## U.S. House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary

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Dr. Erik Camayd-Freixas Professor of Modern Languages Florida International University 5453 SW 115<sup>th</sup> Street Miami, FL 33196

Dear Dr. Camayd:

Thank you for your recent appearance before the Committee on the Judiciary's Subcommittee on Immigration, Citizenship, Refugees, Border Security, and International Law. Your testimony was insightful and will assist the Subcommittee as it moves forward.

Enclosed you will find a **verbatim** transcript of the hearing enclosed for your review. Please deliver any changes to the attention of Andres Jimenez of the Subcommittee on Immigration, Citizenship, Border Security, and International Law, 517 Cannon House Office Building, Washington, DC, 20515 no later than February 16, 2009. If you have any further questions or concerns, please contact Andres Jimenez at (202) 225-3926.

Sincerely,

Chairwoman

Subcommittee on Immigration, Citizenship, Refugees, Border Security, and International Law

2793 STATEMENTS OF MR. ERIK CAMAYD-FREIXAS, PROFESSOR OF MODERN LANGUAGES, FLORIDA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY; MR. DAVID 2794 2795 LEOPOLD, DAVID WOLFE LEOPOLD AND ASSOCIATES, ON BEHALF OF 2796 AMERICAN IMMIGRATION LAWYERS ASSOCIATION; MR. ROBERT R. RIGG, 2797 ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF LAW AND DIRECTOR OF THE CRIMINAL 2798 DEFENSE PROGRAM, DRAKE UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL; MRS. LORA 2799 COSTNER 2800 STATEMENT OF ERIK CAMAYD-FREIXAS 2801 Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. Thank you, Chairwoman Lofgren. 2802 Ms. LOFGREN. We need the microphone on, though. 2803 Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. Thank you, Chairwoman Lofgren, 2804 Ranking Member King, honorable members of the subcommittee. 2805 I was 1 of 16 interpreters who served both weeks of the Postville hearing. Unlike judges, prosecutors or attorney, I 2806 2807 was present at every step of the process. It is my duty as 2808 an impartial expert witness, an officer of the court, to 2809 ensure that the court is not misled and to bring to its 2810 attention any impediments to due process. I have done so in 2811 the best interest of the federal court I am proud to serve 2812 and with the conviction that, if our honorable judges had 2813 known how this judicial experiment would turn out, they would 2814 have never allowed it.

In my statement submitted for congressional record, I

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document the flaws. Detainees' quarters were not certified.

The court failed to maintain physical and operational

independence from ICE prosecution and a level playing field

for the defense.

There was inadequate access to counsel, no meaningful presumption of innocence. Defendants appear not to understand their rights and charges. Bail hearings and other due process rights were denied. The charge of identity theft used to force a plea lacked foundation and was never tested for probable cause.

Defendant did not know what a social security number was and were not guilty of intent crime. Guilty pleas were obtained under duress. Judges had no sentencing discretion pursuant to a binding plea agreement. Sole providers whose families are in jeopardy now endure a cruel and unusual psychological punishment, the foreseeable effect of a prison time on common--

Abridgement of process produced wholesaling justice at the other end. Parents begging to be deported put in jail at public expense. Proud working mothers branded like cattle with the scarlet letter of an ankle monitor dehumanized and reduced to begging at the doors of the church as they were released on humanitarian grounds.

The town of Postville devastated. The kinship ties are noble people are quick to forge with all newcomers painfully

2841 severed. Families and friends separated.

I saw the Bill of Rights denied and democratic values threatened by the breakdown of checks and balances, and it all appeared to be within the framework of the law pursuant to a broken immigration system.

Postville lays bare a grave distortion in the legal structure of government. Post 9-11, ICE was granted power to wage the war on terror, but since 2006, it has diverted resources even from disaster relief to an escalating and unauthorized war on immigration.

Yet the men and women of ICE are not to be faulted for doing their duty. It is unrealistic in our adversarial system to ask prosecutors to exercise restraint and not use all legal mean to win convictions. The fact is our laws have not kept up with this growth in enforcement.

Congress failed to pass immigration reform, and ICE has filled the legal void with its own version of it. Now we have a serious contradiction, the growth of authoritarian rule inside a democratic government. This entity can simultaneously wield immigration and criminal codes plus issue administrative rules, leaving no room for constitutional guarantees.

It co-ops other branches of government--social security,
U.S. Attorney, federal court--and uses appropriations to
recruit local police for immigration enforcement, setting

2866 neighbor against neighbor and dangerously dividing the 2867 nation.

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With the help of local sheriffs, Postville repeats itself daily while the harshness of border enforcement is reenacted in the American Heartland with great collateral damage to our citizens and community. It is a rush to raid as much as possible before Congress regains the vision and courage to restore the law of the land.

Part of immigration reform is redefining jurisdiction over--ICE jurisdiction over immigration and criminal matters without impairing the agency's ability to defend us from terrorist threats. Since 2006, families have been separated on a scale unseen in the Americas since the Spanish Conquest, when it led to the extinction of Ameri-Indian nations. In Postville, we have the added moral burden posed by the presence of ethnic Mayan, testimonial people who constitute and endanger patrimony of humanity.

I bring to this forum three requests from the people of Postville.

First, our government has left a humanitarian crisis for Sister Mary McCauley and her good neighbors to cure. I call on all to contribute to St. Bridget's Church and on the federal government to respond with aid that guarantees survival for their schools, businesses and institutions. It is time for America to adopt Postville.

