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1 2	UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK
3	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, New York, N.Y.
4	v. 15 Cr. 0093 (VEC)
5	SHELDON SILVER,
6	Defendant.
7	X
8	May 3, 2016 2:00 p.m.
9	2.00 p.m.
10	Before:
11	HON. VALERIE E. CAPRONI,
12	District Judge
13	
14	APPEARANCES
15	PREET BHARARA United States Attorney for the
16	Southern District of New York BY: CARRIE H. COHEN,
17	ANDREW D. GOLDSTEIN, HOWARD S. MASTER,
18	JAMES M. McDONALD,
19	Assistant United States Attorneys STROOCK & STROOCK & LAVAN LP
20	Attorneys for Defendant
21	BY: JOEL COHEN - and -
22	MOLOLAMKEN, LLP BY: STEVEN F. MOLO
23	JUSTIN SHUR
24	
25	

1 (In open court, case called) MS. COHEN: Good afternoon, your Honor, Carrie Cohen, 2 3 Howard Master and Andrew Goldstein, Assistant United States 4 Attorneys for the government, our paralegal specialist Anthony 5 Coccaro, and James McDonald as well with our office, and 6 Investigator John Barry. 7 THE COURT: Good afternoon. MR. MOLO: Good afternoon, Judge, Steve Molo and 8 9 Justin Shur from Mololamken, and Joel Cohen from Strook for 10 Mr. Silver, who is here today. 11 THE COURT: Thank you. 12 Mr. Molo, have you and your client read the 13 presentence report dated March 25th, 2016? 14 MR. MOLO: We have, your Honor. 15 THE COURT: Have you discussed it with each other? 16 MR. MOLO: Yes, your Honor. With the exception of one 17 issue that is going to be addressed concerning the forfeiture, 18 Mr. Shur is going to address it on our part. 19 THE COURT: Mr. Silver, have you read the presentence 20 report dated March 25, 2016? 21 THE DEFENDANT: Yes, I have. 22 THE COURT: Have you had an opportunity to discuss it 23 with your attorney? 24 THE DEFENDANT: Yes, I have. 25 THE COURT: The presentence report will be made part

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of the record in this matter and placed under seal. If an appeal is taken, counsel on appeal may have access to the sealed report without further application to the Court.

I have received a lengthy submission from the defense that contained about a hundred letters. Let me assure anyone who wrote a letter on the defendant's behalf that I read your letter and I thank you for taking time do that.

I received a lengthy submission from the government.

I have also received from the public a number of letters, some of which were supportive of Mr. Silver and some of which were not. Whether they were supportive or not, they have all been posted on ECF and are available.

Let me just make sure, Mr. Molo, did you file your submission with the Clerk of Court?

MR. MOLO: Yes, we did.

16 THE COURT: And was the government submission filed as 17 well?

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MS. COHEN: We did, your Honor.

THE COURT: The next step in the sentencing is a calculation of the guidelines. For those of you who are here watching and have an interest in it, let me apologize a little to you for this part of sentencing. You are going to think that you just fallen into an arithmetic class, but you have not. But it's a necessary requirement to make sure that I have done the guidelines calculation correctly.

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So the presentence report reflects a guidelines level of 39, Criminal History Category I. I have applied the November 1, 2015 guidelines manual.

I find the correct guidelines calculation to be as follows: I start that all counts of conviction are grouped pursuant to 3D1.2D because all of the offenses of conviction have an offense level that are based on the amount of loss.

Pursuant to 3D1.3B, because the offense level for all the offenses is driven by the amount of loss, we use the crime with the highest offense level -- in this case that is Count Seven, money laundering -- as the base offense.

So the guidelines for 18 USC 1957 is found at 2S1.1, and it provides that the base offense level is the base offense level for the underlying crime that gave rise to the laundered funds. The guideline for extortion under official right yields the higher base offense level than honest services fraud, so we use that guideline, which is 2C1.1. 2C1.1 sets a base offense level of 14 because the defendant is a public official.

The offense involved more than one scheme, so pursuant to 2C1.B1, that's plus two.

The defendant obtained more than three and a half million dollars from the scheme but less than 9.5 million, so 2C1.1B2 cross references to 2B1.1B1J, and that's plus 18.

The defendant was a high level elected public official, indeed one of the three most powerful politicians in

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New York, so pursuant to 2C1.1B3, that's plus four.

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Because the defendant was also convicted of money laundering pursuant to 18 USC 1957, under 2S1.1B2A, I add one.

When you add all that up together, there are no other adjustments up or down, so that all adds up to 39.

The defendant has no criminal history, so he's in Criminal History Category I.

Level 39, Criminal History Category I, yields an advisory guideline range of 262 to 327 months, which, for those of you who don't have a calculator, is somewhere between 21 and 27 years.

Let me tell you now I am not going to impose a guidelines sentence in this case. I think imposing a guidelines sentence would be Draconian and unjust, at least given this defendant's age.

16 Are there any guidelines arguments that I have not 17 addressed, Ms. Cohen?

MS. COHEN: No, your Honor.

THE COURT: Mr. Molo?

MR. MOLO: No, your Honor.

21 THE COURT: I do not see a basis for a departure under 22 the guidelines. Does either party object?

MS. COHEN: No, your Honor.

MR. MOLO: No, your Honor.

THE COURT: The only dispute that I am aware of is the

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amount of forfeiture specifically as to how much of what was paid to Silver as asbestos referral fees came from cases that had been referred by Dr. Taub and therefore forfeitable.

Are there any other factual disputes?

MS. COHEN: Your Honor, I'm not sure if it's a dispute, but we would like to address the Court on the appropriate guidelines for the fine.

THE COURT: We'll get to that.

MR. SHUR: Would you like me here or the podium? THE COURT: I think where you are might be fine. MR. SHUR: With respect to forfeiture, your Honor --THE COURT: Are there any disputes other than

forfeiture?

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MR. SHUR: No.

THE COURT: I will hear from you then on forfeiture.

MR. SHUR: Your Honor, as you know, we submitted a 16 17 supplemental sentencing brief which addressed forfeiture. I'm 18 not going to belabor all of the points we made in the brief, but there is one issue I would like to address, which we 19 20 believe the government hasn't shown that the amount that -- the 21 dollar amount it attributes to the asbestos scheme was the 22 result of referrals from Dr. Taub to Mr. Silver, and that 23 amount, as you know, is roughly \$3 million.

I understand that in the government's recent letter to the Court dated April 28 the government stated that there was

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ample testimonial and documentary evidence at trial on this point. While the government proved generally the existence of referrals from Dr. Taub to Mr. Silver, and the government proved generally the fact that Mr. Silver received referral fees from Weitz & Luxenberg, there was insufficient evidence connecting the two.

There were basically two witnesses relevant to this point, Dr. Taub and Gary Klein who is a lawyer at Weitz & Luxenberg.

