

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6275

December 2, 2025

The Honorable Kristi Noem
Secretary of Homeland Security
U.S. Department of Homeland Security
2707 Martin Luther King Jr. Ave SE
Washington, DC 20032

Dear Secretary Noem:

You recently stated in a news conference: “There’s no American citizens that have been arrested or detained. We focus on those that are here illegally. And anything that you would hear or report that would be different than that is simply not true.”¹ This statement is patently false.

The disturbing reality is that many American citizens have been caught in the Trump Administration’s indiscriminate and violent immigration enforcement dragnet across the country. Masked, armed agents have aggressively arrested U.S. citizens; pushed them into unmarked vehicles; tazed, punched, and fired pepper balls at them; and, in some cases, wrongly detained them in immigration detention facilities for days, even weeks.² Much of the current enforcement activity impacting noncitizens and citizens alike is taking place in Democratic-led cities, such as

¹ Tom Schuba et al., *Noem Suggests Chicago Immigration Blitz Includes 5 Other States, Claims No U.S. Citizens Detained*, CHICAGO SUN TIMES (Oct. 30, 2025), <https://chicago.suntimes.com/immigration/2025/10/30/chicago-midway-blitz-noem-trump-immigration-gary-indiana>.

² See e.g., Billal Rahman, *Man Regrets Trump Vote After CBP Drags Him From Truck*, NEWSWEEK (Nov. 18, 2025), <https://www.newsweek.com/man-regrets-trump-vote-cbp-drags-him-truck-worst-decision-11064718>; Edward Helmore, *Native American Actor Says She Was Detained By ICE Officers Who Said Tribal ID “Looked Fake”*, THE GUARDIAN (Nov. 28, 2025), <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2025/nov/28/elaine-miles-actor-ice-detained-id-fake>; Nicole Foy, *We Found That More Than 170 U.S. Citizens Have Been Held by Immigration Agents. They’ve Been Kicked, Dragged and Detained for Days*, PROPUBLICA (Oct. 16, 2025), <https://www.propublica.org/article/immigration-dhs-american-citizens-arrested-detained-against-will>; Anthony Effinger, *Milwaukie Man Says ICE Abducted and Held Him for Hours Despite His Proving Citizenship*, WILLAMETTE WEEK (Oct. 7, 2025), <https://www.wweek.com/news/2025/10/07/milwaukie-man-says-he-was-abducted-by-ice-and-held-for-hours-despite-proving-citizenship/>; Home of the Brave, *Testimonial of George Retes: I’m a U.S. Citizen and a Veteran. ICE Arrested Me for No Reason*, <https://ofthebrave.org/testimonials/george-retes/>; Billal Rahman, *U.S. Citizen, Army Veteran Arrested by ICE Claps Back at DHS ‘Debunk’*, NEWSWEEK (Oct. 13, 2025), <https://www.newsweek.com/us-citizen-army-veteran-arrested-ice-dhs-debunk-10870108>; Jazmine Ulloa, Allison McCann & Jennifer Medina, *‘I’m From Here!’: U.S. Citizens Are Ending Up in Trump’s Dragnet*, N.Y. TIMES (Sept. 29, 2025), <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/09/29/us/trump-immigration-agents-us-citizens.html>; Brittny Mejia, *Video Shows Immigration Agents Interrogating a Latino U.S. Citizen: ‘I’m American, Bro!’*, L.A. TIMES (June 13, 2025), <https://www.latimes.com/politics/story/2025-06-13/video-shows-immigration-agents-interrogating-a-latino-u-s-citizen-im-american-bro>; John Dias, *Video Allegedly Shows ICE Agents Detaining Hispanic U.S. Citizen on Long Island*, CBS NEWS (June 12, 2025), <https://www.cbsnews.com/newyork/news/ice-detains-us-citizen-long-island-video/>; Cristian Benavides, *U.S. Citizen Told “You Have No Rights” During Immigration Arrest Speaks Out: “It Hurts Me”*, CBS NEWS (July 28, 2025), <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/kenny-laynez-arrest-you-have-no-rights-interview/>; and Vanessa Romo, *U.S. Citizen Detained For Weeks, Nearly Deported By Immigration Officials*, NPR (July 25, 2025), <https://www.npr.org/2019/07/25/745417268/u-s-citizen-detained-for-weeks-nearly-deported-by-immigration-officials>.