Second, with regard to the imprisoned aliens, government 2891 says they have 300 criminals. The people say, "Show us one 2892 victim of their crime or send them home." 2893 Third, our national unity requires that Congress pass 2894 not only comprehensive but compassionate immigration reform 2895 as would befit the dignity of this great country built upon 2896 the shoulders of immigrants by their children. 2897 Thank you. 2898 [The statement of Mr. Camayd-Freixas follows:] 2899 2900 INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

3171 Ms. LOFGREN. Mrs. Costner, thank you for your 3172 testimony. 3173 We are going to recess this hearing now. 3174 series of votes, and we will not be back before 3:15. So go 3175 get a cup of coffee, and we will ask some questions when we 3176 return. 3177 [Recess.] Ms. LOFGREN. The subcommittee will reconvene. 3178 3179 Hopefully, the ranking member will be here shortly. 3180 First, apologies. We thought that we would be back 3181 at--by 3:15, but we had more votes than we had anticipated, 3182 and we appreciate your patience and your willingness to stick 3183 with us on this. 3184 We have just a couple of questions that we will be able 3185 to pose to all of you. But before I do, let me just say to you, Mrs. Costner, 3186 3187 what happened to you was really terrible and outrageous, and 3188 I don't think there is a person in the Congress who would 3189 defend what happened to you, and I appreciate that you were 3190 willing to come here and share your story. The individual 3191 that did that to you should have been prosecuted, and I think 3192 it is--you know, I don't see U.S. Attorneys are here now. I 3193 don't understand why they didn't do their job to protect you 3194 and your family, and I just wanted to say that before getting 3195 into the legal questions for the others.

3196 Let me ask you, Dr. Camayd, you have been a translator for a long time, and I read the statement that you made that 3197 3198 was available publicly after this raid, and I was struck by, 3199 in your statement, how shocked you seemed to be by the 3200 procedures that you encountered here and that it was your 3201 judgment that these individuals had no idea what was going 3202 on. 3203 And you are, of course, the interpreter so you were in kind of the catbird seat to understand what people knew 3204 3205 perhaps even better the lawyers because they couldn't 3206 actually talk directly to the defendants. Have you ever seen anything like this before in your 23 3207 3208 years as a interpreter? 3209 Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. Never. 3210 Ms. LOFGREN. I think that is quite revealing. 3211 In your judgment, did these defendants understand the 3212 nature of these proceedings and the pleas that were--there was a lot of representation that the defense counsel had 3213 3214 advised them and they knew all the immigration issues. 3215 you observe that? 3216 Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. Well, there were almost 300 individuals, and the level of understanding was different 3217 from one to the other. My determination is that the majority 3218 3219 of them did not understand the charges or the rights that 3220 they were waiving. And I base that on several factors.

First, it is unclear to what extent the numerous ethnic Mayans understood Spanish as a second language. Then there are vast cultural differences between Mexicans and Guatemalan rural cultures on the one hand and American legal culture on the other.

And the most important factor is that, in my expert opinion as an educator, due to their lack of schooling and low rate of literacy, most of the defendants had a level of conceptual or abstract understanding equivalent to that of a third grader or less. So they clearly needed a lot more time, a lot more educating on a one-to-one basis on the part of the defense attorney to even come closer to understand what these things meant.

In addition to that, they really were tuning it all out because the only thing--particularly the parents--the only thing that they cared about is how to get back to their families to look after their families so they were just listening to the time factor. "Okay. If I do this, do I get home quicker," or "If I do that."

Particularly troubling was the waiver of the right to be indicted by a grand jury on felony charges. These were all felony charges. They basically at that point had no knowledge of the plea agreement or the plea offer that the government was going to make so they basically were given false hopes that, if they waived the right to a grand jury

3246 indictment, they would go home faster. So they did. Ms. LOFGREN. Let me ask you this. We had testimony 3247 3248 that there were--the defense lawyers had been completely 3249 schooled on immigration law--and that there were immigration lawyers in the facility. Did you observe that? 3250 3251 Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. I am sorry. I didn't--3252 Ms. LOFGREN. That the defense counsel had been instructed in immigration law and that there were immigration 3253 lawyers there at every stage helping the defendants 3254 3255 understand. Did you see that? 3256 Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. No. I didn't see any immigration 3257 attorneys there. There were actually very few attorneys each day because, even though 18 defense attorneys participated, 3258 they would come in 3, 4, 5 each day. And I didn't see any 3259 3260 immigration attorney. 3261 I also understood that the official policy was that 3262 these were criminal cases, not immigration cases... 3263 Ms. LOFGREN. Right. 3264 Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. --therefore--3265 Ms. LOFGREN. But they had implications once you plead 3266 guilty to this crime. Even if you had another benefit 3267 available to you under existing immigration law, that would then be foreclosed. 3268 3269 Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. Well, I did observe that some 3270 attorneys were able to call on immigration law colleagues --

3271 Ms. LOFGREN. Okav. 3272 Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. --but the issues were so complicated that sometimes they had to consult with two and 3273 3274 three--Right. 3275 Ms. LOFGREN. Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. --different lawyers, and they would 3276 3277 get different indications. 3278 Ms. LOFGREN. Let me ask the two law professors, and I am going to read from the affidavit that was filed in support 3279 of the application for the search warrant, and it is point 3280 3281 85. I will summarize. The first part isn't really that material. 3282 "A search was conducted by ICE agents in the Accurate 3283 3284 Database"--which, as we know, is the private-sector database--it is highly accurate--"for the individuals' social 3285 security numbers listed in second quarter 2007 payroll 3286 3287 reports. This search revealed that approximately 878 out of 3288 1,116, or 78.6 percent, of the social security numbers input 3289 into Accurate either did not appear to be associated with the 3290 person assigned to that social security number, or the number did not reveal any person associated with the number." 3291 3292 What were hearing here from the government's own 3293 affidavit is that 78--well, let us say almost 79 percent of 3294 the individuals didn't have somebody else's social security 3295 number, they had a made-up number.

