

CCR
3
meet
404

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
EASTERN REGION OFFICE

IMMIGRATION SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE VIRGINIA STATE

ADVISORY COMMITTEE BRIEFING

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14, 2007

The Subcommittee convened in the
Board Chambers of the James McCoart
Administration Building, One County Complex

Court, Woodbridge, Virginia, at 9:30 a.m.,
Linda Chavez, Committee Chairperson,
presiding.

PRESENT:

LINDA CHAVEZ, Chairperson, Virginia State
Advisory Committee

EDMUND D. COOKE, JR., Co-Chair, Immigration
Subcommittee

LLOYD R. COHEN, Member, Virginia State
Advisory Committee

TODD F. GAZIANO, Member, Virginia State
Advisory Committee

LOUISA C. GREVE, Member, Virginia State
Advisory Committee

RICHARD A. SAMP, Member, Virginia State
Advisory Committee

LACY B. WARD, JR., Member, Virginia State
Advisory Committee

CCR
3
Meet.
404

STAFF PRESENT:

IVY DAVIS
BARBARA DE LA VIEZ

FREDA GREENE

PANEL ONE:

JEFFREY S. PASSEL

MUZAFFAR CHISHTI

PANEL TWO:

JOHN T. STIRRUP
COREY A. STEWART
CRAIG S. GERHART

MICHAEL J. SCHWARTZ

CHARLIE T. DEANE

PANEL THREE:

ERIC BYLER

JEFF CARTER

MIKE HETHMON

LISA JOHNSON-FIRTH

DAN STEIN

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION:	8
PANEL ONE:	
JEFFREY S. PASSEL	11
MUZAFFAR CHISHTI	25
QUESTIONS BY THE SUBCOMMISSION	41
PANEL TWO:	
JOHN T. STIRRUP	65
COREY A. STEWART	72
CRAIG S. GERHART	78
MICHAEL J. SCHWARTZ	85
CHARLIE T. DEANE	91
QUESTIONS BY THE SUBCOMMISSION	102
PANEL THREE:	
ERIC BYLER	141
JEFF CARTER	147
LISA JOHNSON-FIRTH	154
DAN STEIN	162
MIKE HETHMON	169
QUESTIONS BY THE SUBCOMMISSION	176

1 P-R-O-C-E-E-D-I-N-G-S

2 (9:30 a.m.)

3 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: I'm going to
4 begin.

5 Those of you who drove in from any
6 distance know there was a lot of fog out there
7 this morning, and so the commute was a little
8 bit more difficult than we might have
9 anticipated.

10 First of all, I want to thank all
11 of you for being here and welcome to the
12 Virginia State Advisory Committee of the U.S.
13 Commission on Civil Rights. We are meeting
14 today for the first time. This is officially
15 the subcommittee on Immigration of the
16 Virginia State Advisory Committee.

17 My name is Linda Chavez and I am
18 Chairman of the Committee. And in a moment I
19 will introduce to you the other Members of the
20 Committee, but first I want to thank, first of
21 all, County Executive for Prince William
22 County, Greg Gerhart and his staff that have

1 been enormously helpful to us in setting up
2 these meetings and in providing the facilities
3 and working with us.

4 I also want to thank the Prince
5 William County Sheriff's Department for
6 providing their services as well. They were
7 very helpful to us and I want to thank them
8 for being here.

9 First of all, let me just say a
10 word about the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
11 for those of you who are not familiar with
12 this independent federal agency. It is not an
13 enforcement agency. It is an agency whose
14 purpose is to gather facts and to assess the
15 degree of civil rights enforcement in the
16 United States.

17 We look -- the U.S. Commission
18 Civil Rights looks at the enforcement of
19 Federal civil rights laws. They gather facts,
20 do studies, occasionally hold hearings on
21 voting matters, and make recommendations on
22 legislation to the Congress and to the

1 President.

2 Now, our purpose today is to
3 gather facts on the extent to which the civil
4 rights of residents of Prince William County,
5 Virginia may be adversely affected by measures
6 taken by the County Board of Supervisors to
7 withhold government services and otherwise
8 penalize and/or detain illegal immigrants in
9 the County, or by other measures enacted by
10 the Board of Supervisors which may, by intent
11 or effect, encourage racial, ethnic and
12 national origin discrimination by private
13 parties.

14 We are not here to debate
15 immigration policy and, indeed, the Members of
16 the Virginia State Advisory Committee, in both
17 their private and in their professional
18 capacities hold a range of views on
19 immigration issues.

20 However, there is no question that
21 the debate over immigration and the concern
22 over illegal immigration across communities in

1 America has exacerbated racial tensions, and
2 that includes here in Prince William County.

3 The FBI reported this week that
4 hate crimes against Hispanics were up
5 nationwide by ten percent in 2006, with 576
6 incidents involving 819 victims.

7 Hate crimes against Hispanics have
8 risen by 35 percent since 2003, the period
9 during which anti-illegal alien rhetoric has
10 become the most virulent. And many Hispanics,
11 including those who were born in the United
12 States and whose families may have lived here
13 literally for generations say they now feel
14 unwelcome in their own home.

15 A poll released this week by New
16 American Media suggests 85 percent of
17 Hispanics believe there is, in the wording of
18 the poll, "a lot of discrimination" against
19 Hispanics. Similarly, a poll that was
20 released yesterday by the Pew Hispanic Center
21 found that about 40 percent of Hispanics say
22 that they have, in fact, experienced

1 discrimination. And we will be hearing from
2 one of our witness who may be able to
3 elucidate more on that.

4 Despite this, Hispanics appear to
5 be more committed to the American dream than
6 ever with 74 percent saying they believe that
7 if you work hard you will succeed in the
8 United States.

9 Now, today we are going to be
10 hearing from a variety of experts, public
11 officials, community leaders and advocacy
12 groups. It is our hope that the expert
13 witnesses and the information that they
14 provide will assist both the County and the
15 State in its duty to protect the civil rights
16 of its residents.

17 Before we begin, however, I do
18 want to introduce the Members of the
19 Subcommittee on Immigration. First of all,
20 I'll begin to my left with the Chairman of the
21 Subcommittee, Ed Cooke. Next to Mr. Cooke is
22 Todd Gaziano, and next to him is Lacy Ward,

1 Jr.

2 Barbara De La Viez is the staff
3 person who has been working with us on setting
4 up these hearings. And before I forget, let
5 me thank you, Barbara, because you have really
6 put in yeoman's service.

7 Next to me on my right is
8 Professor Lloyd Cohen, and next to him is Ms.
9 Louisa Greve. And, finally, Richard Samp.
10 And we may have some other Members of the
11 Committee joining us as well.

12 We are going to be fairly strict
13 in our time limits today. There's going to be
14 a little light up there that will give an
15 indication of the time having elapsed. We are
16 allotting 15 minutes to each of the first two
17 panelists today because they are going to be
18 presenting us with background, a lot of
19 statistics, some demographic profile, and some
20 legal analysis, and so we're going to give
21 them a little bit more time to talk, and then
22 we will allow for a period of questions by the

1 various Members of the Committee, as well, and
2 so we are going to be as strict as we possibly
3 can.

4 Let me introduce the two Members
5 of the first panel, and I think we will go
6 ahead and start with Jeffrey Passel. He
7 joined the Pew Hispanic Center in Washington,
8 D.C. in 2005.

9 His accolades are too long for me
10 to read. I would take up much of his 15
11 minutes if I were to do so, but let me just
12 say that in 2004 American Demographics
13 Magazine selected him as a, "Demographic
14 diamond, one of the five demographers, our
15 social scientist most representative of
16 influential work in the past 25 years."

17 Dr. Passel holds degrees from the
18 Johns Hopkins University, a Ph.D., also from
19 the University of Texas at Austin and from
20 MIT.

21 And following Dr. Passel will be
22 Muzaffar Chishti who is a lawyer. He is also

1 director of the Migration Policy Institute's
2 Office of New York University School of Law.
3 His work focuses on U.S. immigration policy,
4 the intersection of labor and immigration law,
5 civil liberties and immigrant integration.

6 Mr. Chishti was educated at St.
7 Stephen's College, Delhi, University of Delhi,
8 at Cornell Law School and at the Columbia
9 School of International Affairs.

10 So, if we could have Jeff Passel
11 begin, and present his testimony.

12 DR. PASSEL: Thank you very much,
13 and thank you for inviting me. Just by way of
14 taking off from your kind introduction, aside
15 from noting that American Demographics went
16 out of business shortly after they gave me the
17 award. I don't know what that means.

18 We released a report yesterday
19 that's available on pewhispanic.org on a
20 survey focusing on Latino attitude towards
21 immigration. I've made mention of some of
22 that in passing, but that's not the gist of my

1 talk here today.

2 What I thought I would try to do
3 -- and when I agreed to do this I didn't know
4 we were releasing it. But, I have tried to
5 put Prince William County in the national
6 context of very rapid growth of Latinos, and
7 then try to focus in on some of the changes
8 that are going on here, and I will preface it
9 by saying I'm really not an expert on Prince
10 William County, but I've spent a bit of time
11 looking at the numbers.

12 The rapid growth has been fueled
13 by immigration. What's interesting now is
14 that's changing a bit in that actually more of
15 the growth of the Hispanic population is
16 coming from fertility for the first time in
17 about four decades. But that's a byproduct of
18 the immigration.

19 What has been going on is the
20 geographic diversification of the population,
21 and that's really what we're seeing here,
22 mainly driven by employment opportunities, and

1 started -- it has its roots back in the
2 California recession of the early Nineties,
3 when a lot of Latinos moved out of California.

4 I'll talk a little about some of
5 the local impacts, particularly population
6 growth, ethnic diversity and I've take a
7 little bit of a look at schools and crime, and
8 I'll just refer you to a study that came out
9 about a year ago that I did with some former
10 colleagues at the Urban Institute, looking at
11 tax payments in the D.C. Metropolitan area.

12 Well, Latinos, this slide's
13 actually the data, the latest number from the
14 Census Bureau puts it a close to 47 million
15 now, about 15 and a half percent of the U.S.
16 Population. It's trippled -- this population
17 has trippled since 1980, and passed -- the
18 Latino population passed the Black population
19 in about 2001.

20 And, like I said, immigration is
21 driving this. That has an impact in the short
22 run on the characteristics of the population

1 and certainly has an impact on the growth.
2 But we are seeing more growth from the second
3 generation now.

4 I'll skip this. This looks at
5 immigrants, not Latinos, now, about -- a
6 significant share of the adult Latino
7 population are immigrants and a significant
8 share of immigrants are Latinos, but the two
9 are not exactly the same.

10 What we've seen is a dramatic
11 growth in the last generation or so in the
12 number of immigrants in the country, that
13 we're at an all-time high. As recently as
14 1970, the immigrant population was actually
15 decreasing in size.

16 In 1960, 1970, the immigrant
17 population was relatively old. It was almost
18 all European, and decreasing in numbers that
19 changed with the 1965 Immigration Act and
20 reversed this trend. The immigrant population
21 is now largely Latino and Asian. It is
22 relatively young and it is growing rapidly.

1 The percentage of immigrants in
2 the population is not at an all-time high. It
3 is approaching the high levels that we
4 maintained as a country for about 50 years,
5 from 1870 to 1920, about one-seventh of the
6 population was made up of immigrants. We're
7 approaching that but we're not quite there
8 yet.

9 Where are the Latinos found?
10 Well, historically there is a core area in the
11 Southwestern United States; California, Texas,
12 Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, with other
13 large numbers in the New York Metropolitan
14 Area, the Chicago Area and the Miami Area.
15 And historically they represented about 85
16 percent of all Latinos.

17 In the Nineties that began to
18 change and movement out of the core. And once
19 that movement started, we began to see shifts
20 in the immigration patterns so that California
21 was no longer getting quite as many immigrants
22 as it had gotten before, and those immigrants

1 were going to the new destinations, which are
2 -- I will show you around the country.

3 That migration builds up a
4 momentum that draws more people into those
5 area and we're actually seeing that now as the
6 share of migrants going into these new areas,
7 new immigrants going into these new areas. It
8 used to be about ten percent of all the new
9 immigrants. It's now about 20 percent of all
10 new immigrants.

11 And this is in your hand-out, but
12 the key here is the numbers over on the right
13 that, between 1990 and 2005 the Hispanic
14 population outside of this historic core went
15 from three million to nine million, so the
16 numbers in the new areas tripled, in essence.

17 Here are the new areas. These are
18 states where the Hispanic population more than
19 tripled between 1980 and 2005, and had
20 significant numbers. And you'll see Virginia
21 is one of those states. North Carolina and
22 Georgia really lead the way here. The Latino

1 population of Georgia is about ten times what
2 it was in 1980.

3 This is a group of states in the
4 Midwest and the Southeast, largely, that also
5 experienced rapid growth in percentage terms,
6 but the numbers involved are a bit smaller, so
7 these states don't have quite as many, but the
8 rate of growth has been just as rapid.

9 And it's these states that got
10 very few Hispanics. I expect, actually,
11 Louisiana to change a bit with some of the new
12 settlement patterns around the recovery from
13 Katrina.

14 Now, interestingly, this is a
15 group of states that got large numbers of new
16 immigrants and it's pretty much the same. And
17 the dark states here are states where the
18 immigrant population is largely undocumented.

19 So, if you put all this together,
20 what you see is that the growth of the
21 Hispanic population in a lot of these areas
22 was driven by immigration and largely by

1 undocumented immigration.

2 This is Prince William County, and
3 I'll try to move through this fairly quickly.
4 But you can see, Prince William has grown a
5 lot, basically with the growth taking off
6 after 1980 to the point where there's about
7 over 350,000 people in the County now. And
8 the growth rate has been averaging about four
9 percent a year, which is quite healthy. It
10 gets you a -- it doubles your population in
11 about 15 years.

12 The Hispanic population really
13 grew. For basically the last 15 years or so
14 it's been growing by about ten percent a year.
15 So, it went from about 10,000 to almost
16 70,000, according to the latest estimates.

17 And this is -- to my mind, these
18 numbers are the single numbers that explain a
19 lot of what -- what's been happening, a lot of
20 the reaction. In 1990 there were -- four and
21 a half percent of the County's population was
22 Latino. That doubled between '90 and 2000,

1 and it's doubled again in the last -- this is
2 only six years' worth of data. It's to the
3 point where about 20 percent of the County is
4 now made up of Latinos.

5 And it's immigrants doing it.
6 This is the proportion of the County's
7 population that consists of immigrants going
8 from about four percent in 1980 to about 12
9 percent in 2000, and about 22 percent, again
10 doubling, within about a six-year period.

11 The 11.8 percent was about the
12 national average at the time. It's now up to
13 about 13 or 14, as well as 12 percent, so you
14 can see that the County has sort of shot past
15 the national composition.

16 And this looks at the families of
17 the immigrants, so it's the immigrants and
18 their families and they constitute almost a
19 third of the County's population. The
20 majority of children of immigrants are U.S.
21 citizens. That's true of both legal and
22 unauthorized migrants. And so, when you take

1 into account these households you get an even
2 larger share of the County's population.

3 Well, who are they? They are
4 mainly in families. They are relatively
5 young, and almost all of them are working or
6 trying to work. The labor force participation
7 rate for immigrants is -- for immigrant men is
8 a bit higher than labor force participation
9 rate for native-born men.

10 They have relatively low levels of
11 education. The jobs reflect that. They have
12 relatively low incomes because of the kinds of
13 work that they can get. And, like I said,
14 they are drawn largely to these areas by the
15 availability of jobs.

16 Labor force participation is -- in
17 this County, labor force participation is
18 quite high for pretty much everybody, but the
19 immigrants have slightly higher rates than the
20 natives.

21 Immigrants do pay taxes. They
22 don't pay quite the proportionate share that

1 they represent of the population. That's
2 because their incomes aren't quite a
3 proportionate share, and not all of the
4 undocumented immigrants pay their share of
5 taxes. A lot of them do, but not all of them.

6 Our estimates were that immigrants
7 represented about 16 percent of the adult
8 population in 2000, and they paid about 13
9 percent of the taxes. Most of these taxes
10 went to the Federal Government and then after
11 that, another big chunk went to the state
12 government. Very little of it went to the
13 County.

14 Immigrants do affect the schools.
15 Most of the kids, as I said, are native, but
16 they represent -- and I'll show you an
17 increasing share of the schools' population.
18 Where this is going, it's a little hard to
19 say. I'll speculate a bit on that.

20 One of the topics that I get asked
21 about and you directed me to some interesting
22 data. I put together a data series, a data

1 series on official crime statistics and the
2 violent crime numerically is up slightly over
3 a ten-year period. The property crimes are
4 down a bit over -- trending downward, anyway.

5 If we put this together with a
6 rapidly-growing population, the crime rate has
7 been dropping fairly consistently for the last
8 ten years, and even shows a drop over the last
9 six years.

10 This is one of the -- this isn't
11 immigrants, per se, it's Hispanics, but as
12 we've seen, this is driven by immigration.

13 One of the big impacts on local
14 areas of immigrants and of our growing Latino
15 populations in the schools, and you can see
16 here a really dramatic change in a very short
17 period of time.

18 According to the '93, '94 school
19 year data, five percent of the students in the
20 County were Hispanic. That doubled by 2000
21 and it's more than doubled since then to the
22 point where about a quarter of the students in

1 the schools are Hispanic.

2 And I'm --

3 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Your time is
4 about up.

5 DR. PASSEL: I've got two more
6 things.

7 Just to point out that the -- this
8 looks at the foreign-born population, and
9 there's been a real shift here, a growing
10 share of the foreign-born population is
11 Latino, meaning that most of the immigrants
12 coming in, and you can really see it shifted
13 a lot between 1990 and 2000.

14 In 1990 only a quarter of what was
15 a much smaller immigrant population was
16 Latino. It's up to three-quarters now.
17 That's also a much bigger share than any of
18 the surrounding areas.

19 So, major demographic changes are
20 underway. The numbers seem to keep going up.
21 Prince William County is part of this emerging
22 -- these emerging trends. Whether this trend

1 will continue in the face some of the virulent
2 opposition to immigration, I think we'll have
3 to see.

4 And, they're certainly having an
5 impact here. They pay taxes. They work, and
6 they're present in the schools. Again, a lot
7 are undocumented. My data don't really permit
8 me to separate that out, but a lot of the
9 undocumented immigrants have children.
10 Nationally, about two-thirds of their children
11 are U.S. natives.

12 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Thank you
13 very much.

14 Welcome Muzaffar Chishti. Good to
15 have you with us. I introduced you at the
16 beginning, so I won't do that again.

17 I will make mention that the
18 Migration Policy Institute did release a study
19 yesterday, or an analysis yesterday called
20 "Testing the Limits: A framework for
21 assessing the legality of State and local
22 immigration measures," and I presume you will

1 talk a bit about that now.

2 So, if you will begin.

3 MR. CHISHTI: Thank you. Is
4 this --

5 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: I think you
6 just turned it off. Now we go --

7 MR. CHISHTI: Is this working?

8 Madam Chair, thanks so much for
9 inviting me here. I'm really, first of all,
10 just privileged to sit next to not only the
11 gem, but the giant in the world of demography,
12 and I would be willing to give all my 15
13 minutes to him, compared to what I have to say
14 to his knowledge in this field, I think is
15 extraordinary.

16 I'm really -- it's my first,
17 actually, foray into Prince William County, so
18 I'm not sure how much of an expert in the
19 County I am, but I've been looking at the
20 process of devolution, as we call it, from
21 Federal to state to localities and the role of
22 immigration enforcement over the last few

1 years.

2 And we, at the Migration Policy
3 Institute should release this support
4 yesterday, which is basically a legal analysis
5 of the framework with which one must assess
6 the legality of some of the most popular
7 measures adopted by states and localities in
8 the area of immigration. That is submitted to
9 your review.

10 I think we all know historically
11 immigration has been seen as the exclusive
12 domain of Federal Government. It's akin to
13 foreign policy, that we can't have states and
14 localities make foreign policy, that the
15 results must be a consistent, coherent policy
16 which must be dictated at the Federal level.

17 It's also true that our
18 jurisprudence has recognized that states and
19 localities have some role to play in
20 immigration matters. It's also clear that
21 it's highly circumscribed and some of it is
22 written into our jurisprudence in the laws of

1 federalism, some of it is demonstrated by the
2 way Congress has circumscribed the authority,
3 and some have evolved in terms of an
4 interpretation of individual rights, as the
5 Courts have interpreted them over the years.

6 We, in this study, look at five
7 major areas which is the regulation of
8 employment by states and localities, the
9 regulation of housing of undocumented by
10 states and localities, the enforcement of
11 immigration law by states and localities, the
12 restrictions of public benefits adopted by the
13 states and localities, and the restrictions on
14 day laborers to seek employment at street
15 corners or parking lots.

16 These are the five major areas
17 where we have seen recent trends and
18 devolution. I think here today, just because,
19 given what Prince William County's resolution
20 is focused on, I will talk about two measures,
21 about law in this area has evolved and what it
22 may mean in terms of the implementation of it

1 in this County, which will be in the areas of
2 the enforcement of immigration law, and the
3 restrictions on the access to certain public
4 benefits.

5 First of all, I mean, lawyers hate
6 to agree on anything, but there are at least
7 two areas of these five that I identified,
8 which is the law enforcement and in the
9 solicitation of ordinances, that one is safe
10 to say that in this area law is quite settled
11 compared to other areas where it is still
12 contested.

13 On the issue of the enforcement of
14 immigration law by states and localities, the
15 trends are the three basic trends all over the
16 country. There are trends where there are
17 agreements signed by the Federal Government
18 and the local or the state police to allow
19 local and state police to enforce immigration
20 law. That's one trend.

21 The second trend is allowing --
22 which is consistent with what Prince William

1 County has done, is allowing people, local
2 cops to inquire into the immigration status of
3 people they detain and then inform the Federal
4 authorities about people they find in
5 violation of status.

6 And there's a third trend, equally
7 important, where localities and states tell
8 their cops not to interfere in the enforcement
9 of immigration law, which is -- some are
10 called sanctuary cities in our popular
11 parlance.

12 All these three tendencies we see
13 in the national debate today. Now, how does
14 the legal analysis on this operate? First, I
15 think only Attorney General Ashcroft today
16 believes that local and state police have
17 inherent authority to enforce immigration law.

18 There are three Attorney Generals
19 prior to him in Republican and Democratic
20 administrations who came exactly to the
21 opposite view, that given a structure of
22 federalism, local and state cops do not have

1 inherent authority to enforce immigration law.

2 In a legal opinion that his
3 administration issued in 2002, they concluded
4 that they have inherent authority. I think
5 most legal scholars disagree with that,
6 especially given the three prior opinions of
7 Attorney Generals stacked against that.

8 No court has resolved that issue.
9 It hasn't come to fruition before any court.
10 But, keep that sort of constitutional
11 confusion aside, it's clear that Congress has
12 spoken about it in reasonably specific terms.
13 There are two areas of Federal immigration
14 enforcement. There's civil immigration and
15 there's criminal immigration.

16 In civil immigration enforcement,
17 Congress, in 1996, in a major immigration
18 reform law basically said that if the state
19 and local cops want to enforce civil
20 immigration law they must sign memorandas of
21 agreement with the Federal Government under
22 which you are specifically trained and

1 supervised by the Federal Government so that
2 you could then have some role in enforcement
3 of civil immigration violations.

4 That's what we call the Section
5 287(g) agreements. Popularly, this is a
6 section of the Immigration Nationality Act.

7 With respect to the criminal
8 violations of immigration, a lot of people --
9 I think there's a general perception that
10 there is unlimited authority for local cops to
11 enforce criminal aspects of immigration law.

12 Actually, if you look at
13 congressional history on this, it's actually
14 very specific and very narrow. Congress has
15 said that only two areas in which local and
16 state cops can enforce federal aspects of
17 immigration law, which is 274 of the
18 Immigration Act which refers to harboring and
19 transporting of illegal aliens, and Section
20 276 of the Immigration Act which says it's a
21 felony for people to re-enter the country
22 after they have been sent abroad by -- after

1 deportation, if they seek a re-entry, then
2 they have committed a crime.

3 Only in these two areas of law do
4 the state and local cops have authority to
5 enforce immigration law.

6 So, it's sort of these three areas
7 that I talked about, I think, the Congress has
8 been quite specific that this is a limited
9 authority. And that's why, I think, most of
10 the state laws that you have seen in this area
11 are written narrowly to -- in the confines of
12 Section 287(g).

13 Now, there's a second area which
14 is more relevant to Prince William County, is
15 what authority does police have in ancillary
16 to their normal police function. And this is
17 where some of the controversy rests.

18 I think it is quite clear under
19 law that local police can ask anyone that they
20 detain in their normal police function, if
21 they arrest someone for a crime. After they
22 arrest someone for a crime, they can ask the

1 person for their immigration status.

2 I think in many jurisdictions
3 that's considered a normal practice. What's
4 important, that you cannot arrest someone only
5 on the basis of a suspicion that that person
6 is undocumented. The underlying reason to
7 detain the person must be a state or a local
8 crime.

9 And if you detain that person for
10 a state and local crime and you ask them about
11 their immigration, you cannot prolong the
12 detention beyond what you would be normally
13 authorized to do in the context of the
14 underlying crime.

15 So, these are two very specific, I
16 think, restrictions with respect to the
17 ancillary behavior -- ancillary extension of
18 the immigration questioning. First, it must
19 be ancillary to an underlying arrest for a
20 criminal, and then the detention must not
21 prolong what they would normally do for the
22 underlying crime.

1 And I think there are clearly
2 public policy reasons -- despite the fact that
3 you can legally do it, there are important
4 public reasons why even if police can do it
5 that they should not do it.

6 And I think this is where I think
7 this is where the police chiefs of the country
8 have been the most outspoken. I think it's
9 quite extraordinary in the last 18 months the
10 International Association of Chiefs of Police
11 and the major cities' chiefs of police, these
12 are the police chiefs of the big, urban
13 centers of the country, have come quite
14 unanimously on this issue, that even if the
15 law allows us to do it, it's not good public
16 policy for us to do it.

17 And their reasoning is actually
18 quite simple, familiar, but quite compelling,
19 and they are saying basically that, "Look, we
20 are not really trained to do this stuff, so
21 therefore, if you ask us to do it we will
22 automatically engage in racial profiling.

1 "And if we automatically engage in
2 racial profiling, we will frequently arrest
3 people and make unlawful arrests. And if we
4 do unlawful arrests, then we'll be sued. And
5 if we are sued, then we'll be draining these
6 rather limited resources of the counties and
7 the localities if we actually have to defend
8 those lawsuits."

9 So, I think on the public policy,
10 the analysis of the police power here -- I
11 think it's not just immigrant advocates, but
12 I think the police chiefs of the country, I
13 think, are quite unanimous on this.

14 I think there's also an important
15 public policy concerned with respect to how
16 people may behave in a county like Prince
17 William County if they know that police have
18 this now additional power.

19 And it comes from an analysis,
20 actually, from police authority themselves,
21 that if someone knows that police can now ask
22 him or her about their immigration status,

1 they are likely to flee.

2 Like if you have someone for a
3 disorderly conduct on the street, that police
4 officer would have a right to arrest them for
5 that, but if they know that they'll get
6 arrested, but be also asked for their
7 immigration status, and could be turned over,
8 they would flee.

9 So, you would -- you are also
10 actually creating a public danger related to
11 the new powers that police have been given,
12 and I think that has also caused a lot of
13 police chiefs around the country to have a
14 pause in whether this should really become a
15 policy or no.

16 Let me, for a minute, shift to the
17 public benefits issue, and more glad to talk
18 about the police stuff later on.

19 I think we know that the Welfare
20 Law of 1996 is an important frame in analyzing
21 what localities and states can do in this
22 area. The restrictions with respect to the

1 undocumented, I think are quite legal. I
2 think most -- most public benefits,
3 undocumented aliens are not -- can't have
4 access to -- do not have access to.

5 There are few limits to this. We
6 know that there are limits with respect to the
7 public education and there are limits with
8 respect to the important public benefits which
9 relate to life and safety.

10 All I can point out to you is with
11 respect to the specific services, County
12 services under this resolution that
13 undocumented are barred from. We don't
14 frankly know today on the basis of the present
15 law how many of them will stand test or no.

16 I think if legal analysis on this
17 was going to apply, it would really have to be
18 seen as to how these laws are actually going
19 to be applied.

20 If they are going to be applied in
21 a racially-neutral way they probably are going
22 to stand the test. But if they are going to

1 be applied in racially-suspect ways, and I
2 think, then, we'll have a problem with respect
3 to equal protection guarantees under our
4 constitution.

5 The second thing, I think, to note
6 here is that the provisions of the Welfare
7 Reform Act of 1996, by themselves, mandate
8 that public services should be available to
9 the undocumented for issues of life and
10 safety.

11 So, one really has to go
12 specifically into areas that have been
13 prescribed here to see whether at the very end
14 of this actually will have an impact on life
15 and safety.

16 And one can imagine that some old
17 person sitting at home who has to have
18 dialysis and their life would determine on
19 whether they have access to dialysis or no.
20 And if this resolution says you can't give
21 that person access to dialysis because that
22 person is unauthorized, that may not meet the

1 legal test.

2 So, one would really have to do
3 this analysis by benefit-by-benefit. And the
4 last thing I want to say on this is that even
5 if it's lawful to excluded undocumented from
6 these services, the analysis around the
7 country showing the issues of costs are
8 playing a very important role on lawmakers
9 making decisions on this.

10 Colorado, as you know, in 2006
11 passed a very important omnibus bill banning
12 undocumented from a number of public benefits.
13 In an analysis they asked 14 of the
14 departments to see how much money they had
15 spent just executing these new provisions and
16 how much money had they saved by barring
17 undocumented from this access.

18 And it was actually hands-down.
19 They almost saved nothing and they had spent
20 two million bucks just implementing new
21 procedures for making sure that undocumented
22 were screened.

1 So, the issue here is there's an
2 assumption among a lot of lawmakers those
3 undocumented people access these services. I
4 think most people who known undocumented know
5 they don't access these services. The last
6 thing they want to do is be caught in a
7 situation where their status will come to
8 notice and they will come into the hands of
9 federal authorities.

10 So, I think on the straight issues
11 of cost benefit analysis on this is an
12 important public policy concern, which I think
13 people should be aware of when they even --
14 when they talk about the ban on the
15 undocumented for the access.

16 Let me stop there and see if I can
17 answer any questions.

18 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Thank you
19 both very much. We will have about half an
20 hour, I think, for questions from the various
21 Members of the Committee. I'm going to defer
22 my questions and see if there's anyone else

1 who might want to begin.

2 MEMBER GAZIANO: I have one
3 question.

4 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Make sure you
5 turn on your microphone. And by the way, I
6 forgot to ask people turn off cell phones. No
7 one's has rung yet, so please turn them off if
8 you have them.

9 MEMBER GAZIANO: Let me see if I
10 can not mispronounce the name as badly as I
11 sometimes do. Chishti --

12 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Chishti. It
13 seems like it may have an extra -- well, I'm
14 usually as bad at pronouncing names as they
15 are pronouncing mine, but I try hard.

16 I am familiar with many of the
17 legal authorities that you have cited,
18 although I don't claim to have studied them in
19 anywhere near the detail you have, but I had
20 one question, including, by the way, the OLC
21 memo and the debate over it, which is quite
22 interesting.

1 One question, though, is over your
2 statement that a detention can't exceed the
3 duration that it would otherwise take if
4 there's reason to be -- let's say a situation
5 is a local official has reason to arrest
6 someone for a local offense, he checks the
7 immigration status, notifies the INS, and the
8 INS says "Please detain that person until we
9 can pick them up."

10 Let's assume that it's a re-entry
11 violation and there's no MOU. It seems to me
12 that all the states have signed with the
13 Federal Government the international compact
14 or the -- I should say the interstate compact
15 on detainers.

16 Doesn't that either allow or
17 possibly require, under the terms of the
18 compact that a detention might exceed the --
19 not that I'm advocating, again, right now that
20 they should do that, but isn't that --

21 MR. CHISHTI: I think especially
22 with respect to the crime that you mentioned,

1 which is 276, which is protected by the INA.
2 I think it's very different analysis, I think,
3 when the Federal Government can request you to
4 detain someone.

5 I think there the police may be
6 obliged, actually, to keep the person as long
7 for the Federal Government to then come. But,
8 again, it's limited in the context of the
9 underlying crime for which that person has
10 been detained. It's 276, which Congress has
11 specifically authorized.

12 And two, that the request then
13 comes from the Federal agency to hold that
14 person. I think that probably would be fine
15 under the compact.

16 It's respect to crimes that are
17 not covered and where the local cops,
18 themselves, decide to detain a person. I
19 think those are the areas which are
20 problematic.

21 MEMBER GAZIANO: Like any law
22 professor, I was going to begin with the easy

1 and just get maybe one more to the slightly
2 harder, and that is, any other criminal
3 penalty where -- and let's say even the --
4 it's the County policy to inquire in the INS
5 database and then contact the federal
6 officials and ask if they want to pick them
7 up, wouldn't the compact possibly either
8 authorize or require that they be obtained?

9 MR. CHISHTI: Not in the absence
10 of, in my opinion -- there are obviously legal
11 authorities on this side. Not in my opinion.
12 In my opinion, I think if there was a criminal
13 arrest warrant which, if the person gets into
14 the NCIC, which is what I think you're talking
15 about --

16 MEMBER GAZIANO: Yes.

17 MR. CHISHTI: -- and then the NCIC
18 is the National Crime Information Center
19 database. If the NCIC shows a criminal
20 warrant against the person, then I think most
21 people believe that you would have the right
22 to detain the person.

1 If the NCIC does not show a
2 criminal warrant, then you wouldn't have the
3 right to detain a person. In fact, I think
4 police chiefs have been clear on this, that
5 when you see a warrant flashing across the
6 NCIC database, that itself does not -- the
7 fact that you see a warrant doesn't give you
8 the authority to detain the person. Then be
9 more careful in analyzing the warrant further
10 to see whether it's a civil violation of
11 immigration law or a criminal.

12 If it's a civil violation, don't
13 hold the person. If it's a criminal
14 violation, you may get the right to hold the
15 person. So, that I think is the distinction.

16 MEMBER GAZIANO: Okay. Thank you.

17 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Do you have
18 another question?

19 Ed?

20 CO-CHAIR COOKE: Yes. I have a
21 brief question for Dr. Passel.

22 Was I correct in hearing you say

1 that illegal immigration, Hispanic immigration
2 is what's driving the growth of the Hispanic
3 population, that it is illegal as opposed to
4 birth that's driving the rapid increase in the
5 growth of the Hispanic population?

6 DR. PASSEL: It's the -- the
7 movement out of the historic settlement areas
8 was largely driven by undocumented
9 immigration. The overall growth is roughly
10 equal in terms of the overall Hispanic growth,
11 but this dispersal outside of the Southwest
12 and the core really can be traced to
13 undocumented Mexicans moving out of California
14 initially about 15, 20 years ago.

15 CO-CHAIR COOKE: And that's true
16 of the overall growth of the population
17 nationwide, not just the migratory group?

18 DR. PASSEL: Of the Hispanic
19 population? No. The majority of legal
20 immigrants -- not the -- the largest group of
21 legal immigrants are Hispanic, and by far the
22 largest numbers of illegal immigrants are

1 Hispanic.

2 So, it's -- it's about even. If
3 you look at the adult Hispanic population,
4 there are more legal immigrants in that
5 population than undocumented, but it's roughly
6 equal.

7 CO-CHAIR COOKE: I was curious
8 because I think the perception is otherwise.

9 DR. PASSEL: Yes.

10 CO-CHAIR COOKE: One final -- one
11 other question. Is there a reason why
12 immigration is focused so largely on Hispanic
13 and Asian immigration? I mean, there are a
14 number of immigrant population groups that
15 exist in the world. I mean, Arab, West
16 Indian, African, Asian Indians. Why are we
17 focusing on the Hispanic?

18 DR. PASSEL: Well, it's -- unless
19 you're related to somebody in the United
20 States, it's hard to get in the United States
21 as a legal immigrant. And the migration in
22 the Sixties -- well, some of it has to do with

1 our refugee flows.

2 I mean, we get -- we got -- we
3 admitted large numbers of refugees from
4 Southeast Asia. It's been a number of years
5 since we admitted. Once those flows got
6 started, they sort of build a momentum, so we
7 get a lot more nonrefugee legal immigrants
8 from Southeast Asia now than we do refugees.

9 And the proximity to Mexico and
10 Latin American is really a major determinate
11 of that. The other, like I said, it's hard to
12 get admitted if you're from somewhere else.

13 CO-CHAIR COOKE: So, it's the ease
14 of illegal immigration --

15 DR. PASSEL: The proximity to
16 Mexico is -- you know, has a lot to do with
17 it.

18 CO-CHAIR COOKE: With the growth
19 of the population?

20 DR. PASSEL: Yes.

21 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: I'd like to
22 follow up with a couple of questions. First,

1 for you, Dr. Passel.

2 The wording of the resolution here
3 in Prince William County says "Whereas, the
4 Prince William Board of County Supervisors has
5 determined that illegal immigration is causing
6 economic hardship and lawlessness in this
7 County, and that illegal immigration may be
8 encouraged by public agencies within the
9 County by failing to verify immigration status
10 as a condition of providing public services."
11 That was one of the preconditions to the
12 resolution itself.

13 I'm just curious, looking at some
14 of the charts that you provided us today,
15 whether or not in your expert demographic
16 opinion, it is fair to say that there is
17 economic hardship in Prince William County and
18 whether or not there is lawlessness.

19 It seemed to me that your chart
20 showed, for example, that crime rates have
21 actually been going down in Prince William
22 County, and I just want to -- if you could

1 just briefly say something about economic
2 hardship.

3 Where does this county fit in?
4 Are we, you know, somewhere Mississippi in
5 terms of the earnings and other factors in
6 this County, or not?

7 DR. PASSEL: Well, if you look
8 broadly at immigration, what you find is that
9 the places that immigrants go to are generally
10 doing better economically than other places,
11 and that has to do with why the immigrants
12 come.

13 The immigrants come almost -- they
14 come because they have family. They come
15 because they can get jobs. And so places
16 where -- that are experiencing job growth tend
17 to attract immigrants.

18 There's very little evidence in my
19 opinion that immigrants are drawn by social
20 services. Some colleagues of mine, former
21 colleagues at the Urban Institute classified
22 the states by the generosity. This is an

1 analysis in the late Nineties, and the states
2 were classified by how generous their social
3 service systems were towards immigrants.

4 And then we looked at both the
5 settlement patterns of new immigrants and the
6 patterns of immigrants moving from state-to-
7 state, and what we found was that immigrants
8 were, in fact, moving from more generous
9 states to less generous states and the rapid
10 growth in new migration patterns was towards
11 the less generous states.

12 Now, those are the states that
13 were experiencing the most job growth at the
14 time. So, you know, my conclusion was that
15 immigrants generally go where the economy is
16 strong and where they can find jobs.

17 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Just quickly,
18 a question for Mr. Chishti as well.

19 Our concern in this committee, as
20 I said, at the onset, is not immigration
21 policy and how many immigrants we should admit
22 or anything having to do with immigration

1 policy, per se.

2 Our concern is whether or not by
3 virtue of enacting state or local initiatives
4 aimed at controlling illegal immigration, the
5 civil rights of residents of the state may, in
6 fact, be being violated. And so I want to ask
7 you a question about the way in which some of
8 these initiatives can be implemented.

9 If, in fact, the intention is to
10 deny benefits to people illegally in the
11 country, whether if it's benefits for welfare
12 services or, for example, not allowing
13 landlords to rent to people who are not
14 legally in the country, is it fair to say that
15 in order for that to meet, you know, 14th
16 Amendment and other -- and civil rights law
17 considerations that broad inquiries would have
18 to be made of every single individual applying
19 for such benefits or applying to rent a house
20 as to their legal status in the United States,
21 or could you simply just choose people that
22 you thought might not be legally in the

1 country?

2 MR. CHISHTI: No, that's exactly
3 how -- where the as-applied doctrine is
4 relevant. It's quite clear that if you don't
5 ask everyone you are clearly violating legal
6 protection. And if you're asking people
7 selectively on the basis of their race or
8 their look or their accent, then you are
9 clearly violating legal protection.

10 So, I think on grounds of equal
11 protection, I think when it comes to how it's
12 applied, actually, I think that is quite
13 settled law.

14 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: So, just
15 quickly, if you're trying to deny public
16 services, for example, library use to persons
17 who are legally entitled to be in the United
18 States, then anyone applying for a library
19 card would, in fact, have to show proof that
20 they were legally entitled to reside in the
21 United States?

22 MR. CHISHTI: To make it depend on

1 the status, then everyone would have to be
2 asked.

3 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Okay. Yes,
4 Mr. Cohen.