Chicago, which this Administration has targeted for political retribution, and is further eroding trust between federal law enforcement and our communities.³

In the first nine months of President Trump’s immigration crackdown, at least 170 citizens were wrongfully detained.⁴ As of mid-October, approximately two dozen U.S. citizens had been held for more than a day without being able to contact anyone, including their lawyers.⁵ The numbers continue to grow. My staff has documented the reported detention of at least 40 U.S. citizens in Illinois alone between late August and early November 2025.

Since the President ramped up his militarized immigration raids in the Chicagoland area, arrests of U.S. citizens have occurred with increasing frequency. In late September, during a military-style raid of an apartment complex in the South Shore neighborhood of Chicago, federal agents told one citizen—a retired caterer for a local university—to come out of her apartment with her “hands up,” zip-tied her, and held her in an unmarked van before releasing her.⁶ Agents kicked down the door of another citizen—an Air Force veteran—and then pointed an automatic weapon at him before zip-tying him.⁷ Recently, federal agents detained a 15-year-old citizen in Chicago’s East Side, holding him for more than five hours without the ability to contact family or a lawyer.⁸

In a disturbing video of an October arrest, federal agents can be seen hitting a citizen’s car and then dragging her out of the vehicle; agents reportedly brought her to multiple locations and barred her from contacting family or a lawyer before she was released hours later.⁹ In another incident, immigration agents arrested a citizen at his Chicago home, refusing to believe he was a citizen and detaining him even after he presented his birth certificate.¹⁰ After noticing an unmarked vehicle, another man was abducted off the street and repeatedly questioned about his

³ See e.g., Arelis R. Hernandez, Marianne LeVine & Maria Sacchetti, *DHS Swept Chicago to Get “The Worst” Criminals. Many Have No Record*, THE WASH. POST (Nov. 30, 2025), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/immigration/2025/11/30/chicago-dhs-immigration-midway-blitz/>; Meg Anderson, *Tackles, Projectiles and Gunfire: Many Fear ICE Tactics are Growing More Violent*, NPR (Oct. 13, 2025), <https://www.npr.org/2025/10/13/nx-s1-5566785/ice-dhs-immigration-tactics-more-violent>; and Billal Rahman, *Multiple Reports of US Citizens Detained in Chicago*, NEWSWEEK (Oct 16, 2025), <https://www.newsweek.com/multiple-reports-of-us-citizens-detained-in-chicago-10887987>; and Joanie Lum, *ICE Detained US Citizens in Chicago Area Cemetery, Officials Say*, Fox32 Chicago (Oct. 13, 2025), <https://www.fox32chicago.com/news/forest-park-ice-arrests>.

⁴ Foy, *supra* note 2.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ Sergio Martínez-Beltrán, *Chicago South Shore Building Residents Recount ‘Humiliating’ ICE Raid*, NPR (Oct. 24, 2025), <https://www.npr.org/2025/10/24/nx-s1-5570113/chicago-south-shore-building-residents-recount-humiliating-ice-raid>.

⁷ *Id.*

⁸ Christian Farr, *Feds, Attorneys Spar Over 15-Year-Old Detained By U.S. Immigration Officers*, NBC5 CHICAGO (Oct. 15, 2025), <https://www.nbcchicago.com/news/local/feds-attorneys-spar-over-15-year-old-detained-by-u-s-immigration-officers/3839147/>.

⁹ Laura Rodríguez Presa, *Chicago Woman Dragged Out of Her Car After Colliding With ICE Demands Accountability*, CHICAGO TRIBUNE (Nov. 3, 2025), <https://www.chicagotribune.com/2025/11/03/chicago-woman-collision-ice-accountability/>.

¹⁰ Billal Rahman, *Multiple Reports of US Citizens Detained in Chicago*, NEWSWEEK (Oct 16, 2025), <https://www.newsweek.com/multiple-reports-of-us-citizens-detained-in-chicago-10887987>.

citizenship.¹¹ Four citizens were detained in a raid in the Little Village neighborhood and suburb of Cicero, including two public servants who work in Alderman Mike Rodriguez’s office.¹²

The Supreme Court recently stayed a district court order that had prohibited federal immigration enforcement agents from stopping individuals based on factors such as their race or ethnicity and the type of job they appeared to work.¹³ The Court’s decision, coupled with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and Border Patrol’s indiscriminate enforcement tactics, have left Black and Brown Americans justifiably afraid that they will be targeted for immigration stops—now frequently referred to as “Kavanaugh stops,”¹⁴ after Justice Kavanaugh argued in his concurrence that:

The Government sometimes makes brief investigative stops to check the immigration status of those who gather in locations where people are hired for day jobs; who work or appear to work in jobs such as construction, landscaping, agriculture, or car washes that often do not require paperwork and are therefore attractive to illegal immigrants; and who do not speak much if any English.¹⁵

Justice Kavanaugh went on to claim that “[i]f the officers learn that the individual they stopped is a U.S. citizen or otherwise lawfully in the United States, they promptly let the individual go.”¹⁶ However, as Americans across the country are learning, ICE and Border Patrol officials are arresting individuals based on “how they look,” or because they do not “look like [their last name],”¹⁷ and there is certainly no guarantee that an arrested citizen will be “promptly” released.

Despite the fact that federal immigration agents are unlawfully sweeping up citizens in enforcement actions, and even though most Americans think President Trump’s immigration crackdown has gone “too far,”¹⁸ the Trump Administration is doubling down on its made-for-

¹¹ Brónagh Tumulty, *Chicago Man Claims Armed Agents Abducted Him, Questioned His Citizenship, Despite Being A Native*, WGN9 (Oct. 15, 2025), <https://wgntv.com/news/operation-midway-blitz/chicago-man-claims-armed-agents-abducted-him-questioned-his-citizenship-despite-being-a-native/>.

¹² Sophia Tareen, *More Elected Democrats Report Tense Encounters with Immigration Agents Around Chicago*, AP NEWS (Oct. 23, 2025), <https://apnews.com/article/immigration-arrests-chicago-politicians-trump-7624ff7cae0b58f9b8606deacffa2474>.

¹³ *Noem v. Vasquez Perdomo*, 606 U. S. ____ (2025) (Kavanaugh, J., concurring).

¹⁴ See e.g., *US Citizen Sues After Twice Being Detained By Immigration Agents*, THE GUARDIAN (Oct. 2, 2025), <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2025/oct/01/us-citizen-detained-twice-immigration-agents-lawsuit>; and Steve Benen, *Just How Many ‘Kavanaugh Stops’ Have American Citizens Been Forced To Endure?*, MSNBC (Oct. 17, 2025), <https://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/maddowblog/kavanaugh-stops-american-citizens-ice-detention-rcna238194>.

¹⁵ *Noem v. Vasquez Perdomo*, 606 U. S. ____ (2025)

¹⁶ *Id.*

¹⁷ See e.g., Chip Mitchell, *Transcript: Gregory Bovino Says Arrestees in Downtown Chicago Chosen Based Partly on ‘How They Look’*, WBEZ CHICAGO (Sept. 30, 2025), <https://www.wbez.org/immigration/2025/09/30/transcript-audio-gregory-bovino-immigrant-arrests-downtown-chicago-chosen-how-they-look>; Foy, *supra* note 2; Malcolm Ferguson, *ICE Detains Citizen After Saying She Doesn’t “Look Like” Her Last Name*, THE NEW REPUBLIC (Oct. 14, 2025), <https://newrepublic.com/post/201745/ice-detains-us-citizen-doesnt-look-american>; and Gregory Royal Pratt, *ICE Tickets Chicago Man With Legal Residency \$130 For Not Having His Papers On Him: ‘It’s Not Fair...I’m A Resident’*, CHICAGO TRIBUNE (Oct. 13, 2025), <https://www.chicagotribune.com/2025/10/13/ice-fines-chicago-man-for-not-having-papers-on-him/>.

¹⁸ Ruth Igielnik & Jazmine Ulloa, *Voters Favor Deporting Those in U.S. Illegally, but Say Trump Has Gone Too Far*, N.Y. TIMES (Oct. 8, 2025), <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/10/08/us/trump-deportation-illegal-immigrants-voters->

social media methods. In response to criticism, Department of Homeland Security (DHS) representatives often have deflected, or issued defensive, misleading, or demonstrably false statements.¹⁹ One such case involved George Retes, a U.S. veteran citizen who described being violently arrested and held for days in immigration detention.²⁰ Only after Retes wrote an op-ed about his experience did DHS claim agents had arrested Retes after he “became violent and refused to comply with law enforcement.”²¹ Retes’s account and video footage of his arrest contradict that explanation.²² In addition, agents refused to review Retes’s identification during the encounter, though Retes repeatedly explained that he was a U.S. citizen.²³ Retes has stated he was never informed why he was arrested, and no charges have been filed against him.²⁴