How is that consistent, in your judgment, with the necessity to base a prosecution on evidence that the prosecutor's burden to have the elements of the crime known and present before proceeding with a prosecution. Could you comment briefly on that?

Mr. LEOPOLD. Well, that statistic, Madam Chairwoman, is very troubling. Eighty percent of these people apparently did not have--the social security number didn't correspond to a real person. That draws into the real question, the whole use of the identity theft as a charge and really brings into question the social security charges.

I tell you, I have sat on the CJA panel Northern

District of Ohio now for 10 years that handles criminal cases in addition to my immigration practice. I would love an opportunity to cross-examine the affiant here about that because what he seems to say in this paragraph at the end is, "Well, this evidence didn't really add up, but so what. I am an expert. Believe me." So it is very troubling.

Mr. RIGG. I concur with Mr. Leopold's analysis there. The two parts of that paragraph seem to be inconsistent, but, again, that is something that would have been submitted to a judge. But that is the type of information you would want a preliminary hearing on.

Ms. LOFGREN. Well, if I may time is running out, but it just seems to me that the prosecutor's obligation is first to

3321 do justice, not to just to get convictions. It is to, as an officer of the court, to make sure that justice is done. 3322 That is the whole system. And if the elements of the crime, 3323 by the government's own attestation under oath, aren't there, 3324 how can the prosecutors, consistent with their ethical 3325 3326 obligations, proceed? I just -- I have a concern about that. 3327 My time has expired so I am going to turn to the ranking member for his 5 minutes of questions. 3328 Mr. KING. Thank you, Madam Chair. 3329 3330 I am going to turn first to Dr. Camayd, and I don't see 3331 it in your written testimony, but what I think I heard you say was that the subjects of this raid endured cruel and 3332 unusual punishment. Did I hear that correctly? 3333 3334 Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. Yes, sir. Mr. KING. And I just can't help but reflect that the 3335 3336 Supreme Court has conferred habeas rights on enemy combatants and also conferred Geneva Convention status to enemy 3337 3338 combatants, and I have -- I am looking at this as being precisely language from the Eighth Amendment of the 3339 3340 Constitution, cruel and unusual punishment. Were you 3341 advocating that those defendants then would bring a case to have their constitutional rights protected? 3342 Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. No, sir. I don't have an opinion 3343 about that. 3344 As an interpreter, part of my job is to interpret the 3345

meaning of what people are saying, not just the words. 3346 In 3347 order to do that, I have to put myself in the position of the individuals I am interpreting for, whether they are attorneys 3348 3349 or witnesses or defendants. And when--I did that for 14 3350 hours during the jail interviews on a Friday and Sunday, and 3351 I was able to put myself in each individual situation, and I was talking specifically about the parents who were worried 3352 sick about their children--3353 3354 Mr. KING. Okay. 3355 Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. -- and their families and having to 3356 basically spend the next 5 months at every moment of their 3357 waking hours just consumed with this worry. 3358 Mr. KING. And--and I understand that was part of your 3359 earlier testimony, and I agree with you that a good 3360 interpreter interprets not just the words, but voice 3361 inflection, words unsaid, body language -- all those things 3362 together. And I read the words in your testimony too and 3363 some of them are--they are inflammatory to me. And so I will 3364 just leave that there rather than belabor that point. 3365 And I would turn then--first, I wanted to make a little comment about Mr. Rigg's testimony. 3366 3367 First, I think it is the most reasonable of the majority's witnesses here. And you made two points: 3368 3369 that the compression of time imposed limits on attorneys that

may have put the defendants' rights at risk. I think that is

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a valid point, and I don't know if it is--I don't necessarily
agree or disagree with it. I just think it is a good point
to have raised. Then the--you referred to as an ambush--I
think a surprise--to the attorneys who were drawn into this
process. That is how I interpreted it.

I just wanted to say to you that, being on the Iowa

Supreme Court Advisory Committee, I have a certain amount of
envy that I am not on that advisory committee.

So instead of asking you a question, I would just take a little license here, and in the time that is remaining, I really want to turn to Mrs. Costner and say I recognize how difficult this was for you to be here today. I appreciate the chairman's cooperation in that, and I know that you had to overcome a fair amount of intimidation just from the very fact of this being Congress to come here and testify, and I think the way that you went through your testimony and got to the end of it and actually compressed it within the 5 minutes, I want to thank you. And I know there are members on both sides—the Democrats and Republicans—that know how difficult this was. And that is the way citizens serve this country. You have done that.

But I would ask you, are you finished? Do you know that the identity theft is over, and how would you know if it was?

