

CITY COUNCIL
CITY OF NEW YORK

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TRANSCRIPT OF THE MINUTES

Of the

COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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April 18, 2016
Start: 1:16 p.m.
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HELD AT: Committee Room - City Hall

B E F O R E:
DARLENE MEALY
Chairperson

COUNCIL MEMBERS:
Mathieu Eugene
Daniel Dromm
Andy King
Rafael Salamanca, Jr.

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

Michelle Alleyne

Founder

Distinguished Women of September 11th

Lewis Goldstein

Committee for Effective Leadership

Bertha Lewis

President

The Black Institute

Tamika Mallory

Justice League NYC

CHAIRPERSON MEALY: Good afternoon.

[background comments] Good afternoon. Thank you.

I'm Darlene Mealy; I am the Chair of the New York City Council Committee on Civil Rights. I'd like to introduce to you the members of this committee; right here today is Andy King.

Today the Committee on Civil Rights will hear Res. No. 1000, a resolution recognizing March 5th as "Three-Fifths Clause Awareness Day" to be officially observed each year in New York City. And Res. No. 1001, a resolution calling upon Congress to add an amendment to the Constitution of the United States directly negating the language of Article 1, Section two, Paragraph 3, known as the "three-fifths clause." Both of these resolutions are sponsored by our colleague, Andy King.

It is important to remember the past and recognize the important impact it has on us today. This clause in the Constitution not only made slaves less than human, but it has also had a long-lasting effect on equal rights for people of color in this country, including our voting rights.

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2 Today the committee will hear testimony
3 from various interest groups; thank you all in
4 advance for your testimony.

5 I'd like to thank our Civil Rights
6 Committee staff for their hard work; Alesha Brown,
7 Counsel to the Committee and Miss Alice Addison
8 [sic], Policy Analyst in the Government Affairs
9 Division.

10 Now I'd like to turn this over to Council
11 Member King, who sponsored these resolutions that we
12 are hearing here today. I turn it over to you.

13 COUNCIL MEMBER KING: Thank you, Madame
14 Chair and I appreciate your time and energy to help
15 have a conversation in regards to a piece of
16 legislation that I've submitted and I think is so
17 instrumental to the United States of America but
18 equally [sic] is the foundation of a lot of root
19 causes in discrimination and prejudicial behavior
20 upon on the citizens in the United States of America.

21 Res. 1000 is calling on a "Three-Fifths
22 Awareness Day" in the City of New York that every
23 year that we can have a conversation to see how we
24 have and will improve on race relations, policies and
25 anything that causes us not to be the brothers and

1
2 sisters that we say that we truly are and given under
3 the power [cell phone buzzing and music] under the
4 Constitution.

5 You know the "three-fifths clause" in the
6 Constitution was something that was designed in the
7 Constitutional Convention of 1787, when slavery was
8 legal, but when they had to figure out representation
9 for taxation as well, how do they include the slave,
10 which we knew at that time 97 percent was the black
11 in America and a compromise between the north and the
12 south was that the black will be considered, that
13 slave will be considered three-fifths of a human
14 being, which today still is prevalent in the United
15 States Constitution, and even though after a number
16 of conversations and research, I was told that the
17 13th and the 14th and the 15th Amendments supersedes
18 and does away with the three-fifths compromise in the
19 Constitution.

20 After researching these three Amendments,
21 I realized and learned that the 13th Amendment made
22 slavery unlawful in the United States of America;
23 however, unless you are incarcerated, you are still a
24 slave, according to the United States Constitution,
25 so slavery still exists here in the nation.

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2 The 14th Amendment gave those who were
3 born in the United States as a natural born citizen
4 the right to privileges and protection of the United
5 States Constitution.

6 The 15th Amendment gave blacks the right
7 to vote, and we know as of up to the 60s, when we
8 passed the Voting Rights Act that blacks still were
9 not voting and still were being hung and deterred
10 from voting and still, as prevalent as 2016, today,
11 that we have a number of communities of color that
12 voter suppression is actively engaged throughout the
13 country.

14 So after doing this research I realized
15 that even though there were protections and
16 privileges offered to the slave that was no longer a
17 slave, they still were not considered 100 percent
18 whole in the eyes of government and the eyes of
19 society. I truly believe those are the reasons why
20 we have redlining in our banks and our communities,
21 why our education systems are so different when it
22 comes to support in all the things that are needed to
23 help communities of color educate themselves; when a
24 child can leave a community of color high school and
25 go to higher education still needs to make remedial

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2 classes, something is wrong, but their counterparts
3 in a Caucasian community don't suffer the same
4 plight. When I see that certain communities, black
5 communities, communities of color have pockets of
6 food deserts in our neighborhoods; then you go into
7 another more affluent neighborhood of Caucasian
8 persuasion, those things don't exist; something is
9 wrong. When I have to go and realize that and have
10 the conversation, and we've all had this
11 conversation, that you have to be three times better
12 than your counterpart because of X, Y and Z;
13 something's wrong with that system. When there are
14 any policies on the book, whether it's from
15 education, to healthcare, to food; to just jobs and
16 discrimination, there's a problem in this country.
17 When someone who's running for the president of the
18 United States kicks up the KKK, it's ever-reminding
19 that discrimination and prejudicial behavior and the
20 thinking still exists, which goes back to the virus
21 in the United States Constitution.

22 So with that all being said, I do wanna
23 add that no one could deny, particularly those people
24 like ourselves that have dedicated their lives to a
25 career in government and politics, that one of the

1
2 most pivotal events in United States history was the
3 creation of the United States Constitution. The
4 concept of democracy, a government where its power is
5 invested in the people and the power is exercised
6 directly or indirectly through political
7 representation was and remains to be the concept that
8 is beyond revolutionary not only for our nation, but
9 for the whole world, a concept we all know that the
10 people are willing to fight and die, because having
11 the political voice and having some involvement with
12 decision-making and elections can be worth more than
13 any physical pain than one can endure. Knowing this,
14 knowing that the United States Constitution
15 establishes the United States government, it is
16 completely and utterly unacceptable that the "three-
17 fifths clause" still remains to be etched in the
18 Constitution, never to be removed, and its only
19 present value is that it serves to remind us that our
20 nation's dark past in the areas of race relations and
21 political representation as it pertains to African-
22 Americans, and other enslaved people at the time of
23 its inception.