5 MEMBER COHEN: Am I on? Yes.

6 A follow-up to that: Do I
7 understand you to be saying that using any
8 indicia of immigrant status would violate
9 equal protection in these inquiries?

10 MR. CHISHTI: I think --

11 MEMBER COHEN: And does this apply
12 more generally to other issues, other than
13 immigration? For example, in a violent
14 assault, can you simply inquire of adult
15 males, or must you inquire equally of aged
16 females?

17 Is there no distinction
18 representing indicia of likelihood of the
19 person being in violation that can be taken
20 into account?

21 MR. CHISHTI: I think if you -- if
22 the indicia are race-based or ethnicity-based

1 they are really suspect. I don't think
2 there's any doubt about that, that if you only
3 ask Hispanic-sounding names questions, or if
4 you only ask people who look Hispanic to you
5 questions, or if you only ask people that you
6 think dress like undocumented questions, those
7 are clearly all suspect. None of them can be
8 protected indicia.

9 MEMBER COHEN: What about fluency
10 in English.

11 MR. CHISHTI: Cannot be. A large
12 number of people who don't speak English
13 perfectly are U.S.-born people, people living
14 in Puerto Rico. Puerto Ricans don't have to
15 speak when they're born.

16 MEMBER COHEN: Well, then, in
17 relation to the notion of, let's say, a
18 violent crime, many people who are healthy,
19 vigorous young males don't commit crime, but
20 yet we would not think it suspect -- or am I
21 wrong? Is it in violation of the 14th
22 Amendment to simply inquire of healthy young

1 males, where they were at some point when a
2 violent crime took place, even though many
3 people who are in that status don't commit
4 crimes?

5 MR. CHISHTI: I think that's too
6 much of a hypothetical. I think if you really
7 made gross generalizations like that with
8 respect to any groups of population, I think
9 all of those things are problematic. I think
10 if you only ask Arab-looking people at the
11 airports, believing that most terrorists in
12 the world are of Arab origin, I think those
13 are clearly suspect and would not pass the
14 constitutional test.

15 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Might I just
16 follow up and maybe this will make it a little
17 bit clearer. There is, I think, under the
18 14th Amendment of the Constitution -- I am not
19 an attorney, but I have been dealing with
20 constitutional law for about 30 years -- a
21 requirement of strict scrutiny when you're
22 dealing with issues related to race or

1 national origin.

2 Whereas, with gender, for example,
3 the level of scrutiny is not as high, as I
4 recall.

5 MR. CHISHTI: Yes. There are
6 different standards, clearly, and the race as
7 a separate classification is highest on that.
8 That's why --

9 (Telephone interruption.)

10 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Turn them off
11 altogether.

12 MR. CHISHTI: So that's why I
13 think the indicias of race are the highest in
14 that, and when people use race-based criteria,
15 they're the most -- they're the most suspect.

16 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: We probably
17 have time for maybe one or two quick
18 questions.

19 MEMBER SAMP: I have a quick
20 question for Mr. Chishti.

21 I think you mentioned earlier that
22 at least some jurisdictions in the country

1 have sanctuary policies, basically don't ask,
2 don't tell. I'm wondering whether that is
3 really legal.

4 My understanding of the 1996 law
5 that you referred to said that local
6 governments may not use federal funds to
7 provide benefits to undocumented aliens.

8 Presumably it's simply because the
9 local government said, "Well, we didn't bother
10 to ask, so we don't really know where those
11 benefits are going," would not be a defense,
12 if the Federal Government were to say, "You
13 are failing to enforce the law, therefore,
14 we're going to cut off all Medicaid benefits,
15 for example, to Prince William County and to
16 the State of Virginia.

17 And I'm wondering what obligation
18 under federal law local governments may have
19 to enforce the ban on provision of services to
20 undocumented aliens.

21 MR. CHISHTI: As you know, this is
22 being litigated a lot. I'm not sure of the

1 "lot," but it's been litigated. The 1996
2 provision says, if you know the information
3 you can't prevent the Federal Government from
4 knowing it.

5 So, it's quite clear that the way
6 the provisions of the IRAIRA are written, they
7 apply with respect to telling the Federal
8 Government of something that you know.

9 That's why many of these cities
10 that have been sort of broadly characterized
11 as sanctuary cities and the definition is,
12 itself, kind of fluid and fuzzy. They don't
13 have restrictions with respect to not telling
14 the government, the Federal Government. They
15 have restrictions against asking the
16 government -- asking the people.

17 So, it's sort of, if they don't
18 have information, they don't have anything to
19 give to the Federal Government, is how this is
20 applied.

21 Having said that, I should also
22 note that the highest courts in the country

1 that has reviewed this is the Second Circuit
2 in New York. There was actually, oddly, a
3 case brought by Mayor Giuliani against the
4 Federal Government in the context of his
5 present position on immigration is
6 particularly odd.

7 He actually sued the Federal
8 Government for asking the cities to share the
9 information. He thought it was a violation of
10 the 10th Amendment. He lost that case in the
11 District Court in the Southern District. It
12 went on appeal to the Second Circuit Court of
13 Appeals.

14 And the Second Circuit Court of
15 Appeals basically disagreed with Giuliani,
16 said that, no, if you know the information you
17 have to tell. That's why we've gotten to the
18 don't ask, don't tell issue.

19 But, even in that Second Circuit
20 opinion, the Court said that if you have
21 generalized confidentiality policy of the
22 city, that if you don't share information with

1 respect to a number of issues, not just
2 immigration, a broad number of issues, then
3 probably the confidentiality issues will be
4 protected by the 10th Amendment.

5 That's actually -- if you look at
6 the City of New York's law today on this which
7 is signed by Mayor Bloomberg, it lists not
8 just immigration. It looks at victims of
9 crime, victims of sexual discrimination, all
10 that stuff, among the many grounds which for
11 confidentiality.

12 And I suspect that many lawyers
13 today think that if Mayor Bloomberg were to --
14 had to defend it, he probably would be able to
15 defend that on the basis of 10th Amendment
16 because I think the 10th Amendment does
17 protect the confidentiality of requirements
18 between the state and the Federal Government.

19 So we don't know, frankly, the
20 last word on the law on this, but we know that
21 the Second Circuit has clearly hinted that if
22 there are broader confidentiality provisions

1 in the city ordinances that they will be
2 protected by the 10th Amendment.

3 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: One final
4 question from our subcommittee, Ed Cooke.

5 CO-CHAIR COOKE: Mr. Chishti, one
6 thing that we do know for certain is if you
7 ask, say, for example, in an attempt to comply
8 with that provision, then you must ask
9 everybody.

10 MR. CHISHTI: We must ask everyone
11 who applies for the benefit.

12 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: I want to
13 thank you both very much. This was very
14 informative and we look forward to working
15 with you. Again, thanks so much.

16 And we are going to have the staff
17 -- I guess we'll take like a little break here
18 and set up because we have quite a large
19 panel, so we'll take about a five-minute break
20 here.

21 (Whereupon, a short recess was
22 taken, from 10:36 until 10:45 a.m.)

1 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Thank you
2 very much. This panel is comprised primarily
3 of public officials, either elected officials
4 or appointed officials and our purpose is to
5 try again to find out information about what
6 went into the passage of the principal
7 resolution and how it is, in fact, being
8 implemented.

9 I think there are a number of
10 people who were to be on this panel who will
11 not be here. One is Mr. Gerhart, whom we
12 thanked earlier. Mr. Gerhart is attending the
13 Firefighters' graduation and we are glad that
14 he is doing that.

15 He is going to be late. He may,
16 in fact, be able to join us, but he is not
17 here at this moment.

18 We have also heard from Colonel
19 Land who was to talk to us about the Prince
20 William, Manassas Regional Adult Detention
21 Center, that he has had a family emergency,
22 and therefore he is not going to be able to be

1 with us, either.

2 But we do have some very
3 distinguished panelists, and I will introduce
4 them and I will start on the left, on my left,
5 your right, and introduce to you Gainesville
6 District Supervisor, John Stirrup, whom the
7 voters of the Gainesville District elected for
8 his first term in 2004, and he was re-elected
9 in 2007.

10 Am I right?

11 SUPERVISOR STIRRUP: Correct.

12 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: And sitting
13 next to Mr. Stirrup, or Supervisor Stirrup, is
14 the Chairman of the County Board of
15 Supervisors, Corey Stewart. Corey Stewart, I
16 don't have your bio. Here it is. Sorry. I
17 do have your bio.

18 Elected Chairman of the Prince
19 William County Board of Supervisors in
20 November of 2006 and prior to that election,
21 he was elected to represent the Occoquan
22 District voters as their supervisor in

1 November of 2003, and Mr. Stewart also was re-
2 elected in this past election.

3 Michael Schwartz is with us today
4 and he is president of the Prince William
5 County Hospital. He has both an MHA and a JD,
6 and he has 30 years of consistently successful
7 experience, it says, in all aspects of
8 evolving health care delivery system. We're
9 very happy to have him with us today.

10 Charlie Deane is the chief of
11 police of Prince William County. We want to
12 thank you for the services of your fine
13 officers as well. And we will begin by
14 having, I guess, John Stirrup. If you don't
15 mind. Do you want to begin?

16 SUPERVISOR STIRRUP: Certainly.
17 I'm somewhat disadvantaged without a
18 microphone.

19 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Do you want
20 to switch places, maybe or --

21 Mr. Gerhart just joined us as
22 well. Thank you so much for being here.

1 CHAIRMAN STEWART: People get us
2 mixed up, anyway.

3 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: I guess it's
4 the beard.

5 SUPERVISOR STIRRUP: Thank you,
6 Madam Chairman, for the opportunity to appear
7 before the US Commission on Human Rights, the
8 Virginia Advisory Committee today, to offer
9 remarks about illegal immigration and illegal
10 aliens, issues that I believe will dominate
11 the domestic agenda in the 2008 campaign
12 election.

13 Having just concluded a successful
14 reelection campaign here in Prince William
15 County, my reelection for Gainesville
16 Supervisor, I can state without equivocation
17 that, in fact, Americans across the spectrum
18 are very concerned about this subject and
19 expect their elected officials at all levels
20 to deal with it and address it.

21 First, I think it's important to
22 declare what this is not about. It's not

1 about shutting doors and stopping the life
2 blood of our nation, legal immigration.

3 It's not about denying the fact
4 that many dedicated and hard-working
5 individuals have entered the United States
6 legally, because they want to share the
7 American dream and because they want their
8 children to have a better opportunity than
9 they have had. That's exactly what America is
10 about.

11 But any sovereign nation,
12 especially in an era when national security is
13 such a high priority, must abide by the rule
14 of law. That means a system and standards to
15 process and to assimilate the millions of
16 people who immigrate to the United States
17 legally every year.

18 These people have done the right
19 thing. They've followed the law. They've
20 made their application. They've fulfilled
21 their legal obligations. They didn't come
22 sneaking in through the back door in the

1 middle of the night and then demand goods and
2 services for themselves.

3 We can go back and forth on this
4 issue all day, and I expect we might, but I
5 believe in this next coming -- in this coming
6 election in 2008, candidates at the
7 presidential level, the congressional level
8 and local level will do just that.

9 Unfortunately, I think that they,
10 candidates generally, lag well behind the
11 American public in recognizing what's at stake
12 here. Simply, we're talking about the very
13 identity and the soul of our country. Who are
14 we, what are we about, and will we survive as
15 a sovereign nation?

16 How is it that men and women can
17 get up every day, go to work, pay their bills,
18 vote, raise their children and they are very
19 proud to be Americans. And then suddenly they
20 find themselves cornered by a chattering class
21 of elites in business, politics and the media
22 who seem to have abandoned the common sense.

1 If you think this is an
2 exaggeration, just please consider -- consider
3 this scenario. Imagine if you will, Americans
4 in great numbers might begin showing up in
5 France or in China or Spain or Argentina or
6 Japan or any other country in the world, and
7 these individuals expect to be given driver's
8 licensed, to apply for welfare benefits, they
9 refuse to learn the local language, and
10 conduct and live their lives and their
11 businesses as they desire.

12 Those individuals, these
13 Americans, would be laughed out of town.
14 Unfortunately, there's no laughter in the
15 United States on this issue. It's become a
16 very thorny and a very depressing issue.

17 Let's be clear on this subject.
18 Despite the efforts of some people from the
19 White House on down, the American people do
20 not want to give away their country. They're
21 not interested in one world government or
22 edicts from the United Nations. They have no

1 interest whatsoever in eliminating borders or
2 forming some kind of ridiculous North American
3 Union with Mexico and Canada. And they are
4 sick and tired of feeling insults from those
5 who oppose them on this viewpoint.

6 Americans have a unique and rich
7 heritage. We are the world's first democracy.
8 We gave the world its first constitution.
9 We've been very particular about checks and
10 balances within our political system, whether
11 it's the Federal level, Congressional level,
12 White House or in our own local town council.

13 My point is that we, as Americans
14 have evolved with law, with the law as our
15 road map. Certainly we debate, we dissent, we
16 challenge. Many times in our history it's
17 been ugly and it's been violent, but we move
18 forward and we build on the rule of law.

19 We build on our values and our
20 spiritual resources. What emerges from this
21 human distillation process is a philosophical
22 and cultural landscape that has served our

1 country and this world well for more than 200
2 years.

3 Now for us to say come one, come
4 all, forget about the rule of law is a
5 devastating detour from the path that led us
6 to the freedom and prosperity that we enjoy in
7 this country in the first place.

8 When the founding fathers finished
9 their work in Independence Hall in
10 Philadelphia in September of 1787, Benjamin
11 Franklin was approached by a woman in the
12 crowd who asked him -- she asked him --

13 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Your time is
14 up, Mr. Stirrup, so if you could just
15 concluded.

16 SUPERVISOR STIRRUP: "What have we
17 accomplished?"

18 "A republic, Madam," is what
19 Franklin replied, "if we can keep it."

20 Americans, even if they don't know
21 the details of their own history know by
22 instinct that the issue of illegal aliens is

1 counter to the process which created our
2 republic.

3 I believe in the months and the
4 years ahead, American citizens born here and
5 naturalized will inform their elected
6 officials and opinionmakers that this is our
7 republic and, yes, we want to keep it.

8 Thank you very much for the
9 opportunity to testify this morning. I look
10 forward to your questions.

11 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Mr. Stewart,
12 would you like to change places again?

13 CHAIRMAN STEWART: Sure.

14 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: You confused
15 me totally at the beginning. I thought that
16 you were saying that you were confused with
17 Craig Gerhart, and I couldn't figure out
18 because, you know, the beard seemed to me a
19 dead give-away.

20 CHAIRMAN STEWART: I've got a ways
21 to go.

22 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Now, now, no

1 ageist remarks here, Corey. And could -- I
2 just asked someone on the staff if maybe you
3 could move the chart that is up there, maybe,
4 and turn it around so that I can see the
5 caution button. I can't tell where we're
6 getting in terms of times.

7 Actually, it would be helpful just
8 to sort of put it over where that -- great.
9 Thank you. Thank you, Chief Deane.

10 Yes. Corey Stewart.

11 CHAIRMAN STEWART: Madam Chairman,
12 Members of the Committee, I'm glad you're
13 here, keeping our seats warm. And I want to
14 thank you for coming to Prince William County
15 to help us explain why this community has
16 tried to deal with the problem of illegal
17 immigration and its effects on our community.

18 It's not a unique problem. It's
19 one that's replicated all across the United
20 States, in communities in Texas, in Arizona,
21 but yes, in Virginia, it states that the
22 border, our southern border.

1 Prince William County is a diverse
2 community. It is historically diverse. It's
3 been diverse for over a century. We welcome
4 diversity in Prince William County. We
5 welcome legal immigration. And I must say
6 that I better say that since my own wife is a
7 legal immigrant to the United States.

8 What we do not welcome in this
9 community is illegal activity. What we do not
10 welcome is illegal immigration and its effects
11 on Prince William County.

12 The problem if illegal immigration
13 was not identified by John Stirrup. It was
14 not identified by Corey Stewart. It was not
15 identified by any politician. It was, in
16 fact, identified by the residents of Prince
17 William County who began to notice some of the
18 problems that are associated with illegal
19 immigration.

20 That is not to say that illegal
21 immigrants caused all of these problems or
22 even that they are responsible for a majority

1 of those problems. But the fact is that
2 somebody who is here illegally shouldn't have
3 been here in the first place and is adding to
4 those problems.

5 From our hospitals -- and Mr.
6 Schwartz will discuss that in a few moments --
7 to overcrowded housing in our neighborhoods,
8 to our problem in our jails, we know that a
9 significant portion of the crime committed in
10 the County is by illegal immigrants, to gang
11 activities.

12 First and foremost, the reason
13 that this community and the reason that Mr.
14 Stirrup, myself and the rest of the Board of
15 County Supervisors decided to address the
16 problem is because of public safety.

17 One of the suspects in the triple
18 murder in New Jersey of some three college
19 students was, in fact, a resident of Prince
20 William County. Hector Molina, a suspect in
21 a case earlier this summer, in Prince William
22 County, who was brought into our jail system

1 on a lesser crime, his immigration was not
2 checked.

3 He was released on bond and a
4 couple of weeks later he murdered a Prince
5 William County resident. Just recently there
6 was a triple murder in Woodbridge, it was last
7 week, actually, by an illegal alien here in
8 Prince William County.

9 The reason that the locality needs
10 to address this issue is because, frankly, the
11 Federal Government has failed to do so.
12 Corporate Republicans and liberal Democrats,
13 alike, for their own reasons, have failed to
14 address this problem, refused to do so and as
15 a result communities like ours are forced to
16 pay the price.

17 So, what limited powers we do
18 have, we intend to use to address the problem.
19 We have cooperated with the Federal
20 authorities.

21 We have to say from the outset,
22 that Immigration and Customs enforcement, from

1 our perspective, has been very cooperative.
2 They've been picking up illegal immigrants who
3 have served their sentences in our jails.
4 They've been picked up within hours from the
5 jails and brought into Federal custody.

6 Our resolution was essentially a
7 twofold process. Last year we adopted the
8 resolution to initiate the 287(g) program in
9 the jails, to cooperate with Federal
10 authorities to deport prisoners after they've
11 served their sentences, and in July Mr.
12 Stirrup's resolution extended the 287(g)
13 authority to our police on the streets and to
14 our sheriff's office.

15 We expect to begin enforcement of
16 that resolution as soon as possible which we
17 think will be January or February of next
18 year.

19 I'd welcome, again, you all being
20 here. I think the US Civil Rights Commission
21 has done great work for the past 50 years. We
22 welcome your presence here today and we look

1 forward to the dialogue. Thank you.

2 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Thank you
3 very much.

4 Let me welcome Craig Gerhart, who
5 is County Executive for Prince William County,
6 Virginia. Thank you so much for being with
7 us, and you can go next, please.

8 MR. GERHART: Thanks. Thank you
9 to the Committee, for giving me the
10 opportunity to address you. I've been asked
11 to talk about work that the County staff has
12 done pursuant to Board direction, that we
13 examined the variety of services and programs
14 that the County government offers and examined
15 them with respect to their impact on illegal
16 immigration.

17 The Board adopted a resolution
18 back on July 10th that directed this County
19 staff work and the Board gave us a series of
20 instructional comments. One, they asked that
21 we identify local benefits that we must
22 provide pursuant to state or Federal law,

1 irrespective of resident status of the
2 recipient.

3 Those benefits that we are -- we
4 may not provide to folks who are in the
5 community illegally, those benefits for which
6 the locality has discretion, and the relative
7 merits of exercising that discretion in terms
8 of restricting service delivery, and they made
9 certain that the direction included that our
10 staff work and recommendations should come
11 forward in a manner fully consistent with
12 Federal law, in a manner so as not to be
13 construed as prohibiting the rendering of
14 emergency medical care or any other federally
15 or state-mandated benefits, and not to do
16 anything to discourage the reporting of crime
17 or criminal activity to any law enforcement
18 agency.

19 The County staff examined the
20 entire gamut of services that we provide and
21 that included over 236 services which we
22 grouped -- are offered in four different

1 categories. Eighty of them were in our
2 functional area of community development, 84
3 were in general government, 52 were in public
4 safety, and 126 were in -- I'm sorry, 120 were
5 in human services.

6 As we began our work, the County
7 Attorney identified a series of issues that
8 guided our work from a legal perspective.
9 These included the complexity of verifying
10 citizenship and legal or illegal status, a due
11 process clause pursuant to the 14th Amendment
12 of the Constitution, the equal protection
13 clause, again, in the 14th Amendment to the
14 Constitution, Supreme Court rulings, such as
15 Plyer v. Doe, the Dillon Rule here in Virginia
16 which limits local authority and discretion,
17 the Freedom of Information Act, which governs
18 information as it must be provided to the
19 community, and property ownership laws.

20 With that as backdrop, we asked
21 our County staff to look at all of those 200-
22 plus programs, identify the program by name,

1 give us any information they could about
2 current laws that guide and service delivery,
3 gave us -- give us any information they might
4 have in terms of the efforts they have in
5 place to verify legal status as well as
6 letting us know where those -- we had no
7 verification system in place.

8 And then we asked them to discuss
9 the impacts of restricting those services on
10 our regulatory function, on our customer
11 service delivery, and on our customer service
12 delivery as it relates to serving the
13 community at large, versus specific services
14 to individuals.

15 We came back with our report to
16 the Board and we gave the Board all of those
17 services categorized as follows: We
18 identified a range of services which are
19 already restricted, primarily by Federal law.
20 These would include things such as temporary
21 aid to needy families, food stamps, et cetera.

22 We identified services that may

1 not be restricted pursuant to Federal or state
2 law. An example here would be health services
3 provided to infants.

4 We identified services that we
5 thought we had the legal discretion to
6 restrict, but where we thought the impact on
7 the community, the potential legal questions
8 and fiscal impacts would be extraordinarily
9 high and recommended that those not be
10 considered.

11 Those would include services like
12 parks and libraries for which we have open
13 facilities, no sense of eligibility systems or
14 anything, and the cost to put those in place
15 we thought were prohibited.

16 We also had some services that we
17 categorized in an area called services that
18 should not be restricted, and these were
19 services such as mental health where failure
20 to provide service to a client, irrespective
21 of legal or illegal status could have serious
22 impacts on the larger community.

1 Another example would be some
2 services we provide to children who may very
3 well be US citizens but our clinical model
4 suggests we need to work closely with the
5 family and we can't do our job if we try to
6 sort through whether the family is legal or
7 not, so we suggested not going there.

8 Then we had services that benefit
9 the community as a whole, such as road
10 construction. It's very difficult to sort out
11 who is using roads at any point in time. And
12 then services that benefit our County
13 employees such as payroll, fleet services,
14 which really are part of our service mix, but
15 don't directly support any individual within
16 the community.

17 The last category was a list of
18 services that we thought could and perhaps
19 should be restricted, given the Board's policy
20 guidelines, and those services included adult
21 services to the elderly and disabled in
22 allowing them to remain in their homes, in-

1 care services for our elderly, a substance
2 abuse program in our adult detention center,
3 tax relief to elderly and disabled, homeless
4 intervention programs which are really
5 designed to allow people to remain in their
6 homes and therefore in the community,
7 identification services to adults provided by
8 the Sheriff's Department, which is not our
9 primarily law enforcement. We thought that
10 gave an imprimatur of identification provided
11 by government, and then a tax exemption
12 program we have for folks who renovate either
13 commercial or residential properties.

14 In each of those cases, the Board
15 did direct that we develop procedures for how
16 we would go about restricting those services
17 so that they're not delivered to folks who are
18 in our community illegally and I ask that we
19 come back to them after the first of the year
20 with those procedures, at which point we
21 believe the Board will make a decision as to
22 how they want us to proceed.

1 I should note that none of these
2 services have been restricted to date. The
3 only services we are restricting are those
4 that are directed by the Federal and state
5 government for restriction.

6 That ends my comments. Of course,
7 I look forward to your questions.

8 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Thank you.
9 Thank you very much.

10 Mr. Schwartz.

11 MR. SCHWARTZ: Thank you, Madam
12 Chairlady, and Members of the Committee for
13 inviting me.

14 The County has two hospitals,
15 Prince William Hospital and Potomac Hospital.
16 Both hospitals are voluntary, not-for-profit.
17 So, this name on the card indicates County.
18 Both of our hospitals are 501(c)(3) under the
19 Internal Revenue Code.

20 Community hospitals such as Prince
21 William are the backbone of America's health
22 care system. We provide quality care to all

1 who come through our doors, whether or not
2 they are citizens or from other countries,
3 whether or not they have insurance.

4 Our county is one of the fastest-
5 growing, not only in Virginia, but in the
6 United States. In the last ten years we've
7 grown about 30 percent, the last 12 years.

8 We estimate by 2012 we will have
9 grown another 18 percent coming to a
10 population of about 425,000. Now, this growth
11 in population offers great opportunities and
12 it also presents challenges.

13 We obey the laws of the United
14 States and the Commonwealth of Virginia, as
15 I've said, and we do not seek to find out the
16 immigration status of any of our patients, nor
17 do we keep statistics on the immigration
18 status of our patients. We do, however, keep
19 statistics on our self-pay and Medicaid
20 patients.

21 Overall, 20 percent of the gross
22 charges at Prince William Hospital are self-

1 pay or Medicaid which means out of \$400
2 million in gross revenues per year 80 million
3 are self-pay or Medicaid.

4 Last year there were 2665 births
5 at Prince William Hospital. Nearly 40 percent
6 of those were unassigned births, which means
7 that the mother was not under the care of an
8 obstetrician, and thus, there was very little
9 prenatal care.

10 Unfortunately, without prenatal
11 care, a large number of those newborns require
12 treatment in our neonatal intensive care unit.
13 And I think, as you know, without prenatal
14 care lifelong problems may also result, and
15 these can be debilitating and costly to
16 society.

17 In addition to the financial
18 burden that this type of situation places on
19 hospitals such as Prince William and Potomac,
20 it also takes an enormous toll on our
21 professionals who are hard-working labor and
22 delivery room nurses, for example, the lack of

1 prenatal care is heart-breaking and, in fact,
2 frustrating.

3 And I might add that the Health
4 Department of Prince William County does a
5 superb job taking care of many of the
6 undocumented, but the Health Department is
7 just inundated with the numbers.

8 Now, prior to 2005, at Prince
9 William Health System, we had a local
10 obstetrical group handle the unassigned cases.
11 As the number of births of unassigned patients
12 increased, the demands became so great that
13 they asked to be relieved of this
14 responsibility.

15 And in 2005, we actually hired --
16 we had to hire a group, a private group who
17 exclusively takes care of our indigent OB's
18 and related services. And the cost of
19 providing these services in 2001 was about
20 \$560,000. Five years later, last year, we
21 paid \$1.5 million for these obstetrical
22 deliveries.

1 In addition, we paid last year
2 about 1.1 million -- and I'm rounding off --
3 for the neonatal intensive care. Forty-seven
4 percent of our NICU patients are self-pay or
5 Medicaid. The cost of subsidizing
6 anesthesiologists for these same services is
7 about \$500,000.

8 In addition to these operating
9 costs of course we've had to expand our
10 delivery room and our operating rooms and our
11 emergency room. Our emergency room, when I
12 came to the community in 2000 was seeing
13 roughly 50,000 patients a year. By 2010 we
14 estimate we're going to see 71,000 emergency
15 room patients a year. And many of these, 40
16 percent, roughly, are uninsured.

17 And this obviously causes other
18 problems because many of them do not have
19 primary care physicians and if they become ill
20 they use the emergency room for primary care.
21 Sometimes these visits are emergencies, but as
22 I say, many times they are for primary care.

1 In 2006 there were more than
2 56,000 visits to our emergency room. Not in
3 my notes, but growing as a national problem --
4 it's certainly a problem in Prince William
5 County and it will be in Virginia and it will
6 be in the United States, is the increasing
7 reluctance of private physicians to take
8 emergency room call without subsidies from the
9 hospitals or someone -- there really is no one
10 else other than the hospital because of the
11 increasing load in the emergency rooms.

12 Now, as a non-for-profit, Prince
13 William Hospital will continue to fulfill our
14 obligation to provide health services to all
15 regardless of their ability to pay, although
16 it is having a severe financial impact on us.

17 In 2006 the cost of all services
18 provided for free or at reduced value were
19 more than \$15 million. And I believe in my
20 hand-out there is a summary that we put
21 together called a community benefit package
22 and you can read that.

1 Thank you, Madam Chairperson.

2 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Thank you
3 very much.

4 Next joining us will be Charlie
5 Deane and he is chief of police and I believe
6 you are the one who -- did you bring this
7 particular chart with you? Is that --

8 CHIEF DEANE: Yes, ma'am. It
9 doesn't need to be there unless --

10 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: No. I just
11 see it now. I just didn't want it obscuring
12 the --

13 CHIEF DEANE: It had been asked --
14 someone in the previous presentation had
15 mentioned the crime rate and I just wanted to
16 put that on the graphic for you.

17 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Right.

18 CHIEF DEANE: Would you like for
19 me to proceed?

20 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Yes, please.

21 CHIEF DEANE: Madam Chairman,
22 Members of the Committee, I'm pleased to be

1 here today to represent the Prince William
2 County Police Department, and my narrow
3 perspective of this very complex issue.

4 I think it's important that we
5 talk a little bit about the history of
6 policing as it relates to immigration
7 enforcement, particularly in my narrow view,
8 that of the local law enforcement's role.

9 Local law enforcement has had
10 almost no role in the enforcement of
11 immigration laws in my time as a police
12 officer and as police chief.

13 It has been a federal
14 responsibility and we have really not
15 understood immigration laws because we've not
16 had much of a role. Having said that, over
17 the years and more in recent years since we've
18 seen the influx of criminal gangs related to
19 a number of Latino gangs coming into this
20 region.

21 We started seeing the issue of
22 criminal gang immigrants, illegal aliens that

1 were here related to that criminal activity.
2 That criminal activity started in about 1992,
3 so we started developing a more close with
4 Immigration authorities, and I might say that
5 they have been very cooperative with us over
6 the years.

7 Prior to getting involved with
8 Immigration related to gangs, we dealt with
9 fugitives. If they fled out of the country
10 sometimes we would talk with Immigration
11 authorities.

12 But as we've seen the gang issue
13 and as we've seen the demographic shifts in
14 the County and significant influx of foreign-
15 born individuals here, we have seen -- we have
16 received an increasing number of complaints
17 concerning quality of life issues and crime
18 issues that are associated or perceived to be
19 associated with the issue of influx of
20 immigrants.

21 Some of those issues have involved
22 overcrowded housing, noise, drinking in

1 public, parking in yards and changing oils in
2 driveways and loud parties and all those kinds
3 of things. A lot of quality of life kind of
4 issues that the police department has
5 responded to.

6 As to crime, we have certainly
7 investigated a number of crimes committed by
8 illegal aliens, and a number of crimes that
9 have -- where illegal aliens have been
10 victimized.

11 Two years ago I focused a lot of
12 attention and brought some media attention to
13 the issue of people who were being robbed
14 because they were here in an illegal status
15 because they were carrying cash, they are
16 walking alone often in an area of the County,
17 and they were victimized specifically because
18 they were known to be high-risk victims, if
19 you will.

20 As time has gone on the Board of
21 Supervisors last December asked the police
22 department for comment concerning the 287(g)

1 program as to whether we should take that in
2 the police department at that time, or how we
3 should deal with that issue, to -- as a first
4 step in trying to deal with the illegal alien
5 issue in the County.

6 The police department recommended
7 that that go forward. The Jail Board put that
8 in place with the Board of Supervisors'
9 direction. The 287(g) has been put in place
10 in the jail and is working effectively.

11 It's been mentioned earlier, but
12 just to give you some numbers as of today, 213
13 individuals are being held in the jail today
14 who have detention orders on them. They may
15 be being held on the criminal charge until
16 that detention order is effective once their
17 sentence has been -- has ended or they have
18 been sentenced.

19 And a total of 482 have been put
20 in -- have had detention orders placed on
21 them, that is Immigration detention orders
22 placed on them this year.

1 Some of those are under the new
2 program. Some of them would have been
3 identified as illegal and subject to
4 deportation under the old system where we were
5 working with ICE related to criminal gang
6 members.

7 Then, in last July the Board of
8 Supervisors passed a resolution that had been
9 discussed earlier. From a police perspective,
10 as the Chairman has mentioned, it required us
11 to do two things. One was to establish 287(g)
12 authority within the police department, a
13 cross-designation.

14 And secondly, we needed to impose
15 or implement a new policy that basically we
16 can talk about more, I'm sure, but it
17 basically requires that if we, the police,
18 detain someone lawfully for a state or local
19 charge and there is probable cause to believe
20 that individual is here illegally, the police
21 department must do more to inquire into that
22 and if it is determined that the person, in

1 fact, is here unlawfully, communicate with
2 Immigration in some way. So, we need to do
3 more than we've ever done in the past.

4 Of course this, as I mentioned, is
5 a new area of responsibility for us so,
6 suffice it to say, I've spent and my staff has
7 spent the last twelve months, or since we
8 started with the jail program, but the last
9 several months intentionally studying this
10 issue, reaching out to all authorities.

11 You've heard mention of the ICP
12 and the Police Executive Research Forum and
13 other entities, major city chiefs who have
14 studied these issues, and we think we have a
15 handle on what the legal issues are and some
16 of the issues.

17 I've commented to the Board about
18 some of those issues. But, the Board
19 resolution came to us. As police chief, my
20 staff and I worked on how we should respond to
21 that, and our response that I proposed back to
22 the Board of Supervisors was that we address

1 this in a three-phased approach.

2 One would be that we methodically
3 -- we change the rules, our policy, and we
4 carefully craft the policy that's fair, lawful
5 and reasonable, that we train all of our
6 officers in that policy.

7 It's one thing to pass a policy
8 and the most important thing is for us to talk
9 about our philosophy in how we carry that
10 policy out, and it's very important that we
11 carefully train our officers in that respect.

12 So, we have designed, since the --
13 since September -- we've been using it the
14 last two months in designing training. We're
15 going to provide our officers one full day,
16 eight hours of training, each individual --
17 each officer of the police department in that
18 new policy.

19 That will start in January. We
20 are not going to put the policy in place
21 piecemeal. We're going to put it in place
22 after everyone has been trained.

1 So, we've put a lot of thought
2 into that. We're going to have small training
3 groups of 30 people. Maybe that's more detail
4 than you need, but it's important to know that
5 we are very careful in how we are dealing with
6 that issue.

7 The second part of that change
8 that we're going to make in kind of the phase
9 one of our approach, if you can follow me, is
10 we are creating a criminal alien unit which is
11 a small unit of six detectives or sergeant and
12 five detectives who will focus on the most
13 serious criminal aliens that are in the
14 community, and they will make sure that we do
15 what we can to get these people out of the
16 country once they've served their sentence or
17 to identify them and deport them if they pose
18 a threat to the community and if they've been
19 convicted of serious crimes they have to
20 remain in our community.

21 So, that will be a small criminal
22 alien unit that will be cross-designated under

1 the 287(g) program. So, the 287(g), in our
2 view, is not going to be provided to all
3 officers, but will -- we will use that
4 effectively to focus on criminal aliens.

5 The second component of our
6 suggested approach, which the Board has
7 endorsed, is public education. It's vitally
8 important that we do everything we can to say
9 what this program is and what it isn't, that
10 it's not going to be -- we're not going to
11 have roadblocks, ICE roadblocks and round-up's
12 and those kinds of things, but we are going to
13 focus on criminal aliens and we are going to
14 hold people more accountable for -- if they
15 violate the law, for their immigration status.
16 We are going to do more in that area.

17 So, I'm concerned about the
18 expectation issue there. You know, we can't
19 do everything to solve this, what I see as a
20 national problem, but we can do some things if
21 we focus carefully.

22 And the third component of that

1 three-phased approach is an evaluation
2 process. Too often we put public policies in
3 place and don't follow through to make sure
4 they really are impacted where we want to
5 impact, and we are as effective as we can be.

6 We are affiliating ourselves with
7 the Police Executive Research Forum and the
8 University of Virginia to design a program
9 that will track what we are doing and we'll
10 look at data -- help us establish what data we
11 need to capture -- like one of the issues you
12 all were mentioning earlier is that of how
13 long we detain people. Are we detaining some
14 people more than others? Is that fair?
15 What's the law? So, we need to track that and
16 pay attention to the details.

17 And I'll quickly try to summarize.
18 So, our policy will focus on criminal aliens,
19 the protection of victims of crime, regardless
20 of their immigration status, the protection of
21 cooperative witnesses, regardless of their
22 immigration status.

1 And, of course, the issue that we
2 all know is one that will be alleged, is that
3 of racial profiling. We have a strong policy
4 that we do not allow racial profiling. That
5 policy's been in place probably ten years in
6 the police department.

7 But, racial profiling is not
8 appropriate. We have trained our officers in
9 that and we will re-emphasize that training in
10 this training that's coming up on this issue,
11 that it's not appropriate because it's against
12 Federal law, it's against our general orders
13 and it's simply wrong.

14 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Thank you
15 very much.

16 CHIEF DEANE: Yes, ma'am.

17 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: And thank you
18 to all of the panelists. I'm going to take
19 the prerogative of the Chair and ask the first
20 questions and then turn to my colleagues.

21 Thank you all for your statements.
22 Thank you especially to the two members of the

1 Board of Supervisors who were instrumental in
2 the passage of this.

3 I appreciate particularly Chairman
4 Stewart, your focusing on the issues that
5 we're concerned about here. I must say, Mr.
6 Stirrup, you and I might want to have a debate
7 some place under other circumstances about
8 proper immigration policy, but that is not our
9 interest here.

10 Our interest here today is, in
11 fact, the civil rights implications of the
12 actions taken by the Board. And I will say
13 that, in looking at the wording of the
14 resolution, at least the "whereas's" I was a
15 little bit reminded of the childhood tale of
16 Alice in Wonderland and the Red Queen who, as
17 I recall said, "Off with their heads. Off
18 with their heads." A sentence first, verdict
19 later.

20 And I say that because of the
21 "whereas" that I mentioned earlier today,
22 "Whereas, the Prince William Board of County

1 Supervisors has determined that illegal
2 immigration is causing economic hardship and
3 lawlessness in this County," and I want to
4 know how it is the Board went about
5 determining that, because watching this, as I
6 did on television, reading about it in the
7 newspapers, it seemed that there was very
8 little fact-finding prior to the Board's
9 consideration of this measure.

10 There was not, for example, the
11 kind of fact-finding we've had this morning
12 where we've brought in legal experts,
13 demographers, et cetera, to inquire what the
14 impact is. You seem to have made up your mind
15 what this impact was, and I just want to know
16 what the empirical evidence was of that
17 impact, not people's feelings, but what
18 empirical data did you pull together to
19 determine this lawlessness.

20 I'm looking at a chart that
21 suggests, for example, that crime has gone
22 down. If you look at the unemployment figures

1 in the County of Prince William, it's about
2 two and a half percent, last I checked.
3 That's pretty low. It's below what economists
4 normally consider full employment.

5 So, I'm trying to figure out where
6 your fact basis was, and was it the facts that
7 were motivating you or was it something else?

8 CHAIRMAN STEWART: Thank you,
9 Madam Chair. Well, I'm glad you brought up
10 Alice in Wonderland, the statement about
11 "sentence first, verdict later," reminds me a
12 little bit of your article from May 25th, 2007
13 when you claimed that all of us, especially on
14 the right who are trying to address the
15 problems of illegal immigration were
16 xenophobes and just didn't like Mexicans.

17 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: No. I
18 actually did not say that. So, let's not --

19 CHAIRMAN STEWART: Well, I've got
20 it right here.

21 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: -- let's not
22 -- well, we can read it into the record if you

1 like. That's not what it said.

2 CHAIRMAN STEWART: Well, actually,
3 I would like that read in the record.

4 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: We'll be
5 happy to do that.

6 CHAIRMAN STEWART: And you've got
7 a very clear past and agenda here, and --

8 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Mr. Stewart,
9 I am not the subject of this hearing.

10 CHAIRMAN STEWART: -- I respect
11 your views, but --

12 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: We are here
13 on a very serious matter.

14 CHAIRMAN STEWART: I just wanted
15 to make it clear that whereas you're trying to
16 say that this community and that John Stirrup
17 and myself simply went about this without --

18 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: No, I'm just
19 asking a question, Mr. Stewart. Perhaps you
20 can answer it.

21 CHAIRMAN STEWART: I'm trying to
22 lay the format here for what I'm about to say.

1 We did look at the impacts on the community.
2 And the thing to remind yourself here is that
3 this --

4 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Could you
5 just elucidate that? Could you tell us what
6 demographic studies you have --

7 CHAIRMAN STEWART: I'm trying to
8 tell you.

9 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: -- you did
10 that. So, if you could please just provide
11 that.