Mrs. COSTNER. I was told that we would never know, that, unless we changed our names and social security

numbers, that they would always be out there. And the IRS 3396 told me that we would get tax notices for 2006 and 2007. 3397 just don't know when they will be here. 3398 Mr. KING. Do you know the initial perpetrator -- do you 3399 know where he is now in the -- in the legal process? 3400 They let him go. They said that it was 3401 Mrs. COSTNER. not illegal to use someone's name to obtain employment. 3402 Mr. KING. But he was he never ordered deported from the 3403 United States? 3404 That is what the D.A. told us was going Mrs. COSTNER. 3405 to happen when we left court, but then they--3406 Mr. KING. But it didn't happen. And we are very--we 3407 are very familiar with those circumstances by which we are 3408 short of law enforcement personnel in a lot of ways, and I 3409 just say as a matter of -- statistically -- two of my staff 3410 people have been hit by drivers who were illegal, and in each 3411 case law enforcement took the information, took the 3412 Matricular Consular card number, they knew very well it 3413 wouldn't hit a positive hit on the database, turned them 3414 loose. And even though, when I send my chief of staff to 3415 town to try to get enforcement, we can't get it even in my 3416 own staff. 3417 So I just -- I thank all the witnesses -- I know we have 3418 strong emotional feelings, and as emotions come out in your 3419 testimony, Dr. Camayd, and I actually think some of that was 3420

plenty. And I appreciate the professionalism that comes here 3421 when it arrives, and I know how it was most difficult for 3422 Mrs. Costner, and, again, I thank you for your testimony 3423 especially. 3424 Ms. LOFGREN. The gentleman's time has expired. 3425 I would turn now to the gentleman from Illinois Mr. 3426 3427 Gutierrez. Thank you very much. 3428 Mr. GUTIERREZ. Let me share with Mrs. Costner thank you for coming and 3429 bringing your testimony before this committee. I think it is 3430 very valuable information and testimony for us. We need to 3431 do more about identity theft, and I thank you for your 3432 testimony. I think it will help us here. At least I am very 3433 hopeful it will help us here. 3434 Let me go to Mr. Camayd. We heard Ms. Costner's 3435 testimony about identity theft. It sounds to me like the 3436 3437 gentleman who stole her identity committed aggravated identity theft. Would that be your opinion? 3438 3439 Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. Absolutely. Mr. GUTIERREZ. And I just want to see how that relates 3440 to your experience in being an interpreter and what the 3441 people were charged. Was there any evidence of this kind of 3442 critical criminal intent -- as using someone's identity, social 3443 security number -- and causing the kind of harm that was caused 3444 to Mrs. Costner and her husband? 3445

Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. Well, I expressed to Mrs. Costner 3446 3447 how sorry I was for what happened to her during the break. 3448 And I want her to know, for her peace of mind, that the 3449 individuals that I saw in this case in Iowa were just hard-working people and, in fact, only 5 out of 389--had any 3450 kind of criminal record. 3451 3452 One of the issues that bothered me about the case in 3453 Iowa is that individual circumstances of each case were not 3454 considered. And I think that, when we look at the very 3455 unfortunate case of Mrs. Costner, as well as issues as to 3456 whether illegal workers are good or bad for the country, I think it -- I keep going back to that situation and saying, 3457 3458 "Well, how can we apply these broad issues to the individual 3459 cases if we don't know the facts of each case?" 3460 Mr. GUTIERREZ. And so of the people that you helped interpret for, there was no evidence -- in your testimony you 3461 3462 seem to really stress the difference between the aggravated 3463 identity theft and the use--the improper use of a social security card. Would you -- what is the difference? 3464 Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. Well, aggravated identity theft was 3465 3466 a charge created by an act of Congress in 1998. For almost 3467 10 years, it had been used for its proper purpose and 3468 meaning. And it was only until the middle of 2007 that it began to be used in immigration cases, basically in 3469 3470 presenting false documents to obtain employment. So it

seemed like it was a way of testing the waters until in Postville it was applied on a large scale.

But the Department of Justice Web site has a very good page on identity theft. It explains what it is. It gives several examples. The examples it gives pertain to people who have stolen identity to charge sometimes hundreds of thousands of dollars under somebody else's name, that type of--

Mr. GUTIERREZ. --that is to use somebody's identity to 3480 commit a crime?

Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. That is correct.

And also it remits you to the actual statute, and the language of the statute is that identity theft is using somebody else's identity to commit a crime under the false pretense of being another person.

Mr. GUTIERREZ. Let me just follow up because I would like to ask Mr. Leopold.

So when I read, "If you plead guilty to the charge of knowingly using a false social security number, the government will withdraw the heavier charge of aggravated identity theft"--and this is from the interpreted--this was the plea agreement, which the assistant general attorney had a little bit of problem but not much problem with. I mean, this is basically what the interpreters are saying, that the defense counsel was giving to their client.

What is wrong with that? What in essence is there anything wrong with an attorney--with a U.S. attorney or the federal government accusing somebody of something and then offering them a lesser plea? What is wrong in this case?

Mr. LEOPOLD. Well, what is wrong with it is is apparently there was very little evidence to convict them even on the lesser plea. And what they did was they compressed this whole situation by use of what is otherwise known as an exploding plea agreement, which was 7 days long or it ended. So that compressed timeframe, coupled with the fact that most of these people--or all of them--their real intent was really to get out and work and feed their families again, and their real--this whole situation banked on the fact that the workers really didn't understand the nature of the charges against them.