24 Now, there are those that will argue
25 that; again, I said the 13th, the 14th and the 15th

1 Amendments rendered the "three-fifths clause"
2 obsolete because the slaves were free, gained equal
3 protection under the eyes of the law and gained the
4 ability to vote, but it's undeniable that history
5 tells us a different story from what is written down
6 on paper. The real story is that centuries of
7 oppression, segregation and discrimination still
8 haunt African-Americans. The real story is that even
9 with the ratification of the post Civil War
10 Amendments, more avenues were created and designed to
11 belittle, degrade and devalue the political capital
12 of African-Americans. The real story is that the
13 "three-fifths clause" was one of the foundational
14 pieces for our nation's affinity [sic] with viewing
15 African-Americans as property or even worse, less
16 than human beings. The real story is that the
17 motivation behind the "three-fifths clause" is the
18 same type of motivation behind mass incarceration,
19 the same type of motivation behind gerrymandering and
20 the same type of motivation behind denying the basic
21 human rights to all individuals.

22
23 So I ask all my colleagues that are part
24 of the committee and ask all of you who are listening
25 today that if this is truly one nation under God and

1 if that same God has made us all equal and created in
2 his likeness and in his image; then why aren't those
3 belief upheld and clearly reflected in our nation's
4 supreme body of law? We need to rid ourselves of
5 remaining vestiges of inequity and inequality in this
6 nation in order to have true social progress, and if
7 we cannot get rid of this, then we need to find some
8 other way to make it unequivocally, equally clear to
9 all the people in the nation that are to be regarded
10 as complete equals. Imagine if a law existed today
11 that devalued the lives of Italian-Americans or
12 Jewish-Americans or Irish-Americans, and so forth, I
13 am positive that there would be a public outcry to
14 push a law to negate this law. The same way that I'm
15 calling and I'm fighting and I'm pushing to make the
16 language of the "three-fifths clause" in the
17 Constitution today, which is why I'm urging the
18 committee, when we come to a vote, and I'm pushing
19 hard, to pass this Resolution, 1001, urging, urging,
20 urging the United States Congress to amend the
21 Constitution of the United States of America, where
22 we will ask them to put in language that negates
23 totally the "three-fifths clause."
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2 Lastly, in order to effectively move
3 forward in the fight for universal equality and
4 uplifting the value of American lives, we need to
5 understand our past and how it shapes our present
6 today; for that reason, I am also asking the
7 committee to make sure that we pass Res. 1000, which
8 would recognize March 5th as "Three-Fifths Clause
9 Awareness" so every year we can dial up, every year
10 we can access, every day we continue to have a
11 conver... every day we can educate our children
12 properly what it was, where we are and where we need
13 to go. By doing this not only in New York City,
14 declaring this, but the nation, we'll start having a
15 conversation that develops political strategies that
16 will prevent us from falling back in the dark ages of
17 government.

18 I wanna thank everybody for attending
19 today; I wanna thank Cathy Addison and Alesha Brown
20 for helping us put this piece of legislation pen to
21 paper, let alone having a hearing; again, thank you
22 Madame Chair, thank you for all your support in
23 moving this conversation today. Thank you.

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COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

CHAIRPERSON MEALY: Thank you. We've been joined by our colleague, Council Member Salamanca; thanks for being here.

We're gonna have our panel now come up and speak -- Michelle Amagale [sic], [background comment] Alleyne, [background comment] Alleyne. [background comments] We have Lewis Goldstein from [background comments] Committee for Effective Leadership and we have Bertha Lewis from The Black Institute. Can you please come up? [background comments] You wanna be separate? [laughter] It's your world. [laughter]

I am excited that everyone is excited to speak. The day before election, this is awesome. [background comments] Ahh. No, we don't have that anymore. The young.. Miss.. Michelle wanted to say something [background comments].

MALE VOICE: Okay. Thank you... [interpose]

CHAIRPERSON MEALY: One second, sir. Did you wanna say something? [background comments] Oh, you wanted to... [background comments]

MICHELLE ALLEYNE: Okay. Hi, my name is Michelle Alleyne and I wanted to thank Andy King for

1
2 being proactive in trying to get this "three-fifths
3 clause" off the books. You know there's a lot of
4 other codes that are on the books and this would, you
5 know, be a great start in trying to get them off.

6 My name is Michelle Alleyne and I was a
7 rescue worker down at Ground Zero; I'm also a birth
8 child of the cultururation [sic] from the south to the
9 north. My mother's a landowner in the south who had
10 to cultururate [sic] to the south to the north [sic] to
11 make her way out of nowhere, and after 9/11, as a
12 rescue worker down at Ground Zero, it's important to
13 also be a survivor not only of the four land cases
14 that had happened before September 11th, but also be
15 a survivor of 9/11 and not be discriminated because
16 of the color of my skin. You know, it's important
17 to... so my question is, basically; how can the schools
18 or how can the politicians and the teachers, 'cause
19 they're teaching 9/11 right now in the classrooms;
20 it's been 14 years the bell's been ringing down at
21 Ground Zero, okay, and there have been teachers that,
22 after they've been sharing their stories down at
23 9/11, have went out nationally to share their... to
24 tell their story in the classrooms, as far as their
25 experiences down at Ground Zero, okay, and what I've

1 noticed, there's not too many persons of color, you
2 know culturally diverse professionals; have been out
3 there teaching and putting their inclusion as far as
4 in a Ground Zero state, you know, how our children
5 are gonna feel after 9/11, alright, in regards to
6 their worth in America if these codes are still on
7 the books? That's my question.

