CITY COUNCIL
CITY OF NEW YORK

TRANSCRIPT OF THE MINUTES

Of the

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

September 6, 2018
Start: 1:12 p.m.
Recess: 3:55 p.m.

HELD AT:

Council Chambers - City Hall

B E F O R E:

CARLOS MENCHACA
Chairperson

Mathieu Eugene Mark Gjonaj

Robert F. Holden I. Daneek Miller Kalman Yeger

A P P E A R A N C E S (CONTINUED)

Violetta Gomez Uribe, Undocumented New Yorker

Albert Fox Cahn, Legal Director, CAIR New York

Nyasa Hickey, Supervising Attorney
Immigration Practice, Brooklyn, Defender Services

Hasan Shafiqullah, Immigration Law Unit Legal Aid Society

Bitta Mostofi, Commissioner, Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs, MOIA

Professor Tom K. Wong, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of California, San Diego

Lindsay Nash, Clinical Assistant Professor of Law Immigration Justice Clinic

Fabiola Mandetta, Immigrant

Khalil Cumberbatch, Associate Vice President of Policy, The Fortune Society

Jay Cross, Immigration Attorney

2 [sound check, pause]

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS: Good afternoon

everyone. Please find a seat. We are going to be

starting shortly. Everyone please find a seat. We

are goring to be starting shortly. Please put your

cell phones on vibrate of silence, and if you are

here to testify, please come up to the sergeant-of
arms table, and fill out an appearance slip.

[laughter and conversation] Thank you [pause]

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Buenos tardes.

I'm Carlos Menchaca, Chair of the New York City

Council's Committee on Immigration. Before going any
further, I'd like to thank Speaker Corey Johnson for
his commitment to our immigrant community and for
being here today, and Council Member Rosenthal, who
is next door chairing her own committee, for being
here today on her resolution to abolish ICE, which I
hope we'll be starting a place for an important
conversation for us all. I would also like to
recognize the members of the committee who are here
who have joined us, Council Member Danny Dromm, and
also a co-sponsor of the Abolish Ice Resolution from
the Lower East Side, Council Member Carlina Rivera.

Today, New York City's Council Committee on

2	Immigration will examine the ways in which the
3	immigration enforcement, mainly the U.S. Immigration
4	and Customs Enforcement or ICE has failed to protect
5	our public safety. Instead, it has opted to abuse
6	its power to terrorize our communities including the
7	communities in our very own city. We're going to
8	hear from families and residents impacted, public
9	servants, public defenders, people who are doing the
. 0	good work on the ground to defend their rights. I
.1	hope that by the end of the hearing today we will be
.2	able to answer the question: What does a city and a
.3	nation without ICE look like? Specifically, what
. 4	does a nation with a more humane and just immigration
.5	system look like? The committee will additionally
. 6	hear one bill and one resolution, Intro 1092
.7	sponsored by myself and Council Member Williams, and
. 8	then the Preconsidered Resolution sponsored by
. 9	Council Members Rosenthal, Rivera and myself. The
20	Local Law that we're proposing would prohibit the
21	city from entering into revenue contracts with
22	entities engaged in immigration enforcement, entities
23	that enforce provisions of the Immigration and
24	Nationality Act that penalize a person's presence in
2.5	or entry into or re-entry into the United States.

2 Revenue contracts are contracts where a city provides goods or services in return for a fee. You know, 3 we've been hearing this call for a while now: 4 5 Abolish ICE. It's a hastag on Twitter. 6 phenomenon. It's a campaign promise. It's a rally cry. In the media and in the campaigns in our communities across the country, people are asking us 8 to abolish ICE and it resonates for a reason. For too 9 10 long this agency represents the worst of our broken It exceeds—it exceeds its mandate. 11 12 abuses its power and devastates communities and our 13 families. In this context we not only have the 14 opportunity to call for its end, we have the 15 opportunity and the obligation to call for its end, 16 but we also have the opportunity to chart the course 17 for a more humane and just immigration enforcement 18 system that recognizes the dignity of all persons , and as the only legislative committee on immigration 19 20 in this state, this Committee on Immigration is also unparalleled in scope at the Congressional level. 21 2.2 light of this, we have a unique responsibility and 23 duty to examine ICE's impact on immigrant communities 24 in New York City, and the alternative systems, which 25 could potentially serve not only New Yorkers, but

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

immigrant communities across the country. Today, we will hear from members of the public, from academics from advocates as well as the Mayoral Administration, who will speak to specific points where ICE as an enforcement agency that is barely 20 years old, had extended beyond its mandate, acted in roquish ways, undermined its public safety mission and hampered our city efforts to serve our people while inhibiting our use of taxpayer dollars. In the first eight months of the Trump Presidency, we saw a 67% increase in ICE arrests around the city. There was also a 225% increase in ICE arrests of individuals without any criminal history. Since 2017, the stories have poured into district offices. Family members picked up by ICE at our courthouses, routine check-ins with USCIS and ICE and near sensitive sites like schools and houses of worship. These have historically been off limits for ICE, and I want to make it clear that despite these appalling numbers, roque immigration enforcement proceeds the Trump Presidency. Rogue immigrant...immigrant...rogue immigration enforcement under ICE has been a problem since its inception in 2003, when it was established under the newly created Department of Homeland Security as part of the

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

federal government's effort to reorganize its antiterrorism apparatus post-911. Aided by the 1996 law that significantly expanded the list of crimes that allows for deportation of Green Hard holders, ICE executed an increased number of deportations in the decade following 2003. This period is marked by its focus on removal as a bottom line often regardless of an individual's threat to safety. Although the Obama Administration narrowed its focus to those with criminal backgrounds, the Administration continued to deport people in record numbers. This is but a brief summary of ICE's history, and some of our testimonies today will go into the history in more detail, but before, oh, I should say that this brief summary points to a troubling history of mass deportations at the hands of ICE that fundamentally reflects a lack of accountability, a lack of checks and balances, and ICE as a heavily politicized entity that has become the enforcement arm of an anti-immigrant agenda. a sanctuary city, we have come a long way in providing protections for our immigrant community. In 2014, this City Council passed detainer laws that began to untangle city law enforcement from civil immigration enforcement, and end ICE's presence on

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

Riker's Island. In 2017, this Council passed even more expansive detainer laws to further limit the city's cooperation with ICE including Low Law 228, which prohibits the use of city resources, property and information obtained on behalf of the city in reference to an immigration enforcement. In addition to laws, untangling our cooperation with ICE, the Council has also passed legislation to provide free immigration lawyers to all detained immigrants. Today, we are hearing a bill that would go further, to disentangle the city from this immigration enforcement anti-immigrant agenda making it clear that that we do not condone and will not cooperate with ICE's activities. With this legislation, the City of New York will be prohibited from entering into revenue contracts with entities engaged in immigration enforcement any of them, whatever they call them we're not going to want to do business with This would apply to all contracts where the city provides goods or services to immigrant or immigration enforcement entities for a fee. For example, ICE currently contracts with the city of New York to rent out NYPD firing range facility. We get to decide how to cooperate with immigration

4

2 enforcement efforts, and we want to further disentangle the city from immigration enforcement to 3 strengthen our status and our commitment that comes 5 every single day when we come to work as City Council Members to maintain our commitment to a sanctuary 6 7 city. We are doing this at the city level, but with many things we need the --we need the state to act as 8 well. So, currently New York State member of the 9 Assembly and the Senate also want to think about this 10 with us, and think about their contracts and their 11 12 immigration enforcement entities. For example, ICE 13 has a contract with the New York State Department of Motor Vehicles. We call on the State to pass similar 14 15 legislation and to support efforts to end the state 16 contracts with ICE, which is currently being considered again by our colleagues in the State. 17 18 this fierce leadership is also at the top of this incredible Council through the Speaker Corey Johnson 19 20 who stands every day arm-to-arm, hand-to-hand with our immigrant communities and fights like no one 21 2.2 else, and I would like him to speak on behalf of the 23 hearing topic, and on behalf of the immigrant communities that he represents across the city. Thank 24 25 you so much.

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

SPEAKER COREY JOHNSON: Thank you, um, Chair Menchaca. Good afternoon. I'm Council Member Corey Johnson Speaker of the New York City Council, and I want to thank, of course, our Chair and Council Member Carlos Menchaca for convening this hearing on such a critical topic of personal importance to so man y New Yorkers and for his steadfast persistent longstanding advocacy and leadership with immigrant communities across the city and across this country. In July, this committee met to shed light on [coughs] on the nightmare unfolding at our southern border, the aftermath of a family separation policy that led to at least 300 children to New York City where some continue to wait for reunification with their parents and guardians, and that ordeal is not over yet. fact, yesterday, Madina Torrey published an article in Politico that pointed out that approximately 40 children in the city are still separated from their parents and they're under the care of the Federal Office of Refugee Resettlement. They have not been placed with long-term guardians yet. Because of this, they are not enrolled in city schools and educational services are provided to them at the Federal Office of Refugee Resettlement. [coughs]

2

3

4

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

Today, we are here to have an honest discussion about the insidious acts of a roque federal agency. years, ICE has been the primary actor enforcing immigration law using inhuman policies such as home and workplace raids, policies that remain ongoing, and then then ripples through our neighborhoods, schools and houses of worship. If you came to our July 12th hearing, you may remember the Make The Road member named Vivian who testified about her family's ICE encounter. Her husband of 14 years was detained by ICE at their marriage based interview in May, and she has had to fight his case from the outside while taking care of their two children, a four-month-old and a two-year-old. It is heartbreaking. I wish I could say this was the first story that I've heard, but in the first eight months of the Trump Presidency, as Chair Menchaca said, ICE arrests have increased by 67% in the New York City area, and we get weekly sometimes daily--and I know Carlos gets a lot of this-requests for help from individuals across the country and across our city that have encountered ICE pleading for help to keep their families together. These arrests have done nothing to make the city safe and, in fact, it may have had the

2

3

4

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

2.1

2.2

23

24

25

opposite effect. With every ICE siting, our neighborhoods erupt into panic. City agencies have seen drops in increase for services, police departments across the nation have noted a decrease in calls related to domestic violence and abuse from Spanish speaking communities and children are kept home from school in fear of a potential raid. Federal Census Bureau is currently gearing up for the 2020 Census has noted the large number of unsolicited concerns about ICE raised by local residents even though legally speaking no census data can be shared with ICE. During the Rhode Island tests earlier this year on the census we heard reports of entire families moving out after a census work knocked on their door and asked them to fill out test census, and they did this out of abject fear. That fear is palpable. The long-term impact is generational In New York City a city of immigrants, proudly a city of immigrants, over one million homes are considered mixed households with at least one undocumented member of the household. We are looking at a prolonged public health crisis. Toxic stress levels especially in children are directly related to lower health outcomes later in life. The fear is

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

also pushing immigrants further into the shadows forcing families to make harrowing decisions to forego medical care or to not to send their children or not report crimes to the police. This puts our entire city at risk. This Council has made clear steps to set the city apart as a sanctuary city, and we continue that work today by hearing legislation that would further disentangle our city from the cruel immigration enforcement perpetrated by our federal government. I am proud of my brave colleagues. Again, especially Chair Carlos Menchaca for broaching this subject, and introducing this legislation, and also my good friend Councilwoman Helen Rosenthal for her strong statement in support of a congressional act that would establish a human immigration enforcement system to the preconsidered resolution we will hear today. As I've said before, ICE needs to go. Obviously, I am not calling for an end to national security investigations that keep us safe like ones that target human trafficking and the drug trade. That's not what this movement is about despite what critic want to say. That work can and should be done with other federal entities that can do that work, but ICE has become an indiscriminate

2

3

4

5

6

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

deportation and detention machine leaving our communities broken, not safer, and we must hold it accountable for its roque practices and failure to uphold its mission. I look forward to an informed and meaningful conversation about how abolishing ICE fits into the important larger conversation of comprehensive immigration reform, and I lastly want to thank the press. I want to thank the press for telling the daily stories related to these cruel and inhumane policies. I see Felipe De La Hoz is here from Documented New York, and Media Torres' piece yesterday, and Politico, and all the other reporters here and reporters who are not here who are covering this crisis on a daily basis on New York City and across the country shedding light on the human impact, and not just the statistics and numbers and philosophy, but around the human impact, the daily trauma that is incurred because of this draconian, autocratic, inhumane and cruel policy. That's being perpetrated on our city and on this country. I look forward to this hearing today. I'm grateful the Council remains a leader on this subject, and I believe it is now finally time for us to abolish ICE. Thank you, Chair Menchaca.

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

2 CHAIR MENCHACA: Thank you, Speaker
3 Johnson for your commitment, and there's just no way
4 we get to abolish ICE without that support from you,
5 from the City Council and from the people of this
6 great city. We want to hear from Council Member
7 Helen Rosenthal on the resolution.

COUNCIL MEMBER ROSENTHAL: Thank you, Chair Menchaca and Speaker Johnson for your leadership, and the opportunity today to introduce this resolution. U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, ICE, has only existed since 2003. short years, the agency has racked up an appalling and infamous record of abuses while failing to make this country any safer. On paper ICE was created to prevent acts of terror. In practice, it has focused mainly on the detention and removal of individual immigrants and done so in an abusive and counterproductive manner. Under this president, ICE has dropped even the pretense of targeting individuals who have committed serious felonies. Instead, opaquely choosing its enforcement targets and in effect terrorizing entire communities. has done so through a pattern of abuses of power undermining the rule of law, and failing to protect

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

those under its jurisdiction. ICE agents have posed as police officers, threatening the critical public safety link between local police and immigrant communities. It has targeted immigrant enforcement against political activists. It has wrongly detained hundreds and hundreds of American citizens, some of whom spent years in detention due ICE's negligence. We have seen a serious practice of sexual abuse in ICE's detention facilities. From 2013 to 2017, ICE received more than 1,300 complaints of sexual abuse by people it detained, a figure advocates contend is likely significantly under-reported. Although ICE itself has since 2014 been required by law to annually report to the public all aggregated sexual abuse and assault data, it has never done so. Reporting by the Intercept found that of 1,224 allegations of abuse reported to the Department of Homeland Security, the Officer of the Inspector General from 2010 to 2017 just 43 were actually investigated. When faced with evidence of the injustices and abuses perpetrated by ICE, the President and his supporters have engaged in racist and alarmist demagoguery. First, they insist that we much accept these abuses if we wish to be safe.