What was wrong was to use that kind of leverage in this particular case and to try to criminalize--successfully criminalize as many undocumented workers as they did when, in fact, all they were trying to do was feed their families.

Mr. GUTIERREZ. And one last question. If it is an immigration case, would you take any lawyer for a--is there a particular reason you want an immigration lawyer to deal with an immigration case?

Mr. LEOPOLD. Well, look, absolutely, Congressman. The travesty here is that these pleas that were given could not

possibly have been given knowingly because there was not adequate advice of immigration counsel. And in a criminal case involving a noncitizen, part and parcel of the defense is an analysis of the immigration consequences.

In Dr. Camayd's essay, there was a discussion of a man from Guatemala, and as the chairwoman mentioned, Guatemala has a rather checkered history with human rights violations. Many of these farmers were from Guatemala. There were probably asylum claims in there. There were probably people that needed protection. All they needed to do--all the U.S. Attorney's Office needed to do and should have done and failed to do was ensure that immigration advice--competent, thorough immigration advice was available to all of these detainees.

Ms. LOFGREN. The gentleman's time has expired.

The gentleman from California, Mr. Lungren, is

3537 recognized.

Mr. LUNGREN. Well, I am sorry I missed a good portion of this while I was tending to other things, but I guess I have been here long enough to see what the hearing is all about. ICE screwed up. Labor Department screwed up. U.S. Attorney's screwed up. Court screwed up. There is no criminality here. People like Mrs. Costner, who have their identity stolen and suffer the consequences, we apologize to you, but, you know, no one really did anything wrong here.

3546 They just took your identity.

I have been in this place 14 out of the last 30 years working on immigration issues. I thought that we solved this problem in 1986 when we had the largest, most generous legalization in the history of this country, which, by the way, was not very particularized. There wasn't much you had to prove to them and we managed to legalize millions of people, but we did not enforce the law.

And people think the comments here about the federal employees who worked on this are not going to deter them from doing their job, I think they are sadly mistaken. We have been told that they were cowboys, that they were rogues, that they had no consideration for the rights of anybody. Now, maybe that is true. Maybe this was wholesale. Maybe every single ICE officer disrespected the rights of everybody else. Maybe the U.S. Attorney's Office did it completely. Maybe the Labor Department was involved in some sort of grand conspiracy with Department of Homeland Security. But, frankly, I find that a whole lot hard to swallow.

Ms. Costner, when your identity was lost and taken by somebody else, were you concerned whether the person was doing it for a reason they considered to be good? Would that have made a difference in terms of the implications with you, the impact on you?

Mrs. COSTNER. No. When I went to court with the lady,

3571 I actually was in a position to where I felt sorry for her, 3572 but I still owed \$8,000 and had lost a big part of my life. Mr. LUNGREN. This upside --3573 Mrs. COSTNER. I mean, I am still--3574 Mr. LUNGREN. Did this turn your life upside down? 3575 3576 Mrs. COSTNER. Yes. And--Mr. LUNGREN. So it is not a victimless crime? 3577 you were a victim in this? 3578 Mrs. COSTNER. And will be the rest of my life. 3579 Mr. LUNGREN. But what we hear in Congress mostly is to 3580 blame the social security system because they didn't do a 3581 3582 good enough job in it and because we don't check well enough. I mean, at some point in time, I hope people understand 3583 folks have to take responsibilities for their action. And it 3584 is illegal to come into this country when you don't have a 3585 basis for coming to this country. It is illegal to take a 3586 3587 job when you don't have a right to have a job. And I will continue to talk about this until something 3588 is changed. We have an unbelievable crisis in this country, 3589 a scandal in this country with the unemployment among young 3590 African-Americans age 17 to 35. I dealt with it when I was 3591 attorney general. We were dealing with the high rate of 3592 incarceration of that group, and one of the concerns was 3593 where are the jobs? And I hope we will not forget about 3594 3595 But I hear very little about that.

And, you know, when you are trying to balance the scales 3596 of justice, we ought to treat people fairly, they ought to 3597 3598 have the right to have a fair hearing, they ought to have the right to have lawyers, but let us also remember the other 3599 side of the balance here. There is people like Ms. Costner 3600 3601 who--Mrs. COSTNER. Had to pay for my lawyers. 3602 3603 Mr. LUNGREN. And your life has been turned upside down. Mrs. COSTNER. Yes. I mean, it is--3604 Mr. LUNGREN. Now, maybe no one intended that, but that 3605 is what happens when people steal identity here, and it is 3606 almost as if we are saying--3607 3608 Ms. LOFGREN. Would the gentleman yield? 3609 Mr. LUNGREN. --it is not that big a deal. I will be happy to yield, but, I mean, I have sat here 3610 and heard questions while I was here. 3611 Ms. LOFGREN. I don't think you had arrived yet when all 3612 of us expressed concern about --3613 Mrs. COSTNER. Correct. 3614 Ms. LOFGREN. -- Mrs. Costner's--3615 Mr. LUNGREN. Oh, I understand that. 3616 Ms. LOFGREN. --situation and also expressed the view 3617 that the perpetrator should have been prosecuted and 3618 3619 deported. But here is -- and I thank the gentleman for yielding -- the 3620

affidavit filed by the government based on their search says that 80 percent of the individuals didn't take somebody's social security—it was a number that—it wasn't somebody's social security number. It was a made—up number not attached to any real person. And I think that is one of the issues that at least is of concern here is there was no victim because there was nobody who had the number.