As you may remember, your Honor, Dr. Taub couldn't recall the names or the number of cases that he referred to Mr. Silver, and the guesstimate that he provided was well below the number that the government contends Dr. Taub referred to Mr. Silver. I believe the government's list includes 48 cases, and as you may remember, Dr. Taub testified that he believed it was closer to 25.

The other witness on this point, Gary Klein, had no personal knowledge of the cases that Dr. Taub referred to Mr. Silver. Instead, he relied on Weitz & Luxenberg records, mainly the Weitz & Luxenberg intake forms, which didn't make the connection either. The Weitz & Luxenberg intake forms -which is essentially a record indicating who the referral source is for a particular case -- the intake forms that we saw come into evidence for the cases where the government said Dr. Taub referred those cases to Mr. Silver did not indicate

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that Dr. Taub was in fact the original source.

I think it's reasonable -- or unreasonable, rather, to assume that while Taub's name isn't listed, he must have been the referral source. For one thing, there was evidence introduced at trial that Mr. Silver received referrals of cases, including asbestos cases, from sources other than Dr. Taub.

THE COURT: There was evidence that at least one referral came from someone else.

MR. SHUR: I believe there was more than one, your Honor. We saw an asbestos case referred to Mr. Silver from another law firm. There was another case that we saw that was referred from a friend and a former colleague from the assembly.

So the fact is that there is evidence that Mr. Silver received referrals, including asbestos cases, from sources other than Dr. Taub. And the intake forms, the only documentary evidence that we have, which would indicate who the referral source is for the particular cases, does not indicate that it was Dr. Taub.

In order to get over this obstacle, the government pointed to other Weitz & Luxenberg records other than the intake forms that were somehow associated with the case, some emails and other documents which referenced Dr. Taub in some manner for some but not all of the cases that they contend were

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referred to Mr. Silver by Dr. Taub. And the fact that Dr. Taub's name appears in some of that paperwork in some fashion, in email or some other document, is not necessarily evidence that Dr. Taub was the referral source.

We heard of from a number of witnesses, including Gary Klein and Dr. Taub, that Weitz & Luxenberg would track the treating physician for a particular client or a particular case, because in some instances they would need to obtain medical records from the doctor, in other instances they would need to have a doctor testify as a witness at trial. And we heard that Dr. Taub was often the treating physician for a particular client or case that was being handled by Weitz & Luxenberg, but he was not the referral source for that particular case. In fact, we saw a spreadsheet where you saw Dr. Taub receiving fees for medical records or asserting as an expert witness where he wasn't the referral source for that particular case. So the treating physician and referral source are two different things.

So the only evidence that we have of Dr. Taub being the referral source of these particular cases that the government identified was the fact that his name is referenced on some of this documentation which could be attributable to being simply that they were tracking the treating physician, and the fact that his name appears on a particular document isn't evidence that he was the referral source.

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	G53TSILS
1	For those reasons, Judge, we respectfully submit that
2	the government has not met its burden with respect to
3	forfeiting the dollar amount it attributed to the asbestos
4	claim, and any forfeiture order that the Court imposes reflects
5	a discount in the dollar amount carving out that roughly \$3
6	million figure that the government is attributing.
7	Thank you, Judge.
8	THE COURT: Thank you.
9	Government?
10	MR. MASTER: Yes, your Honor.
11	The Court should reject defense's highly selective
12	reading of the evidence here. Mr. Shur references Gary Klein
13	and Dr. Taub's testimony. I will return to those two witnesses
14	in a moment, but Mr. Shur neglects to reference testimony from
15	the firm's two managing partners, Perry Weitz and Arthur
16	Luxenberg, both of whom stated that Sheldon Silver himself told
17	them he was getting the cases from Dr. Taub.
18	I quote Arthur Luxenberg at page 1183 of the
19	transcript.
20	"Q. Did there come a time after learning about Sheldon Silver
21	bringing in mesothelioma cases to the firm when you spoke to
22	Sheldon Silver about the source of those cases?
23	"A. Yes.
24	"Q. And who did Sheldon Silver say was the source of those
25	mesothelioma cases?

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	G53TSILS
1	"A. Dr. Taub."
2	Charles Ferguson, the attorney who actually ran the
3	firm's asbestos practice and actually received all those
4	mesothelioma leads from Sheldon Silver, the ones that resulted
5	in the more than 3 million in referral fees, testified on page
6	1147 of the transcript.
7	"Q. Did there come a time when you learned that Sheldon Silver
8	was bringing certain asbestos cases to the firm?"
9	And again your Honor, to pause, there was ample
10	testimony that he brought no asbestos cases with him, he had no
11	skill in evaluating those cases, and therefore he only began
12	bringing those cases in when he developed the corrupt
13	relationship with Dr. Taub.
14	"Q. What was the source of those cases?
15	"A. I believe they were Dr. Taub.
16	"Q. How did you learn withdrawn.
17	From whom did you learn that Dr. Taub was the source
18	of those cases?
19	"A. From Mr. Silver."
20	So the defendant himself admitted to multiple
21	witnesses that he was bringing these cases in from Dr. Taub.
22	Now Gary Klein in his testimony said specifically that
23	the firm did not track doctor referrals. So the effort to
24	prove essentially that Dr. Taub was not the source of these
25	referrals based on Gary Klein's testimony just fails because

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the firm's records do not track that, and his only personal knowledge was the records themselves.

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The firm did, however, track the cases that were referred through attorneys to Sheldon Silver, and that evidence showed that only a very small amount of the well over \$3 million in referral fees came from attorneys to Sheldon Silver, that is, had other sources of referrals.

I believe Mr. Shur referenced a former colleague, Mr. Engelbright, who was the source of one referral, and I believe there was testimony at trial that that referral netted him approximately \$50 in referral fees. So if you just look at the evidence from the firm itself, it amply supports the more than 3 million amount.

14 Dr. Taub himself testified about timing and 15 circumstances of the referrals that corroborated the records that came from Weitz & Luxenberg, and he himself also said that 16 he did not specifically track the names and the specific 17 numbers of referrals. But again, his testimony was consistent 18 with the amounts that were found based on the analysis that the 19 20 government's summary witness performed, and that's at 21 Government Exhibit 1509, finding more than \$3 million came from 22 Dr. Taub. That government exhibit specifically excluded every 23 other referral source, including the ones from other lawyers, 24 the one from Mr. Engelbright, and it was based not only on 25 records of the firm but it was specifically corroborated by

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records of Columbia University and New York Presbyterian Hospital that were admitted by stipulation into evidence.

So your Honor, we believe for these reasons, particularly in view of the standard here, which is preponderance, the government has amply supported its forfeiture.

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THE COURT: Thank you.