2 idea is absurd, and the legislation that this resolution calls on Congress to pass, demonstrates 3 that reform does not undermine security. HR6361, the 4 5 Establishing a Humane Immigration Enforcement System Act, does not mean open borders, nor does it mean an 6 7 end to all immigration enforcement. What it wood mean is the creation of a task force to review the 8 truly essential functions currently under 9 jurisdiction of ICE and transfer them to other 10 federal agencies while eliminating those that fail to 11 12 serve a public safety or national security purpose. The President's supporters also point to the fact 13 14 that many of these abuses began under the Bush and 15 Obama Administrations as if that were exculpatory 16 rather than an even more damning indictment of ICE as an institution. By separating interior immigration 17 18 enforcement from other law enforcement or national security concerns, it is no surprise that ICE has 19 20 interpreted its mandate in the cynical and counterproductive way that it has, and shielded from public 21 2.2 oversight and accountability it is no surprise that 23 it has done so in abusive ways. This larger point brings me to why I think this resolution is so 24 25 important, and why #Abolish ICE has resonated so

2 profoundly with so many people. It has resonated because of all of the specific reasons we've 3 4 discussed. Because of the cruelty, and injustice we've seen in immigration enforcement over the past 5 6 two years and over the past decade or so. 7 also resonated because at its core it represented a willingness to reshape our institutions to rectify 8 injustice and chart a course to a more humane place. 9 10 This conversation is similar in many ways to the discussion of closing Rikers here in New York City. 11 12 Yes, there are practical and political challenges. Yes, transforming institutions is complicated work, 13 14 but it must be done. We must do it, and that what 15 #Abolish Ice represents. It is a rejoinder to the 16 unimaginative pet entry of those who defend the 17 status quo. It means starting with the goal of 18 justice and designing institutions to achieve it rather than starting with existing institutions and 19 20 allowing them to limit our conceptions of justice. By passing this resolution, the New York City Council 21 2.2 can stand up for our immigrant neighbors and just as 23 importantly can stand up for the principle of confronting injustice no matter what. And so, I 24 thank my colleagues for their consideration and, of 25

2.2

course, I want to thank my Legislative Director Sean

Fitzpatrick who was the first to see the necessity of

HR 6361 and this this resolution. Thank you Speaker

Johnson. Thank you Chair Menchaca.

CHAIR MENCHACA: Thank you, Council

Member Rosenthal for your—for your commitment and
looking forward to today's discussion, and the

ultimate abolishing of ICE, and on that topic, too, I

want to call Council Member Rivera to say a few words
about the resolution.

Menchaca and, of course, the fellow committee members for allowing me to speak on this preconsidered reso, um, that I have proudly introduced with my colleagues, and it has been unfortunate over the past few months how our nation has been a witness to some of the most horrifying enforcement actions ever taken in the history of this nation, actions taken by our federal government against immigrants who came here simply looking for their piece of the American Dream, but these kinds of human rights violations sadly aren't a new development. They have been going on for years. Earlier this year I had to introduce and help pass a resolution in support of the Keep

Families Together Act because our current president
continues to use his broad immigration powers to rip
families apart at our border and violate the most
basic decencies that our country values. It's time
we listened to the calls of immigration advocates who
have been ignored for far too long. We need to
swiftly and completely abolish ICE as our resolution
being heard today heard calls for. As mentioned, ICE
was established just under two decades ago, and since
then, ha been given the blanket directive to break up
families and unfairly deport immigrant New Yorkers.
This is an abuse of the agency's mission, rips at the
moral fabric of our nation and shows that we clearly
need to replace the agency with a more humane
immigration system, one that treats every person with
dignity and respect. We had an immigration system
that exited for hundreds of years in this country
without ICE, and we most certainly deserve to have
one without this agency again. As representatives of
a city that has been the gateway to millions of
immigrants and refugees for centuries, we must also
rid ourselves of any complicity in this moral
failure. While we will continue to fight in
Washington to shut down and replaced this agency, we

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

must also continue to fight to protect our courts of laws, our small businesses and our community spaces here in the five boroughs from ICE intrusion. If we are going to truly stand by our fellow New Yorkers who have helped nurture and grow our wonderfully divers city, a so-called sanctuary city, then we must not contract or work in any way with an entity that engages with immigration enforcement as intro 1092 would require. I want to thank my fellow bill sponsors for their tireless advocacy on these important issues, the countless organizations fighting alongside us and, of course, as mentioned by the Speaker, the journalists some of whom are in this room or watching at home who have reported on this crisis long before anyone was listening. I call on my colleagues to join us in supporting both of these pieces of legislation, and I want to thank you for allowing me to speak today.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you,

Council Member Rivera, and as we continue with the

hearing, I want to also say thank you to the

incredible investigate—investigation from our press

that really brought to light the fact that contracts

did exist, and we want to continue working in

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

partnership with all of you on this very important topic and continue the understanding of how we are so entangled with this administration. The-the hearing that we're holding today couldn't have done-been done without incredible staff support. We're removing our question about abolish ICE away from campaigns, and we're doing it within this incredible opportunity ofof a public hearing, and that preparation came behind the scenes to ensure that the legislation was drafted, invitations were sent. So, I want to say thank you to my senior advisor Cesar Vargas, Chief of Staff Sociatia (sp?) May. Our Communications—the Communications Director Tony Chiarito, the whole committee staff, Counsel Harbani Ahuja, Committee Policy Analyst Cronk; Finance Analyst Jieun Lee. Thank you for your incredible work as well. I'm going to call the first panel. This is going to be a panel to really set the tone for this discussion with some real direct impact to their work or to their lifer here as a resident in the City of New York. The first or to the-to the-from the Legal Aid Society Hasan Shafiqullah; Nyasa Hickey from the Brooklyn Defenders Services; Alert Cahn, from CAIR New York, and then also a resident from Sunset Park, Violetta

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

Gomez Uribe who will speak about—about her—her

experience, and then finally, I will read a story

that her name is Sandy was not—did not feel

comfortable to be here in front of us today, but did

consent to reading her story, and so I will be

reading her story and she's from Make the Road New

York. Violetta, would you like to start?

VIOLETTA GOMEZ: Yes. I'm not sure how So, bear with me. Good afternoon. this works. Thank you to the Immigration Committee of the City Council of New York for the opportunity to give my testimony. I am Violetta Gomez Uribe, and the-and for the past 30 years I have been a proud undocumented New Yorker that received Deferred Acton for Childhood Arrivals some years ago, but make no mistake, I'm not the only one. I'm one of a million undocumented New Yorkers that for many reasons cannot be here today. As a community advocate, my mission is to bring my family and my community to every space I place foot in. I'm here to speak about the importance not only of Intro 1092, but about the importance of making New York City a true sanctuary city. I'm here to talk about the most important stories the ones that don't make it to the headlines,

2 the news headlines. I'm here to talk about the stories that I hear and see everyday as I walk every 3 corner of New York city. I'm here to bring the story 4 of the mother that won't seek essential services for her child with special needs because she fears of 6 7 being accused of public charges. I'm here to bring the story of the men and women who every singled day 8 go to work even if they're sick. I'm here to bring 9 the story of immigrants that face-of the immigrant 10 that faces sickness and silence for the fear of 11 12 seeking health and being transferred to ICE. I'm here to bring the story of 40 plus construction 13 workers that were recently fraud with \$500 each by a 14 so-called lawyer that told them that they were going 15 to get an OSHA certification. I'm here to bring the 16 17 story of the families that are being sexually 18 harassed by the super of their building with the threat of calling ICE if they don't surrender sexual 19 20 I'm here to bring the story of the team that took his life because he was undocumented, and saw no 21 2.2 hope in his future. I'm here to bring the story of 23 undocumented immigrants that will tolerate all sorts of abuses because of fear. As you might infer, I can 24 spend countless of hours bringing you stories of-of 25

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

2.2

our undocumented community. Finally, I'm here to
bring you these stories, but I'm here to ask you to
take these stories with you, and hopefully, have them
every step of the way to make sure to create laws
that will truly protect our undocumented brothers and
sisters. I'm here to ask you to take these stories
not as an act of pity, but as a lack of
acknowledgement of our humanity and the huge
contributions we the undocumented community make to
this city. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you,
Violetta. Thank you so much for your words.

SPEAKER COREY JOHNSON: Those were really beautiful. Thank you for being here.

ALBERT FOX CAHN: Good afternoon. My
name is Albert Fox Cahn, and I serve as the Legal
Director for CAIR New York, and I speak in support of
the preconsidered introduction prohibiting city
contracts with immigration enforcement entities. I
have to say how proud I am to be here in this—with
this Council to see the leadership from Chair
Menchanca, from Speaker Johnson, from Helen Rosenthal
making a moral stance against immoral immigration
enforcement because we see all too frequently the

25

2 toll it takes on communities across New York City. There remarks are just an excerpt of the longer 3 written statement, but I-I'm here to point out that 4 5 this is a step, a crucial step, but one of many that 6 is needed to protect our city from the Trump 7 Administration's campaign against immigrant communities. Crucially, the Council must also 8 address the myriad of ways that the New York City 9 Police Department directly and indirectly aids ICE in 10 their enforcement work. At the start of this year, 11 12 Mayor Bill de Blasio reiterated his promise that our police and employees will not be part of the federal 13 14 deportation force. However, just a few months later 15 we learned that ICE's New York office targeted 16 individuals who had been fingerprinted by the NYPD 17 demanding that these New Yorkers appear at ICE's 18 office and placing many in deportation proceedings. The NYPD's sweeping surveillance of communities of 19 20 color is innately intertwine with immigration enforcement. It's hard to address one without 21 2.2 addressing the other, and without accountability and 23 transparency for the collection, retention, and sharing of New Yorkers' data, there can be no 24 meaningful commitment that ICE does not have the

2

3

4

5

6

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

access to enforce immigrant law against our fellow neighbors. In an alarming case earlier this year, NYPD renewed a contract with a private firm Vigilant Solutions, exchanging information from automated license plate readers, and this partnership raised serious concerns that only intensified filing reports in January that ICE contracted with the very same vendor to gain access to license plate information from all across the country. We've been given assurances that the contract renewal protected New Yorkers' location data, and we appreciate those promises, but we need more. We need comprehensive protection for immigrant New Yorkers. The one measure that CAIR New York is support in addition to the measures before you today is the Post Act, a bill to promote oversight of the surveillance technology. I-I want to simply again express my gratitude that the Council is taking the measures here today to protect our city from the Trump Administration's campaign against immigrant communities. However, I hope this will be merely one part of a broader campaign to safeguard the rights of all New Yorkers and I call upon the Council to also work with advocates to quickly address the impact of NYPD

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

2 surveillance on immigrant New Yorkers, and make sure 3 that this city is truly a sanctuary for all.

NYASA HICKEY: Hi. My name is Nyasa I'm a supervising attorney of the Hickey. Immigration Practice at Brooklyn, Defender Services. We are proud to join the City Council to demand a fundamental transformation of our immigration system to one that recognizes the humanity of all people, and upholds the values of equal justice and due process for all. The problems of our immigration system date back to before the creation of ICE and applied agencies beyond ICE. Simply abolishing ICE will not address all of the issues that we identified in our written testimony. The impact of enforcement policies at the federal level are felt every day by our immigrant clients and their families. We have testified extensively about all of these issues in previous hearings, and we have a long list of those concerns in our written testimony. But I want to use the few minutes I have today to urge the Council to think critically about the temporary measures that we take to support immigration reform without harming our communities. I speak specifically about the recent campaigns to end ICE contracts with jails in

25

2 New Jersey. As a public defender office, Brooklyn Defender Services strong supports closing jails and 3 4 prisons. However, in this case we know that our communities will be deeply harmed if local 5 immigration facilities are closed. ICE has made it 6 7 very clear that they will not end or change their enforcement tactics even if local detention centers 8 are closed. This has already happened in San 9 10 Francisco in the Bay area earlier this summer. Advocates urge local officials to end their contracts 11 12 with ICE. Detention centers closed. ICE moved all 13 of the people in the local immigration detention 14 facilities out of state. They have not stopped 15 making ICE arrests. They are not-they are still 16 relying on violations of due process and 17 unconscionable ruses to terrorize immigrant 18 communities. So what happened to the people who were moved out of state? They're now far away from their 19 20 families whose support is critical to their deportation defense. Those families also provide 21 2.2 moral and essential evidence to prove their legal 23 They are far away from publicly funded 24 immigration attorneys modeled after those in the

NYIFUP program in New York City. We know that

2 deportation defense programs like NYIFUP increases a person's ability to stay in this country by 1,100% a 3 compared to people who face deportation prior to the 4 5 rcreation of NYIFUP. ICE targets people in and 6 around courthouses. We know thi. If they're transferred out of state by ICE, this makes it even more difficult to resolve their current underlying 8 criminal cases NYIFUP not only provides experienced 9 and highly qualified attorneys in Immigration Court, 10 but also other essential services such as 11 12 investigation support, social workers, expert 13 witnesses, re-entry services, connection to 14 rehabilitative programs and services, and experienced 15 litigators who can challenge decisions by immigration 16 judges in federal courts. So the New Jersey Detention 17 facilities house the detained people whose cases are 18 heard at Varick Street Immigration Courthouse. those contracts and those facilities end, New Yorkers 19 20 will be transferred out of state, and the city will have no way to provide them with the quality 21 2.2 representation that they currently received through 23 NYIFUP. So we propose that the City Council work with our counterparts in New Jersey, the Hudson, Bergen 24 25 and Essex County free holders and urge them to

continue their contracts with ICE while improving
conditions for detainees, improving access to medical
care, visitation and other measures. We also ask
that you encourage the free holders to free holders
to identify people in immigration detention who have
upcoming court dates before their initial court date.
We know that the-NYIFUP has been impacted with move
to the video telecom-video conference facilities.
So, if the local jails identify people who are in
those facilities before their first master calendar,
then NYIFUP can go to those facilities and prior to
the first court date to do screenings and intake, a
process that has been fundamentally undermined
currently because ISIS stopped bringing people-
detained people to the Varick Street Court. These
and other advocacy efforts could go a long way
towards supporting immigrant New Yorkers, and
ensuring that they're able to take advantage of
NYIFUP representation. I'm happy to answer
additional questions about this issue or any of my
written remarks.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: One quick question. Can you just clarify for us that the actions that you're reporting to us today the video

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

conferencing and essentially the closing of these detention centers was a direct action by ICE, and can you walk us through a little bit about that, the kind of decision making process and that it was, in fact connected to ICE, and their—and their power?