12 CHAIRMAN STEWART: Ms. Chavez, I'm
13 trying to tell you.

14 The community identified this
15 issue. The community identified the issue in
16 the hospitals, in the hospital emergency
17 rooms, as you've just heard from Mr. Schwartz.

18 The community identified the
19 problem on the streets in terms of crime. The
20 community identified the issues in the
21 neighborhoods with housing overcrowding.

22 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: So, in other

1 words, we have anecdotal evidence that was
2 presented by the Board.

3 CHAIRMAN STEWART: And -- and as a
4 result of that, Mr. Stirrup, myself and others
5 on the Board did, in fact, take a look at the
6 issue to see whether we have a problem with
7 illegal immigration.

8 We do. We know from Immigration
9 and Customs Enforcement that up to one-third
10 of all the gang members in Northern Virginia
11 are, in fact, illegal aliens. We know, at
12 least we knew at the time, we estimated that
13 -- and we underestimated, actually, that the
14 percentage of the people in our jail were, in
15 fact, illegal aliens -- at the time we thought
16 it was smaller.

17 Now a recent snapshot at the time
18 that we undertook -- when we voted on the
19 resolution it was approximately 21 percent of
20 the inmates in our jail were, in fact, illegal
21 aliens.

22 That was the primary reason for

1 this resolution, is to address the real life
2 quality of life concerns. And, I would say
3 this: Now, how do you value or quantify the
4 lives of Juan Manual Guevera, Rosario Uropa,
5 Heraldo Lopez Garcia?

6 These are three Prince William
7 County residents, Madam Chairman, in today's
8 newspaper who were murdered by an illegal
9 alien, somebody who should not have been in
10 this country in the first place.

11 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: And what was
12 their legal status, the victims?

13 CHAIRMAN STEWART: Does that make
14 a difference?

15 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: No. I'm just
16 asking.

17 CHAIRMAN STEWART: Are there lives
18 any less valuable because they were legal or
19 illegal?

20 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: No. I'm just
21 curious.

22 CHAIRMAN STEWART: What are you

1 trying to say here?

2 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: I'm just
3 curious whether or not they were also illegal
4 aliens. We have heard some testimony today
5 that illegal aliens are victims of crime as
6 well as perpetrators.

7 CHAIRMAN STEWART: I don't
8 disagree with you on that.

9 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Let me ask
10 one other question, because you have placed a
11 tremendous amount of emphasis on legal versus
12 illegal immigration, and Mr. Stirrup did the
13 same thing.

14 Legal immigration policy is, of
15 course, a Federal matter, a national matter.
16 There was, in fact, legislation that was under
17 consideration this last Congress which did not
18 pass, but had it passed, had we decided to
19 pass a law that would have increased the
20 number of legal immigrants into the United
21 States -- we admit about 400,000 legal
22 immigrants into the United States each year.

1 We create about a million and a
 2 half to two million new jobs each year, so
 3 that's somewhat of a gap between our economic
 4 needs and the number of people that we admit
 5 each year, and our population is stable. It's
 6 not -- it is not growing.

7 If, in fact, legislation had
 8 passed and the number of persons in Prince
 9 William County who are now here illegally were
 10 given legal status would you have any problems
 11 with their presence here?

12 In other words, is it really the
 13 illegality and if they were to become tomorrow
 14 legal residents, would that in any way change
 15 their impact on the economy? Would it in any
 16 way change their impact in terms of the use of
 17 the hospitals or their participation, either
 18 as victims or perpetrators of crime?

19 How would that change? And how
 20 would that change your actions?

21 CHAIRMAN STEWART: The fundamental
 22 purpose of this resolution is to remove the

1 bad guys, to remove the people who are here
2 illegally and commit crimes.

3 The fact is, is that if Congress
4 had passed the broad amnesty and the people
5 were no longer -- that commit the crimes were
6 no longer illegal we wouldn't be able to use
7 Federal Immigration Law to remove them from
8 the community.

9 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Actually, it
10 wouldn't have been eligible to be legal --

11 CHAIRMAN STEWART: Well, the point
12 is that we are using Federal Immigration Law
13 as a tool to remove bad guys from our
14 community. If Congress had removed that took
15 by granting them amnesty, obviously we
16 wouldn't have been able to pass this
17 resolution and it wouldn't have done any good.

18 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: I'm going to
19 ask --

20 CHAIRMAN STEWART: I'm not going
21 to say that I support amnesty. I don't.
22 That's a personal view. From a perspective --

1 I'm giving you my perspective as a County
2 Chairman.

3 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: And I'm going
4 to ask Lloyd Cohen to ask the next question.

5 MEMBER COHEN: Yes, I'm going to
6 change gears a bit here. This is a question,
7 both for Mr. Schwartz and Mr. Gerhart, because
8 I couldn't quite get the sense of some of Mr.
9 Schwartz's testimony as to where that was
10 leading, and I want to get more of a feel of
11 how the entire policy would be implemented.

12 Mr. Schwartz made a number of
13 points about the prenatal care and that the
14 problems of women not having prenatal care
15 leads to high neonatal costs and then probably
16 lifetime costs in what would then be citizens
17 of the United States and residents of Prince
18 William County.

19 Now, so Mr. Gerhart, on your list
20 of those services that could be restricted but
21 impact cost is high, or services that should
22 not be restricted.

1 Have you given thought to that
2 particular service, prenatal care and, you
3 know, where does that fall in all of this?

4 MR. GERHART: I believe that, to
5 the extent the County is involved in prenatal
6 care, that is provided through our Health
7 Department, and those services are pretty
8 well, I think, driven by Federal and state
9 law.

10 And so, the continuing provision
11 of those services, I think are, in fact, not
12 on the list for restriction because they can't
13 be. I can't really speak to Dr. Schwartz's
14 issues. The hospital is not a County-funded
15 institution and he has -- he has his own data.

16 MR. SCHWARTZ: Let me must clarify
17 it a little. If a person is eligible for
18 Medicaid then they would be eligible for
19 prenatal care, and would presumably get it
20 from private obstetricians, at least, or
21 perhaps.

22 If they are not eligible for

1 Medicare because they are undocumented, the
2 mother, then she will not get prenatal care
3 except through the auspices of the County
4 Health Department which is a division of the
5 State Health Department.

6 And the problem is they are
7 overwhelmed with the volume of patients. So,
8 if you are lucky enough as an undocumented to
9 get to the Health Department, you will receive
10 prenatal care.

11 Once you come into the emergency
12 room we will deliver you and you will get the
13 highest quality care that anybody else gets.
14 The baby is immediately an American citizen
15 and eligible for Medicaid, but we are not
16 reimbursed for the cost of the mother's
17 delivery. That's basically the way it works.

18 So, to summarize, if a person is
19 undocumented, they are not, themselves,
20 eligible for Medicaid. And the only way they
21 can get the prenatal care is, unless they pay
22 out of their pocket, is through the auspices

1 of the Health Department.

2 The Health Department is very,
3 very overwhelmed with the number of patients
4 or traditionally has been, and therefore, not
5 all of these women get prenatal care.

6 But whether they are documented or
7 undocumented or whatever, the minute they
8 deliver in the hospital, the baby is an
9 American citizen and covered for Medicaid.

10 MEMBER COHEN: So, to clarify for
11 my own understanding.

12 MR. SCHWARTZ: Sure.

13 MEMBER COHEN: So the thrust of
14 much of your testimony and what you're saying
15 now is that there are great costs that are
16 imposed on the County by the presence of
17 illegal immigrants, you know, in this
18 particular instance, and the thrust of what
19 you're saying is that this County policy that
20 we're here discussing would not -- does not
21 affect this one -- would not affect this one
22 way or the other as to these -- the treatment

1 of these women?

2 MR. SCHWARTZ: That's correct.

3 CHAIRMAN STEWART: I would refine
4 your answer. There are great costs imposed on
5 both voluntary, not-for-profit hospitals and
6 the County.

7 MEMBER COHEN: All right.

8 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Could I just
9 ask a follow-up to that, because it's right on
10 this point.

11 MR. SCHWARTZ: Sure.

12 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Some of the
13 costs you are talking about, it seems come
14 from the status of these people, not in terms
15 of immigration status, but their socioeconomic
16 status.

17 Would they not also cause
18 tremendous costs just by virtue socioeconomic
19 status and regardless of their legal status?
20 Would it, in fact, would not some of those
21 costs actually increase if they were legally
22 resident or if they were US citizens if, for

1 example, we were dealing with a low-income
2 native-born population?

3 MR. SCHWARTZ: Yes, they could
4 incur the same kind of costs.

5 CHAIRMAN STEWART: It tends, as
6 you saw from the professor's demographics, and
7 we certainly see it every day, in reality,
8 that many of these people do not have the
9 resources and therefore they have health
10 problems.

11 MEMBER GAZIANO: I, too, want to
12 add my own personal thanks to all the citizens
13 of the County, but particularly the Board
14 Members who are letting us keep their chairs
15 warm and giving us this beautiful hearing
16 room.

17 My particular question goes to
18 Chief Deane. I may disagree with one of the
19 previous witnesses on the previous panel that
20 said that if you ever inquire of anyone, you
21 must inquire of everyone in every situation,
22 but it does seem like a wise policy when it's

1 possible.

2 Do you at least inquire of
3 immigration status currently or in your future
4 plans for all arrestees? I know police
5 officers come in contact with citizens in a
6 lot of different ways, but do you at least
7 inquire of all arrestees?

8 CHIEF DEANE: Yes. When they go
9 to -- if they are detained and go to the jail
10 they would be screened for their immigration
11 status.

12 MEMBER GAZIANO: Okay. I'd like
13 to understand, then, in what other situations
14 do you sometimes inquire and sometimes don't,
15 what kind of facts might give rise to what
16 your training for police officers suggests?

17 CHIEF DEANE: The threshold that
18 the Board of Supervisors has established is
19 probable cause that would require officers to
20 take that further step. Of course, before you
21 get to probable cause, there's reasonable,
22 articulable suspicion, and what you are asking

1 I think --

2 MEMBER GAZIANO: A Terry-type
3 stop. Can you give me any ideas --

4 CHIEF DEANE: What you are asking,
5 I think, is an example, and I'll try to do
6 that.

7 MEMBER GAZIANO: Sure.

8 CHIEF DEANE: An individual is
9 stopped for traffic violation, runs through
10 radar. The officer doesn't know who they are
11 and they flag the person over. The person
12 presents an international driver's license.
13 For example, an El Salvadorian driver's
14 license. The person cannot speak English.

15 The officer is suspicious and asks
16 more questions and determines that the person
17 is, either through running a record check or
18 through the interview process, or they may
19 find something, may see something there that
20 makes it clear that the person is not here
21 lawfully.

22 The vehicle is not registered to

1 the person. The person gives a false address
2 or something, just raising the suspicion. At
3 the point that it becomes probable cause,
4 the officer is going to do his -- is going to
5 be required to do more.

6 That may be merely notifying
7 Immigration authorities that this individual
8 is probably unlawfully here. That may involve
9 -- if that individual is -- if the records
10 indicate that the individual has failed to
11 appear for a deportation hearing, that
12 individual may be arrested rather than being
13 given a summons.

14 Virginia is a "will summons" state
15 which basically requires that if someone is
16 stopped on a traffic violation or certain
17 minor misdemeanors criminal charges, they will
18 be released on a summons except for certain
19 circumstances.

20 MEMER GAZIANO: There's a case
21 pending in the Supreme Court in a few weeks on
22 this.

1 CHIEF DEANE: Okay. And one of
2 those circumstances --

3 MEMBER GAZIANO: From Virginia.

4 CHIEF DEANE: And one of those
5 circumstances is that if the officer has
6 reason to believe he will not show up, the
7 individual will not show up for court. The
8 fact that we will have a -- use as a factor
9 the fact that the person did not show up for
10 a deportation hearing. That's kind of the
11 full cycle on just one example.

12 MEMBER GAZIANO: Okay. And just
13 my final thought on this, is this part of the
14 eight-hour training for every officer?

15 CHIEF DEANE: Yes, sir.

16 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Let me just
17 follow up on that because I want to pin you
18 down a little bit on this probable cause
19 standard.

20 I was driving in a real rush to
21 get here this morning, and it was fog, and
22 let's say I made a terrible mistake and I went

1 right through a red light. I didn't, but
2 let's say I had, and one of your officers
3 pulled me over.

4 And let's pretend for a moment
5 that my English was not as good as it is --
6 it's not all that great, anyway, but let's
7 pretend that I have a rather thick accent and
8 that perhaps my skin is a little bit darker,
9 and I hand them my license and the license,
10 it's a Virginia license, but it says "Linda
11 Chavez" on it.

12 And I'm a little confused and I'm
13 nervous and, you know, I'm just very unsettled
14 by this. Is the fact that my name is Linda
15 Chavez, my skin is dark, I've got a very thick
16 Spanish accent and I'm seeming very nervous,
17 probable cause for you to ask me to produce
18 proof of citizenship?

19 CHIEF DEANE: No.

20 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Okay.

21 MEMBER GREVE: I'd like to use
22 this opportunity to clarify something that our

1 previous panel mentioned about language
2 ability being prohibited as a criterion, or a
3 protected class, even for civil rights.

4 How do you treat language ability
5 in your own screening and criteria and in what
6 way is it allowed or not allowed when you're
7 looking -- racial profiling is something that
8 you are prohibiting your --

9 CHIEF DEANE: My understanding is
10 that racial -- that the language skill issue
11 can be used as a factor in just making the
12 overall assessment, the total circumstances in
13 trying to determine the status of an
14 individual.

15 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Yes.

16 MEMBER WARD: My question is for
17 the County Administrator, Mr. Gerhart.

18 You appear to be doing a great
19 deal of ground level, street level
20 investigation as to where these Federal, state
21 and local laws and policies, in fact,
22 intersect, and I know it's very early in the

1 process, but I'd be curious for any comments
2 you have as to what the response has been at
3 either the state or Federal level to the body
4 of evidence you're beginning to gather.

5 MR. GERHART: It is very early in
6 the process. The Board has not directed that
7 we restrict any specific services to date,
8 other than those from which the direction
9 comes from, either the state or Federal
10 government.

11 So, at this point, I really can't
12 -- I can't share anything with you about what
13 the Federal and state perspective is. You
14 really need to hear that from them.
15 Obviously, the state has some commissions that
16 are at work as we speak, and we are looking
17 forward to seeing what they say about some of
18 these things.

19 But, I don't have anything
20 specific to share with you.

21 MEMBER WARD: Any inquiries at
22 this point or noted, or a heightened sense of

1 interest in where you're going from --

2 MR. GERHART: I think we rely very
3 heavily on the legal advice we have from very,
4 very capable County attorneys in our County
5 Attorney's Office, and I daresay I think, to
6 the extent they may err, they're erring in the
7 side of being very conservative about
8 articulating what our local options are, local
9 legal options are.

10 MEMBER SAMP: I've seen a number
11 of press accounts in the last couple of months
12 since Prince William County adopted its
13 legislation suggesting that among the
14 immigrant population, particularly among the
15 illegal immigrant population, but among the
16 immigrant population generally that there has
17 been a feeling that they are unwelcome to some
18 extent and that some people have left the
19 County.

20 Has this legislation actually had
21 that effect that has been reported in the
22 press? Has anybody seen evidence of that

1 here?

2 SUPERVISOR STIRRUP: Thank you for
3 your question, Mr. Samp. I would say
4 anecdotally I've heard from a number of
5 individuals, as well as staff professionals in
6 the County that there is -- there seems to be
7 evidence that illegal aliens have moved or
8 have left Prince William County for other
9 sanctuary jurisdictions or jurisdictions where
10 they feel more comfortable -- a more
11 comfortable environment.

12 But we don't anticipate having any
13 quantifiable numbers on that until probably
14 August of 2008. I believe that that is the
15 first formal presentation that we'll get in
16 terms of numbers and any impact on the results
17 of the impact of our resolution.

18 MEMBER SAMP: Thank you.

19 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Could I
20 follow up with that, Mr. Stirrup? You say
21 that you will have some evidence, some
22 quantifiable evidence. I'm just wondering

1 what the basis for that evidence is going to
2 be, since it's going to be rather difficult to
3 know the Immigration status of the people who
4 have left.

5 Will you, for example, look at
6 demographic data and decide that the decline
7 in the Hispanic percentage of the population
8 is proof that there has been an exodus of
9 illegal aliens from the County?

10 SUPERVISOR STIRRUP: I'm not sure
11 that if that specifically is an element. I
12 might defer this question to the County
13 Administrator and the County Chief who were
14 charged with presenting this report to the
15 Board in our August meeting.

16 MR. GERHART: Two quick points.
17 First is the evaluation that Chief Deane
18 referred to is not yet designed, so I can't
19 give you specifics as to what data points
20 we'll be using.

21 The second observation is that
22 sometime ago the Board asked -- directed

1 County staff to try to come back with
2 information about the cost of providing
3 services to illegal immigrants.

4 The only place where we had data
5 that we felt confident in reporting back to
6 the Board and reporting publicly was largely
7 within the criminal justice system. Once
8 folks are in our adult detention center we
9 could count them and we knew who they were,
10 and we attached a cost to that as well as a
11 couple of ancillary criminal justice
12 processes, that it was plus or minus \$3
13 million. And I don't have that exact number,
14 but that's the ball park range.

15 We very clearly said to the Board
16 at that point in time that we are not willing,
17 nor -- we are unable and unwilling to
18 extrapolate to the general population anything
19 about the percentages of those folks in our
20 jail who were identified as illegal
21 immigrants.

22 We didn't think that was a

1 statistically or ethically viable approach to
2 take.

3 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Could I just
4 follow up, since I asked this question of the
5 two supervisors? Did the Board of Supervisors
6 elicit this information and get it from you
7 prior to the passage of the resolution?

8 MR. GERHART: Yes, they did. In
9 fact, I would say it preceded the resolution
10 by at least six months, at least.

11 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: But that was
12 the only database that you were able to get?

13 MR. GERHART: That's right.

14 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: It was only
15 on criminal justice issues?

16 MR. GERHART: That's right.

17 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Thank you.

18 CO-CHAIR COOKE: Just a quick
19 question for Mr. Stewart.

20 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Turn that on.

21 CO-CHAIR COOKE: Yes. Is that
22 better? I'm sorry about that.

1 Was there any studies or any data
2 analyses done prior to the implementation
3 regarding the various issues that you -- both
4 of you raised in your opening remarks in
5 support of the resolution? Any kind of
6 studies or analyses done, other than the one
7 that Mr. Gerhart has referred to?

8 CHAIRMAN STEWART: Yes, Mr. Cooke.
9 You're right. There have been. And, in fact,
10 earlier this year, I think it was January, or
11 potentially February of 2007, the County did
12 attempt to quantify the costs of illegal
13 immigration on Prince William -- Prince
14 William County Government.

15 With the hospitals, of course,
16 it's -- they need to speak for themselves, but
17 we found it very difficult to quantify the
18 problem, but at the same time we knew that
19 simply because it was difficult to quantify
20 doesn't mean we don't have a problem.

21 We clearly did, and where we could
22 quantify the problem at that time,

1 specifically in the jails where immigration
2 status was checked at that time for serious
3 crimes in any case, we knew that it was a
4 significant portion of the population, at
5 least in the jails.

6 CO-CHAIR COOKE: Was Mr. Gerhart
7 responsible for conducting all of those
8 studies or were there any outside studies
9 commissioned by the Commission?

10 CHAIRMAN STEWART: I think -- this
11 is Mr. Covington's resolution from what I
12 understand.

13 CO-CHAIR COOKE: Right.

14 CHAIRMAN STEWART: I don't recall
15 -- I'll let me Gerhart respond to that.

16 CO-CHAIR COOKE: Sure.

17 MR. GERHART: The costing that we
18 came up with was based on our own service
19 delivery stream and we did that work. We did
20 not use outside consultants or outside --
21 outside experts.

22 I would note that the reason we

1 were unable to go beyond the adult detention
2 center specifically in the criminal justice
3 system where generally -- we simply weren't
4 asking questions relative to immigration
5 status.

6 So we didn't have hard data to
7 determine whether a customer or client A was
8 illegal, versus customer or client B, and in
9 the absence of hard data we were unwilling to
10 suggest any information.

11 CO-CHAIR COOKE: And so, without
12 inferring any validity of any of this, some of
13 the basis for the resolution was anecdotal, as
14 opposed to hard data? I mean, some of your
15 basis was, in fact, anecdotal as opposed to
16 hard data?

17 CHAIRMAN STEWART: Well, like I
18 said, it's very difficult --

19 CO-CHAIR COOKE: Oh, I understand
20 that. I understand that.

21 CHAIRMAN STEWART: To quantify,
22 for example, in the school system --

1 CO-CHAIR COOKE: Sure.

2 CHAIRMAN STEWART: -- the question
3 simply isn't asked because, as the County
4 Executive noted earlier --

5 CO-CHAIR COOKE: You didn't have
6 the --

7 CHAIRMAN STEWART: -- the Supreme
8 Court prohibits localities from denying
9 educational services.

10 CO-CHAIR COOKE: Sure.

11 CHAIRMAN STEWART: So, it is --
12 yes, admittedly, a very difficult problem to
13 quantify. But in those areas where we could
14 quantify it --

15 CO-CHAIR COOKE: Yes.

16 CHAIRMAN STEWART: -- we knew we
17 had a problem.

18 CO-CHAIR COOKE: I see. Okay.
19 Thank you.

20 CHAIRMAN STEWART: We did the very
21 best that we could.

22 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Let me follow

1 up on that, and I'm really sorry that the
2 Chief of the detention center is not here,
3 because he probably could answer this question
4 better than any of you, but I'm going to ask
5 it anyway.

6 In that -- in those figures for
7 those held in the adult detention center who
8 were determined to be illegal aliens, what
9 portion of those were being held because of
10 their immigration status?

11 In other words, were these all
12 persons who had committed other crimes, and if
13 so, what -- what were the categories of crime?
14 Was there any difference between property
15 crime and violent crime? Do you have those
16 stats for us?

17 CHIEF DEANE: I do.

18 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Okay.

19 CHIEF DEANE: I can provide you a
20 list of those. There's a range of charges.
21 Many of them are lower-level charges that
22 would not show up on the normal crime stats.

1 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Like what?

2 CHIEF DEANE: Drunk in public,
3 drunk driving, hit and run. I've seen a
4 significant increase in hit and run in recent
5 years.

6 Those people -- your first
7 question, I think was, how many of those are
8 being held on other charges. I think all of
9 them.

10 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Okay.

11 CHIEF DEANE: They have detainers
12 that are being placed on -- most of them, I'd
13 say. Not -- maybe not all. The detainers
14 being placed on them by ICE, and then -- or by
15 the adult detention center staff who are
16 cross-trained and working under ICE, and as
17 soon as the sentence is served, or the charges
18 resolved, they are being taken out promptly so
19 far.

20 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Okay.

21 CHIEF DEANE: I can provide you
22 this list.

1 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: So there
2 aren't people there who are -- might be
3 serving a sentence for, you know, drunk and
4 disorderly or something, and normally they
5 would have been let back into the general
6 population, but because they are in the
7 country illegally, they're being held? There
8 are not those persons there?

9 CHIEF DEANE: Oh, I would say
10 there are some of those.

11 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: And I guess
12 that's the portion I'm trying to figure out
13 what percentage that constitutes.

14 CHIEF DEANE: I can't answer that.

15 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Because that
16 would inflate the number. It would make it
17 look like more people were being held on
18 criminal offenses if they were simply being
19 detained after those sentences because of
20 their immigration status.

21 CHIEF DEANE: Well, maybe I'm not
22 -- I'm not saying that's -- I'm not being

1 clear.

2 People that commit violations of
3 the law in Prince William County are going to
4 have to serve their sentence.

5 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Right.

6 CHIEF DEANE: Be it misdemeanor,
7 be it felony. And if they are illegal aliens
8 that detainer will follow them to the prison
9 system and then once the prison system
10 releases them, they will be deported.

11 If that's a minor charge, they
12 would have to serve that -- the jail time in
13 their local jail. So, did that clarify that?

14 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Yes, but I'm
15 just trying to figure out what happens to
16 people after they've served their sentence.

17 CHIEF DEANE: They have to --

18 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: They're gone.
19 Either they are released or they are taken by
20 ICE?

21 CHIEF DEANE: Correct.

22 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Okay. So

1 there aren't any people who are simply being
2 held beyond their --

3 CHIEF DEANE: I don't think so. I
4 think that ICE is being very prompt in picking
5 people up so they're not lagging -- if the
6 question is are they lagging there just on the
7 ICE charge, I don't think we have an
8 experience with that so far.

9 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Thank you.
10 Any other questions?

11 Well, I want to thank all of you
12 very much for your testimony and for being
13 here today.

14 CHAIRMAN STEWART: Thank you.

15 MR. SERHART: Thank you.

16 CHIEF DEANE: Thank you.

17 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: We are not
18 going to take a break. We are going to bring
19 the next panel on, so we'll try and do this
20 rather expeditiously.

21 If I could please call forward
22 Eric Byler, Jeff Carter, Mike Hethmon, Lisa

1 Johnson-Firth and Dan Stein.

2 Thank you very much, and I want to
3 welcome you and ask those who have not done so
4 to please take their seats.

5 As you can see, there is a method
6 in this madness. We began the day by trying
7 to put together a fact basis, talking about
8 the legal issues involved and the demographics
9 involved, taking a look from empirical data at
10 the evidence of the impact of immigrants and
11 specifically illegal immigrants in Prince
12 William County.

13 And then we heard from persons who
14 were involved in passing the resolution by the
15 Prince William County Board, and for some of
16 the -- from some of those who are now going to
17 be tasked with implementing that resolution.

18 Now, we hope to hear from members
19 of the community and from some advocacy groups
20 as well. And we have, again, a distinguished
21 list of panelists, and of course, I'm
22 disorganized and I've got to try now to find

1 everybody's bios.

2 We have with us today Eric Byler,
3 Jeff Carter, Mike Hethmon, Lisa Johnson-Firth
4 and Dan Stein.

5 Eric Byler is a filmmaker. For
6 those of you who have not checked out his
7 website, it is a fascinating one, 9500
8 Liberty. Is it www.9500liberty.com, as I
9 recall?

10 MR. BYLER: Yes. That's one place
11 you can find us.

12 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: That's one of
13 the places we can find you on. YouTube can
14 find you all over the place.

15 Jeff Carter is a reverend. I
16 should say Jeff Carter is with the Manassas
17 Church of the Brethren. Mike Hethmon is with
18 the Immigration Reform Law Institute. Lisa
19 Johnson-Firth is with the Immigration and
20 Human Rights Law Group. And Dan Stein is the
21 president of the Federation for American
22 Immigration Reform.

1 I'm going to begin at this end
2 with you, Eric. We are each going to have
3 about five minutes and we'll ask you to try
4 and obey the little light there. You'll get
5 a yellow light and then when the red buzzer
6 comes on I will cut you off.

7 MR. BYLER: Okay. Well, first of
8 all, thanks for having me here. I was really
9 surprised to be called. I'm not a civil
10 rights expert by any means. Until recently I
11 was just a filmmaker.

12 I think the primary reason why we
13 started posting videos ahead of the production
14 schedule of, you know, shooting a film and
15 then posting a film and then going to the film
16 festivals and all of that, is that we saw sort
17 of a breakdown in the deliberative process in
18 Prince William County, and people were afraid
19 to participate, a lot of members of this
20 community.

21 Either you had everything at stake
22 and you had to speak out because, you know,

1 your life was going to dramatically change or,
2 you know, you had, you know, a very -- a
3 certain agenda that you wanted to push against
4 the immigrant community, but if you were in
5 the middle, people were completely turned off
6 by the way that the debate was going forth.

7 And I think that for Annabel and
8 I, our allegiance really is to the democratic
9 process, and when we saw that breaking down in
10 the vacuum of information that was existing,
11 we started to post our videos.

12 And I wanted to say that we have
13 developed friendships, you know, on both sides
14 of the issue. I would be invited into
15 people's homes, and I have respect for
16 everyone that is involved, and I actually feel
17 sorry that I have to, you know, give my view
18 on this in some ways, just because I don't
19 want to hurt people's feelings and I don't
20 want people to be angry.

21 Just about everything I'm going to
22 talk about is on film. So, if you really want

1 to see it, you can talk to me afterwards or we
2 can arrange a screening for you.

3 My observation was that the debate
4 was being dominated by a local affiliate for
5 a national organization. The national
6 organization is called FAIR, and the local
7 sort of franchise was called "Help Save
8 Manassas."

9 And when, for instance, a church
10 leader would speak out on the issue they would
11 be really attacked on the internet in really
12 frightening ways that people weren't
13 accustomed to.

14 And so we talked to many people
15 who were afraid to be interviewed and felt
16 helpless to do anything about what was
17 happening to the community.

18 At the same time I have to admire
19 the organization and the efforts that they
20 made. I think that a lot of the Board Members
21 actually felt intimidated by them. The email
22 blasts that they would get, the phone calls,

1 their dominance of the citizen time sessions
2 that were held.

3 And so it really, in some ways,
4 speaks to what a democracy should be, but on
5 the other hand, when people are afraid to
6 participate, I think we all suffer because we
7 suffer from not having the benefit of the full
8 community's experiences.

9 Having this kind of vantage point,
10 I want to try to share with you why people are
11 so angry here and also why people are so
12 afraid. The members of Help Save Manassas
13 have valid concerns, thanks to our
14 Supervisors' testimony, I'm sure I don't have
15 to list them.

16 One concern that I had about the
17 concerns is that they -- when they described
18 the population of people that they wanted to
19 remove, they would use these kinds of, you
20 know, reasons, speaking Spanish, playing Latin
21 music, owning a chicken, growing corn or a
22 fruit tree, not having health insurance or

1 living in crowded conditions.

2 These are not a sign of your
3 immigration status. This is a sign of a
4 particular immigrant community that is
5 struggling to overcome poverty.

6 But, when you ask some of these
7 people why it is that they feel it's fair to
8 characterize the undesirable population in
9 this way, well, some of them will say, "Well,
10 it's the Federal Government's fault, and
11 because they've failed us, we're forced to use
12 our eyes and our ears to discern who's a legal
13 and who isn't."

14 In other words, their eyes tell
15 them by the color of their skin and their ears
16 tell them by the way that they speak.

17 Others will say that it's
18 perfectly obvious. I'm sorry, no, that's the
19 first one. The other ones will say that --
20 well, sorry. I can't believe that was the
21 whole five minutes. Was it really five?

22 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: It really was

1 the whole five minutes, but I'm sure you're
2 going to have ample opportunity to answer some
3 questions.

4 MR. BYLER: Okay.

5 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: So, because
6 this is -- this day is going to be a long one,
7 I'm going to move on to --

8 MR. BYLER: Okay.

9 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: -- Reverend
10 Carter.

11 REV. DR. CARTER: Thank you.

12 A bit of introduction. I moved to
13 Prince William County in the summer of 1995 to
14 join the staff at the Manassas Church of the
15 Brethren and to begin family life.

16 I married a daughter of Prince
17 William County and joined a church that was
18 established first in 1895. For more than 12
19 years I have made Prince William County my
20 home, and although I have had opportunities to
21 move away from the area, it is due to a great
22 church, a wonderful community and deep roots

1 that I and my family have chosen to stay in
2 Northern Virginia.

3 Over the years I have found Prince
4 William County and the cities of Manassas and
5 Manassas Park to be blessed with an abundance
6 of gifted people, beautiful land and resources
7 that add value and significance to our common
8 life.

9 In my ministry and volunteer work,
10 I have encountered some of the most generous,
11 thoughtful and decent people committed to
12 serving our community and adding to our
13 general well-being.

14 Recently I was asked why I want to
15 remain in Prince William County, implying our
16 county's current xenophobic attitude. I
17 simply replied, "This is my home." And I hope
18 that in these proceedings we keep that in
19 mind, that this is, for many of us, our home.

20 It's my honest hope that we, the
21 citizens of this County are not being
22 stereotyped as indecent, intolerant or

1 xenophobic, for I believe today's discussion
2 is complex and for many of us who are part of
3 the faith community, we are seeking to do what
4 is right and stay clear from the
5 mischaracterizations and inaccurate
6 assumptions about what seemed like two very
7 different sides of the immigration debate.

8 For the last year, local
9 municipalities have responded to community
10 concerns over immigration by engaging in a
11 public conversation that unfortunately is
12 dividing our community and creating a climate
13 ripe for hostility and prejudice.

14 The debate is -- continues to
15 focus on broad fears and assumptions
16 concerning the complex issue of immigration
17 and is made even more complex by less tangible
18 aspects such as racial differences, community
19 identity and false perceptions pertaining to
20 the reach of current immigration law.

21 Since the summer, I have heard a
22 number of church members ask about immigration

1 law and question the validity of news reports
2 and the general assumptions of public opinion.
3 Consequently, for the last six weeks we at the
4 Manassas Church of the Brethren have been
5 studying the issue of immigration and have
6 invited credible resources to share with us
7 information on the subject.

8 Representatives from the legal
9 profession, police department and the highest
10 level of County government have spoken to us
11 on the issues pertaining to immigration, both
12 legal and illegal.

13 We learned of the five to 20-year
14 wait for a visa, the civil, not criminal
15 offense of being an illegal alien, the
16 economic need for immigrant labor and the
17 impact of illegal immigration on our schools,
18 hospitals and jails.

19 We've learned of the confusing and
20 debilitating boundaries between Federal, state
21 and local jurisdictions relating to law and
22 the curious rationale for immigration quotas.

1 Most importantly, we learned why
2 people risked their lives and divide their
3 families to enter the United States, both
4 legally and illegally.

5 Overall, our conclusion, we
6 learned that this is not a simple problem with
7 straightforward solutions. The issue of
8 illegal immigration has been further
9 complicated by the failure of our Federal
10 Government to provide a comprehensive
11 immigration reform bill.

12 The longer our Federal Government
13 takes to deal with the issue in a responsible
14 and judicious way, I believe the higher the
15 tension will run, and we will see more and
16 more of our communities divided.

17 Prince William County, as we heard
18 in the news today, is not the only
19 municipality dealing with the economic and
20 sociological pressures associated with
21 immigration.

22 As evidenced by the recent

1 election, political rhetoric is partially
2 responsible for the rising tide of anxiety
3 surrounding illegal immigration.

4 Such rhetoric of simple solutions
5 and an "us versus them" mentality fuels the
6 flame of hostility and gives birth to a
7 climate of division.

8 While every candidate promised to
9 get tough and take action on illegal
10 immigration and provide ready solutions, the
11 reality is very different and far more
12 difficult.

13 Just this week, our local paper,
14 the Manassas Journal-Messenger, reported the
15 challenge of enforcing current housing codes
16 and the Federal government's rejection of the
17 three local jurisdictions engaging immigration
18 custom enforcement on a local and incorporated
19 level.

20 We must take into consideration
21 how we are forming our community with the same
22 zeal and passion as we do in enforcing current

1 and future law.

2 The rule of law is only effective
3 in building community and affirming our common
4 good when it is matched with an equal regard
5 for human dignity, respect and tolerance. Not
6 tolerance of the criminal activity we often
7 hear, but tolerance of others and other views.

8 I lament the polarization that is
9 affecting our community. It seems that we are
10 losing our ability to work together in order
11 to establish justice, ensure domestic
12 tranquility, provide for the common defense,
13 promote the general welfare and secure the
14 blessings of liberty.

15 I have just one more paragraph.
16 In the words of my tradition I would say to
17 love our neighbors as ourselves. Is it not
18 possible to discuss illegal immigration while
19 respecting the dignity of all people?

20 Linda Johnson once said "Doing
21 what's right isn't the problem. It's knowing
22 what's right." My hope is that through this

1 public discussion, you being here, we might
2 work together to know what is the right thing
3 so that we can do the right thing.

4 My hope is that this hearing moves
5 us beyond the politics of immigration to see
6 that there is a deeper fundamental human and
7 moral issue. My hope is that we, together,
8 can agree on a rule of law as we seek to
9 uphold the dignity and rights of all people
10 and find proactive solutions to local
11 problems.

12 And lastly, my hope is that we can
13 begin to talk to and with one another so that
14 we can strengthen this place that I call my
15 home.

16 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Thank you
17 very much Reverend Carter.

18 Now, Lisa Johnson-Firth. Ms.
19 Firth is a managing member of the Immigration
20 and Human Rights Law Group.

21 MS. JOHNSON-FIRTH: Good morning.
22 It is an honor for me to be present with you

1 here today. I'm an immigration and human
2 rights lawyer and advocate.

3 THE COURT REPORTER: Turn your mic
4 on, please.

5 MS. JOHNSON-FIRTH: I am an
6 immigration and human rights lawyer and
7 advocate, practicing in Manassas, Virginia.
8 I've been asked to share with you this morning
9 my knowledge and experience of what has
10 happened in Prince William County regarding
11 the build-up to this resolution and its
12 passage.

13 And even though this resolution
14 was officially passed just less than two
15 months ago, its effects have been felt from
16 its inception and have culminated, especially
17 in the last couple of weeks, in many reports
18 of civil rights abuses in this County.

19 Never would I have imagined the
20 abuses of our country's past civil rights
21 struggles, that they would be revisited today
22 with such venom and vigor.

1 The civil rights violations, by US
2 Government officials, state and county
3 officials that I have faced with my clients
4 and other immigrants are egregious and they
5 smack of governments of a lesser stature.

6 This resolution and government
7 actions, since its passage have destroyed
8 trust, because the community was told that the
9 resolution would be enforced after January
10 1st, 2008, after the police have been trained
11 and in accordance with the Constitution and
12 laws of this land.

13 Allow me to illustrate what is
14 happening. I need look no further than the
15 experiences of my law partner. She is from
16 Eritrea, however, she is a lawful permanent
17 resident.

18 She's been pulled over in the last
19 two months three times by Prince William
20 County police officers and Manassas police
21 officers for apparently no lawfully-stated
22 reasons that either of us as lawyers could

1 ascertain.

2 The first time she was pulled over
3 was on September 26th, 2007 when she was
4 driving about a block away from my law office
5 in Old Town, Manassas. The cop asked her
6 "What are you doing in this side of town?"

7 Shocked and shaken she replied
8 that she was a lawyer and was -- her law
9 offices was a block away. The officer looked
10 at her registration and let her go.

11 The second stop occurred on
12 November 12th, 2007. My law partner was
13 driving with our Cameroonian asylum client.
14 A Prince William County police officer
15 followed her for quite a while and then pulled
16 her over and asked if she had weapons and
17 drugs in the car.

18 After informing the officer that
19 she was an attorney he told her that he had
20 pulled her over for, quote, making a sharp
21 right turn. Later that same night while
22 driving on Sudley Road, back to her home in

1 Alexandria, the Manassas police pulled her
2 over. This time the stated reason was that
3 her license plate was a little bent.

4 Because I do a lot of work with
5 immigration advocates, organizers and the
6 immigrant community, I have learned of several
7 other cases of rights violations. I'm only
8 focusing on the legal -- on the violations
9 against lawful permanent residents and US
10 citizens in this presentation, however, I have
11 submitted a longer testimony that goes into
12 great detail of the numerous pull-over's of
13 police by targeting people of color, many of
14 whom are -- don't have residence in this
15 country but yet are protected by our
16 Constitution.

17 However, this instance deals with
18 a Latino man who was pulled over on November
19 26th. He is a lawful, permanent resident. He
20 was walking out of a convenience store when he
21 was stopped by Prince William County police.

22 He was questioned for

1 approximately 30 minutes and then let go
2 without charge. A week ago, a Latino man was
3 being given a ride to work when the police
4 stopped the driver in Manassas. He was not
5 the driver. He was a passenger.

6 The officer asked the driver for
7 his license, and when he could not produce it,
8 the officer asked the rider for his license.
9 He did not have one and the police made a
10 comment, "Illegal," and proceeded to ask for
11 other identification documents.

12 No context of a crime here that we
13 can ascertain. The officer then asked him to
14 get out of the car, searched him and cuffed
15 him. The incident took approximately two
16 hours. The man was charged with obstruction
17 of justice, but released because he had lawful
18 immigration status.

19 In a seminar that I gave two weeks
20 ago, I do a lot of "know your rights" seminars
21 to the immigrant community. Two Latino women,
22 one a United States citizen, the other a

1 lawful permanent resident interrupted me to
2 talk about how they have each been stopped
3 several times in Prince William County for no
4 apparent reason.

5 And when the officer has come to
6 their car they have been questions at length
7 about their immigration status and asked for
8 identification documentation other than a
9 driver's license. They asked me if white
10 people were also being forced to produce
11 evidence of their status.

12 Just quickly, beyond the racial
13 profiling issues in Prince William County,
14 there are so many other effects of what this
15 resolution has done, both in terms of the
16 police and also in terms of what is happening
17 in the jails.