By a preponderance of the evidence, I find that Silver received \$3,057,901.07 in referral fees from Weitz & Luxenberg for mesothelioma clients sent to Silver from Dr. Taub.

Gary Klein, the managing attorney for Weitz & Luxenberg, testified that the firm's computer systems track referrals of cases by attorneys inside and outside the firm. Government Exhibit 441 which was introduced through Klein, is a list of all clients as to whom Silver received referral fees.

Klein also testified that he generated a separate report from the computer that lists specifically the asbestos cases in which a referral fee was paid to Silver. That list is at Government Exhibit 522. Klein also testified that referral fees were paid with an attached report identifying the client who corresponded to the fee. Those checks and reports were at Government Exhibit 514-1 through 155.

FBI Special Agent Deanna Pennetta compared the Weitz &
Luxenberg payments to Silver with New York Presbyterian
Hospital records listing Dr. Taub's patients. She generated a

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list of Dr. Taub's patients for whom Silver had received referral fees and the amount that Silver received for those patients. That information appears on Government Exhibit 1509. That table shows that Silver received \$3,057,901.07 in referral fees for 48 individuals who were patients of Dr. Taub.

The defendant argues there is insufficient evidence to support that forfeiture amount because Dr. Taub treated patients who retained Weitz & Luxenberg regardless of whether he recommended them to the firm, and because Silver received asbestos referrals from other sources. The defense, however, only points to one asbestos referral given to Silver by a source other than Dr. Taub -- one or two, perhaps -- but the fees associated with those clients were not included in the amount the government seeks to forfeit.

Moreover, even if Dr. Taub treated patients who retained Weitz & Luxenberg without his referral, Silver would not have received referral fees for those individuals. Moreover, as the government points out, Silver himself indicated that his mesothelioma clients came via Taub.

In short, by a preponderance of the evidence, the Court concludes that the referral fees that the government seeks to forfeit are the result of the mesothelioma scheme for which defendant was convicted, and therefore, properly forfeitable.

I would also note that the government has argued that

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the forfeiture should be reduced by the amount of taxes that Silver paid on the income. The statute itself, 18 USC 981(a)(2)(B), precludes a deduction for income taxes paid on forfeitable funds.

In short, I find that the amount subject to forfeiture -- this is the total amount subject to forfeiture -is \$5,179,106.12, representing the proceeds of the crimes for which Mr. Silver was convicted.

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Would the government like --

MR. GOLDSTEIN: On that final number, your Honor, because some of the accounts that the defendant moved some of the money into have been frozen but not liquidated, that amount has increased slightly from the 5.179 million number to approximately \$5.39 million, and that number was in the letter that was in the proposed forfeiture order.

THE COURT: You're right. I apologize for that. So that was net of the earnings since the time of the forfeiture.

Does the government want to be heard on sentence?

MR. MASTER: Your Honor, before we do that, we did have a proposed correction to the presentence report's provision and fines. And this is just in an abundance of caution based on our ongoing review of the applicable law to avoid any Apprendi issues associated with the fine.

PSR paragraphs 122 and 124.

THE COURT: What page is that on?

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MR. MASTER: That is on page 26 of the presentence report. They reference a maximum fine as over \$10 million for each count, and that's based on a provision of the applicable statutes that allow for the maximum fine to be increased from the default statutory maximum of \$250,000 for each count to a greater amount reflecting the amount of gross pecuniary gain in the case of most of the offenses, and in the case of the money laundering offense, the amount of property involved in the offense.

Your Honor, in an abundance of caution, and again to avoid any Apprendi issues, the government is only going to seek a statutory maximum fine based on the default number in each statute, which would be \$250,000 for each crime of conviction, and that would be a total of \$1.75 million. That's the total statutory maximum of the amount of the fine. That's in paragraph 122. So we request -- I assume the defense doesn't object to that, but we request that that be amended.

So we believe there may be a guidelines implication 18 associated with that more conservative position, because the 19 20 quideline now is triggered by the default statutory maximum 21 based on the government's position of \$250,000 per count, then 22 the government believes that the guidelines call for 23 referencing the fine table in the sentencing guidelines. As 24 applicable here, the guidelines maximum, based on the 25 defendant's offense level, would be \$250,000.

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THE COURT: Total?

MR. MASTER: Total. Maximum based on the sentencing guidelines, so based on Section 5E1.2C3 of the guidelines.

Again, this is not an issue that was raised by the defense, it's an issue that the government believes, in an abundance of caution, is a position that is the most conservative position to take in this matter. The government is still seeking a fine of greater than one million dollars here in view of the factors that were set forth in Section 3553(a) and also in the government's sentencing submission.

THE COURT: Okay. Well, then let me go back to my statement that I didn't see a grounds for a departure.

I do see a grounds for a departure on the fine. I'm accepting the government's representation that when they recalculate the fine under the guidelines that the maximum fine under the fine table -- and I don't have my guidelines book with me, although I see several of them -- is \$250,000 total. So I do see a grounds for an upward departure from that fine amount.

20 Does the defense want to be heard on that? 21 MR. SHUR: Judge, if you could clarify the basis for 22 the upward departure.

23 THE COURT: The upward departure -- Actually I see a 24 grounds for a variance.

MR. SHUR: No objection, Judge.

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THE COURT: All right. Now would the government like to be heard on sentence?

MR. MASTER: Yes, your Honor.

With permission, your Honor, I'm going to begin by responding to some issues raised by the defense in its sentencing submission which was filed simultaneously with our own, and Ms. Cohen will address the basis for our ultimate sentencing recommendation.

I'm going to focus my remarks on the defendant's letter, which is attached as Exhibit A to his sentencing submission. I'm sure your Honor has read it carefully.

And your Honor, with respect to this letter, I think it's a remarkable document. After trumpeting that he would be vindicated up until the very moment of the jury's verdict, the defendant now claims in his letter to offer an apology. But your Honor, what does the letter apologize for?

The defendant could have admitted to the criminal conduct that was proven to a jury of his peers beyond a reasonable doubt at trial, but he did not. He doesn't do anything of the sort. He could have admitted that he got more than \$3 million just now in referral fees as a result of a quid pro quo relationship with Dr. Taub. That's what he admitted to his colleagues at Weitz & Luxenberg before his conduct became the subject of a prosecution. But he didn't. Instead, he tried in his sentencing submissions, and even now, to contest

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the basis for the government's proposed guidelines level and here to seek a return of some of his ill-gotten gains.

This is the case, even though as the government just indicated and as the Court found, that the proof is straightforward, that Dr. Taub was the source of more than \$3 million in ill-gotten gains of the defendant. How is that consistent with an apology?

Instead of saying that he, quote, worked hard to make sure that the assembly remained the people's house, which is what he says in his letter, the defendant could have admitted that he betrayed the people he served. He corrupted the people's house. He betrayed his fellow assembly members, and he betrayed his staff when he used all the power and all the money that came with being a leader of the people's house, the power to grant or withhold benefits, legislation, the public's money, to advance not the people's interests but his own personal financial interests in violation of his duty of honest services, his duty to carry out his responsibilities as the speaker faithfully.