8
9 CHAIRPERSON MEALY: We normally don't
10 take questions, but this is a very unique hearing
11 today and I feel we should, for the record, at least
12 speak on it; I'm gonna let my colleague, Mr. King,
13 [background comment] 'cause it is important that our
14 youth do... our youth should be taught exactly why
15 these things are still on the record now. So thank
16 you, my colleague. [background comment]

17 COUNCIL MEMBER KING: ...question and it
18 goes deeper. We have a responsibility to educate our
19 kids and we have a responsibility to stand strong and
20 understand what the world is about. Some of us... and
21 I keep it real; some of us in communities of color
22 kinda put our heads in the sand when there's real
23 issues and we don't wanna step out there because it
24 might make us, our lives a little uncomfortable. I
25 was always taught from my dad many, many years ago;

1 if you're worried about losing your job, you've
2 already lost your job, so we have a responsibility
3 here to have this conversation now without any fears
4 or repercussions of anything, because if we don't
5 stand up for ourselves, yes, our kids do get
6 affected; if we don't... and as much as I love some of
7 the workforce, I know there's discrimination in the
8 workforce, I know there's discrimination in labor, I
9 know there's discrimination on Wall Street, I know
10 there's discrimination in the educational system; all
11 of these things stem back to the Constitution, and
12 unless we push the system to say hey, no more,
13 because in a progressive, liberal world, how do you
14 deny that if we're fighting for people to have IDs
15 and we're fighting for people to have the right to
16 vote, again; if we're still fighting for equity and
17 equality throughout the city for everybody; how do
18 you ignore that the root of the all evil of prejudice
19 and the discrimination stems from the virus, which I
20 consider the "three-fifths clause" in the
21 Constitution. So while we're fighting for all
22 housing and we're fighting for jobs and we're
23 fighting for all these other things, if you don't
24 kill the virus, it all keeps coming up. So as it's
25

1 still on the books, it's up for us to know what's on
2 the books and educate our kids and that's what we
3 attempted to do earlier at the press conference where
4 we had over 100 kids, to help them understand it. As
5 I got information from the students, you know when
6 they started talking about the 13th Amendment, no one
7 in school talks about the second part of the 13th
8 Amendment that says if you're incarcerated you're
9 still in slavery, so that's the problem. So now it's
10 eye-opening for them so they can start engaging in
11 the conversation, but when you start talking about
12 jobs and why stuff is still on the books, no one's
13 had the conversation, whether it was politically
14 correct for them or politically, you know, did it put
15 them in jeopardy to talk about it or how much money
16 would I lose if I start talking about it. The jail
17 system makes about \$2 billion just based on the
18 inmates that they hire who do the work, and I found
19 this out, which was appalling, that the same person
20 who is locked up in jail right now, when they do
21 work, the products and goods that come out there have
22 to be sold at market rate. So if you're paying an
23 inmate 30 cents a day to do something or whatever it
24 is, 'cause it's less than a dollar, but whatever they

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2 build, if it's sold out in the public; say they build
3 a chair that's worth in the public... a public workshop
4 makes it for \$35; they sell it for \$100; the jails
5 can't sell it no less than \$100, but their labor cost
6 them 30 cents to make it. So could you imagine how
7 much money that they're making just on that? So
8 we're talking about economics for the jail system, so
9 there's a lot of conversation that we need to have,
10 but we need to have the conversation and I'm hoping
11 this, what we're doing today will spearhead it; that
12 people can really start uncovering some of the stuff
13 that we're dealing with. But thank you for that
14 question.

15 MICHELLE ALI: Yes, 'cause I... [crosstalk]

16 CHAIRPERSON MEALY: Thank you, next...

17 MICHELLE ALI: just wanna say that... I
18 just wanna say that a lot of the African-Americans
19 that are culturated [sic] did not receive economic
20 justice, okay, and Dr. Martin Luther King would've
21 been proud of the Parkchester, Bronx community in
22 which I came back from Queens to, because that
23 particular community is a project program for his
24 dream, his vision, okay, and so it's important also,
25 especially for the fact that there was an all-white

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2 clause there back in 1969 and African-Americans had
3 to get into Parkchester with the Urban League and the
4 NAACP, okay. But the goal for me was to go back
5 south, and since 9/11 I'm still in New York right
6 now, waiting for this educational enlightenment in
7 regards to the H.R.1786, where a lot of people
8 received their compensation on how much it was all
9 worth already.

10 CHAIRPERSON MEALY: And one thing I
11 wanted to... I didn't introduce, which... Distinguished
12 Women of September 11th... [crosstalk]

13 MICHELLE ALLEYNE: That is the
14 organization that I started at the Greater Allen
15 Cathedral, under Rev. Floyd and Elaine Flake, at the
16 People's Alliance Federal Credit Union at the bank,
17 'cause two times they allowed me to open it and all
18 proceeds **[inaudible]** Hauppauge office... can go to the
19 Hauppauge office, okay, People's Alliance Federal
20 Credit Union at the Hauppauge office and there's a
21 booster campaign out also; it's called "Survivors of
22 9/11," if you purchase as an individual \$20, you'll
23 be able to get a tee shirt that will say "We Support
24 Survivors of September 11th." Thank you.

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2 CHAIRPERSON MEALY: Thank you. Alright,
3 then. Mr. Goldstein.

4 LEWIS GOLDSTEIN: Thank you, Madame
5 Chairperson and of course it's great to see two Bronx
6 council members here also, Council Member King and a
7 newer member for the Council who is really great, our
8 Council Member Salamanca.

9 First let me mention; I'm wearing a
10 button right now which goes back to the 60s of a
11 young African-American sitting on a step with a lot
12 of garbage around him by housing that was not
13 affordable, et cetera. It's unfortunate that the
14 racism, the unaffordable housing still exists and the
15 discrimination against minorities is still rampant.

16 Here we are in the year 2016 and the
17 vestiges of the sins and the words of our founders of
18 this nation, those sins still persist. When the
19 founders, who are members of what was the privileged
20 class back then and to a degree now, did not
21 recognize slaves, who were for the most part,
22 African-Americans; women, men property owners they
23 only recognized they a privileged class. The three-
24 fifths compromise was not a compromise; it was
25 putting into words in the Constitution racism,

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2 bigotry and many times death. The penalty for those
3 words on African-Americans and others still persists;
4 people look and they see the words are still there;
5 that African-Americans aren't whole; those words have
6 to be redacted by Congress.

7 This past year, 2016, we see the bigots;
8 the haters coming out of the woodwork, partially
9 because of words like that that are in the
10 Constitution; partially because of certain people who
11 claim they are leaders, people like at least one
12 presidential candidate who at one point said he
13 didn't see an issue with David Duke or the KKK.
14 People who have the bigotry developing in them take
15 advantage of those words.

16 I wholeheartedly support Council Member
17 King's resolution 1000, the New York City Council
18 needs to not only support hopefully unanimously the
19 request that a Constitutional Amendment to the
20 Constitution be enacted striking those words of hate
21 and that March 5th be designated and be observed in
22 all schools, all educational facilities, the "Three-
23 Fifths Clause Awareness Day." As an educator for
24 many years, I always included the need for inclusion,
25 diversity, the recognition of the racism, anti-

1
2 Semitism, anti the homophobia, et cetera that was
3 going on; schools have to teach that; that is the
4 only way we have a chance to eradicate racism --
5 remove the words; don't allow. Thank you.