18 People are being detained by ICE
19 after even their criminal charges have been
20 dismissed. They are not being given access to
21 counsel or family members. That's in
22 violation both of their due process and even

1 ICE standards for detaining immigrants.

2 And then there's the effect on the
3 communities at large. 79 houses are now for
4 sale in Georgetown South, usually, according
5 to a realtor that we work with, he's been here
6 for ten years, only five houses are on the
7 market.

8 The ESL classes are down by a half
9 percent. Children are not being sent to
10 school. A school principal was afraid to
11 speak to me on school property because I'm an
12 immigration rights advocate, so not only
13 couldn't I do training for the parents, but I
14 couldn't even train him on immigration issues.

15 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: I'd like to
16 ask you, please, to wrap up. Thanks.

17 MS. JOHNSON-FIRTH: My final point
18 is the Constitution of this country protects
19 all those within its borders and immigrants,
20 illegal, not legal, have all rights afforded
21 them under the Constitution except those
22 expressly reserved for U.S. citizens, and I

1 hope we can maintain that.

2 Thank you.

3 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Dan Stein,
4 president of the Federation for American
5 Immigration Reform.

6 MR. STEIN: Thank you, Madam
7 Chair.

8 Well, now, I appreciate the
9 opportunity to be here. My name is Dan Stein.
10 I am president of the Federation for American
11 Immigration Reform, the nation's largest
12 national immigration reform organization
13 working to advance what we believe are the
14 priorities of an enlarged view of the national
15 interest in favor of setting immigration
16 levels consistent with both the national need
17 and our domestic agenda as well as better
18 controlling illegal immigration.

19 We have, as I say, several hundred
20 thousand members across the nation and we have
21 worked closely to work and develop local
22 organizations to work on this issue in varying

1 degrees of relationship with the organization
2 to try to bring about better understanding of
3 what's needed to better regulate and control
4 illegal immigration.

5 I would like to point out
6 initially that this country has a proud
7 tradition of procedural due process and
8 fundamental fairness that respects the dignity
9 of all persons regardless of immigration
10 status.

11 And FAIR supports that tradition
12 and believes that persons residing illegally
13 are still entitled to the constitutionally-
14 protected procedural process that is due in
15 whatever given circumstance.

16 However, a person in this country
17 illegally does not have a civil right to
18 remain in this country simply because they
19 have succeeded in avoiding discovery of that
20 status for several years.

21 We strongly support the action of
22 the Prince William County Board of Supervisors

1 this past July to enact Resolution 09-609, and
2 although they are not affiliated with FAIR
3 directly, the local Manassas group did a
4 wonderful job in trying to bring public
5 understanding to this issue.

6 And we're proud of the leadership
7 that they showed in the face of very, very
8 challenging emotional issues.

9 Ultimately, illegal immigration is
10 never going to be properly controlled in this
11 country unless there is a full state-Federal
12 partnership that enables us to have states
13 operate more as a force multiplier and
14 identify and holding illegal alien residents
15 until ICE can come and take them.

16 How we got -- we shouldn't be in
17 this situation which is really the big
18 problem. I mean, I've been working on this
19 thing, as you know, for some 25, 27 years now.
20 And I watched as organizations litigated both
21 the question of whether or not the census
22 would count people in such a way that would

1 enable states to know how many people were
2 illegally resident in the community.

3 At the same time I watched these
4 same organizations litigate to try to prevent
5 states from asking basic questions about legal
6 status, or checking voting records or anything
7 else. This went on through the Seventies and
8 Eighties and Nineties.

9 States roles were then essentially
10 diminished as states agreed not to get
11 involved, "Don't ask, don't tell," policies.
12 We had the sanctuary resolutions in 1980, with
13 the effect that at a time when global
14 migration pressures were sky-rocketing because
15 of international population growth, states
16 were not players anymore in assisting in the
17 process of regulating immigration.

18 And I understand that there's an
19 issue of how much regulation they can do, but
20 in our view this instant resolution is well
21 within the scope of the state power, and
22 ultimately we believe states across the

1 country can and will be enacting similar
2 resolutions.

3 But nevertheless, this idea that
4 because we lack certain data, bits of data,
5 datum, to know certain facts is therefore an
6 argument not to act is kind of a self-
7 fulfilling prophesy. We don't know because
8 there's been an orchestrated desire not to
9 know in this country.

10 Well, as illegal immigration has
11 sky-rocketed taxpayers are being asked to
12 continue to pay for benefits and services for
13 people with no right to remain in the United
14 States.

15 People are asking to have to
16 compete in an unfair labor market. Now,
17 businesses are part of the big opponents here
18 who want to promote illegal immigration. I
19 know the public advocates seem to be on the
20 left side of the political agenda, but the
21 bottom line is business is the primary lobby
22 force in pushing to hire illegal workers.

1 Exploitation, greed, a desire to
2 maximize gain are powerful motivators, and we
3 must recognize that exploitation is
4 exploitation. The civil rights of American
5 workers to a fair labor market are being
6 violated by systematic discrimination in favor
7 of illegal workers precisely because they are
8 present illegally.

9 The interest of these American
10 workers and middle-class families need to be
11 considered as well in this equation.

12 In concluding, I would like to
13 point out, Madam Chairman, that the legal --
14 annual legal immigration rates are well over
15 a million --

16 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Four hundred
17 thousand from --

18 MR. STEIN: No. That's --

19 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Four hundred
20 thousand permanent legal residents. Only two
21 hundred thousand --

22 MR. STEIN: That's six years out

1 of date. I'll give you a chance to reply.

2 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: I've got the
3 figures, Dan.

4 MR. STEIN: You're taking time out
5 of my time.

6 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Dan, I have
7 the figures.

8 MR. STEIN: You've taken ten
9 seconds of my time. I object.

10 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: You're
11 including all categories. I'm talking about
12 legal permanent residents.

13 MR. STEIN: When I started working
14 on the issue of the U.S. population it was 260
15 million. It's 300 million today. If we
16 continue on the current track we could be at
17 eight billion people by 2100.

18 Do not tell the American people we
19 have a stable population. One of the reasons
20 why people in Prince William are concerned
21 about illegal immigration is housing code
22 violations naturally result when people are

1 breaking the law and living in overcrowded
2 housing. That ripples through the community
3 through the entire infrastructure.

4 Taxpayers will not stand by idly
5 and let this continue without trying to take
6 action. I hope we can have a reasonable
7 debate, but I think those organizations that
8 engage in name-calling -- I didn't use the
9 word xenophiliac or alienist or any other
10 label in discern, but yet heaps of abuse are
11 poured upon poor American citizens that want
12 to try to get something done on this issue,
13 and frankly I think the American people have
14 basically said, "Basta."

15 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Mike Hethmon.
16 And, Mike, you -- maybe you can switch chairs
17 so that you can be heard.

18 Mike represents the Immigration
19 Reform Law Institute, Inc. And you might just
20 clarify for Members here your relationship to
21 FAIR, as well.

22 MR. HETHMON: Yes. Good morning.

1 Mike Hethmon, Immigration Reform Law
2 Institute. We are a legally-separate, but in
3 tax terms, supporting organization of the
4 Federation of American Immigration Forum. We
5 consider ourselves to be the only public
6 interest law firm in the country exclusively
7 working in the interest of citizens and
8 immigration-related matters.

9 I simply want to recap in five
10 minutes my two-hour testimony before the
11 Prince William County Human Relations
12 Commission on August 11th. I was the only
13 person in this whole dog and pony show this
14 morning that actually took the time, including
15 the government representatives, to come down
16 and engage in a dialogue with them.

17 I think that's relevant, because I
18 made three points. One of them is immediately
19 applicable to this exercise.

20 There's nothing in the
21 Commission's statutes or regulations that ever
22 mentions the word "immigration, immigrant,

1 alienage." The only time the word "alien" is
2 mentioned is when the regulations, your
3 regulations clarify that only citizens and
4 legal permanent residents are covered by the
5 Privacy Act.

6 So, this is testimony or witnesses
7 or evidence is totally ultra-virus. This is
8 a dialogue --

9 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Excuse me?

10 MR. HETHMON: This is, in my view,
11 a dialogue between interested parties with the
12 added moral hazard that you guys are
13 associated with the government.

14 That said --

15 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Having said
16 that, perhaps you'd like to defer testifying
17 before us, then.

18 MR. HETHMON: I am not testifying.
19 I am speaking, Madam. So, your interest in
20 this is totally in the context of is
21 immigration law and is the -- are these
22 activities a pretext for racial

1 discrimination, and we discussed this with the
2 panel in quite a bit of detail.

3 Let me simply say that there is a
4 long and complicated historical interaction in
5 this country between the Civil Rights Act and
6 the Immigration Act of 1965.

7 I recommended this book, which is
8 the comprehensive study on this by Professor
9 Hugh Graham, "Collision Course," published by
10 Oxford University. I would suggest that
11 anyone who has not taken a look at Professor
12 Graham's book really cannot consider
13 themselves informed on the aspects of this
14 issue. I will leave that point right there.

15 Second of all, when we met with
16 the Human Rights Commission we did go into
17 quite a bit of discussion about the technical
18 issues and really the bottom line in terms of
19 this is that immigration law really is the law
20 of citizenship discrimination.

21 It's a law based on
22 discrimination. It's based on discrimination

1 between citizens and noncitizens, and that
2 concept really, if you think about it is an
3 essential concept of both, sovereignty and
4 democracy.

5 We went into a great deal of
6 discussion on the technical points on that and
7 I'll be happy to answer any questions with the
8 panel.

9 Among issues we discussed was, you
10 know, is immigration disguised racism. I
11 think in the context of this particular
12 ordinance -- and I am the drafter of this
13 ordinance. It's on our website.

14 We met with the citizens very
15 early in this year. We've been working on
16 this issue in Virginia with -- since 2001.
17 The lawful presence test in Virginia, the
18 public benefits, state statutes and stuff,
19 that's all my shop's doing.

20 Professors, little -- see these
21 little books here, they passed out yesterday
22 about this problem nationally. If you go

1 through that, all the statutes cited in there,
2 they do come out of our shop. So, to the
3 extent that there is some kind of mad
4 scientist behind all this, we'll be happy to
5 take credit for this.

6 As to the racism behind -- charges
7 behind this ordinance, the Eastern District
8 answered that just a few weeks ago when they
9 dismissed the case, like many similar cases
10 that were brought against it, and they
11 basically said that there was no prima facie
12 case at all in the sense of fear of
13 deportation, fear of families being split up
14 or fear of services being denied.

15 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Just for a
16 point of clarification, he just simply said
17 the Plaintiff did not have standing. Is that
18 right?

19 MR. HETHMON: That they do not
20 have standing, but standing involves making a
21 prima facie case of injury, as I'm sure you
22 understand.

1 MEMBER COHEN: Not always. Not
2 always.

3 MR. HETHMON: So, they are going
4 to be able to refile their case when someone
5 actually comes up with some evidence which, of
6 course, we're not talking about today.

7 But this has been a similar trend.
8 Just yesterday the similar challenge was
9 thrown out to the Oklahoma statute which is
10 considered to be the toughest, meanest one of
11 its kind in the country by some people which,
12 of course, we were involved in.

13 And the judge made some comments
14 that I think that are absolutely appropriate
15 to the context of this whole discussion, and
16 he said that this court is convinced that the
17 proper remedy for the injuries alleged by the
18 remaining plaintiffs, which were businesses,
19 churches, the National Coalition of Latino
20 Clergy and a long list of illegal aliens, all
21 of whom are in willing violation of Federal
22 Immigration Law, is not judicial intervention,

1 rather it is simple compliance with Federal
2 Immigration Law.

3 Thank you very much.

4 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Thank you
5 very much.

6 MR. HETHMON: I'll be happy to
7 answer any questions.

8 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Yes,
9 Professor Cohen.

10 MEMBER COHEN: Yes. I have a
11 couple of questions. This one is for Ms.
12 Johnson-Firth. It's two questions.

13 The first is these wrongs that you
14 allege in your testimony. Have you initiated
15 civil suits for any remedy with regard to them
16 and if not, why not, and would that provide a
17 remedy.

18 The second is: My understanding
19 from the earlier panel is that -- and I'm
20 something of a neophyte on all of this. I'm
21 learning what the whole issue was today,
22 largely.

1 This new policy has not actually
2 gone into effect yet, so what's the connection
3 between the alleged wrongs and the policy, if
4 the policy isn't in effect yet?

5 MS. JOHNSON-FIRTH: Very good
6 question, but I'll handle the first question
7 that you asked about the civil rights lawsuit.

8 These cases are being brought
9 together and civil action will be taken and
10 lawyers are working on it, we're gathering.
11 We have about at least 17 cases right now,
12 incidents beyond what, you know, I've reported
13 here.

14 Some weren't appropriate for me to
15 share, even in my longer testimony, but may be
16 subject to the lawsuit, so yes, we are working
17 on that with other lawyers.

18 And then in terms of the nexus
19 between the passage of the resolution and its
20 actual effect in January -- excellent
21 question. The racial profiling, as I
22 understand, has long been an issue in Prince

1 William County, but it seems that the focus
2 has shifted to Latinos even more strongly.
3 They are the most noticeable immigrant group
4 in this County.

5 So, I can't honestly answer that
6 nexus question for you except to say it's
7 happening. And we get calls.

8 And moreover, once the police have
9 detained someone and put them into the Prince
10 William County facility, the rights violations
11 are continuing to occur and that's a whole
12 'nother dialogue of whether there is racial
13 profiling because some of these crimes that
14 they're being detained for, other people would
15 not be detained for, such as loitering.
16 That's not usually a detainable crime. Or,
17 you know, a public disturbance offense.

18 So, I can only report that it's
19 happening.

20 MEMBER COHEN: I'm still a bit
21 confused here. Are you alleging that -- are
22 you arguing that this new policy itself

1 constitutes some sort of legal wrong or is it
2 that it will permit other legal wrongs and if
3 so, you know, what is the connection that
4 you're asserting.

5 MS. JOHNSON-FIRTH: The complaint
6 of my testimony is that if you are going to
7 have a law like this, and it has been passed
8 and it will become law in January, at the very
9 least you must abide by the supreme law of our
10 land, which is the Constitution, and other
11 civil rights Federal laws that are already in
12 place to protect people, as well as abide by
13 your own law that you have passed, and that is
14 -- that is not happening.

15 So, if you are going to have a
16 resolution like this, which I, you know,
17 question the legitimacy of it and, in fact,
18 the police have not entered into a 287(g)
19 arrangement at this point, so they do not have
20 Federal authority to be asking and being sort
21 of de factor ICE officers in Prince William
22 County at this moment.

1 The prison has trained seven
2 people at this point so they are in a
3 different arrangement. They do have a 287(g).
4 The police, to my understanding, and it was a
5 press release, you know, as of a couple days
6 ago, do not.

7 And so, I'm concerned about the
8 racial profiling that's happening and I'm
9 concerned about their authority in the first
10 place to be asking people immigration-based
11 questions.

12 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: I'd like to
13 follow up on that and actually ask Mike
14 Hethmon and/or Dan Stein to comment.

15 You heard a list of allegations by
16 Ms. Firth that alleges that, in fact, some
17 racial profiling may be going on. Let's just
18 accept as a hypothetical that everything that
19 she's told us is absolutely correct.

20 I presume, and maybe this is a
21 wrong presumption, that you would disapprove
22 of these actions. Is that right, Mr. Hethmon,

1 Mr. Stein?

2 MR. STEIN: I think I answered --
3 that was my first comment.

4 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Right. I
5 thought that's what you said. I'd like to
6 hear what Mr. Hethmon has to say, though, as
7 the author of these various initiatives around
8 the --

9 MR. HETHMON: We had a very good
10 long discussion with the Human Rights
11 Commission on this exact subject on August
12 11th.

13 First of all, I'll preface my
14 comments, but it sounds like you're much more
15 fascinated by good anecdotal evidence than you
16 are about --

17 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: No.
18 Actually, we've had -- this is the first
19 anecdotal evidence we've had and it's
20 interesting and I'd like your reaction to it.

21 MR. HETHMON: Okay. So, what we
22 discussed, we actually set up a hypothetical

1 under the Human Rights Commission. We said,
2 "Well, what happens now?" I said, "You're
3 going to start getting, you know, more and
4 more complaints, really, whether this
5 resolution goes forward or not, about
6 immigration type issues coming to your
7 Commission, despite the fact as, similar to
8 your organization, there's no statutory
9 mandate to deal with it.

10 So, you know, how are you going to
11 deal with these kind of questions, you know,
12 and I asked them, you know, have you thought
13 about it, and they hadn't thought about it.
14 You know, questions like, "Can an illegal
15 alien maintain a human rights complaint?"

16 That's the very first statute --

17 CHARPERSON CHAVEZ: Let me
18 interrupt you, because we really only have a
19 short time and you're not answering my
20 question.

21 The question that I asked was
22 whether or not when you were drafting these

1 various initiative around the country, you
2 anticipated that there might be this effect
3 and whether or not you approve of that effect
4 and if not, what did you do in the drafting
5 process to try to anticipate that and prevent
6 it from happening?

7 MR. HETHMON: The effect is --
8 will you restate what you're --

9 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: The effect is
10 having people targeted based on their skin
11 color or their national origin for specific
12 denial of benefits or in this case, law
13 enforcement scrutiny based solely on their
14 appearance or their national origin or their
15 race.

16 MR. HETHMON: Okay. That's an
17 easy answer. There have been thousands of
18 state and local initiatives -- Professor
19 Chishti's database is a good one, and just in
20 the last two years alone.

21 And the practice of including a
22 specific ban on consideration of racial,

1 religious or national origin considerations
2 when complaints are being processed in those
3 statutes, that comes from me.

4 I have insisted on that in every
5 one, and to the extent, as Professor Chishti's
6 testified yesterday, that these things are
7 being cloned, I'm very proud of that
8 consideration.

9 To show the bad faith of the other
10 side, we included that in the Hazleton
11 Ordinance, for example, and the ACLU says,
12 "Well, they mentioned" -- you know, "they
13 added this extra layer of protection, but it's
14 really a secret conspiracy to go after illegal
15 aliens."

16 So, you know, I put that in every
17 ordinance that I have the ability to influence
18 or draft, and it's a protection above the
19 level of what Federal Government provides.

20 And to give you a good example of
21 how this is played out in Virginia, the lawful
22 presence test in the driver's license, which

1 is one of the very first ones we worked on
2 right after 2011, do you remember the illegal
3 alien sold the breeder documents to the
4 Saudi's who used it to get the driver's
5 license to fly the plane into the Pentagon.

6 That's what provoked this whole
7 modern cycle. But, what happened after that,
8 I mean, all these kinds of charges and claims
9 and hand-wringing went on and stuff like this,
10 and the Department of Motor Vehicles has
11 since, to my understanding, collected data and
12 statistics on that, and there's not been a
13 single civil rights complaint about that
14 procedure in Virginia since it was set up.

15 And as far as harassment to the
16 ordinary citizen and the idea that this was,
17 you know, some kind of Draconian influence,
18 the waiting time at motor vehicle departments
19 in Virginia has decreased.

20 So, it really is a --

21 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: So you
22 disapprove of any police officers acting in

1 the way that was described this morning, and
2 you anticipated this might happen and
3 therefore, tried to prevent that from
4 happening in your initiatives, is that -- does
5 that summarize what your point is?

6 MR. HETHMON: Yes. I think our
7 bottom line is we've taken extraordinary
8 steps, given the controversiality and
9 developing nature of this issue to make sure
10 that those issues, improper considerations,
11 the risks to them are minimized as humanly
12 possible.

13 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Are there
14 other questions? Yes.

15 MEMBER SAMP: I have a question, I
16 guess, for Mr. Stein. You mentioned that
17 there has been an effort, I guess, over
18 several decades to intentionally prevent the
19 gathering of data and obviously one of the
20 things that I think we are finding today is
21 that there isn't a lot of accurate data, a lot
22 of what we're hearing is anecdotal sort of

1 evidence.

2 I'm wondering specifically what
3 restrictions on data collection you think
4 would be good right now. And, for example, is
5 there right now something that would prevent
6 the Prince William School Department from
7 saying, "Okay. We recognize under the
8 Constitution that everybody who lives in this
9 community has a right to send their child to
10 the public school regardless of their
11 immigration status, but nonetheless, just
12 because we want to collect the data we're
13 going to request that parents provide
14 information about their immigration status."

15 Is that legal right now? Either
16 one.

17 MR. STEIN: I was in the court
18 when Plyer was read from the Bench, and I
19 remember it quite distinctly and I remember
20 what the Court was essentially getting at,
21 which is that, you know, there didn't seem to
22 be a lot of evidence of strain in public

1 schools.

2 If the INS -- the then INS was not
3 going to deport someone, the children should
4 be enrolled in school. But somehow that got
5 interpreted by states to mean that, therefore,
6 nobody should ask what the status of anyone
7 is, and so it naturally became -- I mean, the
8 primary source of student population growth in
9 this country is immigration and a lot of that
10 -- a lot, probably most of it, is illegal
11 immigration.

12 And California had one of the --
13 well, anyway, the answer to your question is,
14 yes, that should be legal. I think it is
15 legal and I certainly believe -- we certainly
16 believe it fair that states not only can, but
17 should -- must have a role in collecting this
18 information, getting this data, these data
19 collected, as well as an integral part of the
20 census.

21 There's no excuse, after the 1987
22 Amnesty legislation passed that we've failed

1 to have machine-readable verification
2 procedures and, say, driver's licensed so that
3 you and I can verify our citizenship easily in
4 this country without that kind of integrated
5 strategy.

6 I mean, there's no reason why we
7 have this wall between the states and the
8 Federal Government in all these different
9 areas and it's the advocates who, for whatever
10 reason or another, seem to support continued
11 illegal immigration are the same ones who seem
12 to object to any reasonable credential
13 measures that might be established at the
14 state level to assist in setting up this
15 Federal-State partnership.

16 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Let me follow
17 up because you mentioned population, Dan, and
18 you and I have known each other for many, many
19 years.

20 You express some concern that the
21 term "xenophobic" has been thrown around, and
22 I will state right up front that I am a

1 xenophiliac, so just so my credentials are
2 known.

3 On the question of FAIR and
4 immigration policy and illegal immigration,
5 its focus, of course, is on civil rights and
6 illegal immigration. But, just in fairness to
7 FAIR, would it be fair to say that FAIR's main
8 concern is not illegal immigration, but
9 immigration policy, per se?

10 Secondly, that FAIR's position has
11 traditionally been, over the year, no net new
12 immigration to the United States, and that
13 your real underlying concern is population,
14 and that in the past you have advocated a
15 population for the United States of 150
16 million people, meaning about half of all of
17 us will have to disappear.

18 Is that fair?

19 MR. STEIN: No, Madam Chairman,
20 none of that is fair and the answer to all of
21 those questions is no, with the exception of
22 the fact that we do care about population

1 growth as a factor in setting annual
2 immigration limits.

3 But you have stated this publicly
4 repeatedly --

5 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Well, it's
6 been on your -- it used to be on your website
7 until I started stating --

8 MR. STEIN: Well, no. The ones
9 I'm separating is the abstract, what might be
10 a nice, optimum population.

11 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: And it was
12 150 million.

13 MR. STEIN: You seem to feel that
14 that must mean that we want to mandate as a
15 matter of, you know, legal policy --

16 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Just a point
17 of clarification. I don't want you to be --
18 I don't want, since the focus of our issue is
19 race, I wanted to make it clear that your
20 concern is population.

21 MR. STEIN: Well, I though you
22 asked me to come here with respect to the

1 Prince William Ordinance, and you don't have
2 to go after got-you with me, Madam Chairman,
3 and I won't talk about what happened when you
4 were nominated for Secretary of Labor.

5 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: That's called
6 paralipsis. That's --

7 MR. STEIN: Reciprocity.

8 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: What happened
9 when I was nominated to be Secretary of Labor
10 was, as I think probably many people in this
11 room know, but for the benefit of my fellow
12 Commissioners, was that I withdrew my name
13 after it was -- became public that 15 years
14 earlier I had taken into my home a woman who
15 was illegally in the country.

16 She was not an employee. In fact,
17 she worked for someone else, and no laws were
18 broken, but it was an embarrassment for the
19 President, so I withdrew my name, just in case
20 any of you wanted that bit of personal
21 information.

22 MR. BYLER: We have a member of

1 the Board of Supervisors who did the same and
2 adopted two children who were, quote, unquote,
3 anchor babies.

4 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Mr. Byler, I
5 have just a couple of questions for you. One
6 of the things that you have done in your
7 various documentary is to go out into the
8 community. We've heard some anecdotal
9 evidence. Obviously what you have been able
10 to pull together is also anecdotal
11 information.

12 And what -- what can you -- if you
13 can, describe just anecdotally what you've
14 seen in terms of the racial animus that has
15 expressed itself during the course of this
16 debate on illegal immigration, and some of the
17 incidents that you've been able to document.

18 MR. BYLER: Well, if the concern
19 is the toxification of the social climate
20 here, then definitely the footage that is, a
21 lot of it, available on You-Tube. Many things
22 that aren't -- would be very instructive on

1 how this community has been basically ripped
2 apart.

3 You know, I mentioned anchor
4 babies, because it's a very effective term
5 that de-humanizes children so that you don't
6 have to deal with the complication of the
7 sense of sympathy you might have for a child
8 were they equally human to those of us who are
9 here, you know, legally.

10 But just the word "legal" versus
11 "illegal," an illegal person, you know. Those
12 kinds of terms have sort of, you know, have
13 been disseminated down to local advocates,
14 been repeated again and again, and it's become
15 part of our discourse.

16 We say that there's an illegal
17 person standing there. So, I think there's
18 really three groups of people in our community
19 right now. There are those who have become
20 completely blind to prejudice because it's
21 almost become accepted as part of the climate
22 here that this one community is deserving of

1 prejudice because of their documentation
2 status.

3 And because we -- you know, as far
4 as I know, there's nothing visible, there's
5 nothing obvious about a person's documentation
6 when you see them on the street. It really
7 means that all 20 percent of the Latino
8 population that's here is subject to that
9 feeling.

10 I spent some time in Los Angeles
11 to post-produce another film of mine in the
12 last month, and it took me a week to get used
13 to walking down the street and seeing a Latino
14 person in public who doesn't look afraid. I
15 had to reset my mind because I was so
16 accustomed to living that way.

17 There's another group of people
18 who do see the prejudice but they don't
19 acknowledge it because it creates
20 complications for their agenda. And so they
21 find themselves often, reasonable otherwise
22 good people, in the position of encouraging

1 prejudice and denying it at the same time.

2 And then there's a third class
3 that I fall into. I'm very sensitive to
4 prejudice. I'm a mixed-race person. I'm not
5 Latino, by the way, since that's kind of come
6 up. I'm not the one person who is testifying
7 as a Latino and half-Chinese, but I grew up
8 here and I grew up in Hawaii and I experienced
9 prejudice coming from both directions.

10 And I saw the prejudice
11 immediately in the way that they talked about
12 -- you know, the way they rallied their
13 political power, you know, involved a lot of
14 hate speech, okay, and I have this. It's not
15 anecdotal. Okay. This is on tape.

16 The result in the general
17 community was that that was --

18 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Is this your
19 submission that you handed out? It's some of
20 the hate mail that you've received, is that --

21 MR. BYLER: Yes. Yes.

22 So, yes, so at this place where a

1 legal family, a Mexican-American family, the
2 parents are both legal, the children are all
3 born here, has put up a sign that gives their
4 view that racial profiling will result from
5 this.

6 Okay. If you stand at that sign
7 for, you know, 20 minutes, somebody will drive
8 by and scream a racial epithet. The children
9 there, you know, who often that -- it's kind
10 of a community center for them.

11 And, by the way, the Manassas
12 police, which is a different jurisdiction,
13 they do not feel -- they actually protect this
14 sign as something that's important to the
15 Latino community. The police chief has gone
16 on record as saying that.

17 But, I mean, the things that I've
18 seen there -- and some of them are on tape and
19 some of them aren't. I'll talk about
20 something that's not on tape. After the sign
21 was destroyed by people who failed to blow it
22 up, so they chain-sawed it. Okay. This is

1 talking about freedom of speech.

2 The Community decided just a few
3 days before the election which was the most
4 toxic, most frightening time, to redo the
5 sign, fortify it and redo it. And so Mr.
6 Fernandez called me and I was video-taping.

7 And there were complications and
8 so it took longer than it was supposed to and
9 the sun went down. And so confrontations like
10 you see in the daylight that are extremely
11 scary with grown men screaming at children
12 were happening at night and it was scary.

13 Cars would drive by. People would
14 yell things. Cars parked across the street
15 and just watched us. The photographs that
16 they took of us ended up on Black Velvet Bruce
17 Lee, a popular website that's designed to help
18 the anti-immigrant, anti-illegal immigrate
19 cause immediately was on there. I'm sure they
20 were taking photographs.

21 The Manassas police actually
22 called my mother to tell her what was

1 happening and she called the Manassas police.
2 They actually came out to help us and they
3 parked a car so people would know not to mess
4 with us.

5 But after the police left there
6 was another confrontation in the parking lot
7 across the street, so --

8 CHAIPERSON CHAVEZ: I'm going to
9 interrupt you there, because we are
10 essentially running out of time and I think
11 Professor Cohen has one more question.

12 MEMBER COHEN: Yes. This is, once
13 more, for Ms. Johnson first, and perhaps for
14 Reverend Carter as well.

15 I'm just wondering if it sort of
16 crossed your mind to be affirmative advocates
17 of this County policy, rather than opponents
18 in the sense that the wrongs, things you might
19 consider to be wrongs carried out by public
20 officials, by police officers in the absence
21 of legal standards, in the absence of an
22 articulated policy, in the absence of an

1 education program by the Sheriff's Department,
2 of its officers, you know, as to the details
3 of its policy would be mitigated, lessened,
4 diminished in the presence of a well-
5 articulated, well-formed County policy, as to
6 distinguish between the treatment of illegal
7 immigrants and people here with a regular
8 legal status.

9 Did that thought ever cross your
10 mind?

11 MS. JOHNSON-FIRTH: Sure. I'm a
12 lawyer. Things like that cross my mind all
13 the time, and I'm also capable of
14 understanding all the different viewpoints to
15 this debate.

16 However, I honestly believe I
17 don't think it's possible to have a well-
18 crafted resolution without running afoul of
19 the Constitution. I don't think that second
20 level of probable cause that, you know, the
21 County has failed to really define, and I've
22 talked to police officers and they don't

1 really know what that probable cause standard
2 is, other than, you know, I got a very mixed
3 message when I listened to Ms. Chavez talk
4 about -- asked Chief Deane whether -- well,
5 you know, she has dark skin, she's got a heavy
6 accent, she's nervous.

7 He said, "No, we definitely
8 wouldn't profile." But then just two minutes
9 later he said that language capability could
10 be used as a factor."

11 So, I honestly don't believe, in
12 this situation, it is possible to craft a
13 narrowly tailored law where you will not be
14 sweeping in both issues of equal protection on
15 race grounds, but also on nationality, that
16 you won't be harming the rights of United
17 States citizens, and people that have lawful
18 permanent status here.

19 Now, if that can be crafted, then
20 it would be an interesting thing to take a
21 look at, but that's not what we have here.

22 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Mr. Hethmon.

1 MR. HETHMON: Yes. I have written
2 somewhat on this in a lot of the article
3 that's on our website called "The Chimera and
4 the Cop, Local Enforcement of Federal
5 Immigration Law."

6 And as I understand this standard,
7 the profiling standard in the context of
8 immigration law, it has evolved primarily
9 through case law of over about 20 years is
10 that foreign appearance, foreign language,
11 these kind of indicia are permissible for
12 consideration of -- if the other circumstances
13 of the -- referring to Terry stop, for
14 example, are lawful.

15 Those conditions can be considered
16 in the totality of the circumstance analysis
17 that the officer makes, as long as -- and here
18 was what seems to be as much of a bright line
19 rule as the courts have been able to reach, as
20 long as they are not the primary
21 consideration, and the primary consideration
22 the officer has to be able to articulate that

1 in what the courts say is a relatively
2 specific standard.

3 So, I -- this, you know, a lot of
4 people, you know, said this is not -- this is
5 not a perfect bright line rule, but certainly
6 the, you know, the Fourth Amendment,
7 jurisprudence and the way the courts --
8 Supreme Court deals with this indicates that
9 that's not -- may not ever be a possible sort
10 of thing, and it's a shifting standard that --

11 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: So, if I were
12 a little bit darker skinned and had a little
13 bit more of an accent I better start carrying
14 my passport or my birth certificate with me,
15 is that what you're saying?

16 MR. HETHMON: No. I'm not saying
17 that. I'm just saying that, you know, if you
18 run a red light, you know, everybody has to
19 deal with the police --

20 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Well,
21 apparently I don't-- from the standard you
22 just suggested, you and I, if I fit those

1 characteristics, would have somewhat different
2 scrutiny.

3 MR. HETHMON: I'm not suggesting
4 this, and this isn't my idea. This is the
5 appellate courts of the United States.

6 REV. DR. CARTER: Madam
7 Chairwoman, when I was referencing that
8 question -- may I respond? Is okay, to
9 Professor Cohen?

10 This is part of the issue. I
11 don't want to be characterized as an opponent
12 of this County, the County government or the
13 County police. In fact, Chief Deane was just
14 in our congregation a few weeks ago at my
15 invitation, the invitation to the congregation
16 to help educate us on the current -- what's
17 happening with the resolution, knowing that
18 it's not yet in force, but we've been through
19 a process.

20 And often, what happens in this
21 discussion, and I think this is where many
22 people of faith stand, is that so quickly we

1 are characterized as being on one side of the
2 argument or the other, we're either proponents
3 or opponents.

4 And quite frankly, the concern is
5 that the way the resolution came about with an
6 added election in the middle of it, it created
7 an atmosphere of division and the community
8 was divided.

9 Either people divided themselves
10 into two camps or others said, "Well, they are
11 making this statement, so therefore they are
12 part of this community or they're making this
13 statement, they're a part of this community."

14 There are folks in my community
15 who, after spending time studying just a
16 little bit of immigration law, and even in
17 this conversation we've added layers of
18 complexity for me. It just -- it's further --
19 it confuses the issue.

20 Folks said that if we look at the
21 rule of law, there's something fundamentally
22 broken there in the sense of it -- the

1 complication and the history and how can we
2 fix it, and there's no quick fix.

3 On the other hand, the discussion
4 that's in the community, particularly in the
5 editorial section of the paper, lacks a
6 certain tenor of decorum, and can be harsh at
7 times. And for my congregants, reading the
8 paper, there's this whole other discussion
9 that is not as sterile as the discussion
10 happens in this board room.

11 And that's the discussion that is
12 built off of perception and assumption, as
13 well as some truth and some well-founded
14 concern that has heightening the anxiety for
15 those of us who are in the middle, as well as
16 those that are on the extremes.

17 And I think for the faith
18 community, that is our deepest concern, and so
19 there are 30 other leaders who are joining me
20 in a letter to our County government asking if
21 we could be part of a solution, to help with
22 education, to help with understanding and to

1 help kind of broker a conversation that raises
2 the general good of this place I call my home.

3 For many of us, it is a concern
4 about our home and the community that we're
5 creating. Thank you.

6 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: First Todd
7 and then the final question will go to Ed
8 Cooke.

9 MEMBER GAZIANO: My comment,
10 because I'm not sure it's a question, follows
11 some of Lloyd's questions. And my own, of the
12 Chief. I wasn't completely satisfied with his
13 answer. It was a beginning, but I knew that
14 it would -- wasn't even possible in hours to
15 really get to the bottom of it.

16 But I especially appreciate, Ms.
17 Firth, your testimony and suggesting where you
18 and your group can do great service, not only
19 to your clients but to the community in trying
20 to get discovery in matters that we, in a
21 hearing might not.

22 And some of the points that may be

1 raised, and I think would be very helpful
2 going forward, certainly, are whether -- some
3 of this probably is impossible to get at, but
4 the incidence of illegal stops or alleged
5 illegal stops have increased.

6 I can certainly understand a link.
7 I appreciate you weren't prescient in your
8 answer, but also asking the Chief how many
9 officers have been -- this I could have maybe
10 followed up with him -- have been trained?
11 What is the training schedule? What will
12 change after this unit is set up?

13 I could have asked him more
14 questions about that unit. And let's say
15 you're -- whether your clients prevail in an
16 initial suit or don't, I think that there is
17 -- one of the values of our system of justice
18 is that you can keep following up, and you
19 can --

20 I'm not sure that I agree that
21 there can be no constitutional resolution of
22 this type enacted, but you pushing one way, I

1 think, can be very valuable, and I would hope
2 that those are advocating that -- and I'm
3 referring to the other gentleman who share
4 your table, would help her, at least try to
5 implement a policy in a way that is consistent
6 with the Constitution and the Civil Rights as
7 possible.

8 So, I commend you in particular
9 for pursuing that.

10 MS. JOHNSON-FIRTH: Thank you.

11 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: Ed.

12 CO-CHAIR COOKE: Yes. Oh, sorry.

13 MR. HETHMON: A very brief
14 response. Yes, I think those are very helpful
15 words. I think one of the reasons you sense
16 perhaps some obstreperousness in our tone is
17 because we feel so -- I mean, I've been -- I
18 remember attending one immigration lawyer's
19 conference in Washington, D.C. as a young
20 lawyer where I got involved in this issue and
21 I sat down at the table and -- what's her
22 name, Jean Goldsmith the president of the

1 association announced, you know, "Be very
2 careful what you say in the room. We have one
3 of "them" sitting over there."

4 And that's the kind of tone --
5 that's the sort of bias and animus that we
6 work with professional year-in and year-out.
7 And I will be happy -- that's why I was the
8 only person to go down to the Human Rights
9 Commission on August 11th, because, you know,
10 when we actually sat down, we were able to
11 have a very helpful dialogue.

12 And we suggested issues that, when
13 their Human Rights Commission encounters these
14 kind of issues, the things they need to think
15 about in advance so that these kind of things
16 can be resolved in the way that you're
17 mentioning, sir.

18 CO-CHAIR COOKE: And our objective
19 is to foster dialogue as well, and we often
20 do, always do that. And our objective is
21 foster a dialogue as well, but in the
22 tradition that I spent eight and a half years

1 observing on the bill, I'd like to begin my
2 questioning by question, by associating
3 myself with the remarks of Reverend Carter and
4 Todd Gaziano. I think they are both on point
5 and expressed some concerns that I have as
6 well.

7 But I'm going to ask a question of
8 Mr. Stein and Mr. Hethmon -- is correct?

9 MR. HETHMON: Yes.

10 CO-CHAIR COOKE: I'm sorry. I
11 apologize. -- that I don't know the answer to,
12 and that I really have not yet formed an
13 opinion on, but I would really like to get
14 your views for it

15 And, is it absolutely critical and
16 essential to achieving the reasonable
17 objectives with respect to immigration policy
18 in this country to continue to foster policies
19 that attack or create the possibility of
20 attack on the existing population, that is to
21 say, the people who are already here, whether
22 legal or illegal, in order to achieve long-

1 term reasonable objectives that you both
2 regard as important?

3 That is to say, do we have to
4 continue this possibly -- possibility of
5 aggressively identifying and deporting people,
6 even given the possibility of the present
7 danger that we all have to admit that out of
8 every one that we actually find we're going to
9 offend ten legal citizens and what not?

10 Is it actually critical to attack
11 the population that exists here now to achieve
12 reasonable long-term and appropriate kinds of
13 immigration policies?

14 MR. HETHMON: My personal view in
15 this --

16 CO-CHAIR COOKE: Yes, that's what
17 I want.

18 MR. HETHMON: -- is that this is a
19 two-part question, and the answer to the one
20 dealing with identification is, yes. The one
21 dealing with removal of that entire population
22 is -- is no.

1 You cannot have a democratic
2 society based on the rule of law where you
3 have an unidentified population that is, as
4 this judge said yesterday, basing their
5 actions on their anonymity combined with their
6 violation of law to assert constitutional
7 claims.

8 We have had the alien registration
9 laws in existence since 1940, and the laws
10 observed in the breach essentially make a
11 fundamental distinction between citizens and
12 non-citizens.

13 It's actually an alienage
14 distinction, and what it says with, some
15 exceptions, is that every person who is not a
16 citizen of the United States, to simplify very
17 greatly, has the obligation as a condition of
18 being present in this country, of carrying
19 papers. Carrying papers.

20 And that is a fundamental
21 difference from our view of what the answer
22 would be if a person is a citizen.

1 As the world becomes more crowded,
2 as the world becomes more interconnected, this
3 sort of imperative for the rule of law really
4 remains there.

5 But the second question, which was
6 sort of -- it runs into the, you know, the
7 removal, kind of amnesty issue. This is --
8 this, I think, is really -- is more a
9 political question, rather than a legal
10 question. And it can't really be answered
11 until you have, you know, an articulate and
12 firm national policy on this issue.