Instead of accusing the government of trying to harm him and his reputation by, quote, choosing to focus its spotlight on him -- that's page at 30 of the defendant's sentencing submission -- he could have admitted that he himself is to blame for the investigation and the prosecution that revealed the truth and resulted in his downfall. After all, he

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is the one who put himself here.

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Really, what did he think would happen when he made all of those millions of dollars, more than any other member of the state legislature, when he did it corruptly, and when he covered it up with secrets and with lies? What did he think would happen when all of those state legislators, referenced in the government's submission and the defense submission that the defendant certainly knew a lot about, were getting convicted for similar conduct, even while he persisted with his corrupt scheme and his lies? Your Honor, even today, after a long trial and with months to gather letters in support, and to write his own letter, he hasn't produced a single person who knew the truth, who knew who was going on here. Why? Because he lied. Because he covered it up. How did the defendant think this would all end up?

Your Honor, the defense also, in that same portion of its submission, attacks the government's motives and its investigation. But to the extent that investigation revealed a complicated and deeply flawed character based on, among other things, the recordings that the defendant himself had his staff make, that is consistent with the evidence of the crimes that were presented at trial.

Your Honor, a second point concerning the letter and
the submission. The defendant, consistent with the regular
practice of disgraced powerful politicians sentenced before

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him, asks for leniency based on two things. Sheldon Silver claims a lifetime of good works, and of course the Court can and should take those good works into account, and I'm sure it will when imposing sentence. But again, the Court should remember that this is an individual who was entrusted with literally billions of discretionary dollars of the people's money over the years. He spoke for a body of 150 legislators who also were sworn to act for the people for the public good. He had a huge assembly staff to carry out his wishes, and he had power given to him by the assembly and by the state laws and constitution that gave him tremendous power. And he served close to 40 years as legislator, 20 as its most powerful legislator.

Of course he did some good with all of that power and all of those resources. It was his job to do so after all. That's what he was paid an ample salary by the people to do. That's what he took an oath to do. And again, it would be hard not to do some good with all of that public money and all of that power, all of those people, and that entire legislative body behind him.

And here, your Honor, I think the argument is 22 particularly troublesome, insidious even, because the good 23 deeds that he is relying on, or at least many of them, the ones 24 related to legislation and use of his power as speaker, they rise from the very power that he abused in this very case, the

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power to withhold or dispense discretionary funds to people like Dr. Taub, the power to control legislation that matters to entities such as the real estate firms that were paying him, the power to grant financing and give support for causes, things that were relevant to both schemes. That is the power that he exploited illegally in this very case.

Your Honor, the government respectfully submits that that, too, must be kept in mind when considering Silver's good deeds here. And if I may, I would now turn the microphone over to my colleague.

THE COURT: Thank you.

Ms. Cohen.

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MS. COHEN: Your Honor, the defendant here held a position of unparalleled power for 20 years. He was one of the three most powerful politicians in this state. His convictions caused unparalleled damage to our political systems, to the public's belief in our state government.

18 As your Honor can see from many of the letters submitted to the Court in advance of the sentencing by the 19 20 public, Silver's criminal conduct inflicted massive damage on the people's trust in their government. The defendant 21 22 exploited his vast political power to line his pockets with \$4 23 million in bribes and kickbacks, then he laundered part of 24 those crime proceeds to net himself another million dollars. 25 Enormous, unprecedented greed, unprecedented corruption. There

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is no mitigation or excuse tempering the seriousness of his crimes of conviction, and the defendant does not offer any.

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The defendant committed his crimes here with the confidence that the systems he himself put in place and helped maintain would conceal and cover up his crimes; secret slush funds with no disclosure, limited disclosure of his outside income to the public, all of that combined with the defendant's repeated lies to his staff, to his fellow assembly members, and to the public, about how he earned all that outside income; and the use of his law license, your Honor, to cover up his scheme, to use his law license as a shield for his corruption. All of those things the defendant thought would enable him to operate with impunity. And for many years it did, until his crimes were uncovered and justice was done.

Your Honor, justice here now requires a significant sentence of imprisonment on the defendant, a sentence that will reflect the unprecedented magnitude, duration, and scope of the defendant's corruption, the defendant's abuse of his power, and his betrayal of the public trust, a sentence that will reflect the massive damage caused to the public by his crimes.

Your Honor, in our sentencing memorandum we addressed both the guidelines and why they are high for public officials, and that the guidelines are a starting point, and we acknowledge that. And one of the things your Honor asked the government to present to the Court, and one of the factors that

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your Honor has to look at at sentencing, are sentences imposed on similarly-situated defendants.

Your Honor, here, if you look at all the sentences imposed in federal court on defendants within this state and outside, that also demonstrates that a significant term of imprisonment is warranted. And it's hard to find in New York State a similarly-situated public official. There have been many of the defendant's fellow assembly people and state senators who have been convicted of public corruption crimes, but your Honor, the government respectfully submits none of the conduct in those cases approaches the level of conduct of the defendant's schemes here and the damage that caused to our institutions.

If you focus on the New York public officials, your Honor, many of whom who served with the defendant and were convicted of public corruption crimes while the defendant was committing his crimes of conviction, they all got significant terms of imprisonment. We provided a thorough analysis of their cases and why the defendant's case here deserves an even more significant term of imprisonment.

Make no mistake, your Honor, the government is asking that the Court impose a sentence on this defendant that is higher than any sentence imposed on other New York convicted state officials.

We are also asking, your Honor, that you impose a

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fine, an above-guidelines fine of at least a million dollars. And the defendant, as set forth in the PSR, has ample resources to pay such a fine, including his state-funded annual pension of \$70,000 a year.

Your Honor, looking at the 3553(a) factors in addition to similarly situated defendants and not wanting unwarranted sentencing disparities, your Honor has to look at the nature and circumstances of the offense. There's no more serious public corruption offense than the crimes of this defendant's conviction. His bribery and kickback schemes were multifaceted and nefarious. They were sustained over time, facilitated and concealed through his official power. No excuse, just pure greed. And then he tried to hide his crime proceeds through investing them in the private investment vehicles, including putting some of that money in his wife's name so the public wouldn't know it belonged to him.

History and characteristics of the defendant is another factor your Honor has to consider when sentencing this defendant. And here, as Mr. Master talked about, the defendant has a lifetime of public service. Undeniably he helped others in his district and elsewhere, as he was supposed to do as an elected official.

His health, his age, those are mitigating factors that the Court also must consider at sentencing. But if we could address one other point the defense raised in its submission,

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that there is a lack of discernible harm -- and that's a quote from the defendant's submission here -- your Honor, nothing could be farther from the truth.

