 1662 as this amendment has also not been shared.
- 1663 Chairman Conyers. The gentlelady from California
- 1664 reserves a point of order.
- 1665 The clerk will read the amendment.
- 1666 The Clerk. Amendment to the amendment in the nature of
- 1667 a substitute to H.R. 6020, offered by Mr. King of Iowa. Page
- 1668 7, line 5, after "(2)" insert "(other than subparagraph
- 1669 (D))".

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1670 [The amendment by Mr. King follows:]
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1671 ******** INSERT *******

- 1672 Chairman Conyers. Without objection, the amendment will
- 1673 be considered as read.
- The gentleman will be recognized in support of his
- 1675 amendment.
- 1676 Mr. King. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 1677 My amendment is short when actually read. What it does
- 1678 is it strikes the waivers for espionage, treason, sedition,
- 1679 threats against the president-those types of crimes that
- 1680 threaten our national security, especially offensive if they
- 1681 are committed by someone who is a member of the armed
- 1682 services. The Immigration and Nationality Act provides that
- 1683 aliens who have been convicted of certain crimes against the
- 1684 nation and against our national security are deportable.
- 1685 The Democrats with this bill have made this curious
- 1686 decision that alien members of the military and their family
- 1687 members and alien veterans can receive waivers of deportation
- 1688 even after having been convicted of these crimes. These are
- 1689 some of the crimes that were among those that were included
- 1690 in Mr. Smith's initial amendment.
- 1691 But the crimes that I am talking about are some of
- 1692 these, and I will list some. Any alien who has been
- 1693 convicted of espionage under chapter 37 of Title 18 of the
- 1694 U.S. Code, any alien is deportable. Any alien who has been
- 1695 convicted of the disclosure of classified information under
- 1696 chapter 37 is currently deportable. Any alien who has been

- 1697 convicted of sabotage under chapter 105 of Title 18 is
- 1698 currently deportable. Any alien who has been convicted of
- 1699 treason under chapter 115, Title 18, is deportable.
- 1700 Any alien who has been convicted of rebellion,
- 1701 insurrection, a seditious conspiracy or advocating the
- 1702 overthrow of the U.S. government under chapter 115 is
- 1703 deportable. Any alien who, during wartime, has been
- 1704 convicted of willfully making false reports with intent to
- 1705 interfere with the operation or success of our military or to
- 1706 promote the success of our enemies under chapter 115 is, Mr.
- 1707 Chairman, deportable.
- 1708 Any alien who during wartime has been convicted of
- 1709 willfully causing or attempting to cause insubordination,
- 1710 disloyalty, or mutiny under chapter 115 is deportable. Any
- 1711 alien who has been convicted of recruiting persons to engage
- 1712 in armed hostility against the U.S. under chapter 115 is
- 1713 deportable. Any alien who has been convicted of making
- 1714 threats to take the life of the president of the United
- 1715 States is deportable.
- 1716 I could go on and on and on. These offenses that are-
- 1717 Ms. Lofgren. Would the gentleman yield?
- 1718 Mr. King. I would briefly yield to the gentlelady from
- 1719 California.
- 1720 Ms. Lofgren. As mentioned earlier, we have been working
- 1721 on a list of exclusions, and if the gentleman is prepared to

- 1722 let us simply accept the amendment, then we can proceed.
- 1723 Mr. King. I would say to the gentlelady from California
- 1724 that-
- 1725 Ms. Lofgren. And if I could further state, as I
- 1726 indicated earlier in my remarks, we had been attempting to
- 1727 get a bipartisan amendment that fell short. This would have
- 1728 been one of the elements. There will be others.
- 1729 I would strongly request that, and I know that there are
- 1730 a whole host of amendments on this subject, that it would be
- 1731 more expeditious to hold those off and see if we can reach an
- 1732 agreement on the elements to be excluded, rather than to keep
- 1733 single-shotting these amendments and go to other subject
- 1734 matters that we may not be able to come to agreement on.
- 1735 That would simply be a suggestion, but at this point if the
- 1736 gentleman would simply allow us to accept the amendment.
- 1737 Mr. Smith. Would the gentlelady yield?
- 1738 Ms. Lofgren. It is not my time.
- 1739 Mr. King. Reclaiming my time, I didn't hear where the
- 1740 request was coming from.
- 1741 Chairman Conyers. Would the gentleman from Iowa yield
- 1742 briefly?
- 1743 Mr. King. I yield to the chairman.
- 1744 Chairman Conyers. Would he wish to approach the chair
- 1745 and seek a short recess to see if we could-
- 1746 Well, if there is any likelihood of the work that Zoe

- 1747 Lofgren and Mr. Lungren and others have been working on could
- 1748 enlarge upon the list that in their amendment, I don't see
- 1749 why a recess would not-or might be helpful, anyway.
- 1750 Mr. King. Mr. Chairman, reclaiming my time, in response
- 1751 to that, I certainly think that is a very good idea and I
- 1752 would encourage such a thing, and certainly yield to that
- 1753 request.
- 1754 Chairman Conyers. We have to check with—oh, Mr. Smith?
- 1755 Mr. Smith. Mr. Chairman, I wanted to ask the
- 1756 gentlewoman from California a brief question. Did I
- 1757 understand her to say that she was accepting this amendment?
- 1758 Ms. Lofgren. If I may, the staff is now suggesting that
- 1759 I may have spoken too soon. I think, certainly the espionage
- 1760 and the serious offenses, we are all in agreement on that.
- 1761 The question is whether somebody, the military's Selective
- 1762 Service Act, if you missed the registration and later did
- 1763 register, that would be a violation of the act. It would be
- 1764 a technical violation of the act, but not something that we
- 1765 considered a serious thing.
- 1766 Chairman Conyers. Will the gentleman from Iowa yield to
- 1767 me one more time?
- 1768 Mr. King. I would yield to the chairman.
- 1769 Chairman Conyers. I would like to propose, and this is
- 1770 a collegial body, I would like to propose that we stand in
- 1771 recess until 5 o'clock and see what we can come up with.

- 1772 Without objection, so ordered. We will take the vote and
- 1773 return at 5 o'clock.
- 1774 I thank the gentleman for his suggestion.
- 1775 Mr. King. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 1776 [Whereupon, at 3:24 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]