Our current immigration enforcement reality was difficult to imagine only a few months ago. Now citizens are being advised to carry passports or other types of identification to avoid mistaken arrest and detention²⁵—with no guarantee federal agents will accept the legitimacy of their documentation.²⁶ As Justice Sotomayor stated in her dissent in *Noem v. Vasquez Perdomo*, referring to immigration agents: “United States citizens are . . . being seized, taken from their jobs, and prevented from working to support themselves and their families.”²⁷

Federal courts are attempting to curtail some actions of federal agents. Last month, a U.S. district court judge in Chicago ordered federal immigration officers in Chicago to wear body cameras and demanded DHS explain its use of force against protesters and residents.²⁸ Another judge

[poll.html](#).

¹⁹ See e.g., Eric Levenson & Josh Campbell, *In Immigration Crackdown, DHS Statements on Arrests Face a Problem of Credibility*, CNN (Oct. 18, 2025), <https://www.cnn.com/2025/10/18/us/dhs-credibility-chicago-immigration-ice>; Jon Seidel & Tina Sfondeles, *Federal Judge Hits Trump Administration Credibility in Siding with City and State Against National Guard Deployment*, WBEZ CHICAGO (Oct. 9, 2025), <https://www.wbez.org/politics/2025/10/09/federal-judge-partially-grants-illinois-and-chicago-bid-to-block-trump-administration-national-guard-deployment>; Edith Olmsted, *DHS Downplays Horrific ICE Arrest by Straight Up Lying About It*, THE NEW REPUBLIC (Oct. 14, 2025), <https://newrepublic.com/post/201748/departement-homeland-security-lying-ice-arrest-video>.

²⁰ George Retes, *I’m a U.S. Citizen Who Was Wrongly Arrested and Held by ICE. Here’s Why You Could Be Next*, S.F. CHRON. (Sept. 16, 2025), <https://www.sfchronicle.com/opinion/openforum/article/ice-racial-profiling-21045429.php>.

²¹ Foy, *supra* note 2.

²² CBS News Los Angeles, *Homeland Security Claims Army Veteran Assaulted Agents During Camarillo Immigration Protest*, CBS NEWS LOS ANGELES (Sept. 27, 2025), <https://www.cbsnews.com/losangeles/video/homeland-security-claims-army-veteran-assaulted-agents-during-camarillo-immigration-protest/>.

²³ Retes, *supra* note 20.

²⁴ *Id.*

²⁵ See e.g., NBC Chicago Staff & The Associated Press, *Should You Carry Your Passport Amid ICE Concerns? Experts Weigh in After SCOTUS Ruling*, NBC CHICAGO (Sept. 9, 2025), <https://www.nbcchicago.com/news/local/should-you-carry-your-passport-amid-ice-concerns-experts-weigh-in-after-scotus-ruling/3821786>

²⁶ See e.g., José Olivares, *US Citizen Detained by Immigration Officials Who Dismissed His Real ID as Fake*, THE GUARDIAN (May 24, 2025), <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2025/may/24/us-citizen-detained-ice-real-id>; Danyelle Khmara, *U.S. Citizen Detained For 10 Days By Immigration Officials May Not Have Known What He Was Signing*, AZPM (April 21, 2025), <https://www.azpm.org/s/100806-us-citizen-detained-for-10-days-by-immigration-officials-may-not-have-known-what-he-was-signing/>; and Foy, *supra* note 2.

²⁷ *Noem v. Vasquez Perdomo*, 606 U. S. ____ (2025) (Sotomayor, J., dissenting, at 19).