The defendant here caused specific and massive harm; harm to the people's faith in their government, harm to our rule of law, and harm to our democracy. The defendant was not only an elected assembly member for his district, but the leader of the entire New York State Assembly for decades. He thus betrayed the honest services he owed to all citizens of this state and to his fellow assembly members. The harm he caused spills way out beyond his district throughout our entire state.

Deterrence is another factor your Honor must look to in sentencing this defendant. There's a great need for deterrence here, especially given the breadth of corruption within our New York State legislature. Numerous letters submitted to the Court, including the letter that is Docket Number 187 submitted on the defendant's behalf, asked for leniency from the Court saying that the defendant was faced, in that letter, with, quote, a climate of corruption, and so of course he couldn't help himself. That argument echoes arguments made during the trial by the defense that this is just how things are done in Albany.

Your Honor, the defendant's sentence here needs to combat such cynicism about our government, send a message that

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corruption is not tolerated, is not the way business is done in Albany, or at least that it shouldn't be, and that no one, including Sheldon Silver, is above the law.

Your Honor, the defense also argues to this Court in its closing part of the sentencing submission that this Court will not sentence a defendant with as rich a record of doing so much for others as the defendant. Your Honor, the government respectfully submits that the defendant here has an unparalleled rich record of corrupting his public office, a rich record of using his power as an elected official to enrich himself, and a rich record of corruption, deceit and lies, a rich record of massive harm to our public trust in their government and the public's faith in our elected officials.

For all these reasons, and for the reasons set forth in our sentencing submission, we urge this Court to impose a significant term of incarceration greater than that imposed on any other New York convicted public official, as well as at least a one million dollar fine and forfeiture in the amount of 5.3 plus million dollars.

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THE COURT: Thank you, Ms. Cohen.

Mr. Molo, Mr. Cohen.

MR. MOLO: Yes, your Honor. I'm going to address first some of the issues at sentencing and factors that the government addressed, and Mr. Cohen is going to speak to some of the letters and some of the specific issues concerning

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Mr. Silver.

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THE COURT: I need you to speak into the microphone so everyone can hear you.

MR. MOLO: I would like to begin by thanking the Court for the courtesy that we have been shown throughout these proceedings by not just you, your Honor, but your staff, in what has been an extraordinary case based on everything about it, the facts here. The media attention that the case has received is virtually unprecedented.

I believe that a sentencing is perhaps the most fundamental administration of justice, and many judges I know find it difficult and challenging because at the end of the day what you are doing is deciding a person's fate, albeit a fate that is driven by the actions that have been taken that are before it. But the Court must consider every convicted person as an individual, and it must consider every case as a unique study in human failings. And those aren't my words, those are the words of the Supreme Court of the United States that recognizes the unique moment we are in right now in the criminal justice process in this case.

Hopefully, through assessing the individual and the life that he's lived, through evaluating the unique characteristics of the underlying conduct -- and I take exception with some of the descriptions that the government gave, and I will address it in a moment -- and considering the

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broader issues, like respect for the law and deterrence, the 1 2 Court will fashion a sentence that is, as the case law and the 3 statute requires, sufficient but not greater than necessary to 4 comply with the purposes of sentencing; in other words, a 5 sentence that tempers justice with mercy.

The case is extraordinary I think for four reasons that I want to address here. We addressed all the factors in our brief, and I will not go over all those again, but I want to touch on four points.

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The first is the extraordinary nature of the man that Mr. Silver is. The second is the extraordinary nature of the case because of the comparative sentence that the government wants here when you look at the sentences that have been given to other public officials for crimes that were in some ways And it's also extraordinary because of the similar. circumstances of the underlying conduct, as well as it's extraordinary because of the opportunity -- I think in many respects the unique opportunity in this case for the Court to fashion a sentence that imposes an appropriate level of punishment that sets out an appropriate means of deterrence, but yet still allows the public to benefit from the talents that Mr. Silver has which are truly unique among people that I think any of us know here in New York.

And first let me touch on the extraordinary nature of Mr. Silver as a person. Again, Mr. Cohen is going to address

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this in more detail, but at 72 he faces health challenges. He experienced a fall from grace that is fairly, I think, called as precipitous as any fall that anyone could have imagine. And yet he's maintained the love and respect not only of his family and those closest to him, but also of many in the community, some of whom really don't know him all that well who wrote letters to the Court on his behalf. Mr. Cohen will talk about the breadth of those letters, but I think that it's extraordinary to see that these were people from all walks of life describing acts great and small that Mr. Silver did that benefit them.

He's a man -- I think those letters paint a man who could fairly be described as compassionate. Time and again he did so much and extended himself to so many so often. His extraordinary responses to September 11 and Hurricane Sandy, granted, part of that as part of his legislative duties, but I think the facts as described in detail at a very personal level in the letters show it went beyond that. It ranged from that to helping a young dying man, who he did not know who was not a constituent, preserve his dignity in the last days of his life. These letters describe a person who is thoughtful, who has a great capacity for empathy, and whose actions and whose life really, beyond whatever was expected of him in his official duties, are an extraordinary picture of someone who has done service for others.

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The second thing I want to talk about is the extraordinary nature of the case in light of the underlying facts. I heard Ms. Cohen talk about "unprecedented" in its harm to people of the State of New York. And I do not for a moment want to minimize the seriousness of the integrity of government, the importance of government officials providing honest and faithful services to the people who elect them, and my goal is not at all to minimize that. And while the Court knows I'm a zealous advocate, I understand the jury rendered its verdict, and I'm not here to reargue the facts.

However, I ask the Court to respectfully take into account that Dr. Taub's patients who were sent to Weitz & Luxenberg did receive excellent representation, the record is replete with that, that Dr. Taub used the grant money that he received to do research that benefited the people not only of the State of New York but other people who suffered from this terrible disease of mesothelioma, that the real estate developers received skilled and experienced representation, and the 2011 state legislation benefited tenants, that it was in fact far more favorable than what Glenwood wanted. So I don't mean to minimize the fact of the conviction and what Mr. Silver has been convicted of, but I would just respectfully ask the Court to consider those facts as well.

The case is also extraordinary, as I said before, because of the sentence that the government seeks. The Court

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wisely asked the government and we as well to submit information on sentences of other public officials, not only in New York, but public officials in other states as well. And I think it's telling to look at sort of the conduct and the sentence that was arrived at in those cases both in terms of his position, which the government relies extensively on, that Mr. Silver held as one of the senior leaders of New York State government, as well as the scope of the conduct that had occurred, comparing that to the conduct here.

I want to highlight three cases. The first is the McDonnell case, which was just argued before the Supreme Court of the United States.

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THE COURT: Very different facts.