13 CO-CHAIR COOKE: So FAIR is not
14 taking any political position on that issue?

15 MR. HETHMON: I'll let Dan -- Dan
16 is the person who speaks on politics, so --

17 MR. STEIN: Chairman Cooke, I just
18 -- I'm not quite sure I understand exactly
19 your question. The term "attack" --

20 CO-CHAIR COOKE: Well, perhaps
21 that's not the best word, but to aggressively
22 pursue and remove individuals who are

1 presently in this country, as a part of an
2 immigration policy, is that absolutely
3 critical to the achievement of long-term --
4 the long-term goals as you see them.

5 And I'm not -- Understand, I'm
6 not expressing a --

7 MR. STEIN: I mean, I go back long
8 enough in this issue to remember when, back in
9 the early 1980's and before the 1986
10 Immigration Reform and Control Act passed,
11 when there were a lot more efforts at common
12 dialogue between different sides of these
13 communities -- policy communities to find
14 solutions.

15 The assumption was that after that
16 bill passed, Ronald Reagan signed it in
17 October, there was going to be, in return for
18 the Amnesty program, 3.2 million people and
19 then their relatives eventually got in line to
20 come, that there was going to be a
21 corresponding change in the interior
22 enforcement strategy, employer sanctions.

1 Not only did that not happen, but
2 by the Bush Administration, interior
3 enforcement and employer sanctions virtually
4 ceased as --

5 CO-CHAIR COOKE: I've heard that
6 complaint continued. I've heard that
7 complaint.

8 MR. STEIN: So, the proposals that
9 were up before the Senate appeared, to our
10 side, to be bad faith, that we had once -- we
11 played this game one time too many times, and
12 we weren't going to go down that road again.

13 People want to see real
14 enforcement. Now, in the movie "1775" in the
15 play, John Adams exasperatedly says to the
16 Constitution Convention, "You know, we're
17 going to have a resolution, you know, we have
18 to offend somebody, damn it."

19 You can't enforce immigration law
20 without inconveniencing some people, and
21 generally, hopefully, those people are only
22 those people who have broken our immigration

1 laws.

2 And when a person breaks the
3 immigration law, they not only break that law,
4 but generally over time they fail to file
5 taxes, these fraudulent documents, they have
6 a whole range of felonies and other things
7 associated with it.

8 The employers are guilty of a lot
9 of criminal behavior --

10 CO-CHAIR COOKE: I don't mean to
11 interrupt you, but are those the only people
12 that get inconvenienced? I apologize for
13 interrupting.

14 MR. STEIN: Well, what I'm saying,
15 I mean, what we look for in the way of common
16 dialogue, sir, are responsible approaches to
17 the long-term strategy which would be, say,
18 all right, if you're going to let people stay
19 here who jumped the que in front of millions
20 of people who have waited in line, and you
21 want to reassert the idea that what ties us
22 together is such a diverse society is respect

1 for the rule of law, and that the status quo
2 is not tenable, then what about some
3 corresponding set-off from future immigration,
4 from those countries, or some other thing.

5 It's going to account for the fact
6 that, you know, we violated traditional
7 notions of fundamental American fairness by
8 letting people jump the line and essentially
9 benefit from having cheated the system.

10 CO-CHAIR COOKE: But it sounds
11 like there's at least a basis for a dialogue
12 along the lines that I suggest, even from
13 FAIR.

14 MR. STEIN: Well, we are the -- I
15 have always wanted to engage in dialogue with
16 other people on the other side, and what we
17 have found -- I don't know -- I think what
18 changed in the dialogue was that somewhere
19 along the way the two parties split on the
20 issue.

21 You see some bipartisanship now.
22 Democratic -- the Democratic Party decided

1 somewhere along the way that immigration was
2 important for future party-building. Some
3 Republican people, mostly -- frankly Bush
4 people decided that immigration was important
5 to raise political money.

6 And the old Father Hesburgh
7 Commission, Barbara Jordan chaired a wonderful
8 commission in 1995. These commissions which
9 took an enlarged view of the national interest
10 on which proposals, the original Simpson-
11 Mazzoli bill is based and then in 1995 the
12 Smith-Simpson bill was based, all those great
13 recommendations were torpedoed by a coalition
14 of business and, you know, left of center,
15 whatever you want to call them, immigration
16 advocates, to essentially prevent them from
17 passing.

18 We don't -- we shouldn't be in
19 this situation as a country today.

20 CO-CHAIR COOKE: I quite agree
21 that the testimony that we heard from Ms.
22 Firth and Reverend Carter and Mr. Byler

1 suggests social impact that will be derived
2 from our current course of action if we pursue
3 it.

4 And if we continue to, for lack of
5 a better word, focus on existing individuals
6 currently in this country that could very well
7 not only create extraordinary conflict in the
8 community, but also undermine long-term, the
9 Constitution that we -- some aspects of the
10 Constitution I think are absolutely critical.

11 MR. STEIN: But if you're saying,
12 respectfully, if you tell people that there is
13 no alternative, that the law -- rule of law
14 simply cannot prevail in border regulation and
15 immigration regulation, you're saying that as
16 a nation we can't control our destiny.

17 CO-CHAIR COOKE: No. I'm saying
18 that the problem from my perspective is, at
19 least from what I've heard, is that it's not
20 so much the absence of the rule of law, but
21 the failure to enforce existing laws.

22 I was in Congress and responsible

1 for enactment of the '86 Immigration Act, so
2 I quite agree with you that it was very,
3 extraordinarily ambitions. It took three
4 times for the Congress to pass it, as you'll
5 recall.

6 We were very hopeful that these
7 things would have occurred, but the fact of
8 the matter is that they haven't been enforced
9 for various reasons by both parties.

10 If we were to enforce those laws
11 prospectively and perhaps even implement some
12 others along the lines that you suggested, do
13 you think it's still necessary for us to focus
14 on the kinds of things the Prince William
15 County Commission has enacted in its
16 legislation that has such a direct impact on
17 individuals and on people, some of whom are
18 illegal and some of whom are not illegal?

19 MR. STEIN: Well, I'd like to try
20 it and see how it works before we decide it's
21 not a workable thing but, as I say, the
22 Federal-State partnership is absolutely

1 essential to comprehensive -- I don't want to
2 use that term, but meaningful immigration
3 enforcement in this country.

4 CO-CHAIR COOKE: Well, that you
5 and I could become allies on, but I have real
6 concern about some of the results that I know
7 and we all know are going to occur with
8 respect to the imposition on individual civil
9 rights of people who happen not to look like
10 the majority of folks, if we don't take some
11 sort of a little bit more enlightened stance
12 on some of these issues.

13 This is just a question, just a
14 thought.

15 MR. STEIN: I'll be happy to --

16 CHAIRPERSON CHAVEZ: I'm going to
17 thank all of the participants today, not just
18 the panelists in this last panel. Your
19 information was particularly helpful to us.

20 I'd like to encourage you,
21 particularly you, Ms. Johnson-Firth, if you
22 have more actual evidence of the person whose

1 civil rights are being violated and would
2 present that to us, that would be very, very
3 helpful to the Committee.

4 I want to thank my fellow
5 Subcommittee Members. Again, I want to thank
6 our staff, Barbara De La Viez, Ivy Davis and
7 Freda Greene, also, for their help in putting
8 it together, and also the good people of
9 Prince William County and the County
10 Government for making these facilities
11 available to us, thanks so much.

12 (Whereupon, the meeting concluded
13 at 1:13 p.m.)

14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22

A			
abandoned 68:22	ACLU 184:11	adults 84:7	agree 28:6 154:8
abide 67:13 179:9	act 14:19 31:6,18,20	advance 162:13	208:20 219:20
179:12	38:7 80:17 166:6	210:15	221:2
ability 90:15 124:2	171:5 172:5,6	adversely 6:5	agreed 12:3 165:10
124:4 153:10	215:10 221:1	advice 126:3	agreement 30:21
184:17	acting 185:22	Advisory 1:4,12,15	agreements 28:17
able 8:2 61:14 63:16	action 152:9 163:21	1:17,18,20,22 4:12	31:5
63:22 112:6,16	169:6 177:9 220:2	4:16 6:16 66:8	ahead 10:6 72:4
130:12 175:4	actions 103:12	advocacy 8:11	142:13
193:9,17 202:19	111:20 156:7	140:19	aid 81:21
202:22 210:10	180:22 213:5	advocate 155:2,7	aimed 52:4
abroad 31:22	activities 75:11	161:12	airports 56:11
absence 44:9 133:9	171:22	advocated 190:14	akin 26:12
199:20,21,22	activity 74:9 79:17	advocates 35:11	Alexandria 158:1
220:20	93:1,2 153:6	158:5 166:19	Alice 103:16 105:10
absolutely 175:14	actual 177:20	189:9 194:13	alien 7:9 76:7 95:4
180:19 211:15	222:22	199:16 219:16	99:10,22 109:9
215:2 220:10	Adams 216:15	advocating 42:19	150:15 164:14
221:22	add 88:3 118:12	209:2	171:1 182:15
abstract 191:9	148:7	Affairs 11:9	185:3 213:8
abundance 148:5	added 171:12	affect 21:14 116:21	alienage 171:1
abuse 84:2 169:10	184:13 205:6,17	116:21	213:13
abuses 155:18,20	adding 75:3 148:12	affiliate 144:4	alienist 169:9
accent 53:8 123:7	addition 87:17 89:1	affiliated 164:2	aliens 31:19 37:3
123:16 201:6	89:8	affiliating 101:6	58:7,20 66:10
203:13	additional 35:18	affirmative 199:16	71:22 92:22 94:8,9
accept 180:18	address 66:20 75:15	affirming 153:3	99:13 100:4,13
accepted 194:21	76:10,14,18 78:10	afforded 161:20	101:18 108:11,15
access 28:3 37:4,4	97:22 105:14	afoul 200:18	108:21 110:4,5
38:19,21 39:17	109:1 121:1	afraid 142:18	127:7 128:9 135:8
40:3,5,15 160:20	administration 1:7	144:15 145:5,12	138:7 175:20
accolades 10:9	30:3 216:2	161:10 195:14	184:15
accomplished 71:17	administrations	African 47:16	alike 76:13
account 20:1 54:20	29:20	aged 54:15	allegations 180:15
218:5	Administrator	ageist 73:1	allege 176:14
accountable 100:14	124:17 128:13	agencies 49:8	alleged 102:2
accounts 126:11	admire 144:18	agency 5:12,13,13	175:17 177:3
accurate 186:21	admit 51:21 110:21	43:13 79:18	208:4
accustomed 144:13	111:4 212:7	agenda 66:11 106:7	alleges 180:16
195:16	admitted 48:3,5,12	143:3 162:17	allegiance 143:8
achieve 211:22	admittedly 134:12	166:20 195:20	alleging 178:21
212:11	adopted 26:7 27:12	aggressively 212:5	allies 222:5
achievement 215:3	77:7 78:17 126:12	214:21	allotting 9:16
achieving 211:16	193:2	ago 13:9 46:14	allow 9:22 28:18
acknowledge	adult 14:6 21:7 47:3	94:11 128:22	42:16 84:5 102:4
195:19	54:14 63:20 83:20	155:15 159:2,20	156:13
	84:2 129:8 133:1	174:8 180:6	allowed 124:6,6
	135:7 136:15	204:14	allowing 28:21 29:1
			52:12 83:22
			allows 34:15
			all-time 14:13 15:2
			alternative 220:13
			altogether 57:11
			ambitions 221:3
			Amendment 52:16
			55:22 56:18 60:10
			61:4,15,16 62:2
			80:11,13 203:6
			America 7:1 67:9
			American 7:16 8:5
			10:12 11:15 48:10
			67:7 68:11 69:19
			70:2 72:4 115:14
			116:9 141:21
			162:4,10 167:4,9
			168:18 169:11,13
			170:4 218:7
			Americans 66:17
			68:19 69:3,13 70:6
			70:13 71:20
			America's 85:21
			amnesty 112:4,15
			112:21 188:22
			214:7 215:18
			amount 110:11
			ample 147:2
			analyses 131:2,6
			analysis 9:20 24:19
			26:4 29:14 35:10
			35:19 37:16 39:3,6
			39:13 40:11 43:2
			51:1 202:16
			analyzing 36:20
			45:9
			anchor 193:3 194:3
			ancillary 32:15
			33:17,17,19
			129:11
			and/or 6:8 180:14
			anecdotal 108:1
			133:13,15 181:15
			181:19 186:22
			193:8,10 196:15
			anecdotally 127:4
			193:13
			anesthesiologists

89:6	121:11 124:18	Arizona 15:12	172:13 220:9	40:9 41:17 44:11
Angeles 195:10	appearance 183:14	73:20	assault 54:14	76:20 77:10 93:4
angry 143:20	202:10	arrange 144:2	assert 213:6	93:11 97:10 121:7
145:11	appeared 216:9	arrangement	asserting 179:4	authority 27:2
animus 193:14	appellate 204:5	179:19 180:3	assess 5:14 26:5	29:17 30:1,4 31:10
210:5	applicable 170:19	arrest 32:21,22 33:4	assessing 24:21	32:4,9,15 35:20
Annabel 143:7	application 67:20	33:19 35:2 36:4	assessment 124:12	45:8 77:13 80:16
announced 210:1	applied 37:19,20	42:5 44:13	assimilate 67:15	96:12 179:20
annual 167:14	38:1 53:12 59:20	arrested 36:6	assist 8:14 189:14	180:9
191:1	applies 62:11	121:12	assisting 165:16	authorize 44:8
anonymity 213:5	apply 37:17 54:11	arrestees 119:4,7	associated 74:18	authorized 33:13
answer 40:17	59:7 69:8	arrests 35:3,4	93:18,19 151:20	43:11
106:20 117:4	applying 52:18,19	article 105:12 202:2	171:13 217:7	automatically 34:22
135:3 137:14	53:18	articulable 119:22	associating 211:2	35:1
147:2 173:7 176:7	appointed 63:4	articulate 202:22	association 34:10	availability 20:15
178:5 183:17	appreciate 103:3	214:11	210:1	available 11:19 38:8
188:13 190:20	162:8 207:16	articulated 199:22	assume 42:10	193:21 223:11
207:13 208:8	208:7	200:5	assumption 40:2	average 19:12
211:11 212:19	approach 98:1 99:9	articulating 126:8	206:12 215:15	averaging 18:8
213:21	100:6 101:1 130:1	ascertain 157:1	assumptions 149:6	avoiding 163:19
answered 174:8	approached 71:11	159:13	149:15 150:2	award 11:17
181:2 214:10	approaches 217:16	Ashcroft 29:15	asylum 157:13	aware 40:13
answering 182:19	approaching 15:3,7	Asia 48:4,8	as-applied 53:3	a.m 1:8 4:2 62:22
anticipate 127:12	approaching 15:3,7	Asian 14:21 47:13	atmosphere 205:7	
183:5	appropriate 102:8	47:16	attached 129:10	B
anticipated 4:9	102:11 175:14	aside 11:14 30:11	attack 211:19,20	B 1:21 133:8
183:2 186:2	177:14 212:12	asked 21:20 36:6	212:10 214:19	babies 193:3 194:4
anti-illegal 7:9	approve 183:3	39:13 54:2 71:12	attacked 144:11	baby 115:14 116:8
198:18	approximately	71:12 73:2 78:10	attempt 62:7 131:12	back 13:1 67:22
anti-immigrant	108:19 159:1,15	78:20 80:20 81:8	attending 63:12	68:3 78:18 81:15
198:18	Arab 47:15 56:12	88:13 91:13 94:21	209:18	84:19 97:21 129:1
anxiety 152:2	Arab-looking 56:10	128:22 130:4	attention 94:12,12	129:5 137:5
206:14	area 13:11 15:10,14	134:3 148:14	101:16	157:22 215:7,8
anybody 115:13	15:14,14 16:5 26:8	155:8 157:5,16	attitude 11:20	backbone 85:21
126:22	27:21 28:10 32:10	159:6,8,13 160:7,9	148:16	backdrop 80:20
any more 165:16	32:13 36:22 80:2	166:11 177:7	attorney 29:15,18	background 9:18
anyway 22:4 66:2	82:17 94:16 97:5	182:12,21 191:22	30:7 56:19 80:7	bad 41:14 112:1,13
123:6 135:5	100:16 147:21	201:4 208:13	157:19	184:9 216:10
188:13	areas 16:6,7,16,17	asking 53:6 59:15	attorneys 126:4	badly 41:10
apart 194:2	17:21 20:14 22:14	59:16 60:8 106:19	Attorney's 126:5	balances 70:10
apologize 211:11	23:18 27:7,16 28:1	109:16 119:22	attract 50:17	ball 129:14
217:12	28:7,11 30:13	120:4 133:4 165:5	August 127:14	ban 40:14 58:19
apparent 160:4	31:15 32:3,6 38:12	166:15 179:20	128:15 170:12	183:22
apparently 156:21	43:19 46:7 134:13	180:10 206:20	181:11 210:9	banning 39:11
203:21	189:9	208:8	auspices 115:3,22	Barbara 2:2 9:2,5
appeal 60:12	Argentina 69:5	asks 120:15	Austin 10:19	219:7 223:6
Appeals 60:13,15	arguing 178:22	aspects 31:11,16	author 181:7	barred 37:13
appear 8:4 66:6	argument 166:6	65:7 149:18	authorities 29:4	barring 39:16
	205:2			

based 132:18 172:21,22 183:10 183:13 213:2 219:11,12	58:11,14 69:8 78:21 79:3,5,15 166:12 173:18 183:12	block 157:4,9 blood 67:2 Bloomberg 61:7,13 blow 197:21	163:2 164:4 broad 52:17 61:2 112:4 149:15 broader 61:22 broadly 50:8 59:10 broken 192:18 205:22 216:22 broker 207:1 brought 60:3 75:22 77:5 94:12 104:12 105:9 174:10 177:8	202:3 calls 144:22 178:7 Cameroonian 157:13 campaign 66:11,14 camp 205:10 Canada 70:3 candidate 152:8 candidates 68:6,10 capability 201:9 capable 126:4 200:13 capacities 6:18 capture 101:11 car 157:17 159:14 160:6 199:3 card 53:19 85:17 care 65:8 79:14 84:1 85:22,22 87:7 87:9,11,12,14 88:1 88:5,17 89:3,19,20 89:22 113:13,14 114:2,6,19 115:2 115:10,13,21 116:5 190:22 careful 45:9 99:5 210:2 carefully 98:4,11 100:21 Carolina 16:21 carried 199:19 carry 98:9 carrying 94:15 203:13 213:18,19 Cars 198:13,14 Carter 2:18 3:16 139:22 141:3,15 141:16 147:10,11 154:17 199:14 204:6 211:3 219:22 case 60:3,10 75:21 121:20 132:3 174:9,12,21 175:4 183:12 192:19 202:9 cases 84:14 88:10 158:7 174:9 177:8
basic 28:15 165:5 basically 18:5,13 26:4 30:18 34:19 58:1 60:15 96:15 96:17 115:17 121:15 169:14 174:11 194:1 basing 213:4 basis 33:5 37:14 53:7 61:15 105:6 128:1 133:13,15 140:7 218:11 Basta 169:14 beard 66:4 72:18 beautiful 118:15 148:6 began 15:17,19 74:17 80:6 140:6 beginning 24:16 72:15 125:4 207:13 behave 35:16 behavior 33:17 217:9 believe 7:17 8:6 44:21 66:10 68:5 72:3 84:21 90:19 91:5 96:19 114:4 122:6 127:14 146:20 149:1 151:14 162:13 165:22 188:15,16 200:16 201:11 believes 29:16 163:12 believing 56:11 Bench 187:18 benefit 40:11 62:11 83:8,12 90:21 145:7 192:11 218:9 benefits 27:12 28:4 36:17 37:2,8 39:12 52:10,11,19 58:7	benefit-by-benefit 39:3 Benjamin 71:10 bent 158:3 best 134:21 214:21 better 50:10 67:8 74:6 130:22 135:4 162:17 163:2,3 203:13 220:5 beyond 33:12 133:1 139:2 154:5 160:12 177:12 bias 210:5 big 21:11 22:13 34:12 164:17 166:17 bigger 23:17 bill 39:11 151:11 215:16 219:11,12 billion 168:17 bills 68:17 bio 64:16,17 bios 141:1 bipartisanship 218:21 birth 46:4 152:6 203:14 births 87:4,6 88:11 bit 4:8 9:21 12:10 12:14 13:7 17:6,11 20:8 21:19 22:4 25:1 56:17 92:5 103:15 105:12 113:6 122:18 123:8 147:12 172:2,17 178:20 192:20 203:12,13 205:16 222:11 bits 166:4 Black 13:18 198:16 blasts 144:22 blessed 148:5 blessings 153:14 blind 194:20	board 1:6 6:6,10 49:4 64:14,19 75:14 78:12,17,19 81:16,16 84:14,21 94:20 95:7,8 96:7 97:17,18,22 100:6 103:1,12,22 104:4 108:2,5 118:13 119:18 125:6 128:15,22 129:6 129:15 130:5 140:15 144:20 163:22 193:1 206:10 Board's 83:19 104:8 body 125:3 bond 76:3 book 172:7,12 books 173:21 border 73:22,22 220:14 borders 70:1 161:19 born 7:11 55:13,15 72:4 93:15 197:3 bother 58:9 bottom 166:21 172:18 186:7 207:15 boundaries 150:20 break 62:17,19 139:18 217:3 breakdown 142:17 breaking 143:9 169:1 breaks 217:2 breech 213:10 breeder 185:3 Brethren 141:17 147:15 150:4 brief 45:21 209:13 BRIEFING 1:4 briefly 50:1 bright 202:18 203:5 bring 91:6 139:18	byproduct 12:17	
C				
C 1:18 California 13:2,3 15:11,20 46:13 188:12 call 25:20 31:4 90:8 139:21 154:14 207:2 219:15 called 24:19 29:10 82:17 90:21 142:9 144:6,7 192:5 198:6,22 199:1				

177:11	96:10 103:3 105:8	196:18 199:8	53:14 54:3 56:15	119:8,17 120:4,8
cash 94:15	105:19 106:2,6,10	201:22 203:11,20	57:10,16 62:3,12	122:1,4,15 123:19
categories 80:1	106:14,21 107:7	207:6 209:11	63:1 64:12 65:19	124:9 128:13,17
135:13 168:11	107:12 108:3	222:16	66:3 71:13 72:11	135:2,17,19 136:2
categorized 81:17	109:7,13,17,22	chairs 118:14	72:14,22 78:2 85:8	136:11,21 137:9
82:17	110:7 111:21	169:16	91:2,10,17,20	137:14,21 138:6
category 83:17	112:11,20 113:2	Chairwoman 204:7	102:14,17 105:17	138:17,21 139:3
caught 40:6	117:3 118:5 131:8	challenge 70:16	105:21 106:4,8,12	139:16 197:15
cause 96:19 117:17	132:10,14 133:17	152:15 175:8	106:18 107:4,9,12	201:4 204:13
119:19,21 121:3	133:21 134:2,7,11	challenges 86:12	107:22 109:11,15	207:12 208:8
122:18 123:17	134:16,20 139:14	challenging 164:8	109:20 110:2,9	chiefs 34:7,10,11,12
198:19 200:20	167:13 190:19	Chambers 1:6	112:9,18 113:3	35:12 36:13 45:4
201:1	192:2 214:17	chance 168:1	117:8,12 122:16	97:13
caused 36:12 74:21	Chairperson 1:8,11	change 15:18 17:11	123:11,15,20	child 187:9 194:7
causes 89:17	4:3 23:3 24:12	22:16 72:12 98:3	124:15 127:19	childhood 103:15
causing 49:5 104:2	25:5 40:18 41:4,12	99:7 111:14,16,19	130:3,11,14,17,20	children 19:20 24:9
caution 73:5	45:17 48:21 51:17	111:20 113:6	134:22 135:18	24:10 67:8 68:18
ceased 216:4	53:14 54:3 56:15	143:1 208:12	136:1,10,20 137:1	83:2 161:9 188:3
cell 41:6	57:10,16 62:3,12	215:21	137:11,15 138:5	193:2 194:5 197:2
census 13:14 164:21	63:1 64:12 65:19	changed 14:19	138:14,18,22	197:8 198:11
188:20	66:3 71:13 72:11	218:18	139:9,17 141:12	Chimera 202:3
center 7:20 10:7	72:14,22 78:2 85:8	changes 12:7 23:19	146:22 147:5,9	China 69:5
44:18 63:21 84:2	91:1,2,10,17,20	changing 12:14	154:16 161:15	Chishti 2:7 3:6
129:8 133:2 135:2	102:14,17 105:17	94:1	162:3 167:16,19	10:22 11:6 24:14
135:7 136:15	105:21 106:4,8,12	characteristics	168:2,6,10 169:15	25:3,7 41:11,12
197:10 219:14	106:18 107:4,9,22	13:22 204:1	171:9,15 174:15	42:21 44:9,17
centers 34:13	109:11,15,20	characterize 146:8	176:4,8 180:12	51:18 53:2,22
century 74:3	110:2,9 112:9,18	characterized 59:10	181:4,17 182:17	54:10,21 55:11
certain 28:3 62:6	113:3 117:8,12	204:11 205:1	183:9 185:21	56:5 57:5,12,20
79:9 121:16,18	122:16 123:20	charge 95:15 96:19	186:13 189:16	58:21 62:5,10
143:3 166:4,5	124:15 127:19	138:11 139:7	191:5,11,16 192:5	Chishti's 183:19
206:6	130:3,11,14,17,20	159:2	192:8 193:4	184:5
certainly 14:1 24:4	134:22 135:18	charged 128:14	196:18 199:8	choose 52:21
65:16 70:15 90:4	136:1,10,20 137:1	159:16	201:3,22 203:11	chosen 148:1
94:6 118:7 188:15	137:11,15 138:5	charges 86:22	203:20 207:6	chunk 21:11
188:15 203:5	138:14,18,22	121:17 135:20,21	209:11 222:16	church 141:17
208:2,6	139:9,17 141:12	136:8,17 160:19	cheated 218:9	144:9 147:14,17
certificate 203:14	146:22 147:5,9	174:6 185:8	check 120:17	147:22 149:22
cetera 81:21 104:13	154:16 161:15	Charlie 2:13 3:12	checked 76:2 105:2	150:4
chain-sawed 197:22	162:3 167:16,19	65:10 91:4	132:2 141:6	churches 175:19
Chair 25:8 102:19	168:2,6,10 169:15	chart 49:19 73:3	checking 165:6	Circuit 60:1,12,14
105:9 162:7	171:9,15 174:15	91:7 104:20	checks 42:6 70:9	60:19 61:21
chaired 219:7	176:4,8 180:12	charts 49:14	Chicago 15:14	circumscribed
Chairlady 85:12	181:4,17 182:17	chattering 68:20	chicken 145:21	26:21 27:2
Chairman 4:18	183:9 185:21	Chavez 1:8,11 4:3	chief 65:10 73:9	circumstance
8:20 64:14,18 66:1	186:13 189:16	4:17 23:3 24:12	91:5,8,13,18,21	163:15 202:16
66:6 72:13,20	191:5,11,16 192:5	25:5 40:18 41:4,12	92:12 97:19	circumstances
73:11,11 91:21	192:8 193:4	45:17 48:21 51:17	102:16 118:18	103:7 121:19

122:2,5 124:12 202:12 cited 41:17 174:1 cities 29:10 34:11 59:9,11 60:8 148:4 citizen 115:14 116:9 145:1 159:22 185:16 213:16,22 citizens 19:21 72:4 83:3 86:2 113:16 117:22 118:12 119:5 148:21 158:10 161:22 169:11 170:7 171:3 173:1,14 201:17 212:9 213:11 citizenship 80:10 123:18 172:20 189:3 city 60:22 61:6 62:1 97:13 civil 1:1 4:13 5:10 5:15,18,19 6:3 8:15 11:5 30:14,16 30:19 31:3 45:10 45:12 52:5,16 77:20 103:11 124:3 142:9 150:14 155:18,20 156:1 163:17 167:4 172:5 176:15 177:7,9 179:11 185:13 190:5 209:6 222:8 223:1 claim 41:18 claimed 105:13 claims 185:8 213:7 clarification 174:16 191:17 clarify 114:16 116:10 123:22 138:13 169:20 171:3 class 68:20 124:3 196:2 classes 161:8	classification 57:7 classified 50:21 51:2 clause 80:11,13 clear 26:20 30:11 32:18 45:4 53:4 59:5 69:17 106:7 106:15 120:20 138:1 149:4 191:19 clearer 56:17 clearly 34:1 53:5,9 55:7 56:13 57:6 61:21 129:15 131:21 Clergy 175:20 client 82:20 133:7,8 157:13 clients 156:3 207:19 208:15 climate 149:12 152:7 193:19 194:21 clinical 83:3 cloned 184:7 close 13:14 93:3 closely 83:4 162:21 coalition 175:19 219:13 code 85:19 168:21 codes 152:15 Cohen 1:14 9:8 54:4 54:5,11 55:9,16 113:4,5 116:10,13 117:7 175:1 176:9 176:10 178:20 199:11,12 204:9 coherent 26:15 colleagues 13:10 50:20,21 102:20 collect 187:12 collected 185:11 188:19 collecting 188:17 collection 187:3 college 11:7 75:18 Collision 172:9 Colonel 63:18	color 146:15 158:13 183:11 Colorado 15:12 39:10 Columbia 11:8 combined 213:5 come 30:9 34:13 40:7,8 43:7 50:12 50:13,14,14 67:21 71:3,3 79:10 84:19 86:1 115:11 117:13 119:5 129:1 160:5 164:15 170:15 174:2 191:22 196:5 215:20 comes 35:19 43:13 53:11 125:9 142:6 175:5 184:3 comfortable 127:10 127:11 coming 12:16 23:12 68:5,5 73:14 86:9 92:19 102:10 182:6 196:9 commend 209:8 comment 94:22 159:10 180:14 181:3 207:9 commented 97:17 comments 78:20 85:6 125:1 175:13 181:14 commercial 84:13 commission 1:1 4:13 5:10,17 66:7 77:20 132:9 170:12 172:16 181:11 182:1,7 210:9,13 219:7,8 221:15 commissioned 132:9 Commissioners 192:12 commissions 125:15 219:8 Commission's	170:21 commit 55:19 56:3 112:2,5 138:2 committed 8:5 32:2 75:9 94:7 135:12 148:11 committee 1:4,8,12 1:15,17,18,20,22 4:12,16,18,20 6:16 9:11 10:1 40:21 51:19 66:8 73:12 78:9 85:12 91:22 223:3 common 68:22 148:7 153:3,12 215:11 217:15 Commonwealth 86:14 communicate 97:1 communities 6:22 73:20 76:15 151:16 161:3 215:13,13 community 8:11 73:15,17 74:2,9 75:13 79:5 80:2,19 81:13 82:7,22 83:9 83:16 84:6,18 85:20 89:12 90:21 99:14,18,20 106:16 107:1,14 107:15,18,20 112:8,14 140:19 142:20 143:4 144:17 146:4 147:22 148:12 149:3,9,12,18 152:21 153:3,9 156:8 158:6 159:21 165:2 169:2 187:9 193:8 194:1,18,22 196:17 197:10,15 198:2 205:7,12,13 205:14 206:4,18 207:4,19 220:8 community's 145:8 commute 4:7	compact 42:13,14 42:18 43:15 44:7 compared 25:13 28:11 compelling 34:18 compete 166:16 complaint 179:5 182:15 185:13 216:6,7 complaints 93:16 182:4 184:2 completely 143:5 194:20 207:12 complex 1:7 92:3 149:2,16,17 complexity 80:9 205:18 compliance 176:1 complicated 151:9 172:4 complication 194:6 206:1 complications 195:20 198:7 comply 62:7 component 100:5 100:22 composition 19:15 comprehensive 151:10 172:8 222:1 comprised 63:2 concept 173:2,3 concern 6:21 40:12 51:19 52:2 145:16 189:20 190:8,13 191:20 193:18 205:4 206:14,18 207:3 222:6 concerned 35:15 66:18 100:17 103:5 168:20 180:7,9 concerning 93:17 94:22 149:16 concerns 109:2 145:13,17 149:10 211:5
--	--	--	---	---

concluded 30:3 66:13 71:15 223:12 concluding 167:12 conclusion 51:14 151:5 condition 49:10 213:17 conditions 146:1 202:15 conduct 36:3 69:10 conducting 132:7 conference 209:19 confident 129:5 confidentiality 60:21 61:3,11,17 61:22 confines 32:11 conflict 220:7 confrontation 199:6 confrontations 198:9 confused 72:14,16 123:12 178:21 confuses 205:19 confusing 150:19 confusion 30:11 congregants 206:7 congregation 204:14,15 Congress 5:22 27:2 30:11,17 31:14 32:7 43:10 110:17 112:3,14 220:22 221:4 congressional 31:13 68:7 70:11 connection 177:2 179:3 Consequently 150:3 conservative 126:7 consider 69:2,2 105:4 170:5 172:12 199:19 consideration 104:9 110:17 152:20 183:22 184:8 202:12,21,21	considerations 52:17 184:1 186:10 considered 33:3 82:10 167:11 175:10 202:15 consistent 26:15 28:22 79:11 consistently 22:7 65:6 consists 19:7 conspiracy 184:14 constitute 19:18 constitutes 137:13 179:1 constitution 38:4 56:18 70:8 80:12 80:14 156:11 158:16 161:18,21 179:10 187:8 200:19 209:6 216:16 220:9,10 constitutional 30:10 56:14,20 208:21 213:6 constitutionally 163:13 construction 83:10 construed 79:13 consultants 132:20 contact 44:5 119:5 CONTENTS 3:1 contested 28:12 context 12:6 33:13 43:8 60:4 159:12 171:20 173:11 175:15 202:7 continue 24:1 90:13 166:12 168:16 169:5 211:18 212:4 220:4 continued 189:10 216:6 continues 149:14 continuing 114:10 178:11 control 163:3	215:10 220:16 controlled 164:10 controlling 52:4 162:18 controversiality 186:8 controversy 32:17 convened 1:6 convenience 158:20 Convention 216:16 conversation 149:11 205:17 207:1 convicted 99:19 convinced 175:16 Cooke 1:13 8:21,21 45:20 46:15 47:7 47:10 48:13,18 62:4,5 130:18,21 131:8 132:6,13,16 133:11,19 134:1,5 134:10,15,18 207:8 209:12 210:18 211:10 212:16 214:13,17 214:20 216:5 217:10 218:10 219:20 220:17 222:4 cooperate 77:9 cooperated 76:19 cooperative 77:1 93:5 101:21 cop 157:5 202:4 cops 29:2,8,22 30:19 31:10,16 32:4 43:17 core 15:10,18 16:14 46:12 Corey 2:10 3:10 64:15,15 73:1,10 74:14 corn 145:21 Cornell 11:8 cornered 68:20 corners 27:15 Corporate 76:12 correct 45:22 64:11	117:2 138:21 180:19 211:8 corresponding 215:21 218:3 cost 40:11 82:14 88:18 89:5 90:17 113:21 115:16 129:2,10 costing 132:17 costly 87:15 costs 39:7 89:9 113:15,16 116:15 117:4,13,18,21 118:4 131:12 council 70:12 counsel 160:21 count 129:9 164:22 counter 72:1 counties 35:6 countries 86:2 218:4 country 14:12 15:4 16:2 28:16 31:21 34:7,13 35:12 36:13 39:7 52:11 52:14 53:1 57:22 59:22 68:13 69:6 69:20 71:1,7 93:9 99:16 109:10 137:7 158:15 161:18 163:6,16 163:18 164:11 166:1,9 170:6 172:5 175:11 183:1 188:9 189:4 192:15 211:18 213:18 215:1 219:19 220:6 222:3 country's 155:20 county 1:7 4:21,22 5:5 6:4,6,9 7:2 8:14 12:5,10 18:2 18:7 19:3,14 20:17 21:13 22:20 23:21 25:17,19 28:1 29:1 32:14 35:16,17 37:11 44:4 49:3,4	49:7,9,17,22 50:3 50:6 58:15 64:14 64:19 65:5,11 66:15 73:14 74:1,4 74:11,17 75:10,15 75:20,22 76:5,8 78:5,5,11,14,18 79:19 80:6,21 83:12 85:14,17 86:4 88:4 90:5 92:2 93:14 94:16 95:5 103:22 104:3 105:1 109:7 111:9 113:1,18 114:5 115:3 116:16,19 117:6 118:13 124:17 126:4,4,12 126:19 127:6,8 128:9,12,13 129:1 131:11,14 134:3 138:3 140:12,15 142:18 147:13,17 147:19 148:4,15 148:21 150:10 151:17 155:10,18 156:2,20 157:14 158:21 160:3,13 163:22 170:11 178:1,4,10 179:22 199:17 200:5,21 204:12,12,13 206:20 221:15 223:9,9 county's 18:21 19:6 19:19 20:2 27:19 148:16 County-funded 114:14 couple 48:22 76:4 126:11 129:11 155:17 176:11 180:5 193:5 course 85:6 89:9 97:4 102:1 110:15 119:20 131:15 140:21 172:9 175:6,12 190:5 193:15 220:2
---	--	--	--	--

court 1:8 30:8,9 60:11,12,14,20 80:14 121:21 122:7 134:8 155:3 175:16 187:17,20 203:8	101:19 104:21 107:19 110:5 111:18 135:13,15 135:15,22 159:12 178:16	currently 119:3 220:6	223:6	dedicated 67:4
courts 27:5 59:22 202:19 203:1,7 204:5	crimes 7:4,7 22:3 43:16 56:4 94:7,8 99:19 112:2,5 132:3 135:12 178:13	custody 77:5	dead 72:19	deep 147:22
covered 43:17 116:9 171:4	criminal 30:15 31:7 31:11 33:20 44:2 44:12,19 45:2,11 45:13 79:17 92:18 92:22 93:1,2 95:15 96:5 99:10,13,21 100:4,13 101:18 121:17 129:7,11 130:15 133:2 137:18 150:14 153:6 160:19 217:9	custom 152:18	deal 66:20 73:16 95:3,4 124:19 151:13 173:5 182:9,11 194:6 203:19	deeper 154:6
Covington's 132:11	criteria 57:14 124:5	customer 81:10,11 133:7,8	dealing 56:19,22 99:5 118:1 151:19 212:20,21	defend 35:7 61:14 61:15
Co-Chair 1:13 45:20 46:15 47:7 47:10 48:13,18 62:5 130:18,21 132:6,13,16 133:11,19 134:1,5 134:10,15,18 209:12 210:18 211:10 212:16 214:13,20 216:5 217:10 218:10 219:20 220:17 222:4	criminal 30:15 31:7 31:11 33:20 44:2 44:12,19 45:2,11 45:13 79:17 92:18 92:22 93:1,2 95:15 96:5 99:10,13,21 100:4,13 101:18 121:17 129:7,11 130:15 133:2 137:18 150:14 153:6 160:19 217:9	cycle 122:11 185:7	deals 158:17 203:8	defense 58:11 153:12
Craig 2:10 3:10 72:17 78:4	critera 57:14 124:5	D	dealt 93:8	defer 40:21 128:12 171:16
create 111:1 211:19 220:7	critera 57:14 124:5	D 1:13	Deane 2:13 3:12 65:10 73:9 91:5,8 91:13,18,21 102:16 118:18 119:8,17 120:4,8 122:1,4,15 123:19 124:9 128:17 135:17,19 136:2 136:11,21 137:9 137:14,21 138:6 138:17,21 139:3 139:16 201:4 204:13	define 200:21
created 72:1 205:6	critera 57:14 124:5	damn 216:18	debate 6:14,21 29:13 41:21 70:15 103:6 143:6 144:3 149:7,14 169:7 193:16 200:15	definitely 193:20 201:7
creates 195:19	critera 57:14 124:5	Dan 2:22 3:19 140:1 141:4,20 162:3,9 168:3,6 180:14 189:17 214:15,15	decades 12:17 186:18	definition 59:11
creating 36:10 99:10 149:12 207:5	critera 57:14 124:5	danger 36:10 212:7	decide 43:18 128:6 221:20	degree 5:15
credential 189:12	critera 57:14 124:5	daresay 126:5	decided 75:15 110:18 198:2 218:22 219:4	degrees 10:17 163:1
credentials 190:1	critera 57:14 124:5	dark 17:17 123:15 201:5	decision 84:21	Delhi 11:7,7
credible 150:6	critera 57:14 124:5	darker 123:8 203:12	decisions 39:9	deliberative 142:17
credit 174:5	critera 57:14 124:5	data 13:13 19:2 21:22,22,22 22:19 24:7 101:10,10 104:18 114:15 128:6,19 129:4 131:1 133:6,9,14 133:16 140:9 166:4,4 185:11 186:19,21 187:3 187:12 188:18,18	declare 66:22	deliver 115:12 116:8
crime 13:7 22:1,2,6 32:2,21,22 33:8,10 33:14,22 42:22 43:9 44:18 49:20 55:18,19 56:2 61:9 75:9 76:1 79:16 91:15 93:17 94:6	critera 57:14 124:5	database 44:5,19 45:6 130:12 183:19	decline 128:6	delivered 84:17
	critera 57:14 124:5	date 85:2 125:7 168:1	decorum 206:6	deliveries 88:22
	critera 57:14 124:5	datum 166:5	decreased 185:19	delivery 65:8 79:8 81:2,11,12 87:22 89:10 115:17 132:19
	critera 57:14 124:5	daughter 147:16	decreasing 14:15,18	demand 68:1
	critera 57:14 124:5	Davis 2:2 223:6		demand 88:12
	critera 57:14 124:5	day 27:14 68:4,17 98:15 118:7 140:6 147:6		democracy 70:7 145:4 173:4
	critera 57:14 124:5	daylight 198:10		democratic 29:19 143:8 213:1 218:22,22
	critera 57:14 124:5	days 180:5 198:3		Democrats 76:12
	critera 57:14 124:5	de 2:2 9:2 179:21		demographers 10:14 104:13
	critera 57:14 124:5			demographic 9:19 10:13 23:19 49:15 93:13 107:6 128:6
	critera 57:14 124:5			demographics 10:12 11:15 118:6 140:8
	critera 57:14 124:5			demography 25:11
	critera 57:14 124:5			demonstrated 27:1
	critera 57:14 124:5			denial 183:12
	critera 57:14 124:5			denied 174:14
	critera 57:14 124:5			deny 52:10 53:15
	critera 57:14 124:5			denying 67:3 134:8