²⁸ Mattathias Shwartz, *Judge Orders Some Federal Agents to Turn on Body Cameras in Chicago Area*, N.Y. TIMES (Oct. 17, 2025), <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/10/17/us/chicago-ice-body-cameras.html>. On November 19, 2025,

recently enforced limits on ICE's ability to conduct warrantless arrests and ordered ICE to produce the names, A-numbers, and arrest documents for all individuals arrested without warrants.²⁹ U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP), and other federal agencies, however, continue to conduct chaotic and cruel immigration enforcement raids and arrests that are harming and traumatizing communities in Illinois and across the country.³⁰

To worsen matters, DHS has gutted offices responsible for overseeing ICE officers' conduct and ensuring accountability for unlawful arrests and detention.³¹ Congressional oversight is thus critical to evaluate the impact of this Administration's immigration enforcement tactics on U.S. citizens and whether ICE and CBP have taken steps to address longstanding problems regarding the collection of data about U.S. citizens.³² I ask that you provide the following information by December 16, 2025:

1. Records reflecting the total number of U.S. citizens arrested during immigration enforcement activity since January 20, 2025, including the total number per state and the agency responsible for the arrest.
2. Records reflecting U.S. citizens arrested during immigration enforcement activity since January 20, 2025, including the location of their arrest, and, if applicable, the location and length of their detention.
3. Records reflecting any audio or body-worn footage related to U.S. citizen arrests since January 20, 2025.
4. Records reflecting complaints of wrongful arrest and detention of U.S. citizens and any related investigations, findings and recommendations since January 20, 2025.
5. Records reflecting how many people have been detained by ICE or CBP since January 20, 2025, without subsequent charging documents being issued, and the policies or internal reviews that govern such cases.

the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals issued a temporary stay of the district court's order; the Seventh Circuit will hold oral arguments on December 17, 2025. *See* Heather Cherone, *Border Patrol Chief Greg Bovino, Federal Agents Repeatedly Lied About What They Did During Aggressive Immigration Raids: Judge*, WTTW NEWS (Nov. 24, 2025), <https://news.wttw.com/2025/11/24/border-patrol-chief-greg-bovino-federal-agents-repeatedly-lied-about-what-they-did>.

²⁹ *Nava v. Dept. of Homeland Security*, No. 18-cv-3757, Memorandum Op. & Order (N.D. Ill. Oct. 7, 2025), https://immigrantjustice.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/10/214-Nava-v-DHS-Mem-Opinion_10-07-25.pdf. The Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals issued a stay of the district court's ruling; the Seventh Circuit will hear oral arguments in the case on December 2, 2025. *See* Shia Kapos, *Appeals Court Halts Release of Hundreds of Detainees from 'Midway Blitz'*, POLITICO (Nov. 20, 2025), <https://www.politico.com/news/2025/11/20/court-halts-midway-blitz-detainees-release-00663334>.

³⁰ The Associated Press, *A Border Patrol-led Immigration Crackdown is Coming to Southeast Louisiana. Here's What to Know*, AP NEWS (Dec. 1, 2025), <https://www.wisn.com/article/swamp-sweep-new-orleans-immigration-crackdown/69592638>.

³¹ Rebecca Santana, *Homeland Security Makes Cuts to Offices Overseeing Civil Rights Protections*, AP (Mar. 21, 2025), <https://apnews.com/article/civil-rights-homeland-security-trump-immigration-0902c38dc7daf0a7960eb0d433c67f2f>; and Gov't Accountability Project, *DHS Halted 500+ Civil Rights Investigations When It Shut Down Oversight Office, Whistleblowers Say* (May 15, 2025), <https://whistleblower.org/press-release/dhs-halted-500-civil-rights-investigations-when-it-shut-down-oversight-office-whistleblowers-say/>.

³² *See e.g.*, U.S. Gov't Accountability Office, *Actions Needed to Better Track Cases Involving U.S. Citizenship Investigations* (July 2021), <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-21-487.pdf>.

6. Policies, guidelines, or directives governing ICE and CBP encounters with potential U.S. citizens, including any changes to manuals or guidance since January 20, 2025. These records should include:
 - a. Policies or other guidance describing what documentation or evidence is sufficient to verify citizenship status.
 - b. Policy, guidance, and/or training related to what particularized factors agents and officers must consider prior to stopping someone in the country without authorization.
 - c. Training regarding the constitutional rights of U.S. citizens, lawful permanent residents, and other individuals lawfully present in the United States.
7. Policies or other guidance and trainings to prevent the arrest or detention of U.S. citizens during immigration enforcement operations, including information about how these policies are enforced in real time.
8. Policies or other guidance and trainings on how ICE and CBP should collect and maintain data on encounters with individuals for whom there is probative evidence of U.S. citizenship.
 - a. These records should include if ICE or CBP agents entering data are required to update relevant databases upon confirmation of U.S. citizenship.

I look forward to your prompt response and attention to this important request.

Sincerely,



Richard J. Durbin
Ranking Member