And I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. LUNGREN. I appreciate that.

You know, we have a schizophrenic country. On the one hand, we want to deal with illegal immigration and enforce the law. On the other hand, we want to have people here to take jobs that "Americans won't take." And I think there is an area in which that applies, and that is why I have been working for 30 years to get a temporary worker program and to get some legal means to do it.

It is my observation the American people will not allow us to do that until they believe we have the enforcement side in control. And when they see the impact of phony social security cards or stolen identity, that does not give them great confidence that we have this under control. And my fear is that we will never get to the point of having that temporary worker program, having those means by which we can determine how many people should come here, take them out of the shadows of illegality so they have the protections of the

law unless we take enforcement seriously.

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And my bottom-line concern is that the hearing seemed to be directed at an agency that screwed up. And I suppose we might find a raid where they actually did things right. And maybe we--

Ms. LOFGREN. We will keep looking.

Mr. LUNGREN. Well, I know. We will keep looking, but that is very encouraging to the people at ICE as we have been told that we have great respect for them and the work they do and then we just constantly tell them they have done a terrible job.

If I sound frustrated, I am frustrated because I have worked for 30 years to try and get a solution here, and one of the results of not having a solution is Ms. Costner, is what you had to go through, and unless we get a grip on this, many others are going to go through that. And we are all going to invite you here, and we are all going to apologize to you, say we are sorry it happened to you--

Mrs. COSTNER. Pass around the hat.

Mr. LUNGREN. Yes, we will pass around the hat. But we won't do anything about it. So I will add my apology too, but the best apology we could make to you is when we actually pass a law that deals with this and puts it on the right track.

Thank you very much.

Ms. LOFGREN. The gentleman's time has expired.

I recognize the gentlelady from Texas Ms. Jackson Lee.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Thank you, Madam Chairwoman, again.

I associate myself with the latter words of my good friend from California. We do have to pass a law, Ms.

Costner, and I would start with you simply to say that I am outraged about what happened to you. As I looked over your very eloquent statement, this is, I think, the thrust of my comments. I want the bad guys, the ones who are stalking you, who are criminally calling you up on the phone and ridiculing you. I want the guy who speeded and got a speeding ticket to be deported. And the outrage is where was--why was there a disconnect? The local law enforcement could have taken the gentleman in and called the federal law enforcement right there. That is the kind of criminal bad guy that you want to be gone. Obviously, we would like a lot of these incidences to not occur.

So my question, I know that you are not an expert in federal law--and I see this other individual who you felt sympathy for--but there was a purposeful use of your identification, and I don't want to stereotype a profile, but I would think your name is slightly different. Maybe they perceived you to be--this individual to certainly have the ability to have maybe a name as yours. But it might have been an indicator to ask a few more questions.

And so I think obviously and conspicuously on the face of your facts we could have helped you. And I apologize for the lack of coordination. We have advocated that there should be coordination. We don't think local law enforcement or federal law enforcement. But if this person was poised to be deported for conspicuous, reckless criminal actions—I am talking about the first individual, who seemingly began to stalk you—that should have occurred.

And I just simply ask you the question would you like to see, as we look to try to fix this immigration system, that our law enforcement goes after those who are poised or are already in the act of criminal acts that already violate the criminal laws? If you were doing this, that would be against the law. Should we be putting resources there to get those kind of people?

Mrs. COSTNER. Yes. But I would like to see them here going through the channels to be here legally so it is not a question and they don't have to steal an identity to work to feed their families.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Well, you are very gracious, and I just want to apologize to you and thank you for your testimony--

Mrs. COSTNER. Thank you.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. -- and for being here, and we will certainly look at some of the fractures in the system that

caused this individual -- the first individual that took your husband's ID, of course -- to treat you in that manner, and I thank you for your testimony.

Let me go to Mr. Leopold. I went down this line of reasoning with the representative for the DOJ and the ICE, which is to suggest that there may have been some thinking as relates to putting forward these criminal charges knowing that criminal charges placed on individuals who, as you had indicated, come from places like Guatemala may have been simply farmers who were trying to come here for economic opportunity, albeit that they were undocumented, that placing them in this criminal predicament—in this criminal charge predicament would have then cast them as felons and made their journey back home more difficult or their journey and their ability to return more difficult.

What do you think about that kind of thinking?

Mr. LEOPOLD. Well, the criminalization of undocumented farmers really goes nowhere. Yes, it does brand them as felons. And you are correct, once somebody is branded as a felon, it creates all kinds of problems later on with respect to admissibility to the United States. Not everybody who is deportable who is a felon, but many are. Many people who are felons, it is impossible to be admitted. There is no 10-year bar. I think I heard the representative from the Department of Justice talk about a 10-year limit. I don't know of any

3746 | 10-year limit. It is a lifetime limit.

3747 Ms. JACKSON LEE. It is a lifetime.

3748 Mr. LEOPOLD. It is a lifetime limit.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. That is right.

Mr. LEOPOLD. You are correct. And absent a waiver--and even then, you have to show a qualifying relative--it becomes extremely, extremely complicated.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. I don't want to cut you off, but my time, and I would like the other three gentlemen.