6 CHAIRPERSON MEALY: Thank you. And that
7 was Mr. Goldstein of Committee for Effective
8 Leadership. Thank you so much. Now we have Miss
9 Bertha Lewis from The Black Institute. Thank you.

10 BERTHA LEWIS: Thank you. Let me just
11 commend Council Member King and our magnificent
12 Chairwoman, the dragonslayer; didn't forget, and
13 newest council member that's here, every... Okay, so
14 you know me; I'm gonna be controversial. Every
15 member of the black, Latino; Asian Caucus should be
16 here; that's all I have to say about that and I'll
17 calm down, but this is disgraceful, but anyway, you
18 know me; I have to say it; you can't say it, but I
19 did.

20 So I just wanna thank the two of you for
21 being brave and being bold, Salamanca, okay, you'll
22 be seeing a lot of me, so [laughter] just trying to
23 give you a preview, but I also wanna thank, you know,
24 all of the other City Council folks who are not here
25 for being supportive of this reso. As most of you

1
2 know, my name is Bertha Lewis and I think, if any of
3 you read the *Daily News* editorial today, I'm Bertha
4 Lewis, the rabble-rouser, so that's my title for this
5 week.

6 I am the founder and the President of The
7 Black Institute. We are an action tank; that is, a
8 think-tank that takes action. Our point of view is
9 strictly about black people and people of color here
10 in the U.S. and throughout the diaspora. We have
11 four main issue areas, which are the environment;
12 again, as it affects people of color, education,
13 immigration, and as some of you know, lately,
14 economics.

15 I am here today to be wholeheartedly,
16 2000 percent in support of this reso; it is extremely
17 important. Although the "three-fifths clause" was
18 "nullified," uhm, in quotation marks, by the 13th and
19 14th Amendments to the Constitution, the language
20 still remains, so how null and void is it if it still
21 remains? This language explicitly devalues and
22 dehumanizes black lives; this lingering symbol casts
23 a shadow over our country; symbols have power. In
24 the face of nationwide efforts to gut voting rights,
25 an epidemic of racially-targeted police violence;

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2 rising racial rhetoric from the radical right, it is
3 more important than ever before that America faces
4 its history with clear eyes and an honest heart. We
5 cannot afford to ignore the legacy of discrimination;
6 we recognize it, remember it and work to tear down
7 symbols of oppression and hatred wherever they are
8 found. We always hear about -- we need to have a
9 conversation about race -- really; a conversation?
10 How are you gonna have a conversation about race, as
11 well as gender; sexual preference if you don't keep
12 it real, if you don't start from an honest point of
13 view in which, whether you are comfortable or
14 uncomfortable makes no difference, this language is
15 still in the Constitution. Every tourist that comes
16 to Washington, D.C. and looks at this parchment will
17 see that black people are three-fifths. Remove this
18 language. You have to understand that in 2016 if
19 this is unacceptable; it is unacceptable to have it
20 still there; it is unacceptable that school children
21 will have to read about it; we have folks in Congress
22 that wanna talk about sticking to the Constitution;
23 what they're really talking about is sticking to the
24 bigotry and the racist attitudes that are embodied in
25 those four corners. The demographics of this country

1
2 are changing, ladies and gentlemen; we didn't
3 overcome; we overrun in a country that will be
4 majority, uhm, for lack of a better word, "minority,"
5 hello; the new majority must take on the task of
6 changing the old Constitution.

7 Right now 300,000 people in New York
8 State have been quietly purged from the voter rolls,
9 300,000; there has been a 7 percent drop in Brooklyn;
10 I'm gonna check out what it is in the Bronx, in
11 enrollment. Something's going on here, where people
12 feel as though they can say anything and get away
13 with anything because we just recently had to remove
14 the Confederate flag in South Carolina, but guess
15 what; 9 people had to die.

16 So it takes guts, it takes courage; you
17 all are my heroes for really calling out this thing
18 that has been lingering like, you know, a splinter
19 that you have that becomes infested and infected, and
20 some of you may know, under our economic banner; I'll
21 just leave you with this -- minority and women
22 businesses get less than three-fifths of anything, so
23 we... there is a whole group, and thank God for the
24 sister from 9/11 survivors; there's a whole group who
25 still today are less than three-fifths. So The Black

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2 Institute again supports the recognition of March 5th
3 as "Three-Fifths Awareness Day" and the resolution to
4 demand; not -- I put call on, 'cause I was trying to
5 be nice, but we need to demand that Congress directly
6 and affirmatively negate the language of Article 1,
7 Section two, Clause 3... 1, 2, 3 of the Constitution.
8 Thank you.

9 [background comments]

10 CHAIRPERSON MEALY: Thank you. We have
11 one more panel before we ask questions -- and we've
12 been joined by Danny Dromm of Queens -- can Tamika
13 Mallory from Justice League NYC come up, and then
14 after she speaks we will have questions for the
15 panel; is that okay? Thank you. Yeah.

16 TAMIKA MALLORY: Hello. Okay. Good
17 afternoon. Thank you so very much for inviting me to
18 be here today, to my friends, my great council
19 members that... I trust your leadership and appreciate
20 the fact that you would gather us around this issue.
21 Councilman King, I know this has been very important
22 to you and you heard the cry from the community as it
23 relates to this issue and taking the leadership and
24 we really appreciate it. I certainly would not try
25 to come here and speak behind Bertha Lewis, who is my

1 [background comments] teacher and try to say anything
2 different, so I'd like to say for the record that I
3 echo everything that Bertha Lewis has said and that
4 if her remarks can be entered, for me, that would be
5 helpful.
6

7 Three-fifths; not whole, it is an amazing
8 statement when you hear that and you look at our
9 communities and see that our communities look like
10 three-fifths and not a whole; our children feel like
11 three-fifths and not a whole. If you look at what is
12 happening with all the issues that we are fighting
13 against, whether it be police brutality, whether we
14 are looking at the issue of education, reform or
15 perform; the way that I like to state it, because of
16 all of the drama that you see around educating our
17 children; all of this shows that what it says in the
18 Constitution is real, it's not just a statement that
19 hasn't been cleaned up like a "the" or a "." that
20 should be replaced in the Constitution; this
21 literally states who we are and how this country
22 values us and sees us, and then ultimately, how we
23 are treated really plays out to be the same. And so
24 it's not a conversation that I think we should even
25 be having; I think that if we are respected as

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2 colleagues in Congress, as colleagues in any level of
3 government; all... first of all, more people should be
4 here on your side of the table in terms of elected
5 officials in this city, because we should not allow
6 ourselves to sit at the table across from other
7 people and not even be on their level, not even be
8 considered to be a whole human in this society. And
9 so I think this is something that the community needs
10 to stand up against, but I do think that the
11 congressional leaders, and certainly Justice League
12 shares this sentiment on so many levels, that black
13 folks who are in Congress in City Council, in
14 government all over this country should be raising
15 pure hell about this and we should do nothing but
16 have to just support; we really should not have to be
17 the ones to carry this fight, because it is a fight
18 that can indeed be handled internally.