196:1	160:18 178:9,14	189:8 197:12	discussing 116:20	doing 19:5 50:10
department 5:5	178:15	200:14 204:1	discussion 149:1	63:14 101:9
84:8 88:4,6 92:2	detainer 138:8	215:12	154:1 172:17	124:18 153:20
94:4,22 95:2,6	detainers 42:15	difficult 4:8 83:10	173:6 175:15	157:6 173:19
96:12,21 98:17	136:11,13	128:2 131:17,19	181:10 204:21	domain 26:12
102:6 114:7 115:4	detaining 101:13	133:18 134:12	206:3,8,9,11	domestic 66:11
115:5,9 116:1,2	161:1	152:12	disguised 173:10	153:11 162:17
150:9 185:10	detectives 99:11,12	dignity 153:5,19	dismissed 160:20	dominance 145:1
187:6 200:1	detention 33:12,20	154:9 163:8	174:9	dominate 66:10
departments 39:14	42:2,18 63:20 84:2	Dillon 80:15	disorderly 36:3	dominated 144:4
185:18	95:14,16,20,21	diminished 165:10	137:4	door 67:22
depend 53:22	129:8 133:1 135:2	200:4	disorganized	doors 67:1 86:1
deport 77:10 99:17	135:7 136:15	direct 84:15 221:16	140:22	doubled 18:22 19:1
188:3	determinate 48:10	directed 21:21	disseminated	22:20,21
deportation 32:1	determine 38:18	78:18 85:4 125:6	194:13	doubles 18:10
96:4 121:11	104:19 124:13	128:22	dissent 70:15	doubling 19:10
122:10 174:13	133:7	direction 78:12 79:9	distance 4:6	doubt 55:2
deported 138:10	determined 49:5	95:9 125:8	distillation 70:21	downward 22:4
deporting 212:5	96:22 104:1 135:8	directions 196:9	distinction 45:15	Dr 10:17,21 11:12
depressing 69:16	determines 120:16	directly 83:15 164:3	54:17 213:11,14	23:5 45:21 46:6,18
derived 220:1	determining 104:5	director 11:1	distinctly 187:19	47:9,18 48:15,20
describe 193:13	detour 71:5	disabled 83:21 84:3	distinguish 200:6	49:1 50:7 114:13
described 145:17	devastating 71:5	disadvantaged	distinguished 64:3	147:11 204:6
186:1	develop 84:15	65:17	140:20	Draconian 185:17
deserving 194:22	162:21	disagree 30:5 110:8	District 60:11,11	draft 184:18
design 101:8	developed 143:13	118:18	64:6,7,22 174:7	drafter 173:12
designed 84:5 98:12	developing 93:3	disagreed 60:15	disturbance 178:17	drafting 182:22
128:18 198:17	186:9	disappear 190:17	diverse 74:1,2,3	183:4
designing 98:14	development 80:2	disapprove 180:21	217:22	draining 35:5
desire 69:11 166:8	devolution 25:20	185:22	diversification	dramatic 14:10
167:1	27:18	disbursal 46:11	12:20	22:16
despite 8:4 34:2	de-humanizes	discern 146:12	diversity 13:6 74:4	dramatically 143:1
69:18 182:7	194:5	169:10	divide 151:2	drawn 20:14 50:19
destinations 16:1	dialogue 78:1	discourage 79:16	divided 151:16	draws 16:4
destiny 220:16	170:16 171:8,11	discourse 194:15	205:8,9	dream 8:5 67:7
destroyed 156:7	178:12 210:11,19	discovery 163:19	dividing 149:12	dress 55:6
197:21	210:21 215:12	207:20	division 115:4 152:7	drinking 93:22
detail 41:19 99:3	217:16 218:11,15	discretion 79:6,7	205:7	drive 197:7 198:13
158:12 172:2	218:18	80:16 82:5	doctrine 53:3	driven 12:22 17:22
details 71:21 101:16	dialysis 38:18,19,21	discrimination 6:12	document 193:17	22:12 46:8 114:8
200:2	diamond 10:14	7:18 8:1 61:9	documentary 193:7	driver 159:4,5,6
detain 6:8 29:3	dictated 26:16	167:6 172:1,20,22	documentation	driver's 69:7 120:12
32:20 33:7,9 42:8	difference 109:14	172:22	160:8 195:1,5	120:13 160:9
43:4,18 44:22 45:3	135:14 213:21	discuss 75:6 81:8	documented 116:6	184:22 185:4
45:8 96:18 101:13	differences 149:18	153:18	documents 159:11	189:2
detainable 178:16	different 43:2 57:6	discussed 96:9	185:3 217:5	driveways 94:2
detained 43:10	79:22 119:6 149:7	172:1 173:9	Doe 80:15	driving 13:21 46:2
119:9 137:19	152:11 180:3	181:22	dog 170:13	46:4 122:20 136:3

157:4,13,22 drop 22:8 dropping 22:7 drove 4:5 drugs 157:17 drunk 136:2,3 137:3 due 80:10 147:21 160:22 163:7,14 duration 42:3 duty 8:15 D.C 10:8 13:11 209:19	161:2 165:13 177:2,4,20 183:2,3 183:7,9 effective 95:16 101:5 153:2 194:4 effectively 95:10 100:4 effects 73:17 74:10 155:15 160:14 effort 186:17 efforts 69:18 81:4 144:19 215:11 egregious 156:4 eight 98:16 168:17 210:22 Eighties 165:8 Eighty 80:1 eight-hour 122:14 either 42:16 44:7 63:3 64:1 84:12 111:17 120:17 125:3,9 138:19 142:21 156:22 187:15 205:2,9 EI 120:13 elapsed 9:15 elderly 83:21 84:1,3 elected 63:3 64:7,18 64:21 65:2 66:19 72:5 election 64:20 65:2 66:12 68:6 152:1 198:3 205:6 element 128:11 elicit 130:6 eligibility 82:13 eligible 112:10 114:17,18,22 115:15,20 eliminating 70:1 elites 68:21 elucidate 8:3 107:5 email 144:21 embarrassment 192:18 emergencies 89:21 emergency 63:21 79:14 89:11,11,14	89:20 90:2,8,11 107:16 115:11 emerges 70:20 emerging 23:21,22 emotional 164:8 emphasis 110:11 empirical 104:16,18 140:9 employee 192:16 employees 83:13 employer 215:22 216:3 employers 217:8 employment 12:22 27:8,14 105:4 enable 165:1 enables 164:12 enact 164:1 enacted 6:9 208:22 221:15 enacting 52:3 166:1 enactment 221:1 encountered 148:10 encounters 210:13 encourage 6:11 222:20 encouraged 49:8 encouraging 195:22 ended 95:17 198:16 endorsed 100:7 ends 85:6 enforce 28:19 29:17 30:1,19 31:11,16 32:5 58:13,19 216:19 220:21 221:10 enforced 156:9 221:8 enforcement 5:13 5:15,18 25:22 27:10 28:2,8,13 29:8 30:14,16 31:2 76:22 77:15 79:17 84:9 92:7,9,10 108:9 152:18 183:13 202:4 215:22 216:3,14 222:3	enforcement's 92:8 enforcing 152:15,22 engage 34:22 35:1 169:8 170:16 218:15 engaging 149:10 152:17 English 55:10,12 120:14 123:5 enjoy 71:6 enlarged 162:14 219:9 enlightened 222:11 enormous 87:20 enormously 5:1 enrolled 188:4 ensure 153:11 enter 151:3 entered 67:5 179:18 entire 79:20 113:11 169:3 212:21 entities 97:13 entitled 53:17,20 163:13 environment 127:11 epithet 197:8 equal 38:3 46:10 47:6 53:10 54:9 80:12 153:4 201:14 equally 29:6 54:15 194:8 equation 167:11 equivocation 66:16 era 67:12 Eric 2:17 3:15 139:22 141:2,5 142:2 Eritrea 156:16 err 126:6 erring 126:6 ESL 161:8 especially 30:6 42:21 67:12 102:22 105:13 155:16 207:16 essence 16:16	essential 173:3 211:16 222:1 essentially 77:6 165:9 187:20 199:10 213:10 218:8 219:16 establish 96:11 101:10 153:11 established 119:18 147:18 189:13 estimate 86:8 89:14 estimated 108:12 estimates 18:16 21:6 et 81:21 104:13 ethically 130:1 ethnic 6:11 13:6 ethnicity-based 54:22 European 14:18 evaluation 101:1 128:17 eventually 215:19 everybody 20:18 62:9 187:8 203:18 everybody's 141:1 evidence 50:18 104:16 108:1 125:4 126:22 127:7,21,22 128:1 140:10 160:11 171:7 175:5 181:15,19 187:1 187:22 193:9 222:22 evidenced 151:22 evolved 27:3,21 70:14 202:8 evolving 65:8 exacerbated 7:1 exact 129:13 181:11 exactly 14:9 29:20 53:2 67:9 214:18 exaggeration 69:2 examined 78:13,14 79:19 example 49:20 52:12 53:16 54:13
--	--	--	--	---

57:2 58:15 62:7 82:2 83:1 87:22 104:10,21 118:1 120:5,13 122:11 128:5 133:22 184:11,20 187:4 202:14 exasperatedly 216:15 exceed 42:2,18 excellent 177:20 exception 190:21 exceptions 213:15 excluded 39:5 exclusive 26:11 exclusively 88:17 170:6 excuse 171:9 188:21 executing 39:15 Executive 4:21 78:5 97:12 101:7 134:4 exemption 84:11 exercise 170:19 exercising 79:7 exist 47:15 existence 213:9 existing 143:10 211:20 220:5,21 exists 212:11 exodus 128:8 expand 89:9 expect 17:10 66:19 68:4 69:7 77:15 expectation 100:18 expeditiously 139:20 experience 65:7 139:8 155:9 experienced 7:22 17:5 196:8 experiences 145:8 156:15 experiencing 50:16 51:13 expert 8:12 12:9 25:18 49:15 142:10 experts 8:10 104:12	132:21 explain 18:18 73:15 exploitation 167:1,3 167:4 express 189:20 expressed 193:15 211:5 expressing 215:6 expressly 161:22 extended 77:12 extension 33:17 extent 6:3 114:5 126:6,18 174:3 184:5 extra 41:13 184:13 extraordinarily 82:8 221:3 extraordinary 25:15 34:9 186:7 220:7 extrapolate 129:18 extremely 198:10 extremes 206:16 eyes 146:12,14 <hr/> F <hr/> F 1:16 face 24:1 164:7 faced 156:3 facie 174:11,21 facilities 5:2 82:13 223:10 facility 178:10 fact 7:22 34:2 45:3 45:7 51:8 52:6,9 53:19 63:7,16 66:17 67:3 74:16 75:1,19 88:1 97:1 103:11 105:6 108:5,11,15,20 110:16 111:7 112:3 114:11 117:20 122:8,9 123:14 124:21 130:9 131:9 133:15 140:7 179:17 180:16 182:7 190:22	192:16 204:13 218:5 221:7 factor 122:8 124:11 179:21 191:1 201:10 factors 50:5 facts 5:14,19 6:3 105:6 119:15 166:5 fact-finding 104:8 104:11 fail 217:4 failed 76:11,13 121:10 146:11 188:22 197:21 200:21 failing 49:9 58:13 failure 82:19 151:9 220:21 fair 49:16 52:14 98:4 101:14 144:6 146:7 163:11 164:2 167:5 169:21 188:16 190:3,7,7,18,20 214:13 218:13 fairly 9:12 18:3 22:7 fairness 163:8 190:6 218:7 FAIR's 190:7,10 faith 149:3 184:9 204:22 206:17 216:10 fall 114:3 196:3 false 121:1 149:19 familiar 5:11 34:18 41:16 families 7:12 19:16 19:18 20:4 81:21 151:3 167:10 174:13 family 50:14 63:21 83:5,6 147:15 148:1 160:21 197:1,1 far 46:21 136:19 139:8 152:11	185:15 195:3 fascinated 181:15 fascinating 141:7 fastest 86:4 Father 219:6 fathers 71:8 fault 146:10 favor 162:15 167:6 FBI 7:3 fear 174:12,13,14 fears 149:15 February 77:17 131:11 federal 5:12,19 21:10 25:21 26:12 26:16 28:17 29:3 30:13,21 31:1,16 40:9 42:13 43:3,7 43:13 44:5 58:6,12 58:18 59:3,7,14,19 60:4,7 61:18 70:11 76:11,19 77:5,9 78:22 79:12 81:19 82:1 85:4 92:13 102:12 110:15 112:7,12 114:8 124:20 125:3,9,13 146:10 150:20 151:9,12 152:16 175:21 176:1 179:11,20 184:19 189:8 202:4 federalism 27:1 29:22 federally 79:14 Federal-State 189:15 221:22 Federation 141:21 162:4,10 170:4 feel 7:13 113:10 127:10 143:16 146:7 191:13 197:13 209:17 feeling 70:4 126:17 195:9 feelings 104:17 143:19 fellow 192:11 223:4	felonies 217:6 felony 31:21 138:7 felt 129:5 144:15,21 155:15 females 54:16 Fernandez 198:6 fertility 12:16 festivals 142:16 field 25:14 figure 72:17 105:5 137:12 138:15 figures 104:22 135:6 168:3,7 file 217:4 film 142:14,15,15 143:22 195:11 filmmaker 141:5 142:11 final 47:10 62:3 122:13 161:17 207:7 finally 9:9 financial 87:17 90:16 find 29:4 50:8 51:16 63:5 68:20 86:15 120:19 140:22 141:11,13,14 154:10 195:21 212:8 215:13 finding 186:20 fine 43:14 65:12 finished 71:8 Firefighters 63:13 firm 170:6 214:12 first 4:10,14,20,20 5:9 8:19 9:16 10:5 12:16 25:9,16 28:5 29:14 33:18 48:22 64:8 66:21 70:7,8 71:7 75:3,12 84:19 95:3 102:19 103:18 105:11 109:10 127:15 128:17 136:6 142:7 146:19 147:18 157:2 176:13 177:6
---	---	--	---	---

180:9 181:3,13,18 182:16 185:1 199:13 207:6 Firth 154:19 180:16 207:17 219:22 fiscal 82:8 fit 50:3 203:22 five 10:14 22:19 27:6,16 28:7 88:20 99:12 142:3 146:21,21 147:1 150:13 161:6 170:9 five-minute 62:19 fix 206:2,2 flag 120:11 flame 152:6 flashing 45:5 fled 93:9 flee 36:1,8 fleet 83:13 flows 48:1,5 fluency 55:9 fluid 59:12 fly 185:5 focus 12:7 99:12 100:4,13,21 101:18 149:15 178:1 190:5 191:18 220:5 221:13 focused 27:20 47:12 94:11 focuses 11:3 focusing 11:20 47:17 103:4 158:8 fog 4:6 122:21 folks 79:4 84:12,17 129:8,19 205:14 205:20 222:10 follow 48:22 56:16 99:9 101:3 122:17 127:20 130:4 134:22 138:8 180:13 189:16 followed 67:19 157:15 208:10 following 10:21	208:18 follows 81:17 207:10 follow-up 54:6 117:9 food 81:21 footage 193:20 foray 25:17 force 20:6,8,16,17 164:13 166:22 204:18 forced 76:15 146:11 160:10 foreign 26:13,14 93:14 202:10,10 foreign-born 23:8 23:10 foremost 75:12 forget 9:4 71:4 forgot 41:6 formal 127:15 format 106:22 formed 211:12 former 13:9 50:20 forming 70:2 152:21 forth 68:3 143:6 fortify 198:5 Forty-seven 89:3 Forum 97:12 101:7 170:4 forward 62:14 70:18 72:10 78:1 79:11 85:7 95:7 125:17 139:21 182:5 208:2 foster 210:19,21 211:18 found 7:21 15:9 51:7 131:17 148:3 218:17 founding 71:8 four 12:17 18:8,20 19:8 79:22 167:16 167:19 Fourth 203:6 frame 36:20 framework 24:20	26:5 France 69:5 franchise 144:7 Franklin 71:11,19 frankly 37:14 61:19 76:10 169:13 205:4 219:3 fraudulent 217:5 Freda 2:3 223:7 free 90:18 freedom 71:6 80:17 198:1 frequently 35:2 FRIDAY 1:5 friendships 143:13 frightening 144:12 198:4 front 189:22 217:19 fruit 145:22 fruition 30:9 frustrating 88:2 fueled 12:12 fuels 152:5 fugitives 93:9 fulfill 90:13 fulfilled 67:20 fulfilling 166:7 full 98:15 105:4 122:11 145:7 164:11 fully 79:11 function 32:16,20 81:10 functional 80:2 fundamental 111:21 154:6 163:8 213:11,20 218:7 fundamentally 205:21 funds 58:6 further 45:9 119:20 151:8 156:14 205:18 future 119:3 153:1 218:3 219:2 fuzzy 59:12	G	gain 167:2 Gainesville 64:5,7 66:15 game 216:11 gamut 79:20 gang 75:10 92:22 93:12 96:5 108:10 gangs 92:18,19 93:8 gap 111:3 Garcia 109:5 gather 5:14,19 6:3 125:4 gathering 177:10 186:19 Gaziano 1:16 8:22 41:2,9 43:21 44:16 45:16 118:11 119:12 120:2,7 121:20 122:3,12 207:9 211:4 gears 113:6 gem 25:11 gender 57:2 general 29:15 31:9 80:3 102:12 129:18 137:5 148:13 150:2 153:13 196:16 207:2 generalizations 56:7 generalized 60:21 generally 50:9 51:15 54:12 68:10 126:16 133:3 216:21 217:4 Generals 29:18 30:7 generation 14:3,11 generations 7:13 generosity 50:22 generous 51:2,8,9 51:11 148:10 gentleman 209:3 geographic 12:20 Georgetown 161:4 Georgia 16:22 17:1	Gerhart 2:10 3:10 4:22 63:11,12 65:21 72:17 78:4,8 113:7,19 114:4 124:17 125:5 126:2 128:16 130:8,13,16 131:7 132:6,15,17 139:15 getting 15:21 73:6 93:7 182:3 187:20 188:18 giant 25:11 gifted 148:6 gist 11:22 Giuliani 60:3,15 give 9:14,20 25:12 38:20 45:7 59:19 69:20 81:1,3 95:12 119:15 120:3 128:19 143:17 168:1 184:20 given 27:19 29:21 30:6 36:11 69:7 83:19 111:10 114:1 121:13 159:3 160:20 163:15 186:8 212:6 gives 121:1 152:6 197:3 give-away 72:19 giving 78:9 113:1 118:15 glad 36:17 63:13 73:12 105:9 global 165:13 go 10:5 25:6 38:11 50:9 51:15 68:3,17 72:21 78:7 84:16 95:7 119:8,9 133:1 157:10 159:1 172:16 173:22 184:14 192:2 193:7 207:7 210:8 215:7 216:12 goals 215:4 goes 118:17 158:11
--	--	---	----------	---	---

182:5	131:14 150:10	grown 18:4 86:7,9	183:6 186:4	186:22 207:21
going 4:3 8:9 9:12	151:10,12 156:2,6	198:11	198:12 199:1	hearings 5:20 9:4
9:13,17,20 10:2	170:15 171:13	growth 12:6,12,15	204:17	heart-breaking
12:8,19 16:1,6,7	184:19 189:8	13:6 14:1,2,11	happens 138:15	88:1
19:7 21:18 23:20	204:12 206:20	17:5,8,20 18:5,8	182:2 204:20	heavily 126:3
37:17,18,20,21,22	223:10	46:2,5,9,10,16	206:10	heavy 201:5
40:21 43:22 49:21	governments 58:6	48:18 50:16 51:10	happy 106:5 173:7	Hector 75:20
58:11,14 62:16	58:18 156:5	51:13 86:10	174:4 176:6 210:7	heightened 125:22
63:15,22 83:7	government's	165:15 188:8	222:15	heightening 206:14
89:14 98:15,20,21	146:10 152:16	191:1	harassment 185:15	held 95:13,15 135:7
99:2,8 100:2,10,10	governs 80:17	guarantees 38:3	harboring 31:18	135:9 136:8 137:7
100:12,13,16	graduation 63:13	guess 62:17 65:14	hard 8:7 21:18	137:17 139:2
102:18 112:18,20	Graham 172:9	66:3 137:11	41:15 47:20 48:11	145:2
113:3,5 121:4,4	Graham's 172:12	186:16,17	133:6,9,14,16	help 73:15 101:10
126:1 128:1,2	granting 112:15	Guevera 109:4	harder 44:2	144:7 145:12
135:4 138:3	graphic 91:16	guide 81:2	hardship 49:6,17	198:17 199:2
139:18,18 140:16	great 69:4 73:8	guided 80:8	50:2 104:2	204:16 206:21,22
142:1,2,15 143:1,6	77:21 86:11 88:12	guidelines 83:20	hard-working 67:4	207:1 209:4 223:7
143:21 147:2,6,7	116:15 117:4	guilty 217:8	87:21	helpful 5:1,7 73:7
164:10 175:3	123:6 124:18	guys 112:1,13	harming 201:16	208:1 209:14
179:6,15 180:17	147:21 158:12	171:12	harsh 206:6	210:11 222:19
182:3,10 187:13	173:5 207:18	H	hate 7:4,7 28:5	223:3
188:3 199:8 208:2	219:12	half 13:15 18:21	196:14,20	helpless 144:16
211:7 212:8	greatly 213:17	40:19 105:2 111:2	Hawaii 196:8	Heraldo 109:5
215:17,20 216:12	greed 167:1	161:8 190:16	hazard 171:12	heritage 70:7
216:17 217:18	Greene 2:3 223:7	210:22	Hazleton 184:10	Hesburgh 219:6
218:5 222:7,16	Greg 4:22	half-Chinese 196:7	heads 103:17,18	Hethmon 2:19 3:20
Goldsmith 209:22	Greve 1:18 9:9	Hall 71:9	health 65:8 82:2,19	139:22 141:3,17
good 24:14 34:15	123:21	hand 123:9 145:5	85:21 88:3,6,9	169:15,22 170:1
112:17 123:5	grew 18:13 196:7,8	206:3	90:14 114:6 115:4	171:10,18 174:19
153:4 154:21	gross 56:7 86:21	handed 196:19	115:5,9 116:1,2	175:3 176:6
169:22 177:5	87:2	handle 88:10 97:15	118:9 145:22	180:14,22 181:6,9
181:9,15 183:19	ground 124:19	177:6	healthy 18:9 55:18	181:21 183:7,16
184:20 187:4	grounds 53:10	hands 40:8	55:22	186:6 201:22
195:22 207:2	61:10 201:15	hands-down 39:18	heaps 169:10	202:1 203:16
223:8	group 17:3,15 46:17	hand-out 16:11	hear 125:14 140:18	204:3 209:13
goods 68:1	46:20 88:10,16,16	90:20	153:7 181:6	211:8,9 212:14,18
gotten 15:22 60:17	141:20 154:20	hand-wringing	heard 63:18 97:11	214:15
got-you 192:2	164:3 178:3	185:9	107:17 110:4	high 14:13 15:2,3
government 6:7	195:17 207:18	happen 65:9 186:2	127:4 140:13	20:18 57:3 67:13
21:10,12 26:12	grouped 79:22	216:1 222:9	149:21 151:17	82:9 113:15,21
28:17 30:21 31:1	groups 8:12 47:14	happened 155:10	169:17 180:15	higher 20:8,19
42:13 43:3,7 58:9	56:8 99:3 140:19	185:7 192:3,8	193:8 216:5,6	151:14
58:12 59:3,8,14,14	194:18	happening 18:19	219:21 220:19	highest 57:7,13
59:16,19 60:4,8	growing 14:22	144:17 156:14	hearing 8:1,10	59:22 115:13
61:18 69:21 76:11	18:14 22:14 23:9	160:16 178:7,19	45:22 106:9	150:9
78:14 80:3 84:11	86:5 90:3 111:6	179:14 180:8	118:15 121:11	highly 26:21
85:5 125:10	145:21		122:10 154:4	high-risk 94:18

Hill 211:1	114:14 116:8	80:7 81:18,22 82:4	192:15	46:9 47:12,13
hinted 61:21	hospitals 75:5 85:14	96:3 107:14,15,18	illustrate 156:13	48:14 49:5,7,9
hire 88:16 166:22	85:16,18,20 87:19	107:20 129:20	imagine 38:16 69:3	50:8 51:20,22 52:4
hired 88:15	90:9 107:16	identify 78:21 80:22	imagined 155:19	54:13 60:5 61:2,8
Hispanic 7:20 10:7	111:17 117:5	99:17 164:14	immediately 115:14	66:9 67:2 73:17
12:15 16:13,18	131:15 150:18	identifying 212:5	170:18 196:11	74:5,10,12,19 76:1
17:21 18:12 22:20	hostility 149:13	identity 68:13	198:19	76:22 78:16 86:16
23:1 46:1,2,5,10	152:6	149:19	immigrant 11:5	86:17 92:6,11,15
46:18,21 47:1,3,12	hour 40:20	idly 169:4	14:14,16,20 17:18	93:4,8,10 95:21
47:17 55:4 128:7	hours 77:4 98:16	ill 89:19	20:7 23:15 35:11	97:2 100:15
Hispanics 7:4,7,10	159:16 207:14	illegal 6:8,22 31:19	47:14,21 54:8 74:7	101:20,22 103:8
7:17,19,21 8:4	house 52:19 69:19	46:1,3,22 48:14	126:14,15,16	104:2 105:15
17:10 22:11	70:12	49:5,7 52:4 66:9,9	143:4 146:4	108:7,8 110:12,14
Hispanic-sounding	households 20:1	71:22 73:16 74:9	150:16 158:6	112:7,12 117:15
55:3	houses 161:3,6	74:10,12,18,20	159:21 170:22	119:3,10 121:7
historic 16:14 46:7	housing 27:9 75:7	75:10 76:7 77:2	178:3	128:3 131:13
historical 172:4	93:22 107:21	78:15 80:10 82:21	immigrants 6:8	132:1 133:4
historically 15:10	152:15 168:21	92:22 94:8,9,14	14:5,7,8,12 15:1,6	135:10 137:20
15:15 26:10 74:2	169:2	95:4 96:3 104:1	15:21,22 16:7,9,10	141:18,19,22
history 31:13 70:16	Hugh 172:9	105:15 108:7,11	17:16 19:5,7,17,17	146:3 149:7,10,16
71:21 92:5 206:1	human 66:7 70:21	108:15,20 109:8	19:20 20:7,19,21	149:20,22 150:5
hit 136:3,4	80:5 141:20 153:5	109:19 110:3,5,12	21:4,6,14 22:11,14	150:11,17,22
hold 5:20 6:18	154:6,20 155:1,6	112:6 116:17	23:11 24:9 46:20	151:8,11,21 152:3
43:13 45:13,14	170:11 172:16	126:15 127:7	46:21,22 47:4 48:7	152:10,17 153:18
100:14	181:10 182:1,15	128:9 129:3,20	50:9,11,13,17,19	154:5,19 155:1,6
holding 164:14	194:8 210:8,13	131:12 133:8	51:3,5,6,7,15,21	158:5 159:18
holds 10:17	humanly 186:11	135:8 138:7	74:21 75:10 77:2	160:7 161:12,14
home 7:14 38:17	hundred 162:19	140:11 150:12,15	92:22 93:20	162:5,11,12,15,18
147:20 148:17,19	167:16,19,21	150:17 151:8	110:20,22 116:17	163:4,9 164:9
154:15 157:22	hurt 143:19	152:3,9 153:18	129:3,21 140:10	165:17 166:10,18
192:14 207:2,4	hypothetical 56:6	159:10 161:20	140:11 156:4	167:14 168:21
homeless 84:3	180:18 181:22	162:18 163:4	161:1,19 200:7	169:18 170:1,4,22
homes 83:22 84:6		164:9,14 166:10	immigrate 67:16	171:21 172:6,19
143:15	I	166:18,22 167:7	198:18	173:10 175:22
honest 148:20	ICE 96:5 100:11	168:21 175:20	immigration 1:2,13	176:2 182:6
honestly 178:5	136:14,16 138:20	182:14 184:14	4:15 6:15,19,21,22	187:11,14 188:9
200:16 201:11	139:4,7 160:18	185:2 188:10	8:19 11:3,4,21	188:11 189:11
honor 154:22	161:1 164:15	189:11 190:4,6,8	12:13,18 13:20	190:4,4,6,8,9,12
hope 8:12 140:18	179:21	193:16 194:11,11	14:19 15:20 17:22	191:2 193:16
148:17,20 153:22	ICP 97:11	194:16 200:6	18:1 22:12 24:2,22	202:5,8 205:16
154:4,7,12 162:1	idea 166:3 185:16	208:4,5 211:22	25:22 26:8,11,20	209:18 211:17
169:6 209:1	204:4 217:21	221:18,18	27:11 28:2,14,19	212:13 215:2,10
hopeful 221:6	ideas 120:3	illegality 111:13	29:2,9,17 30:1,13	216:19,22 217:3
hopefully 216:21	identification 84:7	illegally 52:10 75:2	30:14,15,16,17,20	218:3 219:1,4,15
Hopkins 10:18	84:10 159:11	79:5 84:18 96:20	31:3,6,8,11,17,18	220:15 221:1
hospital 65:5 85:15	160:8 212:20	111:9 112:2 137:7	31:20 32:5 33:1,11	222:2
85:15 86:22 87:5	identified 28:7	151:4 163:12,17	33:18 35:22 36:7	immigration-based
90:10,13 107:16	74:13,14,15,16	165:2 167:8	42:7 45:11 46:1,1	180:10

immigration-rela... 170:8	includes 7:2	93:19	institution 114:15	interstate 42:14
impact 13:21 14:1 24:5 38:14 78:15 82:6 90:16 101:5 104:14,15,17 111:15,16 113:21 127:16,17 140:10 150:17 220:1 221:16	including 7:11 41:20 168:11 170:14 183:21	inform 29:3 72:5	instructional 78:20	intervention 84:4 175:22
impacted 101:4	inconvenienced 217:12	information 8:13 44:18 59:2,18 60:9 60:16,22 63:5 80:17,18 81:1,3 129:2 130:6 133:10 143:10 150:7 187:14 188:18 192:21 193:11 222:19	instrumental 103:1	interview 120:18
impacts 13:5 22:13 81:9 82:8,22 107:1	inconveniencing 216:20	informed 62:14	insults 70:4	interviewed 144:15
imperative 214:3	incorporated 152:18	informing 157:18	insurance 86:3 145:22	intimidated 144:21
implement 96:15 209:5 221:11	increase 46:4 117:21 136:4	infrastructure 169:3	integral 188:19	intolerant 148:22
implementation 27:22 131:2	increased 88:12 110:19 208:5	inherent 29:17 30:1 30:4	integrated 189:4	introduce 4:19 8:18 10:4 64:3,5
implemented 52:8 63:8 113:11	increasing 21:17 90:6,11 93:16	initial 208:16	integration 11:5	introduced 24:15
implementing 39:20 140:17	incur 118:4	initially 46:14 163:6	intend 76:18	introduction 3:3 11:14 147:12
implications 103:11	indecent 148:22	initiate 77:8	intensive 87:12 89:3	inundated 88:7
implying 148:15	Independence 71:9	initiated 176:14	intent 6:10	investigated 94:7
important 29:7 33:4 34:3 35:14 36:20 37:8 39:8,11 40:12 66:21 92:4 98:8,10 99:4 100:8 197:14 212:2 219:2,4	independent 5:12	initiative 183:1	intentionally 97:9 186:18	investigation 124:20
importantly 151:1	Indian 47:16	initiatives 52:3,8 181:7 183:18 186:4	interaction 172:4	invitation 204:15,15
impose 96:14	Indians 47:16	injuries 175:17	interconnected 214:2	invited 143:14 150:6
imposed 116:16 117:4	indicate 121:10	injury 174:21	interest 70:1 103:9 103:10 126:1 162:15 167:9 170:6,7 171:19 219:9	inviting 11:13 25:9 85:13
imposition 222:8	indicates 85:17 203:8	inmates 108:20	interested 69:21 171:11	involve 121:8
impossible 208:3	indication 9:15	inquire 29:2 44:4 54:14,15 55:22 96:21 104:13 118:20,21 119:2,7 119:14	interesting 12:13 21:21 41:22 181:20 201:20	involved 17:6 93:7 93:21 114:5 140:8 140:9,14 143:16 165:11 175:12 196:13 209:20
imprimatur 84:10	indicia 54:8,18,22 55:8 202:11	inquiries 52:17 54:9 125:21	interestingly 17:14	involves 174:20
improper 186:10	indicias 57:13	INS 42:7,8 44:4 188:2,2	interfere 29:8	involving 7:6
INA 43:1	indigent 88:17	insisted 184:4	interior 215:21 216:2	IRAIRA 59:6
inaccurate 149:5	individual 27:4 52:18 83:15 96:20 98:16 120:8 121:7 121:9,10,12 122:7 124:14 222:8	instance 116:18 144:9 158:17	international 11:9 34:10 42:13 120:12 165:15	irrespective 79:1 82:20
inception 155:16	individuals 67:5 69:7,12 81:14 93:15 95:13 127:5 214:22 220:5 221:17	instant 165:20	internet 144:11	issue 28:13 30:8 34:14 36:17 40:1 60:18 68:4 69:15 69:16 71:22 76:10 92:3,21 93:12,19 94:13 95:3,5 97:10 99:6 100:18 102:1 102:10 107:15,15 108:6 124:10 143:14 144:10 149:16 150:5 151:7,13 154:7 162:22 164:5 165:19 168:14 169:12 172:14 173:16 176:21
incidence 208:4	infants 82:3	instinct 71:22	interpreted 27:4 188:5	
incident 159:15	inferring 133:12	Institute 13:10 24:18 26:3 50:21 141:18 169:19 170:2	interrupt 182:18 199:9 217:11	
incidents 7:6 177:12 193:17	inflate 137:16	Institute's 11:1	interrupted 160:1	
include 81:20 82:11	influence 184:17 185:17		interrupting 217:13	
included 79:9,21 80:9 83:20 184:10	influential 10:16		interruption 57:9	
	influx 92:18 93:14		intersect 124:22	
			intersection 11:4	

177:22 186:9 191:18 204:10 205:19 209:20 214:7,12,14 215:8 218:20 issued 30:3 issues 6:19 38:9 39:7 40:10 54:12 56:22 61:1,2,3 66:10 80:7 93:17 93:18,21 94:4 97:14,15,16,18 101:11 103:4 107:20 114:14 130:15 131:3 140:8 150:11 160:13 161:14 164:8 172:18 173:9 182:6 186:10 201:14 210:12,14 222:12 Ivy 2:2 223:6	51:16 111:2 John 2:9 3:9 64:6 65:14 74:13 106:16 216:15 Johns 10:18 Johnson 153:20 199:13 Johnson-Firth 2:21 3:18 140:1 141:3 141:19 154:18,21 155:5 161:17 176:12 177:5 179:5 200:11 209:10 222:21 join 63:16 147:14 joined 10:7 65:21 147:17 joining 9:11 91:4 206:19 Jordan 219:7 Journal-Messinger 152:14 Jr 1:13,21 9:1 Juan 109:4 judge 175:13 213:4 judicial 175:22 judicious 151:14 July 77:11 78:18 96:7 164:1 jump 218:8 jumped 217:19 jurisdiction 197:12 jurisdictions 33:2 57:22 127:9,9 150:21 152:17 jurisprudence 26:18,22 203:7 justice 129:7,11 130:15 133:2 153:11 159:17 208:17	keeping 73:13 key 16:12 kids 21:15 kind 11:14 59:12 70:2 94:3 99:8 104:11 118:4 119:15 122:10 131:5 145:9 166:6 174:3 175:11 182:11 185:17 189:4 196:5 197:9 202:11 207:1 210:4,14,15 214:7 kinds 20:12 94:2 100:12 145:19 185:8 194:12 212:12 221:14 knew 108:12 129:9 131:18 132:3 134:16 207:13 know 4:6 11:17 12:3 26:10 35:17 36:5,19 37:6,14 39:10 40:4 48:16 50:4 51:14 52:15 58:10,21 59:2,8 60:16 61:19,20 62:6 71:20,21 72:18 75:8 81:6 87:13 99:4 100:18 102:2 104:4,15 108:8,11 114:3 116:17 119:4 120:10 123:13 124:22 128:3 137:3 142:14,22 143:2,2,13,17 145:20 154:2 159:20 164:19 165:1 166:5,7,9,19 173:10 177:12 178:17 179:3,16 180:5 182:3,10,11 182:12,14 184:12 184:16 185:17 187:21 191:15 192:11 194:3,9,11 194:12 195:3,4	196:12,13 197:7,9 199:3 200:2,20 201:1,2,5 203:3,4 203:6,17,18 210:1 210:9 211:11 214:6,11 216:16 216:17 218:6,17 219:14 222:6,7 knowing 59:4 153:21 204:17 knowledge 25:14 155:9 known 40:4 94:18 189:18 190:2 knows 35:21	lastly 154:12 late 51:1 63:15 latest 13:13 18:16 Latin 48:10 145:20 Latino 11:20 13:18 14:6,21 16:22 18:22 22:14 23:11 23:16 92:19 158:18 159:2,21 175:19 195:7,13 196:5,7 197:15 Latinos 12:6 13:3 13:12 14:5,8 15:9 15:16 19:4 178:2 laughed 69:13 laughter 69:14 law 11:2,4,8 27:11 27:21 28:2,8,10,14 28:20 29:9,17 30:1 30:18,20 31:11,17 32:3,5,19 34:15 36:20 37:15 43:21 45:11 52:16 53:13 56:20 58:4,13,18 61:6,20 67:14,19 70:14,14,18 71:4 78:22 79:12,17 81:19 82:2 84:9 92:8,9 100:15 101:15 102:12 110:19 112:7,12 114:9 138:3 141:18,20 149:20 150:1,21 153:1,2 154:8,20 156:15 157:4,8,12 169:1 169:19 170:1,6 171:21 172:19,19 172:21 175:22 176:2 179:7,8,9,13 183:12 201:13 202:5,8,9 205:16 205:21 213:2,6 214:3 216:19 217:3,3 218:1 220:13,13,20 lawful 39:5 98:4 156:16 158:9,19
J	J	J	J	J
J2:12 3:11 jail 75:22 95:7,10 95:13 97:8 108:14 108:20 119:9 129:20 138:12,13 jails 75:8 77:3,5,9 132:1,5 150:18 160:17 James 1:6 January 77:17 98:19 131:10 156:9 177:20 179:8 Japan 69:6 JD 65:5 Jean 209:22 Jeff 2:18 3:16 11:10 139:22 141:3,15 141:16 Jeffrey 2:6 3:5 10:6 Jersey 75:18 job 50:16 51:13 83:5 88:5 164:4 jobs 20:11,15 50:15	Jr 1:13,21 9:1 Juan 109:4 judge 175:13 213:4 judicial 175:22 judicious 151:14 July 77:11 78:18 96:7 164:1 jump 218:8 jumped 217:19 jurisdiction 197:12 jurisdictions 33:2 57:22 127:9,9 150:21 152:17 jurisprudence 26:18,22 203:7 justice 129:7,11 130:15 133:2 153:11 159:17 208:17	know 4:6 11:17 12:3 26:10 35:17 36:5,19 37:6,14 39:10 40:4 48:16 50:4 51:14 52:15 58:10,21 59:2,8 60:16 61:19,20 62:6 71:20,21 72:18 75:8 81:6 87:13 99:4 100:18 102:2 104:4,15 108:8,11 114:3 116:17 119:4 120:10 123:13 124:22 128:3 137:3 142:14,22 143:2,2,13,17 145:20 154:2 159:20 164:19 165:1 166:5,7,9,19 173:10 177:12 178:17 179:3,16 180:5 182:3,10,11 182:12,14 184:12 184:16 185:17 187:21 191:15 192:11 194:3,9,11 194:12 195:3,4	knowing 59:4 153:21 204:17 knowledge 25:14 155:9 known 40:4 94:18 189:18 190:2 knows 35:21	lastly 154:12 late 51:1 63:15 latest 13:13 18:16 Latin 48:10 145:20 Latino 11:20 13:18 14:6,21 16:22 18:22 22:14 23:11 23:16 92:19 158:18 159:2,21 175:19 195:7,13 196:5,7 197:15 Latinos 12:6 13:3 13:12 14:5,8 15:9 15:16 19:4 178:2 laughed 69:13 laughter 69:14 law 11:2,4,8 27:11 27:21 28:2,8,10,14 28:20 29:9,17 30:1 30:18,20 31:11,17 32:3,5,19 34:15 36:20 37:15 43:21 45:11 52:16 53:13 56:20 58:4,13,18 61:6,20 67:14,19 70:14,14,18 71:4 78:22 79:12,17 81:19 82:2 84:9 92:8,9 100:15 101:15 102:12 110:19 112:7,12 114:9 138:3 141:18,20 149:20 150:1,21 153:1,2 154:8,20 156:15 157:4,8,12 169:1 169:19 170:1,6 171:21 172:19,19 172:21 175:22 176:2 179:7,8,9,13 183:12 201:13 202:5,8,9 205:16 205:21 213:2,6 214:3 216:19 217:3,3 218:1 220:13,13,20 lawful 39:5 98:4 156:16 158:9,19
K	K	K	K	K
Katrina 17:13 keep 23:20 30:10 43:6 71:19 72:7 86:17,18 118:14 148:18 208:18	Katrina 17:13 keep 23:20 30:10 43:6 71:19 72:7 86:17,18 118:14 148:18 208:18	know 4:6 11:17 12:3 26:10 35:17 36:5,19 37:6,14 39:10 40:4 48:16 50:4 51:14 52:15 58:10,21 59:2,8 60:16 61:19,20 62:6 71:20,21 72:18 75:8 81:6 87:13 99:4 100:18 102:2 104:4,15 108:8,11 114:3 116:17 119:4 120:10 123:13 124:22 128:3 137:3 142:14,22 143:2,2,13,17 145:20 154:2 159:20 164:19 165:1 166:5,7,9,19 173:10 177:12 178:17 179:3,16 180:5 182:3,10,11 182:12,14 184:12 184:16 185:17 187:21 191:15 192:11 194:3,9,11 194:12 195:3,4	knowing 59:4 153:21 204:17 knowledge 25:14 155:9 known 40:4 94:18 189:18 190:2 knows 35:21	lastly 154:12 late 51:1 63:15 latest 13:13 18:16 Latin 48:10 145:20 Latino 11:20 13:18 14:6,21 16:22 18:22 22:14 23:11 23:16 92:19 158:18 159:2,21 175:19 195:7,13 196:5,7 197:15 Latinos 12:6 13:3 13:12 14:5,8 15:9 15:16 19:4 178:2 laughed 69:13 laughter 69:14 law 11:2,4,8 27:11 27:21 28:2,8,10,14 28:20 29:9,17 30:1 30:18,20 31:11,17 32:3,5,19 34:15 36:20 37:15 43:21 45:11 52:16 53:13 56:20 58:4,13,18 61:6,20 67:14,19 70:14,14,18 71:4 78:22 79:12,17 81:19 82:2 84:9 92:8,9 100:15 101:15 102:12 110:19 112:7,12 114:9 138:3 141:18,20 149:20 150:1,21 153:1,2 154:8,20 156:15 157:4,8,12 169:1 169:19 170:1,6 171:21 172:19,19 172:21 175:22 176:2 179:7,8,9,13 183:12 201:13 202:5,8,9 205:16 205:21 213:2,6 214:3 216:19 217:3,3 218:1 220:13,13,20 lawful 39:5 98:4 156:16 158:9,19