NYASA HICKEY: So, I don't know enough about the San Franciso-yeah, the San Francisco, Bay Area Detention Centers and who exactly, whether it was ICE that closed those, but it was a reaction to the low-the community pressuring and protesting the detention facilities, which is why those detention centers were closed and then the people were transferred out of stat. So, ICE did-is still, like I said, arresting those individuals, still processing them, but they're processing them in detention centers much further away, and ICE is the-is the agency that has decided to stop producing individuals to immigration court, and as a result, they're moving completely to video conference. And so, the ability for attorneys to meet with an individual on their first court date, to understand their immigration relief, look at the evidence against them, and meaningfully advocate for bond or for some relief on that first court date is greatly undermined.

2.2

the…my—the point of my testimony is that there are temporary measures that the City Council and the community can take to increase access to individuals who are detained so that they can meaningfully fight their case while we are also working towards the abolishing of the immigration detention and deportation system that we know. But we have to think thoughtfully about how those two are interacting.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you. Hasan.

HASAN SHAFIQULLAH: Good afternoon, my name is Hasan Shafiqullah. I'm the attorney in charge of the Immigration Law Unit of the Legal Aid Society. Thank you, Chair Menchaca, Speaker Johnson and all the Council Members for holding this hearing. So, I'm going to just briefly summarize my written testimony, which is that ICE is an agency that's out of control, and we see the effects of ICE's actions in our clients every day. Just at Legal Aid in the last year we've had six clients who are U.S. citizens who are facing deportation by an agency, and by an Immigration Court system that had no jurisdiction over them, and it is only thanks to NYIFUP, which the

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

Council has been funding for the last four years that we were able to step in an identify them, and take them out of the deportation machinery. ICE is holding people in jails even though they call it civil detention where they fail to provide the most basic medical care. One of our clients lost a toe in ICE detention because they didn't give him the care that he needed, and he's seeking his remedies now, but he's never going to get his toe back. We need oversight and accountability to prove-improve the conditions in ICE jails. ICE is continuing to abduct our clients from New York courthouses. ICE was spotted near a courthouse this afternoon, and that's having an impact on the administration of justice in our courts where individuals who are appearing in court to fight their cases are afraid to show up. Material witnesses are afraid to come, and domestic violence survivors are afraid to show up and seek orders of protection and all of that is making our communities less safe. As my colleague Nyasa Hickey mentioned, ICE has switched to video conferencing at the detained immigration court for no justifiable reason, and this means that our clients are material prejudiced. They can't meet with their attorneys in

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

a confidential setting before their first hearing in front of an immigration judge, it's on camera with ICE there and the judge in front of them. They can't meet with their family members. It's often the only time that they can see their family members is in court while they're in detention because the centers are so far away from New York City. It's also an opportunity typically for the attorneys to have their client sign forms and—and just do basic things that the lawyers and their clients do, but if our client is on a screen remotely from Bergen or one of the other jails, we can do that and it just dehumanizes our clients. So much of what happens in Immigration Court is discretionary with the immigration judge, and if I'm trying to show that my client has rehabilitated herself and is a safe person to be in the community, and the judge is seeing the twodimensional phase, a disembodied head on a screen, it just makes the client's case much harder to do, and she's really suffering as a result of that. So, in all the different ways that ICE is really terrorizing our communities, it's great that the Council is supporting this resolution to-to address ICE's behavior. But whether ICE is abolished or if-whether

2.2

it's reformed, because the enforcement activities are going to happen in some way, whatever we call the agency. We need to make sure that ICE is finally held accountable, but really all this stems from President Trump's indiscriminate enforcement priorities where everyone is targeted and everyone is facing removal and so then the challenges ahead of us are great, but the worst excesses are being exercised by ICE, and we applaud the City Council for supporting this resolution.

Want to—I want to start with a few questions before I hand it over to any colleagues that might have some questions for this panel before we head over to the Administration who will present their full testimony, and what—what's really important about this discussion is the connection of the city itself and our taxpayer funded initiatives that are supporting the defense of our community who find themselves in a deportation proceeding. I think that's an important thing to talk about, and link the reason before—between—between a federal enforcement agency and the due process questions, and the ability for our lawyers that we're paying to go and do their work.

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

work.

And so, what I want to kind of hear from you all is that impact is—is impacting the ability for your—for your lawyers to go out. How—how are you measuring that impact in terms of-well, actually, I'll just leave that question open. How are you measuring that impact to the ability for these contracts to do their

HASAN SHAFIQULLAH: So, I'll start. in a couple of different ways. One is simply in-in terms of the amount of time that somebody is sitting in detention if-if-if my client, my potential client is produced by ICE physically as—as I produce them in the morning of their first hearing in Immigration Court I have a chance to meet with them, figure out what their options are, what defenses we might have, and start moving the case forward. If the first time that I'm meeting with them is in front of the judge and in front of ICE where I can't have a confidential communication, all I'm going to be doing is asking for adjournment, and my client is going to be sitting in detention longer. I can go out to meet with them for the first time. The jails are 35 or 70 miles away. So, it's a-it's a several hour commitment to go out there and meet with people versus meeting with

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

all of the potential clients at Varick Street in a given morning. And so, we're measuring it in terms of the amount of time somebody is sitting in detention and just the amount of attorney hours that we're spending unnecessarily traveling to jails to meet people that we could just meet at Varick Street. Those are just two metrics that are off the top of my head.

NYASA HICKEY: Yes, I would just add to that the ability to respond to evidence that may be produced in court. If your client isn't sitting next to you in court, then you're unable to conference that and talk to-talk about that as well as-as Hasan said, talking about humanizing our clients and how judges as well was the trial attorneys the government attorneys view our clients as absolutely impacted length of detentions, adjournments, and just your client's confidence in you as an attorney. So much of the work as somebody's attorney is being able to build that client rapport, and having those subtle communications, and if your client is on a video screen, and that video feed may be interrupted or may be the client doesn't speak English fluently, and is using an interpreter, all-all the pieces like that

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

2 are impacted, and we're certainly working on 3 gathering that information.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: That would be great for any kind of sense of reporting that we can get in real time about that impact as you move through the fiscal year to understand exactly what'swhat's happening to the-the budget that we passed that has a very kind of particular public interest. So, it would be good to kind of get-get information in real time. I think the other piece that I want to make sure that members of the committee really understand as part of this first of its kind municipally funded public defender system is that essentially many unknown New Yorkers are going through a deportation proceeding after being detained, and it is in the physical presence of the court where you are able to stop them and ask them: Do you have a lawyer? Can you afford a lawyer? those answers are no, you can step in and begin that process. Walk us through that, and I think that's an important thing for everyone here to understand that this is not just about kind of perfecting this idea of having presence in a courtroom, but really the physical nature of interrupting that moment where

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

2 someone will get into a court without a lawyer and 3 not have due process.

HASAN SHAFIQULLAH: So, I have an example to give you. this is one of our clients who was featured in the New Yorker recently, and so I mean I'll use his name because it's-it's been story James Bussey was held for over 50 days at one of the ICE jails, and was ready to give up. He said just send me back to a country where I haven't lived in since I was a child. I just can't take detention any more, and we met with him, and we-this is before video conferencing started, and so we said just give us a couple of hours. Let us just talk to you, talk to your family members. Let's find out what's going on. Found out that he-he had actually derived citizenship through his mother, and said: Give us two days to try to prove you're a citizen, and you don't have to leave the country. Don't give up. It actually took a lot to convince him that to even hang in for a couple more hours. We got the evidence from his mother about how when she became a citizen and when he got his green card, and he was willing to stay and fight, but if we didn't have that opportunity, if he was just a face on a screen, we don't have that

2.2

- moment to pull him aside and just be like don't give

 up on us. I just want to say, by the way, when we

 gave ICE evidence of his citizenship, they still

 didn't release him. We had to file a habeas petition
- 6 in federal court to finally get him out.
 7 CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you. Thank
 - you for that. Members of the-does anybody have any questions for this panel?
 - COUNCIL MEMBER YEGER: Yes, I have a question.
 - CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: We have one question from Council Member Yeger, and if we could put the clock at two minutes, please. Thank you.
 - Thank you, Mr. Chair. This question anyone can answer it really, but I'd like to start with the ones on the panel who most recently spoke about this, Ms. Hickey and Mr. Shafiquallah. Okay, perfect. You mentioned that...that ICE or the Immigration Court at Varick Street recently changed its policy from inperson hearings where you're sitting next to your client and you have the ability to interact with your client, to a policy video conferencing, and that was relatively recent, right?

1	COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION 43
2	HASAN SHAFIQULLAH: Yes, sir.
3	COUNCIL MEMBER YEGER: Okay what-what was
4	going on at the courthouse if you can enlighten us
5	immediately prior thereto that may have made ICE
6	change its policy.
7	HASAN SHAFIQULLAH: Sure. So, what
8	happened at this specific event, on a Monday morning
9	when ICE was bringing in a bus load or our clients or
10	potential clients to the jail, a group of activists
11	called Occupied ICE blocked the garage entrance to
12	the courthouse at 201 Varick Street, and the bus
13	couldn't get in, and so it turned around and took
14	the-the folks back to-to their detention center, and
15	I said we're-we're cancelling hearings today. So,
16	which makes sense.
17	COUNCIL MEMBER YEGER: So, the-so-so just
18	to clear
19	HASAN SHAFIQULLAH: [interposing] Then
20	I'm going to clarify what happened then.
21	COUNCIL MEMBER YEGER: Okay.
22	HASAN SHAFIQULLAH: Let me just give you
23	three days.

HASAN SHAFIQULLAH: So, the second day
the-the protestors moved across the street. There
was no block whatsoever, and ICE could come in and
out, and they could bring in folks and the buses had
no problem, but ICE said we're not going to bring
them anyway. We're going to have folks appear by
video conference, and we said well there's no reason
for that. There's no obstruction of the operation of
your system, but this was an opportunity tor them to-
it was an excuse, and they haven't backed since then.
There's one day of protest. After the second day of
protest across the street, the group disbanded
altogether. There's been no justification for it,
and ICE is choosing not to back down.

COUNCIL MEMBER YEGER: Well, it's possible that there was. I don't work for ICE obviously, but is it possible that—that given the fact that a bus a federally owned bus carrying people and operated by federal officers was blocked by various people who decided to put themselves in front of a bus, may have given the agency reason to believe that that would happen again particularly because the same folks were now gather [bell] across the street?

1

3

4

5

6

7

9

10

11

12

1314

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

HASAN SHAFIQULLAH: So, I don't think it's reasonable assumption on ICE's part because the group specifically said we're not doing this any more, and they didn't do it.

COUNCIL MEMBER YEGER: Okay, I'm-I'm going to concluded, Mr. Chair. If I could just have-I have one more question. I'm not an apologist for them in any-in any way, but, you know, I'm-I'm a recovering lawyer. I practiced law before I joined this Council earlier this year, and I give a lot of credit to the need to sit next to a client and be able to pass notes, and be able to interact with a client prior to a hearing and during a hearing, and that being taken away, is awful. It's wrong, and I believe that there should be in-person hearings, but I just—the purpose of these questions was to point out that some of the folks who think they're helping the cause, harmed the cause by lining themselves in front of buses, and they ultimately created a situation that ICE felt they needed to act, and it would have been great if they didn't do that because then we would have the conversation about in-person hearing versus teleconference hearings, and we could

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

focus on the—on—on the gist of and the substance of the Chair's proposal today.

HASAN SHAFIQULLAH: Absolutely. If I can just address that with one response, well, two, One, we-we don't control the protestors, and there's a, you know, there's a robust history of protestors in the city, and God bless, but in terms of the inperson, the benefit of being with your client, there is, of course, just being able to like sit and pass notes and all that. But, I want to highlight something that's specific to NYIFUP, to the program that the Council has created and ahs supported for the last four years, which is in the very first court hearing confined and detention and brought into Varick Street in the morning, and I have-it's not at the Council table, but in a confidential setting, can meet with my-with my potential attorney, find out what my rights are, and have a whole meaningful exploration of what's toing to happen to me, and what could happen to me before appearing in court in the afternoon, and we lose that with video conferencing. We just don't have that opportunity. Even if the client is sitting in a jail through video

4

5

6

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

conferencing, there's a police officer in the room
with them. We don't have confidentiality.

COUNCIL MEMBER YEGER: I'm-I'm not going to ask any additional questions. I just want to point out that like I said, the-the activists who-who block the lawful practices of government agency and do so without consulting the best interest of the client as represented by their attorneys, may be harming your client's cause, and it would be best I think in my estimation if you can have conversations with some of those who think that they're helping your cause by jumping in front of the buses carrying your clients, and point out to them that they may have caused something that is-is irretrievably gone, and that is the in-person contact with their attorney, which is something that every lawyer and every client should have.