19 One of the things that I would like to
20 bring into the conversation is when we look at what
21 is happening in the prison industrial business, this
22 clause directly relates to involuntary servitude,
23 where we see involuntary slavery taking place inside
24 of the prison; people like or corporations like
25 Victoria's Secret, Starbucks, Walmart; these

1 corporations, to name a few, are making big business
2 off of human beings inside the prison and clearly
3 black and brown people make up the majority of folks
4 inside of the prisons and they are making less than
5 \$2.00 a week in these prisons working on products
6 that when they come out of prison they are not able
7 to even apply for jobs with these same corporations.
8 So when we say that we want three-fifths... well we
9 want this particular clause to be taken out of the
10 Constitution, it means so many different things on so
11 many levels and we believe that just having this
12 corrected will clean up so much of the feeling of
13 being less than that our communities suffer with. I
14 don't know that everyone knows that the language is
15 still there, but certainly they know that being
16 considered three-fifths human is real and that it is
17 in fact what we see playing out on the streets of
18 cities, urban centers all over this country. And so
19 Justice League NYC is here to say that we 100 percent
20 support this initiative, this hearing, this
21 resolution and we would like to see that this entire
22 city and that this entire government body stand
23 together to ensure that this language is eradicated.
24 Thank you.

1
2 CHAIRPERSON MEALY: Thank you. I know... I
3 think about it; I know they have put amendments in
4 the Constitution for just commas, periods and here it
5 is 21st century; we still have this in our
6 Constitution; something has to change. The same way
7 they -- for blacks only, whites only -- they had to
8 take it down that we could visually see, so
9 therefore, when people go read that Constitution,
10 they need to know that it is correct; we are 100
11 percent whole; not half. So I'm gonna turn it over
12 to my colleague, Andy King; do you have any
13 questions; any of my colleagues have any questions?
14 [background comments] I have one. Do you have any
15 concerns about creating a day specifically
16 acknowledging [sic] for the "three-fifths clause,"
17 for the March 5th; do you feel we will get any
18 pushback in regards to that?

19 BERTHA LEWIS: Oh yeah, you know you're
20 gonna get pushback. But here's the thing; you've
21 gotta keep pushing forward for it, because again, we
22 have to keep it real; we have to acknowledge our
23 history; you know we've got National Pizza Day and
24 [background comments] Donut Day and you know,
25 [background comments] really; we've got Groundhog Day

1 on the same day every year. So we want two things,
2 absolutely; we want that clause officially stricken,
3 done, out; the words to not appear in our
4 Constitution and we want a day in which folks can
5 commemorate the deletion of that, but also, it
6 provides a vehicle for an educating moment; not just
7 for children, but for the adults who are living
8 today. We also, I think, it serves as a day in which
9 we can honor our ancestors who came up from the south
10 who, you know lived through slavery, and so the
11 granddaughters and grandsons and great greats
12 actually say this day is ours. We talk about
13 Juneteenth, because some person, who as the president
14 made a deal; wasn't about us, we were still three-
15 fifths and that whole Emancipation Proclamation deal
16 was about land and how you count in the census; we
17 even are talking now about undercounting in census.
18 So this will give us an opportunity, but make no
19 mistake, there will be an enormous pushback --
20 another holiday. There are some of us who lived
21 through the years-long struggle to get a day for
22 Martin Luther King and so if it took all of that for
23 a man who all folks internationally recognize as a
24 genius; having March 5th as a national commemoration
25

1 of "three-fifths," people are going to say don't
2 remind us every year on this day about what this
3 nation was built on. But we can organize, we can
4 organize around that and one of the strategies that
5 we used in the fight you know for MLK Day was; black
6 folks just began to commemorate it anyway. And so
7 you can imagine having an economic impact, with
8 children not going to school that day but going to
9 another place to learn about why is this "Three-
10 Fifths Day"; there will be money that will be put up
11 against us, but the more opposition that we get to
12 the day, Council Members, that means the more you are
13 in the right about this.

15 MICHELLE ALLEYNE: I would like to say;
16 before the black lives, brown lives; all lives matter
17 movement there was a 9/11 movement, okay, and to
18 represent some of the persons of color responders
19 that were down there at Ground Zero, if The Black
20 Institute is stating it's gonna take a struggle to
21 get the "three-fifths clause" off the books, well I
22 big you all Godspeed, because the 9/11 movement,
23 after the H.R.1786 just passed, is truly stating that
24 colored responders should be honored and remembered,
25 okay, when they go to the health centers to heal and

1
2 after they heal from their wounds and their
3 participation at Ground Zero for their patriotism and
4 thank you for their service, they wanna be respected
5 and honored, okay, they want quality healthcare, okay
6 and they have 75 more years, alright, to get the
7 proper counselors in there to respect that working
8 population, okay, that went into the Centers of
9 Excellence, which I already told them, get that WTC,
10 okay, off the health care program, alright, because
11 down there at Ground Zero there was two historic
12 significants [sic] that happened down there; there
13 was the Transatlantic Slave Trade; right, and then
14 Ground Zero, alright? So it's important, alright, to
15 turn around and you'll definitely need it and I big
16 you all Godspeed, okay. But my mother was a
17 landowner in the south; when she first came up here,
18 alright, she had created history as one of the first
19 women black farmers that was a landowner, okay and
20 I'm not talking about 1883; I'm talking about 2003;
21 there was a man named John Boyd, alright, that also
22 was a... you know he was going through hard times, a
23 struggle with helping with his landlords, you know to
24 help save his farm, his dad's land, alright and he
25 had to do some unconventional -- and a black