14 I don't disagree they were very different MR. MOLO: facts. As I say, there's no perfect analogy, but I want to point out that in the McDonnell case he was the governor of 17 Virginia, arguably superior to someone who is speaker of the assembly, but nonetheless a very, very senior government official in his state, received lavish gifts, his wife was 19 taken on shopping sprees to New York, all for the purpose of supposedly introducing the person providing the gifts and 22 benefits to the state government to get some favorable 23 treatment. After a jury trial he was sentenced to two years. 24 The Robert Ney case, which we mentioned, he was 61 at

the time of sentencing. The Robert Ney case. Mr. Ney was a

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United States Representative. He was not a speaker, he was not a person who was in that senior capacity, but he was part of what was one of the broadest, most extreme, most outrageous bribery schemes in the history of the United States involving the Abramoff scandal. And he was 53 years old at the time sentencing, and I concede he pled guilty, he did not go to trial. And the conduct there involved trips to Scotland, trips to the Pacific, thousands of dollars in gambling trips that he received in exchange for changing the specific language in the congressional record and also in the statute, and he received two years of imprisonment and three years supervised release.

Lastly I want to point out Joe Bruno. And Mr. Bruno's situation is very analogous to Mr. Silver's in the sense of the position that they occupied. Mr. Bruno was the leader of the senate and Mr. Silver was the speaker of the assembly. In the Bruno case, when it was all said and done, the allegations were that he received \$280,000 in bribes. And following a trial in which he was convicted, he was sentenced to two years. Mr. Bruno was 81 at the time that he was sentenced.

Now again, I acknowledge -- we acknowledge the seriousness of the charges here, the seriousness of the conduct which was the basis for the conviction, and Mr. Silver's position within the assembly and within New York government. That said, I think a comparison of these sentences at two years, compared to what the government is seeking, which is not

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I guess spoken in words of the Bruno conviction and sentence, resulted in a 168-month sentence, I believe, so they're asking for more than that. And I have to say that a sentence of anything that approaches that, whether ten years, whether five years, certainly a sentence like that is equivalent to life imprisonment for a man who is 72 years old who is dealing with the issues of prostate cancer.

The case is also extraordinary because it provides this Court with a really unique opportunity to fashion a sentence that both benefits the public as well as punishes Mr. Silver and serves the other purposes that are recognized as purposes for -- that the Court should address at sentencing.

We're aware the given guidelines are significant, and that we appreciate that the Court has already stated that you are not going to impose a guidelines sentence. But those numbers are driven by the amount of money that was at issue in the case. And I don't want to suggest that I came in here thinking that we were going to come in and the Court was going to give Mr. Silver a strong scolding and we would walk and he was told never to do this again.

THE COURT: Good.

MR. MOLO: I recognize the possibility of incarceration is a very real one as we came here, but I invite the Court to really consider if there is going to be any incarceration, what is really needed to serve the purpose here

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and what is the benefit that is truly rendered to society?

No one can question the punishment that has already been inflicted on Mr. Silver as a result of this prosecution. I mean this is an extraordinary fall from grace. And I understand that that accompanies any criminal prosecution for anyone who has been in any kind of life, for that matter, but someone in such a public life and someone in a life that has done so much good for so many, it is particularly, particularly punitive. So he has suffered from that punishment already. At the age of 72, the statistics that we provided to the Court, there are very few people in prison. The population that's over the age of 70 is very small.

The Court is required by the statute to consider available sentences, available sentences. And what is available to the Court here, whatever it decides to do, whether it does decide to impose any term of incarceration or not, is to impose community service accompanied with house arrest or other sort of restrictions under supervised release, which would allow the public to continue to benefit from the truly unique talents that Mr. Silver has. He has proven himself as not just a public official who was effective, but a public official who went above and beyond.

I will be very honest, your Honor, I thought I knew my client well before we started this trial. When I started seeing this material that came in from the people who wrote

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letters on his behalf and started to pull together some of the things he had done in his public record, it was amazing to me. I think it would be very difficult for anyone to identify someone who rivals Mr. Silver's record of service, service in the small ways, service in the big ways. And that just doesn't happen. It happens because someone has a talent for it, and it happens because someone has worked at it.

And so to deprive the public of the benefit of that going forward I think would be a mistake. And I think that the Court can embrace this opportunity to fashion a sentence that considers available sentences, considers alternatives, that it would not just simply be to send him to prison, which is what the government is asking for.

Punishment, deterrence. We're not asking that there be no restriction on Mr. Silver's liberty, even in a sentence involving community service and so forth. We offered a specific alternative to the Court. The letter from the Fortune Society, which is a tremendous organization which serves the purpose of helping people transition from the criminal justice system back into the public life and to lead a good life. And frankly, given the community contacts that Mr. Silver has and given his ability to help people and deal with people in these very, very personal times of their lives when they're struggling with issues, he's not just there passing massive legislation and thinking great thoughts, he is someone who got

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his fingernails dirty and really worked with the community.

The Fortune Society is a great alternative. If the Fortune Society is not acceptable to the Court, and they said they would be happy to have Mr. Silver work with them, we're prepared to sit down this afternoon with the probation office and anyone else, or the government for that matter, and find another alternative. And there are others that would be out there, but this is one that we thought was particularly well suited, and they offered in their letter to provide that opportunity to Mr. Silver.

As I said, Mr. Cohen will address the Court about the letters and about Mr. Silver as the person. In the end, we ask that your sentence be just. We ask that your sentence be fair. We ask that you take into account this extraordinary man, unique things that he has done and has to offer, as well as the extraordinary circumstances of this case.

Thank you.

THE COURT: Thank you.

Mr. Cohen.

Thank you, your Honor. I appreciate you MR. COHEN: giving me the opportunity to speak, as well as Mr. Molo. Ι will try to deal with other things, but I may overlap somewhat, and please bear with me.

24 Unlike Mr. Molo and Mr. Shur, I have known Mr. Silver 25 for 20-some-odd years. They have known him barely a year. And

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I observed him from close by and from afar, and I observed that he has weathered many storms as a controversial, sometimes, politician. In the 1990s he literally held up the budget of New York against the Republican governor, the Republican majority leader of the senate, in order to preserve rent regulation. He did that himself. The government sort of suggested at trial he's been in the hip pocket of real estate, but he did that because that was the need for him to do for the people he represented. And he weathered that storm and the other storms.

But I say to you, and it's difficult to do it with Mr. Silver and his family sitting here, he won't weather this Whatever leniency your Honor will seek to give him storm. today, whatever leniency we may seek from the Court of Appeals, your Honor, we made no mistake about it that we're going to seek to appeal the conviction, whatever leniency we have from you, your Honor, he is already crushed. He has been devastated by everything that has occurred over the last year and a half from the day that the charge was first brought.