HASAN SHAFIQULLAH: I understand. Can I respond quickly? I—I just want to say the activist movements that protested ICE have stopped deportations. They have kept New Yorkers who were on the verge of being sent out of this country, and they've kept them safe. They have been instrumental in this movement and I think it is incorrect to

2	simply assume that ICE has stated justification for a
3	policy change is the actual reason for that policy
4	change, and we shouldn't simply accept that due
5	process should be optional when they find it

6 inconvenient.

2.2

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: And thank you all for that, and we're going to move over to the Administration, and as we move and—and bring up the, Commissioner, I want to make sure that we maintain our commitment to some of these foundational questions about Constitutional rights like due process, like access to our lawyers and as a city funded program like NYIFUP that we maintain that commitment to the public that we are doing the work that we're doing, and perfect timing for the Administration to come on board, and talk to us a little bit about their thoughts on—on these questions at this hearing, and we're going to swear you in.

LEGAL COUNSEL: Please raise your right hands? Do you affirm to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth in your testimony before this committee, and to respond honestly to Council Member questions?

PANEL MEMBERS: [off mic]

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

2 LEGAL COUNSEL: Thank you. [pause]
3 COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: Okay, great.

Good afternoon. Thank you to Speaker Johnson, Council Member/Chair Menchaca, and members of the Committee on Immigration for convening of hearing. My name is Bitta Mostofi. I'm the Commissioner for the Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs. This testimony will address the calls to abolish immigration and customs enforcement as well as Intro 1092. I will being my testimony by discussing what we mean when we say abolish ICE. Just today the Trump Administration announced its intent to circumvent the rules and laws protecting immigrant children and expand family detention as a replacement for the family separation policy. An immigration enforcement system that subjects children to long-term detention is an intolerable system. Reforming our broken immigration system is absolutely necessary in a society that values justice and human rights. This is a historic moment one in which people across the nation have recognized the problems created by a broken agency and by immigration laws that desperately need reform. Then I will turn to the separate question of Intro

As, you know, this Administration strongly

2 supports restrictions on cooperation with immigration enforcement except in cases of public safety and 3 4 national security threats. That is why we worked 5 with the City Council to pass the Detainer Laws in 2014 as well as Local Law 228 in 2017. We are 6 interested in working with the Council to craft 7 legislation that recognizes the city's 8 intergovernmental cooperative efforts to support 9 important public safety and national security work 10 while furthering the goal of keeping city agencies 11 12 out of the business of immigration enforcement. 13 Turning first to the broken immigration enforcement 14 system, I want to emphasize that the de Blasio 15 Administration has always believed that immigration 16 enforcement is the responsibility of the federal Together with the City Council and 17 government. 18 advocates, the city removed ICE's presence from Rikers. We also passed laws sharply limiting 19 20 cooperation with federal immigration authorities where there are legitimate public safety and national 21 2.2 security concerns, and we have continued to push for 23 immigration reform. Relatedly, in July the city filed a lawsuit against the Department of Justice 24 challenging federal efforts to condition Byrne JAG 25

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

funding, a sate and local public safety grant in cooperation with immigration enforcement. collaboration with the Council we have poured tremendous time and energy into making sure that our city services and programs are accessible to our immigrant communities including through the largest municipal investment in immigration legal services, the creation of IDNYC, the city's municipal ID card, and the expansion of language access requirements. These policies help ensure that New York City is the ultimate city of immigrants, is also the safest big city in America. It is abundantly clear that we need wholesale reform of ICE. The branch of ICE that conducts immigration enforcement in the interior of our country, Enforcement and Removal Operations or ICE ERO, had caused great harm in our communities. In the New York City area, civil immigration enforcement arrests increased by 67% in the eight months after President Trump's inauguration compared to same period in the previous year. An arrest of individuals with no criminal convictions increased by 225%. Moreover, ICE ERO has shown that it is simplyit simply does not care about the human consequences of its actions. As just one example, ICE ERO agents

2 have arrested people in and around courthouses across New York City knowing that these arrests make 3 immigrants including witnesses and victims afraid to 4 5 come to court. Despite complaints form advocates the City Council members and district attorneys, ICE ERO 6 7 has brazenly continued this practice. ICE ERO practice New York City less safe by instilling fear 8 about engaging with the court system, and by 9 targeting immigrants regardless of public safety 10 considerations. The federal government is 11 12 undermining the public safety, health and wellbeing of all New Yorkers. Given this context, the only 13 14 logical conclusion is that we must replace our 15 immigration enforcement system with something more 16 reasons and more humane. We need a fair immigration enforcement system that simultaneously promotes 17 18 safety and national security, not one that could ever countenance separating children from their families. 19 20 Any reform of ICE should provide a mandate that includes prioritized enforcement focusing enforcement 21 2.2 resources on the advancement of public safety and 23 national security. As one example of how ICE h as 24 failed in this regard, ICE is responsible for administering this country's Immigration Detention 25

2 System, but ICE detains immigrants without any consideration for whether those pose a public safety 3 risk and this includes the detention of families and 4 children, and as I mentioned earlier, the Trump 5 Administration announced just this morning its 6 intention to change the rules to allow for long-term detention of children. This is not what a humane 8 immigration system looks like. Along with 9 prioritization, immigration enforcement should be 10 accompanied by a duty to ensure that all of those who 11 12 are in need of humanitarian protection or other forms 13 of relief have a fair opportunity to seek out relief. A human immigration enforcement system should be 14 15 focused on making sure people fleeing violence or 16 with claims of persecution have a chance to make 17 those claims. Another proposal that has been 18 discussed is separating the ICE sub-agency that investigates bona fide public safety and national 19 20 security threats. ICE and Homeland Security investigation out from the umbrella of ICE itself. 2.1 2.2 ICE and HSI's responsibilities include investigating 23 human trafficking, child exploitation, international crime, military arms proliferation, drug smuggling 24 and many other serious crimes. In a recent letter to 25

25

2 the Secretary of Homeland Security, many of HIS's own leaders have called for its separation from ICE, 3 4 characterizing the move as one that would promote HIS's ability to conduct investigations against 5 trans-national criminal organizations and terrorists. 6 7 From the city's perspective, this HIS work should continue. They are an important criminal law 8 enforcement functions and also includes support for 9 victims of trafficking and other crimes. I want to 10 take a step back, however, and emphasize that no 11 12 reform of ICE will be enough to fix the broken immigration system. For decades Congress has been 13 14 unable to pass comprehensive immigration reform. 15 must continue to press Congress to fix our 16 immigration laws and to create a system that reflects the need for a pass to citizenship for this country's 17 18 undocumented population. Family reunification protects those fleeing persecution and disaster and 19 20 promotes public safety and national security. Turning to the second issue presented today I want to 21 2.2 briefly testify on Intro 1092. This Administration 23 strongly believes that the city should not support immigration enforcement except with their-a 24 legitimate public safety or national security

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

concerns. For that reason, we worked closely with the Council as noted in creating our detainer laws, which are strict cooperation with federal immigration detainer requests except where an individual represents a public safety threat and a city has received sufficient evidence of probable cause of vulnerability. (sic) We also worked with the Council to pass Local Laws 228, largely prohibiting the use of City resources for the purposes of immigration enforcement. This is in addition to several other laws we worked together to pass restricting nonlocal law enforcement from accessing non-public areas of city property and creating a framework to protect identifying information. These laws recognize the importance of distinguishing local law enforcement from federal immigration authorities while allowing cooperation where it advances public safety. This is a priority for this Administration. We believe that all New Yorkers are safer when everyone including immigrants feel comfortable interacting with NYPD in accessing city services. We agree with the bill's goals of ensuring that the city does not act in a way that creates confusion about our role in immigration enforcement, and we look forward to working with you

2

3

4

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

2.1

2.2

23

24

25

to realize that goal while ensuring that the city can continue providing goods and services to agencies engaged in important criminal justice work or counter-terrorism. Base on our review, we have determined that at present there are two city agreements with the Department of Homeland Security that could be affected by the proposed bill. Neither is related to civil immigration enforcement. Recent reporting also mentioned a third agreement, which was-which I will explain is not between the city and The first active agreement is an MOU with NYPD for the use of its Rodman's Neck Firing Range in the This MOU allows ICE HSI to use the firing range for its own certification. As I mentioned earlier, ICE HSI conducts various crucial antiterrorism, anti-trafficking, criminal justice activities, and is separate from ICE ERO, which is tasked with civil immigration enforcement. NYPD also has similar arrangements with other city, state, and federal law enforcement agencies that use this range. The other contract is between the Department of Health and Mental Hygiene and the Department of Homeland Security. The DOHMH Public Health Laboratory is a host lab for the DHS Office of Health

2 Affairs by a watch program for purposes of monitoring the air for agents likely to be used in bioterrorism 3 4 attacks. This contract serve extremely important 5 national security interests and again is unrelated to 6 civil immigration enforcements. A recent news 7 article on this topic also discussed the Hudson River Park Trust's rental parking spots to ICE. The Trust 8 is not a city agency, and the city does not control 9 We look forward to working 10 or direct its contracts. with the Council to ensure that the city can continue 11 12 to work with federal agencies for purposes of combatting terrorism and engaging in criminal justice 13 14 work. In addition, we will work with you to ensure 15 that the city may continue to contribute to the many 16 interagency taskforces it is a part of that are engaged in crucial criminal justice and national 17 security work. The de Blasio Administration supports 18 wholesale replacement of ICE, and immigration 19 20 enforcement more broadly. We need a system that promotes public safety and national security and not 21 2.2 a system that characterizes all immigrants as 23 threats. Similarly, we will work to continue to work with the Council to ensure that Intro 1092 builds on 24 recent legislation in providing for adequate 25

2.2

you.

restrictions on cooperation with civil immigration
enforcement while guaranteeing that important
counterterrorism and criminal justice work
appropriately continues. We look forward to speaking
further with the Council about these two important
issues, and I'm happy to take any questions. Thank

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you,

Commissioner and your work that you all did to

uncover the relationships that we have contractually,

revenue contracts, and I just want to do a couple of

quick questions in clarifying that there are

essentially only two contracts that you found in your

exercise. Can you talk a little bit about how

extensive that was. Is it possible that there are

other contracts? You just need more time, and get

us—give us a sense about—about identifying those kind

of contracts in real time and the role maybe that

MOIA takes pre, post passing of this law to identify

future contract decisions in the process. Just get—

get—let's get into the mechanics of this.

COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: Sure. So, um, um, in kind of undertaking the research and the effort to see what the city actually held, we worked closely

with the Office of Management and Budget, and, um,		
Contracting to make sure that all of the systems that		
register their contracts were being searched and—and		
effectively and effectively and thoroughly searched		
to ensure that we were catching any possible contract		
that might exist. They also supported in helping to		
reach out to individual agencies and ensure that we		
weren't missing anything because, of course, the		
contracts are entered into individually by the		
agencies themselves. So, we—it took some time, but		
we feel like, um, we have exhausted all of the		
appropriate measures in—in identifying and		
unearthing, um, things that exist, um, and as noted,		
these are the two formal agreements that we in our		
work-that are in place.		

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Does the role—is there a role for the MOIA task force through—and connect to Local Laws 186 of 2017 to do some of this work again in a world where—where we are monitoring this, and it becomes some form of—

COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: [interposing]
Sure.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: --legal mandate to not contract with immigration agencies?

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

2 COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: Yeah, I mean I--

3 CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: [interposing] or

enforcement agencies?

COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: Sure. So, I think to answer the second part of your initial question, you know, MOIA we certainly see our role as wanting to, um, ensure that we are both responding to issues that are raised to us that might not already be on our radar, but also effectively being responsive and transparent to what the city is doing, and the impact on our communities. So, that's why we would undertake such an endeavor as we did in this case. I think in terms of sort of what makes sense for continuing the ongoing monitoring our understanding. I think that in the creation of Local Law 228 a framework was actually already created in which should there be a request by immigrant-for immigration enforcement or to advance immigration enforcement to any city agency. MOIA is the designated agency that must be alerted through the reporting in that legislation. I think that was a appropriately chosen, and it certainly has been whatwhat we think is a very useful exercise with agencies in helping them think through these issues. So, I

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

think that—that is sort of one—one example that

potentially might—might be appropriate here.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: And then finally, what are the amounts? How big are these contracts? The Firing Range and then the Biowatch?

COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: Yes. So, the NYPD MOU has an essentially broad agreement. It's for a five-year period, and it provides for payment up to \$139,000 in total. It's a very limited contract. essentially is, as I said, just for use of the range and to ensure that there's a safety officer that's present to make sure that nothing that's being done is unsafe for the-for others who are present, and for the DOHMH agreement, this is a-obviously an extremely important and critical piece of work, and so it is important and essential to DOHMH and to the City of New York that this work happens, and the agreement is such that where feasible at the end of the year DOHMH can-will see some reimbursement from DHS for the use of its lab, but ultimately it's an in-kind for the support of the staff agreement where DHS supports the salary of the staff if they're doing this work. last year our understanding is that DOHMH received

approximately \$50,000, and in some years it was more or less or no reimbursement at all.

4 CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you.

5 Speaker Johnson.

1

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

That's good news.

SPEAKER COREY JOHNSON: Thank you, Mr. Thank you Commissioner, of course, for your Chair. testimony and for everything that you do. I want to just get a little more granular on the guestions related to the contracts with DHS and ICE. that Council Member Menchaca, the Chair was just asking these questions, but I want to just dig a little deeper. So, of course, in your testimony you mentioned that HIS, Homeland Security Investigations, which is, as you mentioned in your testimony, a component of ICE. You said it has a contract with the NYPD for Rodman's Neck Firing Range, the use of the Police Department's firing range in the Bronx. believe it's in Council Member Gjonaj's district. [coughs] Is there a component in this contract that you know of where the NYPD has to share any data on persons arrested in New York City?

COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: No, there is not.

SPEAKER COREY JOHNSON: There's not.

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

2 COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: Yes.

SPEAKER COREY JOHNSON: And does MOIA know if other municipalities have similar contracts with HIS to use their Police Department's firing range?

COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: I do know-do not know that specific question. I do know broadly that other municipalities have very different kinds of contracts. I think you just heard in the previous panel, of course, in New Jersey there's some-there are some jails that exist in other cities across the country, but specifically for use of a firing range I'm not sure. What I'll say about Rodman's Neck that's unique is that this is a very large facility. ICE HSI is not the only entity for—with which NYPD contracts for use of this location. Every-every sort of Criminal Justice entity you might think of, the DOJ, IRS, Special Agents, the New York State Police, MTA, CUNY Peace Officers, et cetera. So, this is a location that's used broadly by Criminal Justice officers that work in and around New York City to-to practice, to train, to receive certification, et cetera.

2.2

2 COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: Sure.

SPEAKER COREY JOHNSON: What is the process for approval of contracts like these from DHS and HIS that could potentially impact in our communities. What I mean by that is do you know, if individual commissioners sign off or does OMB sign off and then disburse to individual agencies? Is MOIA involved in this process at all for federal reimbursement.

involved in a process of any contracts that involved DHS, and as I noted previously, often this is individual agencies that are engaging with—with DHS for the—for the—the entering into the agreement. They obviously report this to OMB, which is why we have the broader system and they must issue the agreements and that goes through normal city rules. So, of course, they're in the system and that's why we were able to locate them, and know how best to be responsive, but there's no process that exists currently where entering into an agreement with DHS would be something that—that MOIA would be alerted to.

2.2

SPEAKER COREY JOHNSON: Thank you very much for being here today, and for answering our questions. Thank you Chair Menchaca.

COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you.

Council Member Holden.

COUNCIL MEMBER HOLDEN: Yes. Thanks,

Commissioner for your testimony. So the

Administration really does not support Intro 1092?

Is that what you're saying?

what I said at all. I think—as I said, I think that there—the goals of the bill we agree with, which is to further lament—ensure that we're limiting cooperation with civil immigration enforcement, but we believe we will need to do some work together to make sure that it also satisfies goals that we have as a city in ensuring that we have the flexibility to engage in agreements and activities where it advances public safety and national security as we have done in our other legislation.

COUNCIL MEMBER HOLDEN: Well, national security would mean training police officers in the firing range and also peace officers like ICE agents.

offer a threat to public safety and—and our security?

24

COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: Yeah. Thank you for the question. I think the answer to that is absolutely.

COUNCIL MEMBER HOLDEN: Yes--

COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: [interposing]

Yes.

2.2

 $\label{eq:council_member_holden: --and I haven't} % \begin{center} \begin{cente$

COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: I think I—I did note that simply in—in specifically even articulating the work of—of ICE HSI, which we know is extremely important. They conduct criminal investigations. I noted the city's own agree—agreement for a detainer policy in cooperating with our public security considerations where people have been convicted of violent and serious crime. So, certainly, we would agree that what we're talking about is—is not the complete end to all immigration enforcement, but one that puts central to that the public safety considerations and obviously you could go through the motions of saying, you know, abolish or end separating families, abolish or end overboard enforcement—

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

COUNCIL MEMBER HOLDEN: [interposing] But the, yeah, but the family is one side, but we couldwe could throw children in there and make it sound oh, this is a horrible agency, and this a strong army, but they remove people that are by and large mostly other people, and immigrants with past criminal convictions accounted for 74% of all arrests made by ICE agents in Fiscal 2017. So, they are removing people with criminal pasts wanted in their other countries, and certain-and certainly present a threat to New York City residents, which again I think we have to weigh both here and-and I know there are abuses, but correct the abuses, but don't throw the baby out with the bath water. I think, and again, I lived through 9/11 like most people, and my family was affected by it, and the problem with 9/11, one of the causes was the city agencies-city, state and federal agencies weren't communicating. So, we tried to do that with Homeland Security, and, you know, ICE tells-tells us that New York City Police ignored 1,526 requests from Federal Immigration and Customs Enforcement to detain undocumented immigrants for up to 48 hours last year. I don't know if that's helping with the public safety of New York City

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

2 residents by ding that. So, you know, if you could 3 just respond to that because I think my time is up.

COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: Yeah.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you. Okay.

COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: So, I guess a fewa few things to say. I think we're in agreement in terms of there are clearly parts of the duty that are within the mandate of ICE as it currently exists that we would advocate for continuing. I think how you break that down and what that looks like ultimately, fundamentally is the responsibility of Congress. think what this conversation allows is to say we have a problem. The way that it currently operates that extends far beyond what might be understood as their mandate is instilling fear in communities is needlessly targeting individuals who have no criminal history, who have no convictions whatsoever. As I noted in my testimony, over a 225% increase in people with absolutely no interaction with the Criminal Justice System last year. That has a tremendous impact on us here in New York City. So, I think there's fundamental agreement that there are certain responsibilities that the agency as it currently exists that holds that ought to continue. I think

2

3

4

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

the question that's being raised here simply is what does that look like? How doe it have increased accountability? How are there measures that are undertaken to make sure that there is adequate reporting and responsibility. I think in terms of the city's role, that's a separate question. city has made it clear that we do not conduct immigration enforcement. That is not our job and, in fact, we know that that has helped us from a security and safety perspective because it increases people's ability and willingness to come forward and report crimes in our city. It think what we have come to an agreement on is what are the-the limits to that noncooperation? You noted things like concerns thatthat agencies were not speaking to each other after 9-before 9/11. That is why we are involved with the Joint Terrorism Task Force. That is why we are part of the joint trafficking task force. That is why these task forces particularly are exempted from restricting cooperation under the-under Local Laws So, I do think we are aiming to strike the right balance with the city of ensuring that we're furthering communication where National Security working public safety is central and crucial while

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

2.2

asking the right questions about what is going—what is going too far? What's not working with the agencies? What isn't advancing of those public safety interests.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you,

Commissioner. Next we have Council Member Yeger.

COUNCIL MEMBER YEGER: Thank you, Mr.

Chairman, and Madam Commissioner, thank you very much for your work with my office, with my colleagues here for the work you do to help the immigrants in our communities. I just have a real couple of quick questions. The city's contract with—with the NYPD's MOU with—with ICE for the use of the Throggs Neck Firing Range, if tomorrow morning the city said that ICE can't use the Throggs Neck Firing Range any more, would ICE shut down to the best of your knowledge based on your familiarity with the agency?

COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: I just want one point of clarity, which is to say that the MOU is limited. It is only with ICE's HSI Division, which is the Criminal Investigation Division.

COUNCIL MEMBER YEGER: [interposing] If the—if it—

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

2.2

2 COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: [interposing] If 3 it were to end, no ICE would not shut down.

COUNCIL MEMBER YEGER: ICE would not shut down. Okay, so, and with regard to DOH's contract to monitor the air, which obviously is not just being done for ICE, but it's also being done for me, and probably for you as well, and everybody on this Council, and it would change many people that we represent. If that MOU were to end tomorrow, would I shut down?

COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: Again, the—
obviously, I can't speak for ICE nor to it's
operations, but I would base the assessment—
COUNCIL MEMBER YEGER: [interposing]

Based on your assessment and the familiarity with the agency?

COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: No.

COUNCIL MEMBER YEGER: Okay, the statute that is being proposed here in the Council, Intro 1092, if this law were enacted, to the best of your knowledge based on your familiarity with the agency, would I shut down?

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

2 COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: To the best of my
3 knowledge and familiarity, no I don't believe it
4 would shut down its operations.

COUNCIL MEMBER YEGER: Okay, thank you very much.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you Council Member Yeger, and I want to take a quick moment. There was some information that was presented by Council Member Holden about the sense of criminality, and I just want to read something from our report actually that we produced here, and I encourage all the members of the Council to read it as the—as the hearing continues. The report shows that ICE has detained 65% more immigrants in Fiscal 2018 than the previous year, making the Enforcement and Removal Operations, ERO, who are not part of this MOU, right? This is just HSI. So, essentially ERO is not invited to be part of the use of the contract that we're talking about, but this division roughly is the seventh largest prison system in the country. More specifically, the detentions of immigrants with no criminal records more than doubled in the first year of Trump's Administration from 5,498 in 2016 to 13,600 in 2017. So, this idea ICE is focusing on

2.2

criminals as a talking point is just—is just not correct, and really what—what's happening is a larger kind of net of people that are being rounded up and accused without any kind of due process that we also discussed in the courts to have any kind of representation. That's what we're talking about today, and those are the facts. I want to add—ask Council Member Mathieu Eugene if you have any comments or questions before—? Not yet. Okay, and so to close this out, I want to give Council Member Gjonaj two minutes for questions of a statement.

COUNCIL MEMBER GJONAJ: Thank you,

Chairman. I don't have any questions, but I do want
to make a statement. Immigration is a sensitive,

passionate issue. I am the son of immigrants. First
hand I've experienced in my own household and
community. As the only elected Albanian in the State
of New York, it falls on my office and my previous
position to meet the needs of many of the Albanian
community and the constituents that I represented to
help through their immigration problems. I am in
full support of reforming that immigration system,
but when it comes to the resolution, I appreciate the
values that we—that have made this country a beacon

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

of hope the world over, principles such as respect and dignity at the heart of who we are as a nation. As we seek to enforce the country's laws, we must do so in a way that treats everyone with the dignity and respect that deserve. So, I'll support reforming our immigration enforcement system so that it is humane and respectful. I cannot in good conscience vote to abolish ICE where there is no viable proposal on the table to replace it, and do the vital work that is under the agency's mission. So, with a tremendous respect to my colleagues, those that were heard today, and the heartfelt intentions, I cannot support the resolution. In regards to Intro 1092, until we have a plan to reform our immigration informantsenforcement system, where a viable alternative agency or agencies to take over the duties of ICE, I cannot support a vote to deny. [bell] The one thing that we can all agree with that no matter which agencies in charge with enforcement we want those officers to be well trained to uphold the laws, and while doing so, treat people humanely and respectfully. Currently that agency is ICE, and again, while I firmly believe that we must reform our immigration system, I cannot vote to take away our role to help ensure that these

1 COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

agents are trained to hopefully do the best job that
they can in carrying out their missions. Thus, I
cannot support Intro 1092 in its current form. Thank

5 you.

2.2

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you, Council Member Gjonaj, and for—for the Administration on NYPD just so we can get it on the record. There—there were conversations about—I know we alluded it—alluded to it in our opening statements about the decline in calls from immigrants regarding domestic violence or petty crimes and really working in cooperation with NYPD as part of the civic fabric of a neighborhood and public safety as we understand it on the ground as neighbors. Has MOIA seen any decrease through its relationship with NYPD in those immigrant communities connecting to our local municipal enforcement officers?

COMMISSIONER MOSTOFI: So, thanks for the question. We, you know, MOIA has done some monitoring of the utilization of city services broadly and worked with NYPD in this regard. We have not seen significant changes that speak to immediately concerning decline. I think fundamentally we believe that the reason for that is

because of the-what the city has done to combat
against that chilling effect. As early as January
following the president's inauguration, Commissioner
O'Neill himself distributed a letter to all officers
affirming that their job is not immigration
enforcement but their job is the public safety of all
New Yorkers regardless of their status. That
directive is understood and heard by all officers.
We've worked closely to make sure that communities
through Know Your Rights programming, know that they
have the right to interact with NYPD and with City
services in-certainly in reporting crimes and not
having their immigration status asked for. It has
been a continued part and fabric of what we've tried
to do as an administration, and ensuring that
communities know that they can come to us. I would
say that certainly in my own work and in the team's
work in communities we have anecdotally heard of
increased fears and concerns that have led to us
taking a closer eye on-on making sure we're working
with agencies including NYPD to see if there are
dramatic shifts that we need to be responsive and we
will continue to commit to doing that work.

25

2 CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you and it 3 would be great to continue to monitor that as we bring this conversation forward and continue to build 4 5 for the reform that we need and immigration system, 6 and the eventual abolishing of ICE. Thank you so 7 much, Commissioner, and I hope your team can stay. We have a special quest and the technical pieces are-8 are-are going to come, and they'll let me know when 9 they're ready. But we've invited academics to talk 10 us about what they think, and the research that 11 12 they're seeing on the ground, that's not just agency 13 related information about stats on the ground with 14 NYPD or contracts, but really an academic view about 15 the impact of ICE to inform us as the Council as we 16 think about this because this is an emotional thing for so many of us, but the facts are important as we 17 18 try to understand that impact that an agency that we're calling out right now has in our neighborhood. 19 20 And as we get him on the line, I want to read the Make the Road member who we're going to call by the 21 2.2 name of Sandy and read her testimony, and she's give 23 us permission and consent to share her story. My name is Sandy and I am a Make the Road member whose 24

life drastically changed when my partner Gus was

2	detained by ICE agents one April morning. On April
3	10th at around 5:40 a.m. Gus was on his way out when
4	agents appeared in unmarked cars and detained him.
5	The agents were-wore ski masks and did not identify
6	themselves as ICE, but rather as police. I received
7	a call from the police via my husband's cell phone
8	telling me to come downstairs and collect my
9	husband's belongings, and when I arrived downstairs,
10	I witnessed my husband's arrest and was horrified at
11	what was happening, and as I had our two daughters-
12	daughters soundly asleep upstairs, Gus was detained,
13	and I did not hear from him until 11:00 a.m. when I
14	was told he would be transferred to New Mexico. My
15	story is reflective of the many issues with the rogue
16	enforcement agencies such as ICE, families like mine
17	continued to be terrorized and harassed by agencies
18	who use excessive force, fear tactics and continue to
19	kidnap individuals without giving their families
20	knowledge of their whereabouts. Make the Road New
21	York has worked with me to amplify my story and to
22	reunite me with my partner. Not every family gets
23	this kind of support, and I hope my story can
24	highlight some of the horrors that community members
25	continue to endure at the hands of ICE. And so, we

2.2

2 have invited Professor Wong from California. Do we 3 have you online, Professor Wong?