159:17 160:1 173:17 184:21 201:17 202:14 lawfully 96:18 120:21 lawfully-stated 156:21 lawlessness 49:6,18 104:3,19 lawmakers 39:8 40:2 laws 5:19 26:22 32:10 37:18 80:19 81:2 86:13 92:11 92:15 124:21 156:12 179:11 192:17 213:9,9 217:1 220:21 221:10 lawsuit 177:7,16 lawsuits 35:8 lawyer 10:22 155:2 155:6 157:8 200:12 209:20 lawyers 28:5 61:12 156:22 177:10,17 lawyer's 209:18 lay 106:22 layer 184:13 layers 205:17 lead 16:22 leader 144:10 leaders 8:11 206:19 leadership 164:6 leading 113:10 leads 113:15 learn 69:9 learned 150:13,19 151:1,6 158:6 learning 176:21 leave 172:14 led 71:5 Lee 198:17 left 8:20 64:4,4 126:18 127:8 128:4 166:20 199:5 219:14 legal 9:20 19:21	26:4 29:14 30:2,5 37:1,16 39:1 41:17 44:10 46:19,21 47:4,21 48:7 52:20 53:5,9 58:3 67:2 67:21 74:5,7 80:8 80:10 81:5 82:5,7 82:21 83:6 97:15 104:12 109:12,18 110:11,14,20,21 111:10,14 112:10 117:19 126:3,9 140:8 146:12 150:8,12 158:8 161:20 165:5 167:13,14,20 168:12 171:4 179:1,2 187:15 188:14,15 191:15 194:10 197:1,2 199:21 200:8 211:22 212:9 214:9 legality 24:21 26:6 legally 34:3 52:14 52:22 53:17,20 67:6,17 117:21 151:4 194:9 legally-separate 170:2 legislation 5:22 110:16 111:7 126:13,20 188:22 221:16 legitimacy 179:17 length 160:6 lessened 200:3 lesser 76:1 156:5 letter 206:20 letting 81:6 118:14 218:8 let's 42:4,10 44:3 55:17 69:17 105:18,21 122:22 123:2,4,6 180:17 208:14 level 26:16 57:3 68:7,7,8 70:11,11	124:19,19 125:3 150:10 152:19 184:19 189:14 200:20 levels 15:3 20:10 66:19 162:16 liberal 76:12 liberties 11:5 liberty 141:8 153:14 libraries 82:12 library 53:16,18 license 120:12,14 123:9,9,10 158:3 159:7,8 160:9 184:22 185:5 licensed 69:8 189:2 life 37:9 38:9,14,18 67:1 93:17 94:3 109:1,2 143:1 147:15 148:8 lifelong 87:14 lifetime 113:16 light 9:14 123:1 142:4,5 203:18 likelihood 54:18 limited 32:8 35:6 43:8 76:17 limits 9:13 24:20 37:5,6,7 80:16 191:2 Linda 1:8,11 4:17 123:10,14 153:20 line 166:21 172:18 186:7 202:18 203:5 215:19 217:20 218:8 lines 218:12 221:12 link 208:6 Lisa 2:21 3:18 139:22 141:3,18 154:18 list 83:17 113:19 114:12 135:20 136:22 140:21 145:15 175:20 180:15 listened 201:3 lists 61:7	literally 7:13 litigate 165:4 litigated 58:22 59:1 164:20 little 4:7 9:14,21 13:4,7 21:12,18 50:18 56:16 62:17 87:8 92:5 103:15 104:8 105:12 114:17 122:18 123:8,12 142:4 158:3 173:20,21 203:12,12 205:16 222:11 live 69:10 lived 7:12 lives 69:10 109:4,17 151:2 187:8 living 55:13 146:1 169:1 195:16 Lloyd 1:14 9:8 113:4 Lloyd's 207:11 load 90:11 lobby 166:21 local 13:5 22:13 24:21 28:18,19 29:1,16,22 30:19 31:10,15 32:4,19 33:7,10 42:5,6 43:17 52:3 58:5,9 58:18 68:8 69:9 70:12 78:21 80:16 88:9 92:8,9 96:18 124:21 126:8,8 138:13 144:4,6 149:8 150:21 152:13,17,18 154:10 162:21 164:3 183:18 194:13 202:4 localities 25:21 26:7 26:14,19 27:8,10 27:11,13 28:14 29:7 35:7 36:21 134:8 locality 76:9 79:6 loitering 178:15	long 10:9 43:6 101:13 147:6 172:4 175:20 177:22 181:10 202:17,20 211:22 215:7 longer 15:21 112:5 112:6 151:12 158:11 177:15 198:8 long-term 212:12 215:3,4 217:17 220:8 look 5:17 13:7 27:6 31:12 34:19 47:3 50:7 53:8 55:4 61:5 62:14 72:9 77:22 80:21 85:7 101:10 104:22 107:1 108:5 128:5 137:17 140:9 156:14 172:11 195:14 201:21 205:20 217:15 222:9 looked 51:4 157:9 looking 12:11 13:10 25:19 49:13 103:13 104:20 124:7 125:16 looks 5:18 14:4 19:16 23:8 61:8 Lopez 109:5 Los 195:10 losing 153:10 lost 60:10 lot 4:6 7:18 9:18 13:3 17:21 18:5,19 18:19 21:5 23:13 24:6,8 31:8 36:12 40:2 48:7,16 58:22 59:1 94:3,11 99:1 119:6 142:19 144:20 158:4 159:20 186:21,21 187:22 188:9,10 193:21 196:13 199:6 202:2 203:3
--	---	---	--	---

215:11 217:8	152:14 155:7	116:9	mentions 170:22	195:15 199:16
lots 27:15	156:20 157:5	medical 79:14	merely 121:6	200:10,12
loud 94:2	158:1 159:4 164:3	Medicare 115:1	merits 79:7	mine 41:15 50:20
Louisa 1:18 9:9	197:11 198:21	meet 38:22 52:15	mess 199:3	195:11
Louisiana 17:11	199:1	meeting 4:13	message 201:3	minimized 186:11
love 153:17	mandate 38:7 182:9	128:15 223:12	met 172:15 173:14	ministry 148:9
low 20:10,12 105:3	191:14	meetings 5:2	method 140:5	minor 121:17
lower-level 135:21	manner 79:11,12	member 1:14,16,18	methodically 98:2	138:11
low-income 118:1	Manual 109:4	1:19,21 41:2,9	Metropolitan 13:11	minus 129:12
lucky 115:8	map 70:15	43:21 44:16 45:16	15:13	minute 36:16 116:7
	market 161:7	54:5,11 55:9,16	Mexicans 46:13	minutes 9:16 10:11
	166:16 167:5	57:19 113:5	105:16	25:13 142:3
M	married 147:16	116:10,13 117:7	Mexican-American	146:21 147:1
machine-readable	matched 153:4	118:11 119:12	197:1	159:1 170:10
189:1	matter 106:13	120:2,7 121:20	Mexico 15:12 48:9	197:7 201:8
mad 174:3	110:15,15 191:15	122:3,12 123:21	48:16 70:3	mischaracterizati...
Madam 25:8 66:6	221:8	124:16 125:21	MHA 65:5	149:5
71:18 73:11 85:11	matters 5:21 26:20	126:10 127:18	Miami 15:14	misdeemeanor
91:1,21 105:9	170:8 207:20	154:19 175:1	mic 155:3	121:17 138:6
109:7 162:6	maximize 167:2	176:10 178:20	Michael 2:12 3:11	mispronounce
167:13 171:19	Mayor 60:3 61:7,13	186:15 192:22	65:3	41:10
190:19 192:2	Mazzoli 219:11	199:12 207:9	microphone 41:5	Mississippi 50:4
204:6	ma'am 91:8 102:16	members 4:19 6:15	65:18	mistake 122:22
madness 140:6	McCoart 1:6	8:18 9:10 10:1,4	middle 68:1 143:5	MIT 10:20
Magazine 10:13	mean 27:22 28:5	40:21 73:12 85:12	205:6 206:15	mitigated 200:3
mail 196:20	47:13,15 48:2	91:22 96:6 102:22	middle-class 167:10	mix 83:14
main 190:7	131:20 133:14	108:10 118:14	Midwest 17:4	mixed 66:2 201:2
maintain 162:1	164:18 185:8	140:18 142:19	migrants 16:6 19:22	mixed-race 196:4
182:15	188:5,7 189:6	144:20 145:12	migration 11:1 16:3	model 83:3
maintained 15:4	191:14 197:17	149:22 160:21	24:18 26:2 47:21	modern 185:7
major 23:19 27:7	209:17 215:7	162:20 169:20	51:10 165:14	Molina 75:20
27:16 30:17 34:11	217:10,15	223:5	migratory 46:17	moment 4:18 63:17
48:10 97:13	meanest 175:10	memo 41:21	Mike 2:19 3:20	123:4 179:22
majority 19:20	meaning 23:11	memorandas 30:20	139:22 141:3,17	moments 75:6
46:19 74:22	190:16	men 20:7,9 68:16	169:15,16,18	momentum 16:4
222:10	meaningful 222:2	198:11	170:1 180:13	48:6
making 39:9,21	means 11:17 67:14	mental 82:19	211:8	money 39:14,16
124:11 157:20	87:1,6 142:10	mentality 152:5	million 13:14 16:15	219:5
174:20 205:11,12	195:7	mention 11:21	16:15 39:20 87:2,2	month 195:12
223:10	measure 104:9	24:17 97:11	88:21 89:2 90:19	months 34:9 72:3
males 54:15 55:19	measures 6:5,9	mentioned 42:22	111:1,2 129:13	97:7,9 98:14
56:1	24:22 26:7 27:20	57:21 91:15 95:11	167:15 168:15,15	126:11 130:10
man 158:18 159:2	189:13	96:10 97:4 103:21	190:16 191:12	155:15 156:19
159:16	media 7:16 68:21	124:1 171:2	215:18	moral 154:7 171:12
managing 154:19	94:12	184:12 186:16	millions 67:15	morning 4:7 72:9
Manassas 63:20	Medicaid 58:14	189:17 194:3	217:19	104:11 122:21
141:16 144:8	86:19 87:1,3 89:5	mentioning 101:12	mind 18:17 65:15	154:21 155:8
145:12 147:14	114:18 115:15,20	210:17	104:14 148:19	169:22 170:14
148:4,5 150:4				

186:1	110:15 144:5,5	15:13 16:1,6,7,7,8	November 64:20	195:5
mother 87:7 115:2	162:12,14,16	16:10,16,17 17:11	65:1 157:12	obviously 44:10
198:22	175:19 183:11,14	17:15 36:11 39:15	158:18	89:17 112:15
mother's 115:16	184:1 214:12	39:20 51:5,10 60:2	number 13:13	125:15 186:19
motivating 105:7	219:9	61:6 75:18 96:1,15	14:12 39:12 47:14	193:9
motivators 167:2	nationality 31:6	97:5 98:18 111:2	48:4 55:12 61:1,2	OB's 88:17
motor 185:10,18	201:15	177:1 178:22	63:9 87:11 88:11	occasionally 5:20
MOU 42:11	nationally 24:10	190:11	92:19 93:16 94:7,8	Occoquan 64:21
move 18:3 70:17	173:22	newborns 87:11	110:20 111:4,8	occur 178:11 222:7
73:3 147:7,21	Nations 69:22	news 150:1 151:18	113:12 116:3	occurred 157:11
moved 13:3 127:7	nationwide 7:5	newspaper 109:8	126:10 127:4	221:7
147:12	46:17	newspapers 104:7	129:13 137:16	October 215:17
movement 15:18,19	nation's 162:11	nexus 177:18 178:6	149:22	odd 60:6
46:7	native 21:15	nice 191:10	numbers 12:11	oddly 60:2
moves 154:4	natives 20:20 24:11	NICU 89:4	14:18 15:13 16:12	offend 212:9 216:18
movie 216:14	native-born 20:9	night 68:1 157:21	16:16,20 17:6,15	offense 42:6 150:15
moving 46:13 51:6	118:2	198:12	18:18,18 23:20	178:17
51:8	naturalized 72:5	nine 16:15	46:22 48:3 69:4	offenses 137:18
multiplier 164:13	naturally 168:22	Nineties 13:2 15:17	88:7 95:12 127:13	offer 66:8
municipalities	188:7	51:1 165:8	127:16	offered 79:22
149:9	nature 186:9	noise 93:22	numerically 22:2	offers 78:14 86:11
municipality	NCIC 44:14,17,19	nominated 192:4,9	numerous 158:12	office 1:1 11:2
151:19	45:1,6	noncitizens 173:1	nurses 87:22	77:14 126:5 157:4
murder 75:18 76:6	near 41:19	nonrefugee 48:7	<hr/> O <hr/>	officer 36:4 92:12
murdered 76:4	Nearly 87:5	non-citizens 213:12	obey 86:13 142:4	98:17 120:10,15
109:8	necessary 221:13	non-for-profit	object 168:9 189:12	121:4 122:5,14
music 145:21	need 83:4 91:9 97:2	90:12	objective 210:18,20	157:9,14,18 159:6
Muzaffar 2:7 3:6	99:4 101:11,15	normal 32:16,20	objectives 211:17	159:8,13 160:5
10:22 24:14	125:14 131:16	33:3 135:22	212:1	202:17,22
<hr/> N <hr/>	150:16 156:14	normally 33:12,21	obligation 58:17	officers 65:13 98:6
name 4:17 41:10	162:16 167:10	105:4 137:4	90:14 213:17	98:11,15 100:3
80:22 85:17	210:14	North 16:21 70:2	obligations 67:21	102:8 119:5,16,19
123:14 162:9	needed 96:14 163:3	Northern 108:10	obliged 43:6	123:2 156:20,21
192:12,19 209:22	needs 76:9 111:4	148:2	obliscuring 91:11	179:21 185:22
names 41:14 55:3	needy 81:21	note 38:5 59:22	observation 128:21	199:20 200:2,22
name-calling 169:8	neighborhoods 75:7	85:1 132:22	144:3	208:9
narrow 31:14 92:2	107:21	noted 125:22 134:4	observed 213:10	offices 157:9
92:7	neighbors 153:17	notes 90:3	observing 211:1	official 22:1 42:5
narrowly 32:11	neonatal 87:12 89:3	nother 178:12	obstetrical 88:10,21	officially 4:14
201:13	113:15	notice 40:8 74:17	obstetrician 87:8	155:14
nation 67:2,11	neophyte 176:20	noticeable 178:3	obstetricians	officials 8:11 44:6
68:15 162:20	nervous 123:13,16	notifies 42:7	114:20	63:3,3,4 66:19
220:16	201:6	notifying 121:6	obstreperousness	72:6 156:2,3
national 6:12 12:5	net 190:11	noting 11:15	209:16	199:20
19:12,15 29:13	never 155:19	notion 55:17	obstruction 159:16	Oh 133:19 137:9
44:18 57:1 67:12	164:10	notions 218:7	obtained 44:8	209:12
90:3 100:20	nevertheless 166:3	not-for-profit 85:16	obvious 146:18	oils 94:1
	new 7:15 11:2 15:12	117:5		okay 45:16 54:3

119:12 122:1,12 123:20 134:18 135:18 136:10,20 138:22 142:7 147:4,8 181:21 183:16 187:7 196:14,15 197:6 197:22 204:8 Oklahoma 175:9 OLC 41:20 old 14:17 38:16 96:4 157:5 219:6 omnibus 39:11 once 15:18 48:5 95:16 99:16 115:11 129:7 138:9 153:20 178:8 199:12 216:10 ones 146:19 185:1 189:11 191:8 one's 41:7 one-seventh 15:5 one-third 108:9 onset 51:20 open 82:12 opening 131:4 operate 29:14 164:13 operating 89:8,10 opinion 30:2 44:10 44:11,12 49:16 50:19 60:20 150:2 211:13 opinionmakers 72:6 opinions 30:6 opponent 204:11 opponents 166:17 199:17 205:3 opportunities 12:22 86:11 147:20 opportunity 66:6 67:8 72:9 78:10 123:22 147:2 162:9 oppose 70:5 opposed 46:3	133:14,15 opposite 29:21 opposition 24:2 optimum 191:10 options 126:8,9 orchestrated 166:8 order 52:15 95:16 153:10 211:22 orders 95:14,20,21 102:12 ordinance 173:12 173:13 174:7 184:11,17 192:1 ordinances 28:9 62:1 ordinary 185:16 organization 144:5 144:6,19 162:12 163:1 170:3 182:8 organizations 162:22 164:20 165:4 169:7 organizers 158:5 origin 6:12 56:12 57:1 183:11,14 184:1 original 219:10 outset 76:21 outside 16:14 46:11 132:8,20,20,21 outspoken 34:8 overall 46:9,10,16 86:21 124:12 151:5 overcome 146:5 overcrowded 75:7 93:22 169:1 overcrowding 107:21 overwhelmed 115:7 116:3 ownership 80:19 owning 145:21 Oxford 172:10 <hr/> P <hr/> package 90:21 PAGE 3:2	paid 21:8 88:21 89:1 panel 2:5,8,15 3:4,8 3:14 10:5 62:19 63:2,10 118:19 124:1 139:19 172:2 173:8 176:19 222:18 panelists 9:17 64:3 102:18 140:21 222:18 paper 152:13 206:5 206:8 papers 213:19,19 paragraph 153:15 paralipsis 192:6 parents 161:13 187:13 197:2 park 129:14 148:5 parked 198:14 199:3 parking 27:15 94:1 199:6 parks 82:12 parlance 29:11 part 23:21 83:14 99:7 122:13 149:2 166:17 188:19 194:15,21 204:10 205:12,13 206:21 215:1 partially 152:1 participants 222:17 participate 142:19 145:6 participation 20:6,8 20:16,17 111:17 particular 70:9 91:7 114:2 116:18 118:17 146:4 173:11 209:8 particularly 13:5 60:6 92:7 103:3 118:13 126:14 206:4 222:19,21 parties 6:13 94:2 171:11 218:19 221:9	partner 156:15 157:12 partnership 164:12 189:15 221:22 Party 218:22 party-building 219:2 pass 56:13 98:7 110:18,19 112:16 221:4 passage 63:6 103:2 130:7 155:12 156:7 177:19 passed 13:17,18 39:11 96:8 110:18 111:8 112:4 155:14 173:21 179:7,13 188:22 215:10,16 Passel 2:6 3:5 10:6 10:17,21 11:10,12 23:5 45:21 46:6,18 47:9,18 48:15,20 49:1 50:7 passenger 159:5 passing 11:22 140:14 219:17 passion 152:22 passport 203:14 path 71:5 patients 86:16,18 86:20 88:11 89:4 89:13,15 115:7 116:3 patterns 15:20 17:12 51:5,6,10 pause 36:14 pay 20:21,22 21:4 24:5 68:17 76:16 87:1 90:15 101:16 115:21 166:12 payments 13:11 payroll 83:13 penalize 6:8 penalty 44:3 pending 121:21 Pentagon 185:5 people 16:4 18:7	29:1,3,4 31:8,21 35:3,16 40:3,4,13 41:6 44:21 52:10 52:13,21 53:6 55:4 55:5,12,13,13,18 56:3,10 57:14 59:16 63:10 66:1 67:16,18 69:18,19 84:5 94:13 99:3,15 100:14 101:13,14 108:14 111:4 112:1,4 117:14 118:8 126:18 128:3 136:6 137:2 137:17 138:2,16 139:1,5 142:18 143:5,20 144:12 144:14 145:5,10 145:11,18 146:7 148:6,11 151:2 153:19 154:9 158:13 160:10,18 164:22 165:1 166:13,15 168:17 168:18,20,22 169:13 175:11 178:14 179:12 180:2,10 183:10 190:16 192:10 194:18 195:17,22 197:21 198:13 199:3 200:7 201:17 203:4 204:22 205:9 211:21 212:5 215:18 216:13,20 216:21,22 217:11 217:18,20 218:8 218:16 219:3,4 220:12 221:17 222:9 223:8 people's 104:17 143:15,19 perceived 93:18 percent 7:5,8,16,21 8:6 13:15 15:16 16:8,9 18:9,14,21 19:3,8,9,9,11,13
---	--	---	--	--

21:7,9 22:19 86:7 86:9,21 87:5 89:4 89:16 105:2 108:19 161:9 195:7 percentage 15:1 17:5 108:14 128:7 137:13 percentages 129:19 perception 31:9 47:8 206:12 perceptions 149:19 perfect 203:5 perfectly 55:13 146:18 period 7:8 9:22 19:10 22:3,17 permanent 156:16 158:9,19 160:1 167:20 168:12 171:4 201:18 permissible 202:11 permit 24:7 179:2 perpetrators 110:6 111:18 person 9:3 33:1,5,7 33:9 38:17,21,22 42:8 43:6,9,14,18 44:13,20,22 45:3,8 45:13,15 54:19 96:22 114:17 115:18 120:11,11 120:14,16,20 121:1,1 122:9 163:16 170:13 194:11,17 195:14 196:4,6 210:8 213:15,22 214:16 217:2 222:22 personal 112:22 118:12 192:20 212:14 persons 53:16 111:8 135:12 137:8 140:13 163:9,12 person's 195:5 perspective 77:1 80:8 92:3 96:9	112:22 113:1 125:13 220:18 pertaining 149:19 150:11 Pew 7:20 10:7 pewhispanic.org 11:19 phase 99:8 Philadelphia 71:10 philosophical 70:21 philosophy 98:9 phone 144:22 phones 41:6 photographs 198:15,20 physicians 89:19 90:7 Ph.D 10:18 pick 42:9 44:6 picked 77:4 picking 77:2 139:4 piecemeal 98:21 pin 122:17 place 56:2 71:7 75:3 81:5,7 82:14 95:8 95:9 98:20,21 101:3 102:5 103:7 109:10 129:4 141:10,14 154:14 179:12 180:10 196:22 207:2 placed 95:20,22 110:10 136:12,14 places 50:9,10,15 65:20 72:12 87:18 141:13 Plaintiff 174:17 plaintiffs 175:18 plane 185:5 plans 119:4 plate 158:3 play 26:19 216:15 played 184:21 216:11 players 165:16 playing 39:8 145:20 please 41:7 42:8 69:2 78:7 91:20	107:10 139:21 140:4 155:4 161:16 pleased 91:22 plus 80:22 129:12 Plyer 80:15 187:18 pocket 115:22 point 18:6 19:3 22:22 23:7 37:10 56:1 70:13 83:11 84:20 112:11 117:10 121:3 125:11,22 129:16 145:9 161:17 163:5 167:13 172:14 174:16 179:19 180:2 186:5 191:16 211:4 points 113:13 128:16,19 170:18 173:6 207:22 polarization 153:8 police 28:18,19 29:16 32:15,16,19 32:20 34:4,7,10,11 34:12 35:10,12,17 35:20,21 36:3,11 36:13,18 43:5 45:4 65:11 77:13 91:5 92:2,11,12 94:4,21 95:2,6 96:9,12,17 96:20 97:12,19 98:17 101:7 102:6 119:4,16 150:9 156:10,20,20 157:14 158:1,13 158:21 159:3,9 160:16 178:8 179:18 180:4 185:22 197:12,15 198:21 199:1,5,20 200:22 203:19 204:13 policies 58:1 101:2 124:21 165:11 211:18 212:13 policing 92:6	policy 6:15 11:1,3 24:18 26:2,13,14 26:15 34:2,16 35:9 35:15 36:15 40:12 44:4 51:21 52:1 60:21 83:19 96:15 98:3,4,6,7,10,18 98:20 101:18 102:3 103:8 110:14 113:11 116:19 118:22 177:1,3,4 178:22 190:4,9 191:15 199:17,22 200:3,5 209:5 211:17 214:12 215:2,13 policy's 102:5 political 70:10 152:1 166:20 196:13 214:9,14 219:5 politician 74:15 politics 68:21 154:5 214:16 poll 7:15,18,19 pony 170:13 poor 169:11 popular 26:6 29:10 198:17 Popularly 31:5 population 12:15,20 13:5,16,16,18,18 13:22 14:7,14,17 14:20 15:2,6 16:14 16:18 17:1,18,21 18:10,12,21 19:7 19:19 20:2 21:1,8 21:17 22:6 23:8,10 23:15 46:3,5,16,19 47:3,5,14 48:19 56:8 86:10,11 111:5 118:2 126:14,15,16 128:7 129:18 132:4 137:6 145:18 146:8 165:15 168:14,19 188:8 189:17	190:13,15,22 191:10,20 195:8 211:20 212:11,21 213:3 populations 22:15 portion 75:9 132:4 135:9 137:12 pose 99:17 position 60:5 190:10 195:22 214:14 possibility 211:19 212:4,6 possible 77:16 119:1 153:18 186:12 200:17 201:12 203:9 207:14 209:7 possibly 10:2 42:17 44:7 212:4 post 143:11 posting 142:13,15 post-produce 195:11 potential 82:7 potentially 131:11 Potomac 85:15 87:19 poured 169:11 poverty 146:5 power 35:10,18 165:21 196:13 powerful 167:2 powers 36:11 76:17 practice 33:3 183:21 practicing 155:7 preceded 130:9 precisely 167:7 preconditions 49:11 preface 12:8 181:13 prejudice 149:13 194:20 195:1,18 196:1,4,9,10 prenatal 87:9,10,13 88:1 113:13,14 114:2,5,19 115:2 115:10,21 116:5
---	---	---	---	--

prerogative 102:19	primarily 63:2	probable 96:19	159:7 160:10	proportion 19:6
prescient 208:7	81:19 84:9 202:8	119:19,21 121:3	production 142:13	proportionate
prescribed 38:13	primary 89:19,20	122:18 123:17	profession 150:9	20:22 21:3
presence 77:22	89:22 108:22	200:20 201:1	professional 6:17	proposals 216:8
111:11 116:16	142:12 166:21	probably 37:21	210:6	219:10
173:17 184:22	188:8 202:20,21	43:14 57:16 61:3	professionals 87:21	proposed 97:21
200:4	Prince 4:21 5:4 6:4	61:14 102:5	127:5	prospectively
present 1:10 2:1	7:2 12:5,9 18:2,4	113:15 121:8	professor 9:8 43:22	221:11
11:11 24:6 37:14	23:21 25:17 27:19	127:13 135:3	172:8,11 176:9	prosperity 71:6
60:5 154:22 167:8	28:22 32:14 35:16	188:10 192:10	183:18 184:5	protect 8:15 61:17
212:6 213:18	49:3,4,17,21 58:15	208:3	199:11 204:9	179:12 197:13
223:2	63:19 64:18 65:4	problem 38:2 73:16	Professors 173:20	protected 43:1 55:8
presentation 91:14	65:11 66:14 73:14	73:18 74:12 75:8	professor's 118:6	61:4 62:2 124:3
127:15 158:10	74:1,4,11,16 75:19	75:16 76:14,18	profile 9:19 201:8	158:15 163:14
presented 108:2	75:21 76:4,8 78:5	90:3,4 100:20	profiling 34:22 35:2	protection 38:3
presenting 9:18	85:15,20 86:22	107:19 108:6	102:3,4,7 124:7	53:6,9,11 54:9
128:14	87:5,19 88:4,8	115:6 131:18,20	160:13 177:21	80:12 101:19,20
presently 215:1	90:4,12 92:1	131:22 134:12,17	178:13 180:8,17	184:13,18 201:14
presents 86:12	103:22 105:1	151:6 153:21	197:4 202:7	protects 161:18
120:12	109:6 111:8	164:18 173:22	program 77:8 80:22	proud 68:19 163:6
president 6:1 65:4	113:17 126:12	220:18	84:2,12 95:1 96:2	164:6 184:7
141:21 162:4,10	127:8 131:13,13	problematic 43:20	97:8 100:1,9 101:8	provide 8:14 58:7
192:19 209:22	138:3 140:11,15	56:9	200:1 215:18	78:22 79:4,20
presidential 68:7	142:18 147:13,16	problems 74:18,21	programs 78:13	82:20 83:2 85:22
presiding 1:9	147:19 148:3,15	75:1,4 87:14 89:18	80:22 84:4	90:14 98:15
press 126:11,22	151:17 155:10	105:15 111:10	prohibited 82:15	107:10 135:19
180:5	156:19 157:14	113:14 118:10	124:2	136:21 151:10
pressures 151:20	158:21 160:3,13	154:11	prohibiting 79:13	152:10 153:12
165:14	163:22 168:20	procedural 163:7	124:8	176:16 187:13
presumably 58:8	170:11 177:22	163:14	prohibits 134:8	provided 49:14
114:19	178:9 179:21	procedure 185:14	prolong 33:11,21	80:18 82:3 84:7,10
presume 24:22	187:6 192:1	procedures 39:21	promised 152:8	90:18 100:2 114:6
180:20	221:14 223:9	84:15,20 189:2	promote 153:13	provides 184:19
presumption	principal 63:6	proceed 84:22	166:18	providing 5:2,6
180:21	161:10	91:19	prompt 139:4	49:10 88:19 129:2
pretend 123:4,7	prior 29:19 30:6	proceeded 159:10	promptly 136:18	provision 58:19
pretext 171:22	64:20 88:8 93:7	proceedings 148:18	pronouncing 41:14	59:2 62:8 114:10
pretty 17:16 20:18	104:8 130:7 131:2	process 25:20 67:15	41:15	provisions 38:6
105:3 114:7	priorities 162:14	70:21 72:1 77:7	proof 53:19 123:18	39:15 59:6 61:22
prevail 208:15	priority 67:13	80:11 101:2	128:8	provoked 185:6
220:14	prison 138:8,9	120:18 125:1,6	proper 103:8	proximity 48:9,15
prevent 59:3 165:4	180:1	142:17 143:9	175:17	public 8:10 27:12
183:5 186:3,18	prisoners 77:10	160:22 163:7,14	properly 164:10	28:3 34:2,4,15
187:5 219:16	Privacy 171:5	165:17 183:5	properties 84:13	35:9,15 36:10,17
previous 91:14	private 6:12,17	204:19	property 22:3 80:19	37:2,7,8 38:8
118:19,19 124:1	88:16 90:7 114:20	processed 184:2	135:14 161:11	39:12 40:12 49:8
price 76:16	privileged 25:10	processes 129:12	prophecy 166:7	49:10 53:15 63:3
prima 174:11,21	proactive 154:10	produce 123:17	proponents 205:2	68:11 75:16 80:3

94:1 100:7 101:2
136:2 149:11
150:2 154:1 164:4
166:19 170:5
173:18 178:17
187:10,22 192:13
195:14 199:19
publicly 129:6
191:3
published 172:9
Puerto 55:14,14
pull 104:18 193:10
pulled 123:3 156:18
157:2,15,20 158:1
158:18
pull-over's 158:12
purpose 5:14 6:2
63:4 111:22
pursuant 78:12,22
80:11 82:1
pursue 214:22
220:2
pursuing 209:9
push 143:3
pushing 166:22
208:22
put 9:6 12:5 17:19
21:22 22:5 73:8
82:14 90:20 91:16
95:7,9,19 98:20,21
99:1 101:2 140:7
178:9 184:16
197:3
puts 13:14
putting 223:7
P-R-O-C-E-E-D-...
4:1
p.m 223:13

Q

quality 85:22 93:17
94:3 109:2 115:13
quantifiable 127:13
127:22
quantify 109:3
131:12,17,19,22
133:21 134:13,14
quarter 22:22 23:14

que 217:19
Queen 103:16
question 6:20 41:3
41:20 42:1 45:18
45:21 47:11 51:18
52:7 57:20 62:4
106:19 110:10
113:4,6 118:17
124:16 127:3
128:12 130:4,19
134:2 135:3 136:7
139:6 150:1
164:21 177:6,6,21
178:6 179:17
182:20,21 186:15
188:13 190:3
199:11 204:8
207:7,10 211:2,7
212:19 214:5,9,10
214:19 222:13
questioned 158:22
questioning 33:18
211:2
questions 3:7,13,22
9:22 40:17,20,22
48:22 55:3,5,6
57:18 72:10 82:7
85:7 102:20
120:16 133:4
139:10 147:3
160:6 165:5 173:7
176:7,11,12
180:11 182:11,14
186:14 190:21
193:5 207:11
208:14
quick 57:17,19
128:16 130:18
206:2
quickly 18:3 51:17
53:15 101:17
160:12 204:22
quite 15:7,21 17:7
18:9 20:18,22 21:2
28:10 32:8,18 34:9
34:13,18,18 35:13
37:1 41:21 53:4,12
59:5 62:18 113:8

157:15 172:2,17
187:19 205:4
214:18 219:20
221:2
quo 218:1
quotas 150:22
quote 157:20 193:2

R

R 1:14
race 53:7 56:22
57:6,13 183:15
191:19 201:15
race-based 54:22
57:14
racial 6:11 7:1
34:22 35:2 102:3,4
102:7 124:7,10
149:18 160:12
171:22 177:21
178:12 180:8,17
183:22 193:14
197:4,8
racially-neutral
37:21
racially-suspect
38:1
racism 173:10
174:6
radar 120:10
raise 68:18 219:5
raised 131:4 208:1
raises 207:1
raising 121:2
rallied 196:12
range 6:18 81:18
129:14 135:20
217:6
rapid 12:6,12 17:5,8
46:4 51:9
rapidly 14:22
rapidly-growing
22:6
rate 17:8 18:8 20:7
20:9 22:6 91:15
rates 20:19 49:20
167:14
rationale 150:22

reach 149:20
202:19
reaching 97:10
reaction 18:20
181:20
read 10:10 90:22
105:22 106:3
187:18
reading 104:6 206:7
ready 152:10
Reagan 215:16
real 23:9 109:1
122:20 190:13
216:13 222:5
reality 118:7 152:11
really 9:5 12:9,21
16:22 18:12 22:16
23:12 24:7 25:9,16
34:20 36:14 37:17
38:11 39:2 46:12
48:10 55:1 56:6
58:3,10 83:14 84:4
90:9 92:14 101:4
111:12 114:13
125:11,14 135:1
142:8 143:8,22
144:11,11 145:3
146:21,22 164:17
172:12,18,19
173:2 182:4,18
184:14 185:20
194:18 195:6
200:21 201:1
207:15 211:12,13
214:3,8,10
realtor 161:5
reason 33:6 42:4,5
47:11 75:12,13
76:9 108:22 122:6
132:22 142:12
158:2 160:4 189:6
189:10
reasonable 98:5
119:21 169:6
189:12 195:21
211:16 212:1,12
reasonably 30:12
reasoning 34:17

reasons 34:2,4
76:13 145:20
156:22 168:19
209:15 221:9
reassert 217:21
recall 57:4 103:17
132:14 141:9
221:5
recap 170:9
receive 115:9
received 93:16
196:20
recess 62:21
recession 13:2
recipient 79:2
Reciprocity 192:7
recognize 167:3
187:7
recognized 26:18
recognizing 68:11
recommendations
5:21 79:10 219:13
recommended 82:9
95:6 172:7
record 105:22 106:3
120:17 197:16
records 121:9 165:6
recovery 17:12
red 103:16 123:1
142:5 203:18
redo 198:4,5
reduced 90:18
reelection 66:14,15
refer 13:8
referencing 204:7
referred 58:5
128:18 131:7
referring 202:13
209:3
refers 31:18
refile 175:4
refine 117:3
reflect 20:11
reform 30:18 38:7
141:18,22 151:11
162:5,11,12
169:19 170:1
215:10

refugee 48:1	170:17	10:15	131:5 132:11	restriction 85:5
refugees 48:3,8	relief 84:3	representatives	133:13 140:14,17	114:12
refuse 69:9	relieved 88:13	150:8 170:15	155:11,13 156:6,9	restrictions 27:12
refused 76:14	religious 184:1	represented 15:15	160:15 164:1	27:13 28:3 33:16
regard 153:4	reluctance 90:7	21:7	165:20 177:19	36:22 59:13,15
176:15 212:2	rely 126:2	representing 54:18	179:16 182:5	187:3
regarding 131:3	remain 83:22 84:5	represents 169:18	200:18 204:17	rests 32:17
155:10	99:20 148:15	republic 71:18 72:2	205:5 208:21	result 76:15 87:14
regardless 90:15	163:18 166:13	72:7	216:17	108:4 168:22
101:19,21 117:19	remaining 175:18	Republican 29:19	resolutions 165:12	196:16 197:4
163:9 187:10	remains 214:4	219:3	166:2	results 26:15 127:16
region 1:1 92:20	remarks 66:9 73:1	Republicans 76:12	resolved 30:8	222:6
Regional 63:20	131:4 211:3	request 43:3,12	136:18 210:16	return 215:17
registered 120:22	remedy 175:17	187:13	resources 35:6	REV 147:11 204:6
registration 157:10	176:15,17	require 42:17 44:8	70:20 118:9 148:6	Revenue 85:19
213:8	remember 185:2	87:11 119:19	150:6	revenues 87:2
regular 200:7	187:19,19 209:18	required 96:10	respect 31:7 33:16	reverend 141:15
regulate 163:3	215:8	121:5	35:15 36:22 37:6,8	147:9 154:17
regulating 165:17	remind 107:2	requirement 56:21	37:11 38:2 42:22	199:14 211:3
regulation 27:7,9	reminded 103:15	requirements 61:17	43:16 56:8 59:7,13	219:22
165:19 220:14,15	reminds 105:11	requires 96:17	61:1 78:15 98:11	reversed 14:20
regulations 170:21	removal 212:21	121:15	106:10 143:15	review 26:9
171:2,3	214:7	Research 97:12	153:5 191:22	reviewed 60:1
regulatory 81:10	remove 111:22	101:7	211:17 217:22	revisited 155:21
reimbursed 115:16	112:1,7,13 145:19	reserved 161:22	222:8	re-elected 64:8
rejection 152:16	214:22	reset 195:15	respectfully 220:12	re-emphasize 102:9
relate 37:9	removed 112:14	reside 53:20	respecting 153:19	re-enter 31:21
related 36:10 47:19	rendering 79:13	residence 158:14	respects 163:8	re-entry 32:1 42:10
56:22 88:18 92:18	renovate 84:12	resident 75:19 76:5	respond 97:20	rhetoric 7:9 152:1,4
93:1,8 96:5	rent 52:13,19	79:1 117:22	132:15 204:8	Ricans 55:14
relates 81:12 92:6	repeated 194:14	156:17 158:19	responded 94:5	rich 70:6
relating 150:21	repeatedly 191:4	160:1 165:2	149:9	Richard 1:19 9:9
relation 55:17	replicated 73:19	residential 84:13	response 97:21	Rico 55:14
Relations 170:11	replied 71:19	residents 6:4 8:16	125:2 209:14	ride 159:3
relationship 163:1	148:17 157:7	52:5 74:16 109:7	responsibility 88:14	rider 159:8
169:20	reply 168:1	111:14 113:17	92:14 97:5	ridiculous 70:2
relative 79:6 133:4	report 11:18 81:15	158:9 164:14	responsible 74:22	right 9:7 16:12 36:4
relatively 14:17,22	128:14 178:18	167:20 168:12	132:7 151:13	42:19 44:21 45:3
20:4,10,12 203:1	reported 7:3 126:21	171:4	152:2 217:16	45:14 64:5,10
relatives 215:19	152:14 177:12	residing 163:12	220:22	67:18 91:17
release 24:18 26:3	REPORTER 155:3	resolution 27:19	rest 75:14	105:14,20 117:7,9
180:5	reporting 79:16	37:12 38:20 49:2	restate 183:8	123:1 130:13,16
released 7:15,20	129:5,6	49:12 63:7 77:6,8	restrict 82:6 125:7	131:9 132:13
11:18 76:3 121:18	reports 150:1	77:12,16 78:17	restricted 81:19	138:5 149:4
138:19 159:17	155:17	96:8 97:19 103:14	82:1,18 83:19 85:2	153:21,22 154:2,3
releases 138:10	represent 21:1,16	108:19 109:1	113:20,22	157:21 163:17
releasing 12:4	64:21 92:1	111:22 112:17	restricting 79:8	166:13 172:14
relevant 32:14 53:4	representative	127:17 130:7,9	81:9 84:16 85:3	174:18 177:11