I don't want us to get tainted as unpatriotic because we are arguing for a sense of balance, but I need some help. I know that you have been engaged in this. The use of resources used like this raid, help me find a more effective pathway. I have looked at the numbers: 104 raid teams and we look to get 4,000 in 2008, immigration lawyers being utilized, other resources. Is this an effective tool for enforcing immigration laws or putting the system right-side up?

You want to start Mr. Rigg?

Mr. RIGG. Thank you. I don't think it is the most effective tool. You can make an argument that, yes, we achieved what we set out to do if you are ICE if we removed individuals who were undocumented, we are getting them out of the country, we have now prosecuted them, and you can claim some success with that.

Was the overall process a fair one? That is where I have real problems. And the purpose of the criminal justice system is to make sure that we get at the truth and that justice is in fact done. And critical resources have to be devoted, not only to ICE and to the Department of Justice, and they also have to be devoted to the Judiciary and the Criminal Defense Bar, and everybody seems to overlook the Criminal Defense Bar and give them, I think, the opportunity to have some input into this and maybe make suggestions that might actually serve ICE's purpose better.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Leopold, could you quickly just answer the effective use of resources?

Mr. LEOPOLD. The most effective use of resources,
Congresswoman, would be to fix the broken immigration system.
As Congressman Lungren pointed out, it is broken, and it
does need to be fixed. And this is a symptom, the terrible
story that we hear from Mrs. Costner, other stories. This is
the symptom of a broken--badly broken immigration system.
And, frankly, Congress needs to roll up its sleeves, get down
to the nitty gritty of fixing the system. It is not going to
happen overnight, and it is going to take a lot of hard work.
And, frankly, I implore Congress to do this about it.

Ms. LOFGREN. The gentlelady's time has expired.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. I thank the distinguished chairwoman, and I will just say, Chairwoman, in closing my sentence, I

think we need to ask the president of the United States, which has to be a partner in signing a bill, and I personally ask him if he would take in these waning months leadership on helping turn this system right-side up.

I yield back.

3801 Thank you.

Ms. LOFGREN. Thank you.

The gentlelady from California Ms. Sanchez is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. SANCHEZ. Thank you to the chairwoman for holding this hearing because I think, although it has been a long day, it highlights several issues that I think speak to the fundamental nature of what are we as a democracy.

And while I don't want to diminish the terrible circumstances that Ms. Costner's gone through, in listening to--in reading through some of the testimony, it is clear that the workers who were using social security numbers that were not assigned to another individual, their intent was not to wipe out somebody's bank account, charge up thousands of dollars on their credit cards or steal their pension, it was simply to work.

And I think in all the panels we have heard at some point or another people say we need to fix a broken immigration system; otherwise, these types of things are going to continue to occur. And there will be criminals,

like the criminal who stole Ms. Costner's identification, who will go unpunished. But there will also be hard-working people who are just trying to feed their families or trying to make a better life for themselves or escape repressive regimes in their home countries of origin who are also going to get caught up in unfortunate circumstances because I consider some of their circumstances very unfortunate as well.

What particularly concerns me about this raid is the question of due process rights, and much has been made about the fact that the taxpayers pay for it. Well, you now what? It is a constitutional guarantee that, if you cannot afford an attorney and you are being charged with a crime in this country, one is provided for you. And yet, you know, people seem to make light of the fact that, hey, as long as you are given an attorney, what are you complaining about? Well, if you don't have a reasonable way to participate in your own defense, if you don't have a understanding, a basic grasp of what you are being charged with, how can you really make informed decisions in a criminal process? And the compressed timeframe, I think, only underscores the egregiousness of the due process that was not afforded to many of these-many of these workers.

In my Subcommittee on Commercial and Administrative Law, we have heard testimony under Operation Streamline and in

3870.

Postville defense lawyers were being assigned up to a dozen clients at once and given less 30 minutes to, number one, meet and educate the client themselves; number two, decide whether the client was competent to stand trial; number three, determine whether there is a defense of citizenship or duress, a lack of intent or a need for pretrial motions to suppress evidence or statements due to constitutional violations; and, number four, learn personal information which might mitigate a sentence and a whole host of other things. Thirty minutes was granted to each of these people.

I want to ask Mr. Leopold and Mr. Rigg, in your professional opinion, can any defense attorney adequately and ethically execute their duties in less than 30 minutes to a client, and especially in a case where they have to interpret with somebody who doesn't speak the language? Does 30 minutes seem like a sufficient amount of time?

Mr. LEOPOLD. Well, you know, I can speak from experience as a CJA panel attorney myself that 30 minutes is enough time to shake the client's hand and get to know their name. Of course, not, Congresswoman. Of course, not.

You know, and couple that with this compressed plea agreement—and by the way, I don't know—nobody has ever explained the representative from the Department of Justice or the U.S. attorney—nobody has ever explained why did they have to impose this 7-day deadline on the plea agreement?