PROFESSOR WONG: Yes, I'm here.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you. Can you introduce yourself, you and your work and then deliver to us your—your testimony. We'll have—we have members of the City Council here that may want to ask you questions as well. Thank you so much for joining us today.

PROFESSOR WONG: Thanks for having me.

Thank you, Chair Menchaca and other members of the

Committee on Immigration for the opportunity to speak
at this important hearing today. I'm an Associate

Professor of Political Science at UC San Diego where
I specialize in the study of immigration politics and
policy. I have conducted several research projects

over the past couple of years that I think might be
informative for the discussion today. So, last year
I conducted a nationwide analysis of the relationship
between time and policies that limit local law
enforcement entanglement with federal immigration
enforcement efforts. I don't like the dataset from
ICE, which was obtained from Freedom of Information
Act request. So these data showed that the crime

2 rates were statistically significant and they lower (sic) in counties that ICE itself flagged as saying 3 4 no to a detainer request or notification request to 5 comparable counties that cooperated with ICE. other words, crime was lower in sanctuary localities 6 7 compared to comparable non-sanctuary localities. More recently, I've conducted a series of several 8 experiments with undocumented immigrants in San Diego 9 County to better understand how interior immigration 10 enforcement affects the behaviors and attitudes of 11 12 undocumented immigrants. This is the largest survey project of undocumented immigrants that I'm aware of 13 that uses the gold standard of probability based 14 15 sampling. So here are some of the results. When 16 individuals are randomly assigned to a scenario where 17 local law enforcement is working together with ICE, 18 they are 60.8% less likely to report crimes that they witnessed to the police. They are 42.9% less likely 19 20 to report crimes that they are victims or to the police. They are 69.9% less likely to use public 21 2.2 services, for example, go to City Hall that requires 23 them to give them their personal contact information. They're 63.9% less likely to do business. For 24 25 example, open a bank account or get a loan that

2 requires them to give their personal contact information. 68.3% less likely to participate in 3 public events where police may be present, 42.9% of 4 those with children are less likely to place their 5 children in an after school or day care program, and 6 7 52.1% are less likely to look for a new job. because respondents are randomly assigned to 8 scenarios where local law enforcement is working 9 together with ICE and is not working together with 10 ICE these effects can be considered the causal 11 12 effects of local cooperation with ICE. Moreover, the data further showed that one of the main mechanisms 13 that explains the chilling effects of interior 14 15 immigration enforcement has decreased trust in public 16 institutions. So in another survey experiment 17 similarly randomly assigning individual respondents 18 to a scenario where local law enforcement is working together with ICE we see that 26.6% of undocumented 19 20 immigrants are less likely to trust a great deal or a lot, and that local law enforcement will keep them 2.1 2.2 and their families safe. 22.9% are less likely to 23 trust that local law enforcement will keep their community safe. 25.4% are less likely to trust that 24 local law enforcement will protect the rights of all 25

2.2

people including undocumented immigrants equally.

28.3% are less likely to trust that local law enforcement will protect the confidentiality of witnesses to crime even if they're undocumented, and 24.6% are less likely to trust that local law enforcement will protected undocumented immigrants from abuse or discrimination. So this research adds to a growing body of evidence that makes clear that interior immigration enforcement has wide ranging implications that not only affect undocumented immigrants but in many cases also the citizen children. So, I'll pause here and I thank you for

your time, and look forward to your questions.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you,

Professor Wong from your—for your review in this

study and I just want to clarify or just to confirm

the-the folks that you surveyed are—are undocumented

members of communities across the country. Was there

a specific kind of urban versus suburban kind of

capture of—of information? Tell us a little bit

about—about the—like who—who—who are these

undocumented members of the survey?

PROFESSOR WONG: Yeah, thank you for that question. So, as we know, there is no phone book of

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

undocumented immigrants, which makes traditional surveying of undocumented immigrants very difficult to do, but what I've been able to do is partner with the Mexican Consulate in San Diego to create what we call a sample from-so in other words a list of phone numbers from which to randomly sample from. So the individual respondents that I am assigned to in the survey are respondents that we were able to speak to from this list given to like the viable Mexican Consulate in San Diego. So, the first analysis that I referred to is a nationwide study of the relationship between fine (sic) and sanctuary localities, but the additional studies regarding individual level behavior regards individuals as a trust. Those results are among the work down here in San Diego, and to my knowledge there is no similar study to compare it to, and this type of work hasn't been done on this scale before.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: We're having the discussion today about abolishing ICE as-as an agency and I think that there's—there's some concern that was, you know, presented today from some of the members of the Council and really kind of pointing to this relationship between—between the mission of ICE

2.2

as an enforcement agency who's, you know, removing criminals, and fighting crime, and your statistics really kind of give us a different—a different perspective about how to understand crime in neighborhoods where immigrants live. Can you tell us a little bit about—about how—how in—in kind of an over—overview of immigrants who are reporting crime, immigrants who are connecting to public services where in—in—in counties that are not cooperating with ICE how—how public—public safety is defined in your study?

PROFESSOR WONG: Yes, to walk through the—the data. So, one of the questions that researchers have been asking for several years now is whether or not policies that limit local cooperation with federal immigration law enforcement officials help or harm various public safety metrics like crime rates, and so the first study that I referenced is analyzing ICE's own data in showing that crime is lower in sanctuary counties. Now, the finding that crime is lower is not an explanation. So, we now need to essentially ask ourselves why is crime lower in these jurisdictions and this is where the individual level data come in because for almost a

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

decade now we've been hearing from law enforcement executives like the International Association of Chiefs of Police. That in order for them to do the work of community policing and to keep their community safe, they need the trust and the cooperation of immigrant communities, and to the extent that local law enforcement is working together with ICE, that erodes the trust, and so what we see from my data at the individuals level is that when we give these scenarios where local law enforcement is working together with ICE or is not working with ICE, we actually find data to support what law enforcement executives have been saying that when there's entanglement with federal immigration enforcement, there is less trust. So, that's what we see in terms of 26.6% less trusting that local law enforcement will keep their-them and their families safe, for example, and that 25.4% are less trusting that local law enforcement will protect the rights of undocumented immigrants. Now that decreased trust then parlays into the overall more dramatic finding that 60.8% would be less likely to report crimes they witnessed to police and 42.9% even would be less likely to report crimes that they were victims of-

victims of to the police. And so, the way that the-
the survey responses are set up, we can also say that
the inverse is true. So, right now I've been saying
what happens in this scenario when local law
enforcement is working together with ICE, but we
randomly assign individuals to that second scenario
where local law enforcement is not working together
with ICE, and so we can say with confidence that not
only is—is there evidence to support the chilling
effects that interior immigration enforcement has a
wide range of behaviors, day-to-day behaviors of
undocumented immigrants. We can also say that the
absence of that cooperation with ICE increases
people's willingness to report crimes and work with
the police increase the likelihood of doing business,
again opening a bank account or getting a loan even
if it requires them to disclose their personal
contact information, more likely to participate in
public events where police may be present, and more
trusting that law enforcement will keep them and
their communities safe and protect their rights.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you for that. I think—I think so much of—of how we started the hearing really talked—talked about our

experiences at the district office level in our
Council—in our Council offices in our districts, and
how some of that fear comes in stories from people
who are experiencing this, and already at that point
if they're in our community district offices, they
have surpassed that burden of fear, and we are in a
city, as the Commissioner just mentioned before you
got on, the City of New York is incredibly committed
to-to making that gesture, codifying that into law,
and then recommitting in letters and memos internally
so that the Police Department and the officers
themselves know that the Commissioner at the highest
level is maintaining that non-cooperation with ICE,
and federal enforcement. How—how do you see that in
your study defined as non-cooperation? Is it—it is
all laws or is it really gestures that—that—that show
community members that their—that their local
municipality is not cooperating? How do you measure
that? Is itit is all laws? Can it be other things
like just rhetoric and speeches? What's-what's-
what's the definition of non-cooperation?
PROFESSOR WONG: Yeah, that's a great

question. So, when we think about writing survey

questioning, we try to avoid technical language to

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

the extent possible. So, in the survey experiments that I just described, this is broadly a scenario where local law enforcement is working together with ICE versus where local law enforcement is not working together with ICE. Now, the generality there is-isis purposeful for the, um, for the objectives of the research. Now, we know that not working together with ICE versus working together with ICE the devil is in the details. So, the data don't speak specifically to what specific policies should be enacted in order to sort of increase trust or increase civic participation. But, what I will say is that when it comes to the city of New York making explicit gestures to undocumented immigrants in the city, we know from these data that 70% so that's 59.9% are less likely to engage public institutions, for example City Hall if they are required to give their personal contact information in that scenario where local law enforcement is working together with ICE. Now, anything that the city of New York does again and, you know, specifically a matter of policy, is going to speak to this finding in particular because what this means is that the city is going to be communicating to undocumented immigrants that yes

they can come to the city that they can trust the
city's institutions to get information or help if
they need it. And whether it's a 70% effect or-or-or
what the true effect is, I can't speak to, but the
general scenario of local law enforcement working
together with ICE versus not working together with
ICE even in that general scenario we're getting these
significantly large treatment effects, and so if you
sort of think about what undocumented immigrants are-
are worried about in particular, which is, you know,
for example being apprehended at a courtroom, or
filling out a public form and having that sent to ICE
leading to a-an enforcement action. Then those types
of things are going to be what comprises this for
example 70% effect in terms of the use of public
services. So, even though I can't say specifically
what policies lead to these effects, we know that
anything that distances the city of New York from the
veneer of working together with ICE is going to drive
some of these results.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you,

Professor Wong, and—and I think, you know, moving

away from the questions about the data, we're open to

hearing anything you'd like to say about envisioning

2

3

4

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

2.1

2.2

23

24

25

this humane immigration enforcement agency as someone who studies the relationship between NYPD or of local police force and ICE and how this kind of fits into the larger conversation about abolishing ICE. I don't know in your capacity you want to comment on that, but I wanted to give you the opportunity to do that if you would like to.

PROFESSOR WONG: Yeah, I-and-and maybe this territory has already been tread that we're hearing something about. I think in the ongoing research that I'm doing with undocumented immigrants, it's clear that undocumented immigrants who want safe communities safe communities, they want to engage-be engaged in their communities and with their neighbors and with the public institutions that surround them. There aren't undocumented immigrants that we've come across in our-our-our surveys that say yes we want for example murderers to live in our communities. And so, what—what that speaks to me is one part of the debate that seems to be missing, which is if there are immigration enforcement efforts that, for example, are focusing on—and the catch phrase back during the Obama years was felons not families, then ICE would actually end law enforcement efforts more

2

3

4

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

generally targeted at for example those felons not families, but actually receive more support from undocumented communities than-than-than not. And so when we think about re-envisioning from Abolish ICE or sort of, you know, re-imagining what immigration enforcement looks like in the United States, it's not an either/or in terms of getting cooperation among undocumented communities. It's finding the right balance where hard working undocumented immigrants without criminal records can live their lives while not sort of being in fear that living their lives would lead to detention and deportation. scenarios if we have smart immigration enforcement, that is able to distinguish between individuals with no criminal records who are just going about their lives, versus others, then I think we would actually get more cooperation and participation among undocumented communities themselves for the simple reason that nobody wants their families to grow up in communities that are not safe, and undocumented immigrants have a role in keeping our communities safe, but they can't fulfill that role or fully realize that role if in doing so, that risks their ability to live in the country. So, smart

2.2

2	enforcemen	nt is	not	an	eit	ther/or	when	it	comes	to
3	enlisting	the	suppo	ort	of	undocui	mented	d co	ommunit	ties

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you,

Professor Wong for joining us from California in San

Diego. I—I don't know what the weather is out there,

but it's—it's a scorcher here, and thank you so much

for bringing so much—so much not only data but the

kind of academic—the kind of academic responsibility

and duty in this conversation to share with us here

at this institution, the largest Council in the

country, the first of its kind hearing that will

hopefully have ripples across the country. Thank you

so much for the work that you do, and for the

research that you are connected to. We're looking

forward to working with you on—on this—on this

question and other questions on immigration in the

future.

PROFESSOR WONG: Thank you all for your leadership and the weather is always great in San Diego, is what I can say to you. (sic)

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: I love San Diego,
California. Thank you.

PROFESSOR WONG: Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you so much.

2.2

2 PROFESSOR WONG: My pleasure. Thank you. 3 Bye.

transitioning to our next panel and we have Lindsay

Nash from the Immigration Justice Clinic who will

join us over here, please. [pause] And then as you

get settled down, settled in, I should say, we have

five, four other and final panel: Jake, Rob, Khalil

and Fabiola, and you're all still here, right? Okay,

most of you I think are still here. Great. Thank

you so much, and you'll be in the next panel, and

next and final panel and you do—if I didn't not call

your name, and want to testify, please get a witness

slip so we can get you onto the next panel as well.