1 administration -- unconventional, you know, ideas..
2 organizing to get his idea across to Congress; he had
3 to ask for a commission wagon, okay, to turn around
4 and go from Virginia to Washington to protest the
5 possibility that he may lose his promised and
6 inherited and his rights, his free rights here in
7 America, alright, and when he did that, he turned
8 around and he also included other black farmers; well
9 he's not making pickups, okay. And so therefore, you
10 know, there's a possibility -- and like I said,
11 there's a possibility that I may even have to ask for
12 a commission vehicle, okay, to go back home, to turn
13 around and know that it's gonna be there after I get
14 my relief benefits, as far as 9/11 is concerned. So
15 don't ever tell a uniformed officer that was behind
16 the shield; that was guided by the Article 35 Penal
17 Code, that they were three-fifths of a person, when
18 they got up every day in the morning to sacrifice
19 their life for mankind and property, alright, to turn
20 around and say that we've got a long way to go.

22 CHAIRPERSON MEALY: Thank you. I can't
23 follow that, sorry; that was a mouthful. Any
24 questions?

25

1
2 COUNCIL MEMBER KING: I kinda have a
3 comment and question, because the three of you do a
4 lot of work; you do a lot of organizing as well, and
5 I'm hearing that we probably might have some pushback
6 on some folks who can't figure out in this world
7 "progressiveness," but let alone, that it be fair and
8 true that blacks shouldn't be considered 100 percent
9 whole.

10 I listened to your testimony in regards
11 to people wearing the shield and the sad thing is
12 that as much as we want to consider ourselves whole
13 with our counterparts, whether it's NYPD, and we know
14 that no matter how we try to respect NYPD or law
15 enforcement, there is a systematic approach of
16 thinking that when you go into communities of color
17 that we're not whole, and if they were thinking of us
18 as ever being whole **[inaudible]** doesn't get killed at
19 his home and no one's held accountable; Michael
20 Gardner doesn't get the life choked out of him and
21 still no one is held accountable; you know, there are
22 so many incidents that we can use with the Police
23 Department, from even the time when they decided to
24 move the brother who was on duty watching over
25 Dr. King and they moved him off duty and all of a

1 sudden he gets shot dead. So we cannot act like, you
2 know, they care for us, so I'm asking you all; what
3 do you all think are the best steps of us being able
4 to organize a movement across America, 'cause this is
5 gonna leave New York [background comments] and it
6 goes to D.C., [background comments] but this is a
7 national movement that we've gotta take on tapping
8 into all our brothers and sisters and those who will
9 not skirt, that stand up and fight for what's right
10 and fight for the black. How do you think we go
11 from...

13 TAMIKA MALLORY: Well I think the same
14 tools that you use when you're working to get re-
15 elected or elected you have to use in this
16 circumstance; go directly to the people and explain
17 to them that all the issues they're complaining about
18 are being upheld by the Constitution. The
19 Constitution does not see us as whole and therefore
20 when we ask for a conviction of officers who kill us
21 while we're unarmed and not dangerous, they will not
22 do it if they don't see us as being human, and I
23 believe that we have to literally walk the streets
24 door to door; the same way we ask people for their
25 vote, we have to educate them about this, and I would

1 think that, you know having local conversations in
2 the communities; what you all do already, but really
3 focusing in on this conversation will help this city
4 become a model for other cities to be educated as
5 well. And I would also say that we need to invite
6 organizers from around the country to come to the
7 table to understand this issue, because I believe --
8 you know, I posted the information about this day on
9 my social media and there were multiple who, when I
10 look at their pages I can tell that they're not very
11 much into social justice and liberation conversation,
12 so they kinda ratchet, to make it clear, but they
13 were saying, now uh-huh, now we're getting to the
14 issue, you know now we're getting somewhere and I
15 believe that having this conversation with
16 communities directly will help them begin to see the
17 links in how all of this comes together.

19 BERTHA LEWIS: I think that everything
20 starts locally, right, so you have to visit your
21 colleagues in other equivalents of city councils
22 around the country; I think that we have to declare
23 in New York City March 5th, [background comment]
24 okay, because you can't lead someone if you haven't
25 done it yourself, so you know yes, there's a

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2 resolution to get the Constitution changed; you've
3 got short-term and you have long-term, and as an old
4 organizer, I can tell you, you know some of the
5 strategies that you can use; let's get New York City
6 [background comments] to recognize March 5th, that's
7 step one; then that way you can use media, you can
8 walk up to it; you can have different event, but if
9 we can do it in New York City; like you say, we can
10 go to Ground Zero, hold some events right there,
11 because the slave trade was there.

12 Then I think the other thing is, you
13 know, you do some polling; you wanna be able to zero
14 in on people of color and also zero in on some white
15 folks -- did you know, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah,
16 blah, you know, what do you think about "Three-Fifths
17 Day" and give 'em a little brief history, because you
18 wanna be able to say, 42 percent blah, blah, blah;
19 people like data you know in order to get a national
20 movement and I think we have to go to the National
21 Association of Black Journalists and use black radio
22 nationally; do like this thing Alec [sic], the
23 legislative exchange on the right, you know create
24 model legislation so that they don't have to think
25 too much [background comments] about it, right, you

1
2 know make a template and that way you can go, when
3 you visit with other city council members, we've
4 already done the work for you; here is a kit that has
5 research in it, it has background in it and finally,
6 if we're talking about youth and incarceration; why
7 not go to the jails and talk to the brothers and
8 sisters there and say hey, what about in your cell
9 block March 5th, you know, is March 5th on their cell
10 block; talk to teachers here, and you can work with
11 those of us out here to develop a curriculum that a
12 teacher voluntarily could do and you could do an
13 after-school program.

14 So those are the things that, as an old
15 organizer, I would do. Now you can do some marches,
16 but I can't, 'cause my knee hurts... [interpose]

17 TAMIKA MALLORY: Well that's what we do;
18 that's what we do. Can I just follow up on that?

19 So very similar to June as Gun Violence
20 Awareness Month, where you all support every year,
21 having it established here in New York and now we
22 start to see other cities across the country have
23 begun to pick up that language, and I think that is
24 very important, but what is extremely relevant in the
25 Gun Violence Awareness Month fight, if you will, has

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2 been Councilman Williams' and others' intention to
3 bring other organizations into the conversation and
4 younger, newer faces. I think we... I'm old in the
5 movement, so I'm not talking about me, clearly, but I
6 think what often happens is that we go back to the
7 same organizations, the same people to have these
8 conversations and we're finding that everyone is not
9 necessarily working with, in support of or at the
10 table in those rooms, and so I would say that one of
11 the first things is to really be committed to having
12 this conversation with people who are not necessarily
13 a part of our established network, if you will.