180:22 181:4 185:2 187:4,5,9,15 189:22 194:19 217:18 rights 1:1 4:13 5:10 5:15,18,19 6:4 8:15 27:4 52:5,16 66:7 77:20 103:11 124:3 141:20 142:10 154:9,20 155:2,6,18,20 156:1 158:7 159:20 161:12,20 167:4 172:5,16 177:7 178:10 179:11 181:10 182:1,15 185:13 190:5 201:16 209:6 210:8,13 222:9 223:1 ripe 149:13 ripped 194:1 ripples 169:2 rise 119:15 risen 7:8 rising 152:2 risked 151:2 risks 186:11 road 70:15 83:9 157:22 216:12 roadblocks 100:11 100:11 roads 83:11 robbed 94:13 role 25:21 26:19 31:2 39:8 92:8,10 92:16 188:17 roles 165:9 Ronald 215:16 room 87:22 89:10 89:11,11,15,20 90:2,8 115:12 118:16 192:11 206:10 210:2 rooms 89:10 90:11 107:17 roots 13:1 147:22 Rosario 109:4	roughly 46:9 47:5 89:13,16 rounding 89:2 round-up's 100:11 rule 67:13 70:18 71:4 80:15 153:2 154:8 202:19 203:5 205:21 213:2 214:3 218:1 220:13,20 rules 98:3 rulings 80:14 run 13:22 136:3,4 151:15 203:18 rung 41:7 running 120:17 199:10 200:18 runs 120:9 214:6 rush 122:20 <hr/> S S 2:6,10 3:5,10 safe 28:9 safety 37:9 38:10,15 75:16 80:4 sale 161:4 Salvadorian 120:13 Samp 1:19 9:9 57:19 126:10 127:3,18 186:15 sanctions 215:22 216:3 sanctuary 29:10 58:1 59:11 127:9 165:12 sat 209:21 210:10 satisfied 207:12 Saudi's 185:4 Save 144:7 145:12 saved 39:16,19 saw 118:6 142:16 143:9 196:10 saying 8:6 12:9 34:19 54:7 72:16 116:14,19 137:22 187:7 197:16 203:15,16,17 217:14 220:11,15	220:17 says 31:20 38:20 42:8 49:3 59:2 65:7 123:10 184:11 213:14 216:15 scary 198:11,12 scenario 69:3 schedule 142:14 208:11 scholars 30:5 school 11:2,8,9 22:18 133:22 161:10,10,11 187:6,10 188:4 schools 13:7 21:14 21:17 22:15 23:1 24:6 150:17 188:1 Schwartz 2:12 3:11 65:3 75:6 85:10,11 107:17 113:7,12 114:16 116:12 117:2,11 118:3 Schwartz's 113:9 114:13 scientist 10:15 174:4 scope 165:21 scream 197:8 screaming 198:11 screened 39:22 119:10 screening 124:5 144:2 scrutiny 56:21 57:3 183:13 204:2 se 22:11 52:1 190:9 searched 159:14 seats 73:13 140:4 second 14:2 28:21 32:13 38:5 60:1,12 60:14,19 61:21 99:7 100:5 128:21 157:11 172:15 176:18 200:19 214:5 secondly 96:14 190:10	seconds 168:9 secret 184:14 Secretary 192:4,9 section 31:4,6,19 32:12 206:5 secure 153:13 security 67:12 see 15:19 16:20 17:20 18:4 19:14 22:15 23:12 24:3 29:12 38:13 39:14 40:16,22 41:9 45:5 45:7,10 73:4 89:14 91:11 100:19 108:6 118:7 120:19 134:18 140:5 144:1 151:15 154:5 173:20 195:6,18 198:10 215:4 216:13 218:21 221:20 seeing 12:21 14:2 16:5 89:12 92:21 125:17 195:13 seek 27:14 32:1 86:15 154:8 seeking 149:3 seen 14:10 22:12 26:11 27:17 32:10 37:18 92:18 93:12 93:13,15 126:10 126:22 136:3 193:14 197:18 selected 10:13 selectively 53:7 self 86:22 166:6 self-pay 86:19 87:3 89:4 seminar 159:19 seminars 159:20 Senate 216:9 send 187:9 sense 68:22 82:13 113:8 125:22 174:12 194:7 199:18 205:22 209:15	sensitive 196:3 sent 31:22 161:9 sentence 95:17 99:16 103:18 105:11 136:17 137:3 138:4,16 sentenced 95:18 sentences 77:3,11 137:19 separate 24:8 57:7 separating 191:9 September 71:10 98:13 157:3 sergeant 99:11 series 21:22 22:1 78:19 80:7 serious 82:21 99:13 99:19 106:13 132:2 serve 138:4,12 served 70:22 77:3 77:11 99:16 136:17 138:16 service 9:6 51:3 79:8 81:2,11,11 82:20 83:14 114:2 132:18 207:18 services 5:6 6:7 37:11,12 38:8 39:6 40:3,5 49:10 50:20 52:12 53:16 58:19 65:12 68:2 78:13 79:20,21 80:5 81:9 81:13,17,18,22 82:2,4,11,16,17,19 83:2,8,12,13,18,20 83:21 84:1,7,16 85:2,3 88:18,19 89:6 90:14,17 113:20,21 114:7 114:11 125:7 129:3 134:9 166:12 174:14 serving 81:12 137:3 148:12 sessions 145:1 set 62:18 181:22 185:14 208:12
---	--	--	--	--

setting 5:1 9:3 162:15 189:14 191:1 settled 28:10 53:13 settlement 17:12 46:7 51:5 set-off 218:3 seven 180:1 Seventies 165:7 severe 90:16 sexual 61:9 shaken 157:7 share 14:6,8 16:6 20:2,22 21:3,4,17 23:10,17 60:8,22 67:6 125:12,20 145:10 150:6 155:8 177:15 209:3 sharp 157:20 sheriff's 5:5 77:14 84:8 200:1 shift 23:9 36:16 shifted 23:12 178:2 shifting 203:10 shifts 15:19 93:13 Shocked 157:7 shooting 142:14 shop 174:2 shop's 173:19 short 13:21 22:16 62:21 182:19 shortly 11:16 shot 19:14 show 16:2 21:16 45:1 53:19 122:6,7 122:9 135:22 170:13 184:9 showed 49:20 164:7 showing 39:7 69:4 shows 22:8 44:19 shutting 67:1 sick 70:4 side 44:11 126:7 157:6 166:20 184:10 205:1 216:10 218:16 sides 143:13 149:7	215:12 sign 30:20 146:2,3 197:3,6,14,20 198:5 signed 28:17 42:12 61:7 215:16 significance 148:7 significant 14:6,7 16:20 75:9 93:14 132:4 136:4 similar 166:1 174:9 175:7,8 182:7 Similarly 7:19 simple 34:18 151:6 152:4 176:1 simplify 213:16 simply 52:21 54:14 55:22 58:8 68:12 102:13 106:17 131:19 133:3 134:3 137:18 139:1 148:17 163:18 170:9 172:3 174:16 220:14 Simpson 219:10 single 18:18 52:18 185:13 sir 122:15 210:17 217:16 sit 25:10 sitting 38:17 64:12 210:3 situation 40:7 42:4 87:18 118:21 164:17 201:12 219:19 situations 119:13 six 19:2 22:9 99:11 130:10 150:3 167:22 Sixties 47:22 six-year 19:10 size 14:15 skill 124:10 skin 123:8,15 146:15 183:10 201:5	skinned 203:12 skip 14:4 sky-rocketed 166:11 sky-rocketing 165:14 slide's 13:12 slightly 20:19 22:2 44:1 smack 156:5 small 99:2,11,21 smaller 17:6 23:15 108:16 Smith-Simpson 219:12 snapshot 108:17 sneaking 67:22 social 10:15 50:19 51:2 193:19 220:1 society 87:16 213:2 217:22 socioeconomic 117:15,18 sociological 151:20 sold 185:3 solely 183:13 solicitation 28:9 solution 206:21 solutions 151:7 152:4,10 154:10 215:14 solve 100:19 somebody 47:19 75:2 109:9 197:7 216:18 somewhat 65:17 111:3 202:2 204:1 soon 77:16 136:17 sorry 64:16 80:4 130:22 135:1 143:17 146:18,20 209:12 211:10 sort 19:14 30:10 32:6 48:6 59:10,17 73:8 83:6,10 142:16 144:7 179:1,20 186:22 194:12 199:15	203:9 210:5 214:3 214:6 222:11 soul 68:13 sounds 181:14 218:10 source 188:8 South 161:4 Southeast 17:4 48:4 48:8 southern 60:11 73:22 Southwest 46:11 Southwestern 15:11 sovereign 67:11 68:15 sovereignty 173:3 Spain 69:5 Spanish 123:16 145:20 speak 55:12,15 114:13 120:14 125:16 131:16 142:22 144:10 146:16 161:11 speaking 145:20 171:19 speaks 145:4 214:16 specific 30:12 31:14 32:8 33:15 37:11 81:13 125:7,20 183:11,22 203:2 specifically 30:22 38:12 43:11 94:17 128:11 132:1 133:2 140:11 187:2 specifics 128:19 spectrum 66:17 speculate 21:19 speech 196:14 198:1 spending 205:15 spent 12:10 39:15 39:19 97:6,7 195:10 210:22 spiritual 70:20 split 174:13 218:19 spoken 30:12 150:10	St 11:6 stable 111:5 168:19 stacked 30:7 staff 2:1 4:22 9:2 62:16 73:2 78:11 78:19 79:10,19 80:21 97:6,20 127:5 129:1 136:15 147:14 223:6 stake 68:11 142:21 stamps 81:21 stance 222:11 stand 37:15,22 169:4 197:6 204:22 standard 122:19 201:1 202:6,7 203:2,10,21 standards 57:6 67:14 161:1 199:21 standing 174:17,20 174:20 194:17 start 10:6 64:4 98:19 182:3 203:13 started 13:1 15:19 48:6 92:21 93:2,3 97:8 142:13 143:11 168:13 191:7 state 1:2,11,14,16 1:18,19,21 4:12,16 6:16 8:15 21:11 24:21 25:21 28:18 28:19 29:16,22 30:18 31:16 32:4 32:10 33:7,10 51:7 52:3,5 58:16 61:18 66:16 78:22 82:1 85:4 96:18 114:8 115:5 121:14 124:20 125:3,9,13 125:15 150:20 156:2 165:21 173:18 183:18 189:14,22
--	---	---	---	---

stated 158:2 191:3	146:3 159:18	64:11,13,13 65:14	SUBCOMMISSI...	66:5,16 71:16
statement 42:2	160:7,11 163:10	65:16 66:5 71:14	3:7,13,22	127:2 128:10
105:10 205:11,13	163:20 165:6	71:16 74:13 75:14	subcommittee 1:2,6	supervisors 6:6,10
statements 102:21	187:11,14 188:6	103:6 106:16	1:13 4:15 8:19,21	49:4 64:15,19
states 5:16 7:12 8:8	195:2 200:8	108:4 110:12	62:4 223:5	75:15 94:21 95:8
15:11 16:18,21	201:18 218:1	127:2,20 128:10	subject 66:18 69:17	96:8 97:22 103:1
17:3,7,9,15,17,17	statute 175:9	Stirrup's 77:12	96:3 106:9 150:7	104:1 119:18
26:7,13,18 27:8,10	182:16	stop 40:16 120:3	177:16 181:11	130:5,5 145:14
27:11,13 28:14	statutes 170:21	157:11 202:13	195:8	163:22 193:1
29:7 36:21 42:12	173:18 174:1	stopped 120:9	submission 196:19	support 26:3 83:15
47:20,20 50:22	184:3	121:16 158:21	submitted 26:8	112:21 131:5
51:1,9,9,11,12	statutory 182:8	159:4 160:2	158:11	163:21 189:10
52:20 53:18,21	stay 148:1 149:4	stopping 67:1	subsidies 90:8	supporting 170:3
67:5,16 69:15	217:18	stops 208:4,5	subsidizing 89:5	supports 163:11
73:20,21 74:7 86:6	Stein 2:22 3:19	store 158:20	substance 84:1	supposed 198:8
86:14 90:6 110:21	140:1 141:4,20	straight 40:10	succeed 8:7	supreme 80:14
110:22 113:17	162:3,6,9 167:18	straightforward	succeeded 163:19	121:21 134:7
151:3 159:22	167:22 168:4,8,13	151:7	successful 65:6	179:9 203:8
164:12 165:1,5,9	180:14 181:1,2	strain 187:22	66:13	sure 25:18 39:21
165:10,15,22	186:16 187:17	strategy 189:5	suddenly 68:19	41:4 58:22 72:13
166:14 188:5,16	190:19 191:8,13	215:22 217:17	Sudley 157:22	96:16 99:14 101:3
189:7 190:12,15	191:21 192:7	stream 132:19	sued 35:4,5 60:7	116:12 117:11
201:17 204:5	211:8 214:17	street 27:14 36:3	suffer 145:6,7	120:7 128:10
213:16	215:7 216:8	124:19 195:6,13	suffice 97:6	132:16 134:1,10
state-Federal	217:14 218:14	198:14 199:7	suggest 133:10	145:14 147:1
164:11	220:11 221:19	streets 77:13 107:19	172:10 218:12	174:21 186:9
state-mandated	222:15	strengthen 154:14	suggested 83:7	198:19 200:11
79:15	step 95:4 119:20	strict 9:12 10:2	100:6 203:22	207:10 208:20
state-to 51:6	Stephen's 11:7	56:21	210:12 221:12	214:18
stating 191:7	steps 186:8	strong 51:16 102:3	suggesting 126:13	surprised 142:9
statistically 130:1	stereotyped 148:22	strongly 163:21	204:3 207:17	surrounding 23:18
statistics 9:19 22:1	sterile 206:9	178:2	suggests 7:16 83:4	152:3
86:17,19 185:12	Stewart 2:10 3:10	structure 29:21	104:21 119:16	survey 11:20
stats 135:16,22	64:15,15 65:1 66:1	struggles 155:21	220:1	survive 68:14
stature 156:5	72:11,13,20 73:10	struggling 146:5	suit 208:16	suspect 55:1,7,20
status 29:2,5 33:1	73:11 74:14 103:4	student 188:8	suits 176:15	56:13 57:15 61:12
35:22 36:7 40:7	105:8,19 106:2,6,8	students 22:19,22	summarize 101:17	75:20
42:7 49:9 52:20	106:10,14,19,21	75:19	115:18 186:5	suspects 75:17
54:1,8 56:3 79:1	107:7,12 108:3	studied 41:18 97:14	summary 90:20	suspicion 33:5
80:10 81:5 82:21	109:13,17,22	studies 5:20 107:6	summer 75:21	119:22 121:2
86:16,18 94:14	110:7 111:21	131:1,6 132:8,8	147:13 149:21	suspicious 120:15
100:15 101:20,22	112:11,20 117:3	study 13:8 24:18	summons 121:13,14	sweeping 201:14
109:12 111:10	118:5 130:19	27:6 172:8	121:18	switch 65:20 169:16
117:14,15,16,19	131:8 132:10,14	studying 97:9 150:5	sun 198:9	sympathy 194:7
117:19 119:3,11	133:17,21 134:2,7	205:15	superb 88:5	system 65:8 67:14
124:13 128:3	134:11,16,20	stuff 34:20 36:18	supervised 31:1	70:10 75:22 81:7
132:2 133:5	139:14	61:10 173:18	supervisor 64:6,11	85:22 88:9 96:4
135:10 137:20	Stirrup 2:9 3:9 64:6	185:9	64:13,22 65:16	129:7 133:3,22

138:9,9 208:17 218:9 systematic 167:6 systems 51:3 82:13	170:3 taxes 20:21 21:5,9,9 24:5 217:5 taxpayers 166:11 169:4 technical 172:17 173:6 Telephone 57:9 television 104:6 tell 29:7 58:2 60:17 60:18 73:5 107:5,8 107:13 146:14,16 165:11 168:18 198:22 220:12 telling 59:7,13 temporary 81:20 ten 7:5 16:8 17:1 18:14 22:8 86:6 102:5 161:6 168:8 212:9 tenable 218:2 tend 50:16 tendencies 29:12 tends 118:5 tenor 206:6 tension 151:15 tensions 7:1 ten-year 22:3 term 64:8 189:21 194:4 212:1 214:19 222:2 terms 17:5 27:3,22 30:12 42:17 46:10 50:5 73:6 79:7 81:4 107:19 111:16 117:14 127:16 160:15,16 170:3 172:18 177:18 193:14 194:12 terrible 122:22 terrorists 56:11 Terry 202:13 Terry-type 120:2 test 37:15,22 39:1 56:14 173:17 184:22 testified 184:6	testify 72:9 testifying 171:16,18 196:6 testimony 11:11 110:4 113:9 116:14 139:12 145:14 158:11 170:10 171:6 176:14 177:15 179:6 207:17 219:21 Testing 24:20 Texas 10:19 15:11 73:20 thank 4:10,20 5:4,7 9:5 11:12,13 24:12 25:3 40:18 45:16 62:13 63:1 65:12 65:22 66:5 72:8 73:9,9,14 78:1,2,6 78:8 85:8,9,11 91:1,2 102:14,17 102:21,22 105:8 127:2,18 130:17 134:19 139:9,11 139:14,15,16 140:2 147:11 154:16 162:2,6 176:3,4 207:5 209:10 222:17 223:4,5 thanked 63:12 thanks 25:8 62:15 78:8 118:12 142:8 145:13 161:16 223:11 thick 123:7,15 thing 38:5 39:4 40:6 62:6 67:19 98:7,8 107:2 110:13 154:2,3 164:19 201:20 203:10 218:4 221:21 things 23:6 56:9 81:20 94:3 96:11 100:12,20 125:18 184:6 186:20 193:6,21 197:17	198:14 199:18 200:12 210:14,15 217:6 221:7,14 think 10:5 24:2 25:5 25:14 26:10 27:18 29:15 30:4 31:9 32:7,9,18 33:2,16 34:1,6,6,8 35:9,11 35:12,13,14 36:12 36:19 37:1,2,16 38:2,5 40:4,10,12 40:20 42:21 43:2,2 43:5,14,19 44:12 44:14,20 45:3,15 47:8 53:10,11,12 54:10,21 55:1,6,20 56:5,6,8,9,12,17 57:13,21 61:13,16 63:9 66:21 68:9 69:1 77:17,20 87:13 92:4 97:14 114:8,11 120:1,5 126:2,5 129:22 131:10 132:10 136:7,8 139:3,4,7 142:12 143:7 144:20 145:6 169:7,13 170:17 173:2,11 175:14 181:2 186:6,20 187:3 188:14 192:10 194:17 199:10 200:17,19 204:21 206:17 208:1,16 209:1,14 209:15 210:14 211:4 214:8 218:17 220:10 221:13 third 19:19 29:6 100:22 196:2 thorny 69:16 thought 12:2 52:22 60:9 72:15 82:5,6 82:15 83:18 84:9 99:1 108:15 114:1 122:13 181:5 182:12,13 200:9	222:14 thoughtful 148:11 thousand 162:20 167:17,20,21 thousands 183:17 threat 99:18 three 2:15 3:14 16:15 28:15 29:12 29:18 30:6 32:6 75:18 109:6 152:17 156:19 170:18 194:18 221:3 three-phased 98:1 101:1 three-quarters 23:16 threshold 119:17 thrown 175:9 189:21 thrust 116:13,18 tide 152:2 ties 217:21 time 4:14 9:13,15 9:21 12:10,16 19:12 22:17 23:3 51:14 57:17 71:13 83:11 92:11 94:20 95:2 108:12,15,17 129:16 131:18,22 132:2 138:12 144:18 145:1 157:2 158:2 165:3 165:13 168:4,5,9 170:14 171:1 182:19 185:18 195:10 196:1 198:4 199:10 200:13 205:15 216:11 217:4 times 17:1 70:16 73:6 89:22 156:19 160:3 206:7 216:11 221:4 tired 70:4 today 4:14 6:2 8:9 9:13,17 12:1 27:18 29:13,15 37:14
---	---	---	---	---

49:14 61:6,13 65:3 65:9 66:8 77:22 92:1 95:12,13 103:10,21 110:4 139:13 141:2 151:18 155:1,21 168:15 175:6 176:21 186:20 219:19 222:17 today's 109:7 149:1 Todd 1:16 8:22 207:6 211:4 told 156:8 157:19 180:19 tolerance 153:5,6,7 toll 87:20 tomorrow 111:13 tone 209:16 210:4 tool 112:13 topics 21:20 torpedoed 219:13 total 95:19 124:12 totality 202:16 totally 72:15 171:7 171:20 tough 152:9 toughest 175:10 town 69:13 70:12 157:5,6 toxic 198:4 toxification 193:19 traced 46:12 track 101:9,15 168:16 tradition 153:16 163:7,11 210:22 traditional 218:6 traditionally 116:4 190:11 traffic 120:9 121:16 train 98:5,11 161:14 trained 30:22 34:20 98:22 102:8 156:10 180:1 208:10 training 98:14,16 99:2 102:9,10	119:16 122:14 161:13 208:11 tranquility 153:12 transporting 31:19 treat 124:4 treatment 87:12 116:22 200:6 tree 145:22 tremendous 110:11 117:18 trend 14:20 23:22 28:20,21 29:6 175:7 trending 22:4 trends 23:22 27:17 28:15,15,16 tried 12:4 73:16 186:3 triple 75:17 76:6 tripled 16:16,19 tripped 13:16,17 true 19:21 26:17 46:15 trust 156:8 truth 206:13 try 12:2,7 18:3 41:15 63:5 83:5 101:17 120:5 129:1 139:19 140:22 142:3 145:10 163:2 165:4 169:12 183:5 209:4 221:19 trying 20:6 53:15 95:4 105:5,14 106:15,21 107:7 107:13 110:1 124:13 137:12 138:15 140:6 164:4 169:5 207:19 turn 41:5,6,7 57:10 73:4 102:20 130:20 155:3 157:21 turned 25:6 36:7 143:5	twelve 97:7 two 2:8 3:8 9:16 10:4 14:8 23:5 27:20 28:7 30:13 31:15 32:3 33:15 39:20 43:12 57:17 85:14 94:11 96:11 98:14 102:22 105:2 111:2 128:16 130:5 149:6 155:14 156:19 159:15,19 159:21 167:20 176:12 183:20 193:2 201:8 205:10 218:19 twofold 77:7 two-hour 170:10 two-part 212:19 two-thirds 24:10 type 87:18 182:6 208:22	<hr/> U <hr/> ugly 70:17 ultimately 164:9 165:22 ultra-virus 171:7 unable 129:17 133:1 unanimous 35:13 unanimously 34:14 unassigned 87:6 88:10,11 unauthorized 19:22 38:22 underestimated 108:13 underlying 33:6,14 33:19,22 43:9 190:13 undermine 220:8 understand 54:7 119:13 132:12 133:19,20 165:18 174:22 177:22 202:6 208:6 214:18 215:5	understanding 58:4 116:11 124:9 163:2 164:5 176:18 180:4 185:11 200:14 206:22 understood 92:15 undertook 108:18 underway 23:20 undesirable 146:8 undocumented 17:18 18:1 21:4 24:7,9 27:9 33:6 37:1,3,13 38:9 39:5,12,17,21 40:3 40:4,15 46:8,13 47:5 55:6 58:7,20 88:6 115:1,8,19 116:7 unemployment 104:22 unfair 166:16 unfortunately 68:9 69:14 87:10 149:11 unidentified 213:3 uninsured 89:16 Union 70:3 unique 70:6 73:18 unit 87:12 99:10,11 99:22 208:12,14 United 5:16 7:11 8:8 15:11 47:19,20 52:20 53:17,21 67:5,16 69:15,22 73:19 74:7 86:6,13 90:6 110:20,22 113:17 151:3 159:22 166:13 190:12,15 201:16 204:5 213:16 University 10:18,19 11:2,7 101:8 172:10 unlawful 35:3,4 unlawfully 97:1 121:8 unlimited 31:10	unquote 193:2 unsettled 123:13 unwelcome 7:14 126:17 unwilling 129:17 133:9 uphold 154:9 urban 13:10 34:12 50:21 Uropa 109:4 use 53:16 57:14 58:6 76:18 89:20 100:3 111:16 112:6 122:8 123:21 132:20 145:19 146:11 169:8 222:2 usually 41:14 161:4 178:16 U.S 1:1 4:12 5:10,17 11:3 13:15 19:20 24:11 55:13 161:22 168:14	<hr/> V <hr/> v 80:15 vacuum 143:10 valid 145:13 validity 133:12 150:1 valuable 109:18 209:1 value 90:18 109:3 148:7 values 70:19 208:17 vantage 145:9 variety 8:10 78:13 various 10:1 40:20 131:3 181:7 183:1 193:7 221:9 varying 162:22 vehicle 120:22 185:18 Vehicles 185:10 Velvet 198:16 venom 155:22 verdict 103:18 105:11
--	--	--	--	--	---	---

verification 81:7 189:1	4:16 6:5,16 16:20 58:16 66:8 73:21	217:21 219:15 222:1 223:4,5	welfare 36:19 38:6 52:11 69:8 153:13	wife 74:6
verify 49:9 81:5 189:3	78:6 80:15 86:5,14 90:5 101:8 108:10	wanted 91:15 106:14 143:3,12	well-being 148:13	William 4:21 5:5 6:4 7:2 12:5,10
verifying 80:9	121:14 122:3	145:18 191:19	well-formed 200:5	18:2,4 23:21 25:17
versus 81:13 110:11 133:8 152:5 194:10	123:10 148:2 155:7 173:16,17 184:21 185:14,19	192:20 218:15	well-founded 206:13	27:19 28:22 32:14 35:17 49:3,4,17,21
viable 130:1	virtually 216:3	Ward 1:21 8:22 124:16 125:21	went 11:15 16:14 18:15 21:10,11,12	58:15 63:20 64:19 65:4,11 66:14
victimized 94:10,17	virtue 52:3 117:18	warm 73:13 118:15	60:12 63:6 104:4	73:14 74:1,4,11,17
victims 7:6 61:8,9 94:18 101:19 109:12 110:5 111:18	virulent 7:10 24:1	warrant 44:13,20 45:2,5,7,9	106:17 122:22	75:20,21 76:5,8
videos 142:13 143:11	visa 150:14	Washington 10:7 209:19	165:7 173:5 185:9 198:9	78:5 85:15,21
video-taping 198:6	visible 195:4	wasn't 207:12,14	weren't 133:3 144:12 177:14	86:22 87:5,19 88:4 88:9 90:4,13 92:1
view 29:21 92:7 100:2 112:22 143:17 162:14 165:20 171:10 197:4 212:14 213:21 219:9	visits 89:21 90:2	watched 164:20 165:3 198:15	208:7 216:12	103:22 105:1 109:6 111:9
viewpoint 70:5	vitality 100:7	watching 104:5	West 47:15	113:18 126:12
viewpoints 200:14	volume 115:7	way 11:13 16:22 27:2 37:21 41:5,20	we'll 24:2 35:4,5 38:2 62:17,19	127:8 131:13,14
views 6:18 106:11 153:7 211:14	voluntary 85:16 117:5	52:7 59:5 97:2	101:9 106:4	138:3 140:12,15
Viez 2:2 9:2 223:6	volunteer 148:9	111:14,16 115:17 115:20 116:22	127:15 128:20	142:18 147:13,17
vigor 155:22	vote 68:18	124:6 143:6 146:9 146:16 151:14	139:19 142:3 174:4	147:19 148:4,15
vigorous 55:19	voted 108:18	164:22 186:1	we're 9:20 12:21 14:13 15:6,7 16:5	151:17 155:10
violate 54:8 100:15	voters 64:7,22	195:16 196:5,11	58:14 65:8 68:12	156:19 157:14
violated 52:6 167:6 218:6 223:1	voting 5:21 165:6	196:12 197:11	73:5 89:14 98:14	158:21 160:3,13
violating 53:5,9		203:7 205:5	98:21 99:2,8	163:22 168:20
violation 29:5 42:11 45:10,12,14 54:19 55:21 60:9 120:9 121:16 160:22 175:21 213:6	W	208:22 209:5	100:10 103:5	170:11 178:1,10
violations 31:3,8 138:2 156:1 158:7 158:8 168:22 178:10	wait 150:14	210:16 217:15	116:20 146:11	179:21 187:6
violent 22:2 54:13 55:18 56:2 70:17 135:15	waited 217:20	218:19 219:1	164:6 175:6	192:1 221:14 223:9
Virginia 1:2,8,11,14 1:16,18,19,21 4:12	waiting 185:18	ways 38:1 72:20 119:6 143:18 144:12 145:3	177:10 186:22	willing 25:12 129:16 175:21
	walking 94:16 158:20 195:13	149:6 143:18 144:12 145:3	187:12 205:2	wise 118:22
	wall 189:7	144:12 145:3	207:4 212:8 216:16	withdrew 192:12,19
	want 4:10,20 5:4,7 8:18 30:19 39:4 40:6 41:1 44:6 49:22 52:6 62:12 65:11,15,19 67:6,7 69:20 72:7 73:13 84:22 91:11 101:4 103:6 104:3,15 113:10 118:11 122:17 139:11 140:2 143:19,20 143:22 145:10 148:14 166:18 169:11 170:9 187:12 191:14,17 191:18 204:11 212:17 216:13	weapons 157:16	we've 14:10 22:12 60:17 70:9 86:6 89:9 92:15,17 93:12,13 97:3 98:13 99:1 104:11 104:12 150:19 173:15 181:18,19 186:7 188:22 193:8 204:18 205:17	withhold 6:7
		website 141:7 173:13 191:6 198:17 202:3	we're 9:20 12:21 14:13 15:6,7 16:5 58:14 65:8 68:12 73:5 89:14 98:14 98:21 99:2,8 100:10 103:5 116:20 146:11 164:6 175:6 177:10 186:22 187:12 205:2 207:4 212:8 216:16	witness 8:2
		week 7:3,15 76:7 152:13 159:2 195:12	we're 9:20 12:21 14:13 15:6,7 16:5 58:14 65:8 68:12 73:5 89:14 98:14 98:21 99:2,8 100:10 103:5 116:20 146:11 164:6 175:6 177:10 186:22 187:12 205:2 207:4 212:8 216:16	witnesses 8:13 101:21 118:19 171:6
		weeks 76:4 121:21 150:3 155:17 159:19 174:8 204:14	we've 14:10 22:12 60:17 70:9 86:6 89:9 92:15,17 93:12,13 97:3 98:13 99:1 104:11 104:12 150:19 173:15 181:18,19 186:7 188:22 193:8 204:18 205:17	woman 71:11 192:14
		welcome 4:11 24:14 74:3,5,8,10 77:19 77:22 78:4 140:3	we're 9:20 12:21 14:13 15:6,7 16:5 58:14 65:8 68:12 73:5 89:14 98:14 98:21 99:2,8 100:10 103:5 116:20 146:11 164:6 175:6 177:10 186:22 187:12 205:2 207:4 212:8 216:16	women 68:16 113:14 116:5 117:1 159:21
			we're 9:20 12:21 14:13 15:6,7 16:5 58:14 65:8 68:12 73:5 89:14 98:14 98:21 99:2,8 100:10 103:5 116:20 146:11 164:6 175:6 177:10 186:22 187:12 205:2 207:4 212:8 216:16	wonderful 147:22 164:4 219:7
			we're 9:20 12:21 14:13 15:6,7 16:5 58:14 65:8 68:12 73:5 89:14 98:14 98:21 99:2,8 100:10 103:5 116:20 146:11 164:6 175:6 177:10 186:22 187:12 205:2 207:4 212:8 216:16	wondering 58:2,17 127:22 187:2 199:15
			we're 9:20 12:21 14:13 15:6,7 16:5 58:14 65:8 68:12 73:5 89:14 98:14 98:21 99:2,8 100:10 103:5 116:20 146:11 164:6 175:6 177:10 186:22 187:12 205:2 207:4 212:8 216:16	Wonderland

103:16 105:10
Woodbridge 1:8
 76:6
word 5:10 61:20
 169:9 170:22
 171:1 194:10
 214:21 220:5
wording 7:17 49:2
 103:13
words 108:1 111:12
 135:11 146:14
 153:16 209:15
work 8:7 10:16 11:3
 20:6,13 24:5 68:17
 71:9 77:21 78:11
 78:19 79:10 80:6,8
 83:4 125:16
 132:19 148:9
 153:10 154:2
 158:4 159:3 161:5
 162:21,22 210:6
workable 221:21
worked 97:20
 162:21 185:1
 192:17
workers 166:22
 167:5,7,10
working 5:3 9:3
 20:5 25:7 62:14
 95:10 96:5 136:16
 162:13 164:18
 168:13 170:7
 173:15 177:10,16
works 115:17
 221:20
world 25:11 47:15
 56:12 69:6,21 70:8
 71:1 214:1,2
world's 70:7
worth 19:2
wouldn't 44:7 45:2
 112:6,10,16,17
 201:8
wrap 161:16
written 26:22 32:11
 59:6 202:1
wrong 55:21 102:13
 179:1 180:21

wrongs 176:13
 177:3 179:2
 199:18,19
www.9500liberty....
 141:8

X

xenophiliac 169:9
 190:1
xenophobes 105:16
xenophobic 148:16
 149:1 189:21

Y

yards 94:1
year 13:9 18:9,14
 22:19 67:17 77:7
 77:18 84:19 87:2,4
 88:20 89:1,13,15
 95:22 110:22
 111:2,5 131:10
 149:8 173:15
 190:11
years 10:16 15:4
 18:11,13 19:2 22:8
 22:9 26:1 27:5
 46:14 48:4 56:20
 65:6 71:2 72:4
 77:21 86:6,7 88:20
 92:17,17 93:6
 94:11 102:5 136:5
 147:19 148:3
 161:6 163:20
 164:19 167:22
 183:20 189:19
 192:13 202:9
 210:22
year-in 210:6
year-out 210:6
yell 198:14
yellow 142:5
yeoman's 9:6
yesterday 7:20
 11:18 24:19,19
 26:4 173:21 175:8
 184:6 213:4
York 11:2 15:13
 60:2

York's 61:6
young 14:22 20:5
 55:19,22 209:19
YouTube 141:13
You-Tube 193:21

Z

zeal 152:22

\$

\$1.5 88:21
\$15 90:19
\$3 129:12
\$400 87:1
\$500,000 89:7
\$560,000 88:20

0

09-609 164:1

1

1st 156:10
1.1 89:2
1:13 223:13
10th 60:10 61:4,15
 61:16 62:2 78:18
10,000 18:15
10:36 62:22
10:45 62:22
102 3:13
11 3:5
11th 170:12 181:12
 210:9
11.8 19:11
12 19:8,13 86:7
 147:18
12th 157:12
120 80:4
126 80:4
13 19:13 21:8
14 1:5 19:13 39:13
14th 52:15 55:21
 56:18 80:11,13
141 3:15
147 3:16
15 9:16 10:10 13:15
 18:11,13 25:12
 46:14 192:13

150 190:15 191:12
154 3:18
16 21:7
162 3:19
169 3:20
 17 177:11
176 3:22
1775 216:14
1787 71:10
18 34:9 86:9
1870 15:5
1895 147:18
1920 15:5
1940 213:9
1960 14:16
1965 14:19 172:6
1970 14:14,16
1980 13:17 16:19
 17:2 18:6 19:8
 165:12
1980's 215:9
1986 215:9
1987 188:21
1990 16:13 18:20
 23:13,14
1992 93:2
1995 147:13 219:8
 219:11
1996 30:17 36:20
 38:7 58:4 59:1

2

20 16:9 19:3 46:14
 86:21 195:7 197:7
 202:9
20-year 150:13
200 71:1 80:21
2000 18:22 19:9
 21:8 22:20 23:13
 89:12
2001 13:19 88:19
 173:16
2002 30:3
2003 7:8 65:1
2004 10:12 64:8
2005 10:8 16:13,19
 88:8,15
2006 7:5 39:10

64:20 90:1,17
2007 1:5 64:9
 105:12 131:11
 157:3,12
2008 66:11 68:6
 127:14 156:10
2010 89:13
2011 185:2
2012 86:8
21 108:19
2100 168:17
213 95:12
22 19:9
236 79:21
25 3:6 10:16 164:19
25th 105:12
26th 157:3 158:19
260 168:14
2665 87:4
27 164:19
274 31:17
276 31:20 43:1,10
287(g) 31:5 32:12
 77:8,12 94:22 95:9
 96:11 100:1,1
 179:18 180:3

3

3.2 215:18
30 56:20 65:6 86:7
 99:3 159:1 206:19
300 168:15
35 7:8
350,000 18:7

4

40 7:21 87:5 89:15
400,000 110:21
41 3:7
425,000 86:10
47 13:14
482 95:19

5

50 15:4 77:21
50,000 89:13
501(c)(3) 85:18
52 80:3

576 7:5

6

65 3:9

7

70,000 18:16

71,000 89:14

72 3:10

74 8:6

78 3:10

79 161:3

8

8 3:3

80 87:2

819 7:6

84 80:2

85 3:11 7:16 15:15

86 221:1

9

9:30 1:8 4:2

90 18:22

91 3:12

93 22:18

94 22:18

9500 141:7