Please. Thank you. Make sure that the red button—

the light is red.

majority of people in America today, I think the concept of the immigration enforcement system seems synonymous with ICE, and with ICE's really brutal tactics, but this hasn't—this doesn't have to be what our immigration system looks like. For a lot of our history, in fact, it wasn't. These tactics and the sort of—the mechanisms that it uses to arrest people

2 in our communities are relatively recent phenomenon. So, ICE is born out of a wave-a wave of national 3 4 security, hysteria, fear, and really a lot of xenophobia at the time, but before that, the 5 6 immigration system was set up a little bit 7 differently. It wasn't always perfect. It wasn't always humane, but it did have some different goals 8 Immigrant services like naturalization 9 and values. 10 and humanitarian programs were housed in the same agency subcomponent of enforcement, and so this meant 11 12 that the agency self-identified as having a number of different missions, many of which related to actually 13 14 serving immigrant communities. This changed in the 15 wake of 9/11 when a fear of terrorism began to really 16 grip our country in a new way, and so border security 17 and immigration became increasingly-became 18 increasingly associated with national security, and these concerns led to the creation of ICE in 2003. 19 20 So, in creating ICE, Congress isolated the harshest functions in our immigration system, that is 21 2.2 apprehension, enforcement, detention, and 23 deportation, and allowed that agenda to define ICE as 24 a whole. ICE has since grown into a massive police force with its sister ENSCBP. It's the larges police 25

force in the nation, and over the past decade in
particular ICE has expanded its reach by inserting
itself into state and local systems using state and
local resources to try to enforce within communities.
Where our communities have resisted, ICE has hit back
ripping immigrant families out of their homes in home
raids, staking them out at courthouses and ambushing
them at interviews. To put it succinctly, the
experiment that ICE was has failed. We have an
agency that's purely focused on enforcement with far
too much money and far too much power, and far too
little oversight, and for our communities the result
really has been disastrous. So, we need to return to
an immigration system that uses mission holistically
when, one that sees protection of asylum seekers and
the inclusion of immigrants as part of its role.
Only once that you have an agency that recognizes the
importance of those things and our humanitarian
obligations on a global scale can we start to think
about what fair and just enforcement might look like.
So, given that history and where we are now, I really
applaud the City Council for moving forward to think
about what a humane immigration system might look
lika

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you, and of the-one of the things that you kind of-you kind of present here in a kind of historical understanding about the holistic approach to an agency that is not siloed into enforcement only and, therefore, you trained to do enforcement without the other components of immigration like the benefits is that you lose that. So, just tell us a little bit more about it because part of this hearing is to kind of take all the data including the fears, and I think some, even some members are-are kind of connecting to the sense of fear that—that—that if we don't have a mechanism that's going to take care of the bad guys that what—what is—what is that? What—why is that helpful? How is that helpful, and when we-when we can-all we have to do is kind of go back to a time when-when I think you were referring to INS.

> LINDSAY NASH: Uh-hm.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: The same people kind of did everything, and so tell us a little bit about any data that you might be pointing to that kind of shows how enforcement in that time looked as opposed now as this experiment that we're called

failed, continues 25

LINDSAY NASH: Well, I think one of the
things we can say is that we're seeing, you know,
that some people are concerned about the need to be
able to continue to have enforcement against people
who they think maybe should be deported, but I think
part of the problem with that is right now we're
deporting many, many people who don't even fit within
that description, within what I think those people
would consider to be bad guys or the people who
should be deported, and I-so I think one way in
which or one check against that in the past was
different types of prosecutorial discretion that the
agency had for example that it used to not deport the
kind of people with-that I think even people who
think there should be enforcement would want to
deport. There was-that's not to say that there wasn't
enforcement done, but there was an actual in many
instances so that they could actually look at—at a
person's history or what a person was contributing
and make different enforcement decisions. Right now
it's a much harder line bridged approach, and dos the
kind of enforcement that we're seeing doesn't
necessarily align with the concerns of people who

2.2

2 think what we really need is to be able to deport
3 certain categories of people.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: And without ICE,

do you believe that there would be enforcement? I

mean literally tomorrow if ICE just kind of

disappeared as a city agency, would the system itself

as a federal kind of public safety system, maybe it's

Homeland Security. If that doesn't change would be

able to kind of address those—those kind of—the need

for criminal enforcement already, or the criminal

enforcement that is in need?

LINDSAY NASH: I mean I think—I do think that there would be a way to do criminal enforcement. I mean ICE—ICE does a large amount of civil enforcement, and so, I think criminal enforcement would still be able to be done by the agencies that do that through the criminal enforcement systems through criminal courts. I mean we have them set up to function and to sort of decide if somebody has committed a crime, and to deal with an appropriate punishment, and increasingly we've tied immigration consequences to criminal convictions, and so the criminal—the immigration consequences impose an

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

additional penalty. But that's not what's necessary

for the criminal justice system to function.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Got it and—and maybe the last—the last question here is—is really connecting the concept of enforcement and understanding that more in a world where we have no more ICE that it-we-we can't have fuller-the fuller question includes the-the immigration system reform that we've been ask for, for a long time and, and access some pathways for citizenship for productive members of our community that-that could be afforded benefits that are no longer benefits because of the lack of reform that we can't just done in Congress. And so, maybe just one--maybe ask you to kind of make that connection if that-if there is one between the enforcement and then the general immigration system itself offering benefits and pathways to citizenship and benefits in general.

LINDSAY NASH: Yeah, I mean I think what we've seen over the years time and again is where the agency does something that offers benefits in some way. One of the tradeoffs is to ramp up enforcement against certain categories of people. You saw that even under Obama, and so while, you know, there is a

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

ratcheting effect where if they just keep increasing the enforcement and increasing benefits a little bit and taking them away, what's going to happen is that the enforcement is just going to go up and up and up, but I think that politically, there probably does have to be some give with respect to enforcement if you want to move forward with immigration reform that benefits communities. But I think something that's really key there then is to have the affected communities be involved in figuring out what-what that deal would look like, and what tradeoffs and enforcement would be acceptable to them in order to get the benefits and I think that there's a lot of different views within communities about whetherwhether we should agree to increase the enforcement in order to get benefits.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Well, if there's any more data or thinking Cardozo Law or anywhere else that you think might be helpful for us. We're going to be—we're—we're going to keep this open in discussion as we—as we analyze data and information, ideas or reform—reform for the immigration system as we think about abolishing ICE on the enforcement side, but thank you so much for being here today.

2.2

2 LINDSAY NASH: Thank you. Thank you for 3 thinking this through.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you. We're going to call our final panel: Fabiola Mendetta (sp?) You can come to the—to the deas, and then Khalil Cumberbatch please from the Fortune Society, Rob Solano if you're in the room, from Churches United for Fair Housing, Jay Rouse as well. Is there anybody else that I haven't called that wants to testify today? Okay. Thank you. [pause] And if you can please.

FABIOLA MANDETTA: Good afternoon to everyone. I just want to thank you for letting me speak today. I'm here today because I'm an immigrant myself. I came to this country 17 years ago and my hometown unfortunately when you're a woman, and when you try to claim your right to speak, and especially when you come from an indigenous mother, it's very difficult especially when you—they know that you're very smart, and you want to spread the word that every woman rights the government come after you. So, I came to the States when I was 17 years old. What I want to say today is abolish ICE for us is very important because we'll see this within the

4

2 community. I don't know if you remember earlier this year and to be exactly, April 11th, there was a huge 3 riot. I received a phone call from one of the members in the community, and her wife was-I want to-5 I want to say one of the oldest words, the words what 6 7 she's saying. I was sleeping and wake up-and wake up because someone is banging on the door very hard. 8 So, I went to my parents' bedroom to tell them. My 9 dad opened the front door a little bit, and they say 10 that they were looking for a woman and showed us a 11 12 picture. It was of that woman, it was of my mother. The terrorists (sic) arrive at the family's apartment 13 in Bushwick at 6:40 a.m. while everyone was still 14 15 sleeping. They first say they were police. Then they 16 say they were detectives. Once they were inside, they say that they were ICE, and they were looking 17 for my mom. What I seen what happened on April 11th, 18 I cry every single day. I suffer from panic attacks. 19 20 My mom is out of detention now, but she's in high risk. I'm-I'm thinking if any-any come, does she to 21 2.2 the Police Department, something happen to us. 23 will call ICE on her. I'm afraid that she's going to go to one of the appointments and they are going to 24 tell her that she has to go back home. It's just one 25

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

of them in the community, but there is many, many more. We also have another—another woman. Her name is Elvia. She have two kids, and the kids help with the house. Their father have been trapped by the ICE. It was the same day at the same time on April 11 at 6:40 a.m. ICE is-when our community heard the word ICE, they're very panicky. They've been traumatized, and it's also been blocking the—the friendship that we try to have with the Police Department with NYPD, and I'm sure a lot of-a lot of you know about the little girl that was killed in Bushwick on June $24^{\rm th}$ an the mom was intimidated by one of the police officers. So, today, I'm here to tell their stories, but like I said, it's only a few of them, but it's many more in the community, in our broken community and there are moms, the women the indigenous women, too, and thank you for letting me-letting me be here today.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you for your testimony, for your own story, and the stories that you brought here today. Every story deserves to be lifted up, and be heard, and that's what affords us that opportunity in this space to have your time and moment to talk to us. As the policy makers of the

2 city, we not only make laws, we adopt the budget to

3 support the needs of our community, and every New

4 Yorker's need needs to be heard and understood, and

5 we have a duty to respond. So thank you so much for

6 being here today.

1

7

8

9

FABIOLA MANDETTA: Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Khalil.

KHALIL CUMBERBATCH: [off mic] Thank you.

10 Test, test. (on mic) Thank you, Chair and committee

11 members for having this hearing and this testimony

12 and taking this position on an issue that ravishing

13 | our communities. As mentioned, my name is Khalil

14 | Cumberbatch. I am the Associate Vice President of

15 Policy at a re-entry organization here in New York

16 | City called the Fortune Society. I did have a formal

17 | written testimony to read today, but after sitting in

18 | the audience for quite some time I felt compelled to

19 just really tell my story. I have a very unique and-

20 story to tell about my experience in terms of

21 | immigration detention, in terms of ICE and the

22 | outcomes of my story are very exceptional I must

23 | admit, but that's not because I myself am somehow

24 \parallel exceptional. I am quite honestly the product of many

25 exceptional opportunities. So, I am formerly

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

incarcerated. I severed 6-1/2 years in the New York State Prison System for a robbery in the first degree, which is considered to be a violent felony offense, and I say that not to in any way gloat about the fact that I once held a gun to someone and took their property. I share that because there has been conversation today about people who have been convicted of violent offenses, and it has been hinted that somehow those people are not worthy in some respects of opportunities, and I have to say that I wholeheartedly disagree. I wouldn't be sitting here if it literally wasn't for the fact that people continuously looked over the fact that I myself was once convicted of a violent felony offense and extended opportunities to me. After leaving prison in February-on February 26 of 2010, I began my reentry pretty much as most people would when they leave prison with the goal of (1) not going back, and (2) contributing to society in a way that was positive. I did that for four years. I worked almost from the time I left prison in the field of social services working with people who were HIV and AIDS positive, and then helping people get enrolled into college who were formerly incarcerated.

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

successfully completed parole, and was raising a family, was contributing to society in ways that I had only dreamed of when sitting in a maximum security prison. On May 8, 2014 when I was one week away from completing a masters degree, Immigration Customs Enforcement came to my home to arrest and detain me. They came very much as my colleague here mentioned before me under different-they came with the intention of misleading me. They rang the doorbell at 7:00 in the morning while I was getting my daughters ready for school. My wife and I were getting ready for our day. They, too, told me that they were looking for someone else. They, too, told me that they were New York City Police detectives, and for someone who has had involvement in the Criminal Justice system, police standing at your door is not a welcoming sight at 7:00 in the morning, and so you comply. I let them into our home, and it was in our living room that they told my wife and I real reason that they were there, who they really were, and they continued to put me in handcuffs in front of my children, in front of my wife, in front of my neighbors and brought ne outside, and put me in one of four unmarked vehicles, and whisked me away to 26

2

3

4

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

Federal Plaza where by the end of the day I was in a holding cell in Kearny (sic), New Jersey, and ended up being in immigration detention for 5-1/2 months with sole purpose of deporting me back to my birth country of Guyana. It was only through a huge advocacy effort on my behalf that I was able to win my release from-from immigration detention based almost exclusively on all of the things that I had been able to do over the last four years including being one week away from completing a master's degree. I say that because (1) my story is not of someone who is undocumented. I think that we have had a larger conversation about undocumented communities and the vulnerabilities that they face, and we need to have those conversations, but ICE is also impacting folks who are here documented, and people who have been convicted of violent felony offenses. But undocumented or not, the fact that someone has been exposed to the Criminal Justice System while they may have once been deemed a criminal, doesn't mean that a person have-has to remain a criminal. I myself had made flawed decisions in the past that has caused harm to people, and I have taken many steps to try to right

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

those wrongs, but again, I would not be sitting here had it not been for continued access to exceptional opportunities. So I sit here today really sharing my story to (1) humanize the issue that we're talking about, the impact that ICE has on communities both documented and not. How ICE can mislead you to believe that they are an entity that is really protecting the streets of-of major metropolitan cities, but the really is that they're not. They're causing trauma, they're causing harm, trauma and harm that unfortunately will more than likely be generational, and one way to potentially address that is to address the many wrongs that ICE is inflicting on many communities, but particularly communities of color, and unfortunately in communities that are undocumented. So, thank you for this opportunity and I will submit my formal written testimony before I leave, but really felt compelled to change course because I do want to humanize the issue for us today by putting a face to what it is that we're really talking about. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you for your-for your testimony, your story, your courage, your undying continued sense of public service as

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

well. I know your work, and you continue—continue to
do so much more to help your fellow New Yorker and
beyond. So, thank you for that, and we look forward

5 to working with you in the future.