Why? 3871 There was absolutely no reason to do that other than to 3872 pressurize, not only the panel attorneys -- the CJA panel 3873 3874 attorneys--who, by the way, did a valiant job out there in Iowa--but to pressurize the clients into taking these pleas. 3875 3876 I know of no situation in my experience--and I have asked 3877 other attorneys -- where this type of plea agreement was used. 3878 Ms. SANCHEZ. Mr. Rigg? 3879 Mr. RIGG. I am also the director of the Criminal 3880 Defense Program, and one of the things I do is I supervise students in criminal cases. I would fail any student who 3881 took 30 minutes to advise a client on a misdemeanor charge to 3882 plead or not to plead, much less do the analysis that you 3883 3884 have described. Essentially what you have described is a violation of every standard of the ABA standards of a 3885 prosecution function and defense function. 3886 3887 Ms. SANCHEZ. Thank you. I appreciate your honest answers to that. 3888 3889 Mr. Camayd--did I pronounce that correctly? 3890 Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. Camayd. Ms. SANCHEZ. Camayd. 3891 To the best of your knowledge, did any individual who 3892 you interpreted for refuse to answer questions during ICE's 3893 3894 processing? 3895 Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. I was not present during that

questioning session so I wouldn't be able to answer that. 3896 3897 Ms. SANCHEZ. Okay. So you don't know if any during 3898 processing asked for an attorney at that point either? 3899 Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. I am sorry? Ms. SANCHEZ. If any individual during the processing 3900 3901 asked for an attorney? 3902 Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. I do not know that. 3903 Ms. SANCHEZ. Okay. 3904 I just want to ask one final question, and I would beg 3905 the chair's indulgence as I did not get a chance to question 3906 any of the previous panels. 3907 Clearly, there seems to be a problem with this 3908 particular instance in terms of whether people had a knowing 3909 and a full understanding of what they were doing before they 3910 entered their plea agreements. 3911 I want to know from our panelists -- Mr. Leopold and Mr. 3912 Rigg--what is the potential harm to the American system of 3913 justice when we allow criminal prosecutions to go forward in 3914 this manner? I mean, if it can happen here, can there not be 3915 other instances in which it can happen? And then what does 3916 that do fundamentally to the American system of justice? 3917 Mr. LEOPOLD. Well, Congresswoman Sanchez, if you could imagine for a second how we would react if we heard of a 3918 3919 group of Americans overseas in a foreign country being 3920 rounded up into a cattle pen and prosecuted in 7 days.

mean, the whole spectacle itself demeans our system of 3921 justice and stands as a stain upon this system which we 3922 3923 all--we all cherish. 3924 These types of precedents in terms of the type of 3925 prosecution as it was done out there is a terrible precedent, 3926 a terrible way to handle justice, and I would respectfully 3927 submit that it shouldn't ever happen again. 3928 Ms. SANCHEZ. Thank you. 3929 Mr. Rigg? 3930 Mr. RIGG. I think anytime you value high turnover and economy of justice, that is exactly what you get, that you 3931 3932 don't get justice, and you probably are going to violate due process in doing so. And anytime the American system--and 3933 3934 every day the American system is put on trial, and are we 3935 getting it right, and it is rightfully tested by the careful 3936 arguments between defense counsel and prosecutors with a neutral and detached judge. And when you take any part of 3937 3938 that component away, you are guaranteeing at some level you 3939 are going to create a problem. 3940 Ms. SANCHEZ. All right. One final question, and I 3941 can't resist asking this because Mr. Leopold said, "If you 3942 could imagine this happening to Americans overseas." 3943 What if U.S. citizens here in the United States -- here in the United States were rounded up and arraigned 10 at a time 3944 3945 and processed and given plea agreements? What can you

imagine would happen here if American citizens were treated 3946 like that under our system of justice? 3947 3948 Mr. LEOPOLD. Well--Ms. SANCHEZ. Because it seems to me that there is an 3949 3950 inherent bias if they say, "Well, it is fine because, you 3951 know what? These people don't matter anyway. 3952 really count." Mr. LEOPOLD. Well, I think that is an astute point. 3953 3954 think that we wouldn't see that kind of roundup of U.S. 3955 citizens. 3956 You know, in the panel cases that I have done in the 3957 Northern District of Ohio involving big cases with a lot of defendants, it is always one lawyer to one client. I have 3958 3959 never seen 17 clients to one lawyer, 15 minutes or 30 minutes 3960 to speak to the client. 3961 You know, in this case--this is the immigration law, 3962 this huge book. I don't know how you can explain this in 30 3963 minutes to somebody, let alone the enormous consequences of 3964 taking a plea. 3965 Ms. SANCHEZ. Any further comment from any other 3966 panelists on that? 3967 Ms. LOFGREN. The gentlelady is granted one additional minute for an answer--3968 3969 Ms. SANCHEZ. Thank you. 3970 Ms. LOFGREN. -- and then we will be--

3971 Ms. SANCHEZ. I will yield--

3972 Ms. LOFGREN. --adjourning the hearing.

Mr. CAMAYD-FREIXAS. Yes. I want to make clear that I believe everybody here is in favor of enforcement but done the right way. The consequences of not doing it the right way, we don't have to look too far to find them, and Mrs. Costner's case is a case in point.

Related to this case, I heard of situations in which the authorities were called about an individual similar to in the case of Ms. Costner's, and they are response was, "You have only one guy?" They said, "No. We can't take care of it." In this case, obviously, there were 700 warrants so this is what attracted the attention of law enforcement.

I also wanted to point out that I want to dispel the myth that the target was the employer. As a matter of fact, one of the three charges, which was very much related to the social security fraud charge, was use or possession of false identity document with intent to deceive. Now, that phrase "with intent to deceive" isn't really with intent to deceive the employer. So that held the employer harmless. Not only that, but that made it a crime of moral turpitude, which renders the convict ineligible to even apply for immigration relief.

Ms. SANCHEZ. Thank you.

I will just--before I yield back my time--will make one