14 MICHELLE ALLEYNE: Education is
15 important; just to ad lib on the whole thing about
16 the Ground Zero, they need time; showing the black
17 historical perspective down there. There's plenty
18 historical sites down there that you walk by every
19 day and you don't even know what it was. There is an
20 African-American tour, you know down at the Ground
21 Zero area that's not advertised enough. You know,
22 most of the international traffic is going to the
23 9/11 Memorial Museum and they don't even know five to
24 seven blocks down there's an African burial ground
25 there, you know.

1
2 Also, I'm a prodigal daughter, so I'm
3 only speaking from my historical perspective from
4 when I came into play, because my mother was a two-
5 time Million March on Washington leader and long-time
6 leader and advocate in the Bronx community, okay, so
7 the thing is, is that it's important to, you know,
8 also uplift -- 'cause I'm gonna keep this.. I'm gonna
9 keep this very real, you know; when I went into the
10 house of justice, right, I was like, you know when I
11 looked up there, I said you know, where's the sister..
12 you know, there's a sister that I know, right; little
13 older than you, but you have that spirit, within uh,
14 you know and it was like, where.. you know, isn't this
15 like a safe haven for her, you know to speak and you
16 know voice her, you know, and but anyway, I was like..
17 I was keepin' focus because like I said you know,
18 there was a 9/11 movement going on, a lot of officers
19 was pulled out of their job and they had.. we didn't
20 have no benefits and so.. and one thing I realized..
21 'cause America's gonna always need new abolitionists,
22 they're gonna always need new abolitionists; African-
23 Americans are always gonna need abolitionists. I
24 don't care, you can.. because of the internal
25 conflicts that we will always have; is it tribe.. I

1 don't know whether it's a tribal thing or something
2 like that, but you know, but that's why education is
3 so important. Education is important; we need to
4 uplift the young people, you know and you know, an
5 anointed person can see another anointed person and
6 you're not supposed to exclude, block; ignore the
7 anointed; make room for it. If you do not make room
8 for it, yes, you will be here for the next 100 years
9 trying to get it off the books and I bid you
10 Godspeed, because you know, it's taken too long for
11 my... my mother did the whole red shoe thing, you know,
12 red shoes, you know, you know all types of things to
13 get... you know, she tried... she's tryin' to do the
14 best... to this day, even through all of her Christian
15 affliction, and so the thing is, is that it's
16 important just to educate; start putting up signs
17 with black persons of America had these historical
18 great significances, especially in the Ground Zero
19 area; get the WTC off the health program or call
20 Occupational Centers of Excellence, you know, just be
21 positive in whatever you do and we should just
22 support and uplift one another, and we need economic
23 new abolitionists, people who have the monetary... look
24 at all of these sports and celebrity industries you
25

1
2 know that has all this money; why don't they bring it
3 back into their communities?

4 CHAIRPERSON MEALY: That's a whole
5 'nother hearing. [background comments, laughter] My
6 colleague, Danny Dromm has a question.

7 COUNCIL MEMBER DROMM: Thank you very
8 much Madame Chair and thank you for having this
9 hearing; it's of major importance and also to Council
10 Member King for sponsoring these resolutions.

11 So just to be clear, we're asking only to
12 negate the language of the "three-fifths clause" or
13 are we asking for the removal of the "three-fifths
14 clause" in the resolution? To negate them?
15 [background comments] And I'm wondering why we're
16 not going a step further and demanding the removal of
17 the "three-fifths clause" from the Constitution.
18 Because I think just by adding a negation of the
19 existing language is not sufficient. [background
20 comments] So I actually would like to see it
21 stronger... [crosstalk]

22 BERTHA LEWIS: Well now we've already..
23 Well we've already had a negation with the 13th and
24 14th Amendment, right... [crosstalk]

25 COUNCIL MEMBER DROMM: Amendments.

1
2 BERTHA LEWIS: that was supposed to be a
3 negation... [crosstalk]

4 COUNCIL MEMBER DROMM: Well although...

5 BERTHA LEWIS: but the "three-fifths"
6 language still remains...

7 COUNCIL MEMBER DROMM: Correct. So I
8 would like to see a resolution that would demand the
9 removal of the "three-fifths clause" completely from,
10 rather than just a denunciation and a negation of
11 that existing language, and I think if we can be a
12 little bit clearer in the resolution -- I'm gonna
13 support this resolution, whatever, I think the idea
14 and the purpose of it, but I think even being
15 stronger might be a better advantage demanding the
16 removal; it's outrageous that in this day and age,
17 even behind the passing of the 13th and 14th
18 Amendments that we continue to have this type of
19 language in any official document of the United
20 States of America, and I hope that there is a move
21 nationwide, which I'm not aware of, but we should
22 have, and whether it's incorporated into other
23 movement or whatever, to actually demand the removal
24 of it; this is dehumanizing, degrading; it is

1
2 horrible, horrible language and needs to be condemned
3 in the strongest ways possible.

4 You know, I was a teacher for 25 years
5 before I got elected to the City Council and so I
6 also agree that we should have an awareness day and
7 maybe the awareness day is a way to educate,
8 especially... well every child in the public school
9 system, 'cause one of the things that I've found is
10 that if we ever get to any contributions by African-
11 Americans to United States history, it's during the
12 month of February and oftentimes we don't even get to
13 that, [background comment] and so having a day that
14 would be dedicated to it may be another way to raise
15 awareness of what it is in the Constitution, because
16 I'm pretty certain that many people don't know that
17 this even exists, you know. And I also believe as an
18 educator that we don't only need to educate our youth
19 of color, but that we should be educating our white
20 youth as well [background comments] so that they can
21 understand what happened to African-Americans and
22 what enslavement meant in one form, just in terms of
23 the consideration of their wholeness as human beings
24 and not being counted as whole human beings in terms
25 of the overall legislative count that's necessary.

1
2 And then also, tie it into the struggle for voting
3 rights across the country, you know, and so I think
4 that's important.