Every single day we read about Mr. Silver in every portion of the community in every part of his life every single day. If another man gets prosecuted or another woman gets 23 prosecuted, they talk about Mr. Silver every single day. He is 24 And I hesitate to say it again with his family here, crushed. 25 his obituary has already been written. It's already there.

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This is going to be the story about him, notwithstanding everything he has done.

The government expresses about the letters that we have amassed that basically yeah, he was supposed to do these things, that's what his job is as a legislator. The government, the prosecutors -- I was a prosecutor when I was I felt the same way, every defendant is all bad, their age. there's no black and white, there's no shades of gray, the defendant is all bad. And that's the way I prosecuted, and maybe that mentality is necessary for prosecutors to do the job that they have to do effectively.

But your Honor of course has a different role, and I don't have to preach to you about that. You have to separate the wheat from the chaff. You have to look at the two sides of the individual, and the story about Mr. Silver has two sides to And let me begin with a proverb from the Bible, and you him. don't have to believe in religion to believe in the proverb love the neighbor as yourself. The conventional meaning of love your neighbor as yourself is the way you treat him is the way you want to be treated. Makes sense.

But there's another meaning, it comes from the Hebrew Bible, I'll help the reporter out later, the word is Kamohkha, like yourself, treat your neighbor like yourself because he's The problems that you have in your life, the like vou. travails, tribulations, all the problems, weaknesses in health,

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weaknesses in education and weaknesses in how you live, the same problems you have he has, so treat him that way because he's like you.

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The government is stingy in its view of what Mr. Silver did for the community, notwithstanding the letters that your Honor has seen, some of whom are repetitive because they come from different people whom he helped that way. But if you look at the letters, they talk about not only what he did as a legislator because that's his job as a member of the assembly, but he did it because he's a person who is empathic, who looks at people and cares about people, who does things for people day in and day out, not only on 9/11 when he rented a van and was riding along the esplanade in Battery Park giving food and medical supplies to people, or during Hurricane Sandy, but the kind of things he would do every day and every night in his office, and do it in a way to make things happen. He's not a glad-handing, back-slapping politician; he has droll voice, he's known for being Sphinx-like, but the truth of the matter is he gets the job done, and he got the job done in the assembly, unlike others.

The probation report says -- it's sort of interesting on page 35. And we disagree with some of the things in the probation report, but they did a professional job. It says on page 35 that he, Mr. Silver, had the power and the influence to be the voice of those who couldn't be heard, but instead

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attempted to reap the benefit of the scheme. We take issue with "but instead."

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There is no question the government has a view of the evidence, your Honor has a view of the evidence. We have a substantially different view of the evidence. But the truth of the matter is he did all these things. These letters talk about the things that he did for his community in terms of rent regulations, in terms of education, in terms of criminal justice, all of the things, because he recognized that he was like his neighbor, he loves his neighbor as himself, and that's the kind of thing that shows up in every letter.

There's one letter in particular that I paid attention to. It's the letter -- I don't have the exact page -- by a gentleman that seemed to be a neighbor near Mr. Silver's home in Woodbridge, not a particularly close friend, and he called Mr. Silver in the middle of the night to say to Mr. Silver, my daughter, age 14 -- your Honor read the letter -- age 14 and her four friends are missing on a camping trip in Bear Mountain Park, can you help. Most people would, in the middle of the night, say call the state barracks, call the state police, call the state troopers and see if they can help you. No. He mobilized the effort. It kind of says the kind of things that he did, not just that day, he did it continually.

He helped somebody who had an infectious disease, helped a person he didn't know, not in his district, to get the

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kind of treatment that that person needed, and your Honor saw that in one the letters that your Honor read. But there were a lot of letters like that, and I don't want to go through them item by item in haec verba because your Honor has seen them.

If you pardon me for another the expression in the Talmud, it's: Don't judge another man until you reach his place. Common meaning of it: Don't judge another man until you walked a mile in his shoes. That's a nice meaning. There's a secondary meaning to it: Don't judge another man until you come to his place, where he lives. I'm not talking about judge like your Honor is judging Mr. Silver, but how to judge other people. Until you reach his place, to see the people he lives among, his community, his family, what they think of him, what do they express about him?

Now your Honor got some adverse letters from folks, we don't know who those folks are, but the letters from people in his community, whether it's the Jewish community, whether the Hispanic community or the Chinese community, many of those make up his constituency, they wrote the letters to your Honor. They told your Honor what they thought about the man and his ability to help them in dire times, in extremely dire times. The government said well, that's his duty, that's his duty as an assemblyman. There are ways to handle your duty, two different ways: Call the police or let me do something for you. And he showed that time and time again.

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And the government is cynical of letters. Believe me, I understand, and I was a prosecutor for ten years. I was just as cynical when I was their age. Maybe I'm still cynical. But I remember I prosecuted a man who was the head of the Republican party in Suffolk County. He was a very well liked guy who embezzled money from the Republican party coffers. And the case was tried before Judge George Pratt. Of course your Honor knows he later went on to the Second Circuit, an excellent judge. The case was tried non-jury, and he was a very likeable guy, everybody liked him, and he had friends, fat cat friends, not so fat cat friends, people in the community, business associates, people he broke bread with, and a lot of letters came in on his behalf as well.

And I sat in Judge Pratt's courtroom, and he sort of went through preparing for sentence with the parties in the courtroom, and Judge Pratt said he didn't really care about the letters from these big shots, he cared about the letter from the person who described how the defendant helped an old lady cross the street. Now we don't literally have a letter from an old lady crossing the street, but that's what you have time and time again in the letters that your Honor sees.

And I think that's what we want to express, that there are two sides to this man. Whatever your Honor views about the conduct in this case -- and again, we differ with your Honor, respectfully, but it's real. It's real. When the probation

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report says instead he used his power for some other purpose, he used his voice to help the little guy time and time again, you don't hear him doing things to help the big guy in terms of his legislation.

Judge Yates talked about -- he was his counselor the last four years preceding the charges in this case. He talked about a thousand bills that Mr. Silver was able to accomplish. We heard at the beginning of this case that there's three men Well, yeah, that's the way sort of government in a room. works. I mean when Ronald Reagan was President it was Tip O'Neill and he who made things happen. You can't have 500 legislators walk into a chamber of the governor and make things happen. He had the voice of his house, the caucus of the Democratic party, and the house of the assembly, he made things happen as a result of that. He was effective in that. And not in a glad-handing, press release way that a lot of politicians do; they put five more beans into a can of beans and they have a press release about it. He didn't do that, he just did it, and all people knew of his willingness and ability to get things done on that level.

I would like to talk for a minute about the illness issue that is here. Like I said, I have sort of known Mr. Silver better than my colleagues for a long time. In April of last year when your Honor was first not clear when the trial was going to happen, Mr. Silver took me aside alone. My

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colleagues were not there.