JAY CROSS: Thank you, Chair Menchaca, and the other members of the committee for inviting me to speak today. My name is Jay Cross. practicing immigration attorney working primarily in the areas of deportation offense, family based immigration and humanitarian relief. In my personal capacity I've also been involved in immigration related policy development and legislative advocacy on the Hill in both my day-to-day professional life and personal advocacy efforts. I've had the opportunity to bear witness to the practices and policies of the United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement, and consequently have come to the unavoidable, unmistakable conclusion: ICE is broken as a federal agency, as a law enforcement body, as tangible real world standard bearer for American immigration law and policy, ICE has proven to be supremely and likely irreparably flawed. Since the new Administration took over slightly more than a year a half ago, ICE has repeatedly and increasingly

2 given into its worst impulses and unapologetically shoved aside the better angels of bureaucratic 3 4 prudence and good sense. In doing so, it has left a dark indelible mark on the immigrant communities within which it operates in a country claiming to 6 7 protect. At present, ICE is the tip of the spear of the Trump Administration's growing war on non-8 citizens, documented and undocumented alike. 9 sound enforcement priorities implemented under 10 President Obama were senselessly scraps within weeks 11 12 of inauguration day, and were replaced-replaced with 13 priorities so broad and open-ended that they 14 encompass every undocumented individual in the United 15 States. ICE agents now storm into schools, 16 hospitals, courts and houses of worship-houses of 17 worship in search of any and all non-citizens with 18 possible and prospective problems with their legal The agency also serves as a willing vehicle 19 20 for the President's racist and xenophobic flights of fancy, carrying out elaborate enforcement operations 21 2.2 in our-in our own back yard to the beat of Trump's 23 fear mongering and MS13 drum, and detaining teenagers and your children on dubious gang affiliation charges 24 because they made the mistake of wearing the wrong 25

2 hat or the wrong pair of sneakers in a Facebook This callousness is also trends of ICE's 3 4 legal arm, which contains the cadre of agency 5 attorneys who represent the federal government during rule proceedings. Once the more civilized and level 6 headed side of the ICE coin the agency's trial attorneys have now been charged with pursuing nearly 8 all removal cases to completion, and opposing 9 virtually all effort by respondents in Immigration 10 Court or their attorneys for continues, temporary 11 12 closure of a case of similar requests that were previously considered and often grant to that issue. 13 14 There used to be some understanding about non-15 non-citizens in Immigration Court who were eligible 16 for relief, and understanding to some degree between Counsel and the trial attorneys that it didn't make 17 18 sense or it wasn't really in furtherance of that person's rights to pursue removal fast and to the end 19 20 when they're eligible for relief that they are in the process of pursuing. That's no longer the case. 21 2.2 Now, trial attorneys fight tooth and nail to try and 23 get a removal order as soon as possible regardless of whether the person in proceedings has a pending 24 25 application for a special immigrant juvenile status

2 or for U Visa, which is a visa for victims of criminal activity who have worked with law 3 enforcement investigation or prosecution of a crime. 4 Regardless of those things, they're still pursuing 5 and those evidence relief they are pursuing removal 6 7 to all ends. In my practice as an immigration attorney, these are all developments I have witnessed 8 over the last year and a half, both surprised 9 detentions at these interviews to unreasonable and 10 trends (sic) against Immigration Court to address a 11 12 pushback at deportation reporting appointments. 13 fish rots from the head: the President, the Secretary of Homeland Security, the Director of ICE, but the 14 15 sickness extends throughout all parts of the agency. 16 Just this week one of my colleagues was threatened with involuntary removal from the Enforcement Removal 17 18 Operations Office by and ICE officer because they claimed she was impeding the lawful detention of a-19 20 our client because she was merely asking why it was happening. Another incidence happened relatively 21 2.2 recently. Another colleagues was fighting fairly-23 fairly vociferously against or arguing against our client's detention at another reporting appointment 24 to which the officer who was detaining our client 25

2 replaced dismissively: It's a new Administration. Get used to it, and so as the calls for abolishing 3 4 ICE began to move to the fore in recent months, I began to ask myself how I felt about this immigration 5 6 cause. While reform and oversight by Congress or the Executive branch might have been sufficient remedies 7 in times past, we do not now-now live in such mundane 8 times. Faced with this futility, there's only one 9 rational alternative: Abolishing ICE or more 10 specifically, to see replacement—the Republicans 11 12 repeal and replace. It is now hard to deny that we 13 have reached the point of no return for this agency. 14 From a toxic agency culture, which one veteran ICE 15 agent told a New Yorker amounts to, "Contempt that 16 I've never seen so rampant towards the aliens" to use 17 of the agency's bully pulpit to intentionally lie to 18 public to the visas previously outlined. The conduct and candor of ICE very much seems to be baked into 19 20 the fabric of the 15-year-old agency. This support for abolishing ICE is animated by both policy 21 2.2 concerns and communal values. So, too, are local 23 measures seeking the limitation or prescription of 24 municipal cooperation of the agency motivated by these same forces. When ICE officers are invading 25

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

sensitive locations that are-throughout our city, holding non-citizens and citizens alike, injecting a visceral fear into the community with their haphazard undue enforcement efforts, it is reasonable to expect local elected officials to stand up for their constituents, their neighbors, their friends. an act of both political responsibility and personal courage to stand up for one's fellow New Yorkers in such a manner, and impose a cost in response to damaging agency behavior. This is thus the-this is thus the path forward for us. As thus, we now believe that it—to have "An honest discussion about whether ICE can be effectively reformed or if it must abolished and replaced by an agency that can carry out its mission in a more effective and humane way." Based on my professional experiences as an immigration attorney and the documented actions of the agency over the last year and a half, I find myself unavoidably supporting the latter. Last year, then ICE Acting Director Thomas Holman told Congress that undocumented immigrants "should be uncomfortable looking over their shoulders." More than a year later, I sincerely hope that ICE's leadership is uncomfortable looking-uncomfortably looking over its

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

own shoulder as political accountability is on the horizon and moving ever closer.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Thank you for that testimony and your personal work that you do every day to defend our-our immigrant brothers and sisters, and it makes me think about just asking all of you-a lot of what we did today was-was kind of think about this question in terms of and-and different perspectives from academics to the city agencies to all of you on the ground that have your personal stories and your personal work that you do every day to defend and really call out for a better system, a humane and just system. And I think as New Yorkers do you believe that the city of New York is-is-is messaging, is demonstrating its commitment to a sanctuary city that the data shows when there is limited or no cooperation with ICE is a better place for public safety. Do you as New Yorkers feel like this is a better place for public safety that you can engage in, in your communities, and as New Yorkers I'd liked your perspective on—on that. How are we doing? [laughter]-

JAY CROSS: Yes.

2 CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: --in the city of

3 New York?

1

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

I think that there are communities that feel safe based on— well, let me ask this question: When do you feel is the most safe in this city? I mean most people don't feel safe in Penn Station—

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: Uh-hm.

KHALIL CUMBERBATCH: --when you see heavy militarized gear-firearms, fully loaded automatic weapons, military personnel, and not to say that we don't have history in this city understanding why that is undoubtedly necessary, but it does not evoke the feeling of safety. Quite literally, when I'm in Penn Station, I want to get out as quickly as possible. Most people feel the safest when they're in a park or when they see children playing or when they hear music that they like. Most people do not feel safe with understanding that even if you go to court to respond to a summons or if you go to court to make a complaint that you could potentially be snatched. No one-I don't think people would feel safe if they are dropping their children off to school. One of the most important moments for a

2.2

parent-child relationship that they feel safe because they know that ICE could potentially snatch them from there. I think New York City is doing the best that it can in terms of trying to message to people that the city is taking steps to protect them, but the reality is that ICE is operating in a way that is unaccountable from federal—from—from any federal oversight and, therefore, they're—that translates to people as terrorism in many respects. I think that there are people in communities that are leaving their homes everyday with contingency plans in case one of them don't come home. That in and of itself is enough to speak to how some communities feel as it relates to immigration customs enforcement.

right, that I can—when basically ICE, have been my own experience. I lived in Connecticut for kind of a while, and I've lived with a person who was abusing me in very severe ways, and I was afraid to call the police on him. Just thinking in my head that they can put me into ICE's hands and then send me back home, which is not any safer, and I've seen in the community a lot of fear. Usually it's men that they—they've been—get apprehended by ICE, but lately it's

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

just anyone: mothers of a family, fathers, and like
he said, we don't feel safe in a lot of ways.

JAY CROSS: I would just want to add I think focusing our messaging as we do I think is important, as you, I think in this context, one thing we really want to keep in mind is when we think about ICE's function and we think about HSI and we think about enforcement, the way we try and justify their actions is by talking about alleged criminality. of the Councilmen earlier talked about the good things ICE does, and its removal numbers in Fiscal Year 2017 of criminals. I haven't looked at those. I don't have those numbers off hand but I've looked at this as generally, and the thing is your definition of criminal and my definition of criminal could be different, but it's a very big catchall, and that means that people who ICE allows as being part of the "criminal aliens" who we've removed, then we know it certainly did include people with very serious crimes, but it also included peopled with a 15-year-old DUI, and old possession charge, someone who pled guilty to disorderly conduct. Under law, they're considered criminal aliens. That doesn't mean they're dangerous to our community or they're a

2.1

2.2

threat to public safety. Usually, more often than not it's someone who made a mistake, and now is working is paying their taxes, is—is living their life like any other New Yorker, and so, and if they are lumped in as a criminal alien used to justify ICE's actions when that act of picking this person up and ripping out of the community where they're contributing is part of the problem, that they're discerning to actual threats to public safety, actual serious criminal risks or national security risks and people who, you know, their record doesn't actually reflect their current situation, and doesn't reflect their current participation in the community. Yeah.

CHAIRPERSON MENCHACA: I wan to thank
the—the panel, this panel and the members of the
committee who are here today, the members of the
press, really everyone that made this hearing
possible. What it did is what we do here in the City
Council is really be thoughtful and ensure that every
voice that wants to be heard is heard. So that we
can be most informed as we move forward in policy
recommendations both the ones that we can impact, and
the ones that we can't have the power to because
we're not the federal government here. But we still

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

have a voice and this is still our government, and the question before us came and I -- and I just can't say this enough through investigative reporting and through a constituent that sent us the link to this reporting about ICE and contracts with cities, and really prompted us to make a-a commitment to understand that that relationship is because any relationship with an agency that has caused so much terror in our hearts and our minds needs to be examined, and that's what we're doing here. We are examining it because at the end of the day one of the core concepts that came up from all sides of the discussion was this concept of public safety. How do we feel safe in our neighborhoods? But not just the feeling of safe as a-as a passive New Yorker walking through the streets, but as an active member of our society. Both being able to act upon a sense of wanting to help make the world safer and better for the world, but also for ourselves. If we are-if we are survivors or domestic violence, how do we initiate the possibility of a better life or we're sick and ill and need to go to the doctor and get healthcare or legal representation, and make our lives better because we have a benefit that is

2

3

4

5

6

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2.2

23

24

25

waiting for us that we had no idea was there. We are possibly citizens of this country, but for a lawyer not being present we wouldn't-we wouldn't even know that. Those are all the things that allow us to think abut what system, a humane system could allow us to have that in our lives as individuals and as a society. The history that we learned today about ICE being once a holistic-a holistic agency can help us define the future of that agency, which is now siloed, and forced—and forced to focus on enforcement. Not only that, but given permission from Sessions and others to think about enforcement andand places like schools and courts because it's easier to go get those people to go to places that justice is trying to happen, and now no longer feeling safe for people to go get justice there. we do know that crime goes down when we remove our cooperation as local municipalities. The data is there. We do know that people are more safe and feel good about interacting with the civic fabric of a municipal government. We see it in our neighborhoods. The data is there, but we still have to answer the questions that some of the fear that came out of this panel and-or I should say the

2 members of the this-of this-of this committee and this Council is still there. That all of a sudden if 3 we abolish ICE we're going to have chaos, and we have 4 5 to answer that question. We have to. 6 something that I think is important not just for the 7 sake of the conversation, but the sake of how we do our work here at the Council, democratic process, a 8 full understanding, a thoughtful response. And so, I 9 do believe, though, that the experiment has failed, 10 as was said earlier that it's time to abolish ICE. 11 12 That it's time to remove this agency and bring a more thoughtful and humane system forward that includes an 13 14 immigration reform system. Not just the enforcement 15 side but the benefit side for pathways for 16 citizenship because that's what we deserve as 17 Americans and future Americans and so, 1092 is the 18 opportunity for us to move forward and say no. Even though there are only two contracts here that are 19 less than \$200,000, that it's not about the money 20 that we're going to be losing and the revenue, we 21 2.2 cannot buy trust. Trust is born out of a few-a real 23 sense of cooperation. That we cannot put a price on, and that is what is at stake for the purpose of 24 safety, public safety in our neighborhoods and across 25

this country, and so I'm hoping that this hearing
continues and we're calling upon not just the state
here in this beautiful state of New York, but across
the country the municipalities and state legislative
bodies create immigration committees to have these
discussions with people, and allowing voices to come
out and stories to be told and fears to be out in the
open to be calmed, and to be educated so that we can
move together, and that's the power of what we do
here in the Council and what we did today. So, thank
you so much. For everybody's work on this. We're
going to want to invite you back for more
discussions. We have a busy next few months, and
hearings, but I hope this really moves forward in a-
in a productive, thoughtful way. Thank you so much
for your-for your time, and now we're going to
adjourn this hearing and have a vote next week. I
believe we'll set Wednesday the 12 th at 10:00 a.m.
and we'll be voting on this resolution, and any other
business before the Council in this Immigration
hearing-Committee. Thank you so much. [gavel]

${\tt C} \ {\tt E} \ {\tt R} \ {\tt T} \ {\tt I} \ {\tt F} \ {\tt I} \ {\tt C} \ {\tt A} \ {\tt T} \ {\tt E}$

World Wide Dictation certifies that the foregoing transcript is a true and accurate record of the proceedings. We further certify that there is no relation to any of the parties to this action by blood or marriage, and that there is interest in the outcome of this matter.



Date September 9, 2018