5 And then it brings up another issue,
6 which is of personal importance to me; you know I
7 came out of the lesbian, gay, bisexual and
8 transgender movement and oftentimes in our movement
9 we see the whitewashing of LGBT people from the
10 history books as well, so if you took somebody like
11 Bayard Rustin, for example, a great African-American
12 man who led the 1963 March on Washington, very few
13 people even know that he was LGBT, [background
14 comments] because it's whitewashing of the negative
15 things or negatively... and I don't consider being LGBT
16 to be negative, but some people might consider it to
17 be a negative from our history books, but I do think
18 that knowing the treatment that African-Americans
19 received or knowing even the treatment LGBT people
20 received is a big part of ensuring that it doesn't
21 happen again in the future, which is why I think even
22 holocaust education is so really important so that we
23 don't repeat the mistakes of that. So I'd like to be
24 added as a sponsor to both of these pieces of
25 legislation and I would encourage that we change it

1
2 to make sure that we delete this from the
3 Constitution of the United States of America. Thank
4 you.

5 CHAIRPERSON MEALY: Thank you. And I
6 hope that this legislation could go even further,
7 because the State's got a lot of our representatives
8 in our Electoral College seats in Congress just
9 because it is law here, so we will have to do a whole
10 lot of going back and getting things right, so I'm
11 looking forward to doing that. Do you have any words
12 left?

13 COUNCIL MEMBER KING: I'll wrap up and
14 say thank you for answering my questions; thank you
15 for testifying and I would love to sit down with the
16 three of you and the four, five and if we could find
17 three more who wants in or we'll just bake the cake
18 with the three of us and figure out how do we move it
19 forward; I think you're absolutely right; if we
20 establish this day, it allows us to build a
21 foundation and move the rest of the conversation.
22 Now I will add for the record; I did ask at the start
23 of this conversation about a year ago of removing the
24 language; it was told to me that they only amend the
25 Constitution of the United States; now unless we're

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2 gonna make a first of a first, and I ain't [sic] mad
3 at tryin' to do a first of a first and move it
4 altogether; that... the call was to ask Congress and
5 Congress Member Clark and Congress Member Meeks and
6 they are taking this to the Black Congressional
7 Caucus to make sure that there is language stating
8 unequivocally that black in America is 100 percent
9 whole and we can continue to follow up to see if
10 there's a way to have it negated. Some people on the
11 other side, as you say, there will be a fight and
12 even some of... some of our people of dark skin have
13 said to me that they want people to remember what
14 America was about, so they didn't want it removed.
15 It's a conversation that we will continue to have,
16 but I think if we establish the awareness day will
17 also educate -- I'm glad that you mentioned the
18 blacks and whites, because it's prevalent today that
19 white children are taught some old ways from yester
20 year that they're greater and better; I said in a
21 press conference earlier, I find it very disturbing
22 and those of us who sat in a room of... some of us have
23 been taught that you've gotta be two and three times
24 better than your whiter counterparts to get a par...
25 and at that point you had to be a black... was taught

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2 you had to be three times better than the worse of
3 the white; not even the top... you know, I'm not even
4 qualifying myself with the greatest white minds,
5 you're qualifying me with someone whose talents
6 aren't even equal mine from the start. So it's ever
7 prevalent, but I think this conversation's something
8 that we need to have and for all those who are
9 listening abroad, don't think that prejudice and
10 racism is gone; it's very much alive, especially in
11 government houses, even those who are elected to
12 represent us, because if it wasn't the flavor of the
13 day, President Obama **[inaudible]** you lie on the floor
14 when he's speaking and if he was considered to be 100
15 percent whole, no one would ever disrespect him and
16 they would've been working with him since day one.
17 So I wanna thank... [crosstalk]

18 MICHELLE ALLEYNE: I wanna add...

19 COUNCIL MEMBER KING: I wanna thank you,
20 Chair Mealy and yes, you can have... I just wanted to
21 say, give that and I'm looking forward to us moving
22 this and I'm gonna be asking to get a vote on... vote
23 in this... out of this real quick, fast in a hurry so
24 we can get to work.

25

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2 MICHELLE ALLEYNE: Well I just wanna say
3 too that America needs to allow cultural diversity,
4 ethnic people, to give room to grow and have a form
5 of lifespan and development within America, 'cause a
6 lot of the cultural diversity ethnicity that makes up
7 America is not in competition, they just wanna live
8 here; you know what I mean? Some of them were sent
9 without their will, they just wanna live here. And
10 stereotyping is gonna always exist, internal
11 conflicts within the race is gonna always exist; if
12 you take it out of the books you have to include
13 something that states America needs to give cultural
14 diverse, indigenious... you know, people who have
15 ancestral heritage here, you know who have a
16 birthright and a promise of room to grown, 'cause I
17 should not have had a 3.88 average at Hostos
18 Community College to go back and see *12 Years a*
19 *Slave*.

20 [background comments]

21 BERTHA LEWIS: But I also think, again,
22 as an old organizer, that you do not negotiate
23 against yourself; if you are going to get to the
24 table, what you want to add is totally eradication,
25 because that gives you some bargaining room; we

1
2 understand that if you don't demand here you will
3 never get to here...

4 COUNCIL MEMBER KING: Right.

5 BERTHA LEWIS: and so in any movement,
6 you know there is hyperbole, there is movement
7 rhetoric, there are demands that once it gets you to
8 the table and people need to have a clear
9 understanding of what you're fighting for; the
10 simpler you make it, the better. So I'm only saying;
11 strategically using the eradication language is a
12 tactic that gets you to where you need to be where
13 folks, you want the other side in an argument with
14 you about, well you can only amend; that's a trap;
15 once you have them arguing about, well, we can't take
16 it out, so you agree with it? Well so you wanna say
17 the 13th and 14th Amendments -- well no, no, we're
18 just saying that we can't because you can only amend,
19 so you're agreeing that you will amend the
20 Constitution to -- you know, you've gotta set up the
21 trap so you can spring it and I think that's one of
22 the things that Council Member Dromm was saying in
23 terms of having what some would call extreme language
24 and then you look perfectly reasonable [laughter]
25 later on.

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COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

COUNCIL MEMBER KING: Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON MEALY: Thank you, this hearing is now adjourned and we thank you all for being here on this strong issue. [background comments] Thank you. Thank you.

[applause]

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COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

C E R T I F I C A T E

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



Date May 12, 2016