And I said what's up? He said: I'll be out of pocket for two weeks. I think he hoped that I wouldn't even ask why are you going to be out of pocket two weeks, but he's a very private man, as your Honor knows. And he said to me: I'm going to need a procedure. And I said: For what? He told me prostate cancer. I probably said some platitude like it will all be better and the like.

And I wondered aloud, and he knew where I was going, this is probably going to get out, and maybe that's not worst thing in the world. He looked at me with disciplining eyes he hadn't done before or since, sort of reminded me of my father, actually, said: It's not getting out. And it didn't.

Procedure seems to have been successful. He's in remission. I'm sorry to say those are famous last words sometimes.

The case results in a conviction. We go to the probation department. I was sitting there with a colleague and Mr. Silver, and the probation officer dutifully asks about health issues and family and whatnot, and says how about siblings. Well, my brother died of cancer at age 70, prostate cancer, my father died of complications of prostate cancer. During all this time, while he was going through that, he never told me about that. I'm the guy, in some respects, closest to anybody other than his family, doesn't tell me what he's

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enduring until that time.

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Why do I say this? The government made a big point at trial, didn't tell this guy this and that. This is personal, I understand, but that's an idiosyncratic part of his make-up. He doesn't talk to people about things they don't need to know. I guess I didn't need to know that. I did need to know it the day we sat down with probation, but I think it's a relevant fact in looking at the saga of the person from this side.

The government talks about remorse. They're unhappy about the letter. They're unhappy that well, he could have said I did this, this and this, and I'm guilty as charged, please send me to jail, take away all my money. They sort of can't take yes for an answer. I have never seen in my experience, and I have been around, sad to say, for a long time, a defendant convicted at trial actually write a letter of apology to the Court about what the result of the conduct has done to the community, which he does.

We shouldn't look at his remorsefulness and say: 18 Well, it's not really remorsefulness, it's actually bad, it's a 19 20 bad thing that he did by writing that letter. The government cites in terms remorse the case of the Supreme Court, which 21 22 passed in front of me in the Court of Appeals, I think it's 23 called Martinucci. Martinucci was a defendant who pled guilty 24 to the crime of child molestation and at his sentence denied 25 the very crime that he pled guilty to. They cite the Second

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Circuit for saying that's a sign of a lack of remorse.

This is remorse when what he says in the letter is very clearly a sign of remorse. Other than my family, serving my constituents is the most important thing to me. I've worked hard to make sure that the assembly remains the people's house. I wanted the assembly and all of its members to be accessible and available to people. What I have done is hurt the assembly in New York and my constituents terribly, and I regret that more than I can possibly express. Because of my actions, New York Ethics Rules will continue to be analyzed, evaluated and criticized. I worked hard for many years to make sure that the assembly and its members were respected as a vital legislative body. Because of me, the government has been ridiculed. I let my peers down. I let the people of the state down. I let my constituents, the people of lower Manhattan that I live among and fought for, they deserve better.

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That's not an apology.

On a personal level, your Honor, I want to implore you to be as lenient as possible under the circumstances consistent with what Mr. Molo has told you about. It's interesting in that David Brooks wrote a book a few years ago -- he's a fine editorialist, columnist for The New York Times, called On the Road to Character. He talked about résumé values and eulogy values -- pardon me, résumé virtues and eulogy virtues. Résumé virtues, if you're a district attorney or prosecutor, all the

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convictions that you brought, great. If you're a legislator, all the kinds of things you did as legislator, budgets and the like, very important. The values that we have been talking about today, both Mr. Molo and myself, they're eulogy values, they're core values of a person that are far more important than the accomplishments one might make during the course of one's life. That's what is at stake for me today, your Honor, in terms of your Honor's very important and very difficult assignment to judge someone.

I think it's very important -- I understand the value of the deterrence. Specific deterrence is irrelevant here, but general deterrence isn't. But also important, it seems to me, is that good emerge in terms of the good that people do in the course of their life that emerge and help them when they're in crunch time, when basically the very liberty in life is on the line. If we allow good to happen and to show up and to be helpful to a person who was in that kind of circumstance, the good that they have done in the past, it helps good to prevail.

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Thank you, your Honor.

THE COURT: Thank you, Mr. Cohen.

Mr. Silver, do you wish to make a statement?

THE DEFENDANT: Your Honor, I believe that my letter to the Court probably captured it best. Without question, I let down my family, I let down my colleagues, I let down my constituents, and I am truly, truly sorry for that.

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THE COURT: Thank you, Mr. Silver.

Mr. Silver, federal law requires me to consider the guidelines, but also to consider the nature and circumstances of the offense and the history and characteristics of the defendant. Federal law requires me to impose a sentence that is reasonable and no greater than necessary to accomplish the goals of sentencing, which include the need to reflect the seriousness of the offense, to promote respect for the law, to provide just punishment for the offense while avoiding unwarranted disparities from similarly situated defendants, to deter criminal conduct, to protect the public from the defendant, and to provide the defendant with needed educational or vocational training, medical care, or other correctional treatments.

I have considered the advisory guidelines and all of the required sentencing factors, including the sentences that have been imposed on many other corrupt New York politicians and corrupt politicians nationwide in recent history.

For New York politicians, the sentences, almost all imposed in either the Southern District or the Eastern District, ranged from six months of house arrest, which was imposed on a terminally ill defendant, to 14 years. Many of the sentences followed guilty pleas where the defendant acknowledged his guilt. None involved an official as high up in New York government as you are or you were, and none, as far

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as I can tell, yielded nearly as much in ill-gotten gains or lasted for nearly as long as the schemes for which you were convicted.

Although those factual distinctions reduce the value of those other sentences in evaluating the appropriate sentence to impose in this case, they are not entirely irrelevant data points when taking into account the sentencing goal of avoiding unwarranted sentencing disparities.

I considered all the very kind letters that your lawyers submitted on your behalf, as well as the ones, both supportive and not supportive, that I received directly.

I have to agree with the defense that the letters clearly and persuasively paint a picture of a gifted politician who went above and beyond the call of duty many times for friends, for friends of friends, and for constituents. Of course, as of the government says, constituent service is part of the job of a politician, but the reality is some do it better than others. It is clear that you did it quite well. And I took all of that into account when considering the history and characteristics of the defendant.

I have also considered Mr. Silver's health. He is, all in all, a healthy 72-year-old man, albeit with prostate cancer that is in remission.

The defense at trial and in the sentencing pitch in this case has been a mix of arguing that the government has

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1 criminalized conduct that is inherently part of a part-time
2 legislature, and argue in any event that Silver is a good
3 person who has done many good things in his life. And to use
4 the defendant's words from his sentencing submission, this case
5 "lacks discernible harm" caused by his corruption.

6 Silver, the argument goes, was as loyal a 7 representative of tenants' rights before he started extorting 8 big landlords as he was after he got the money. Silver really 9 is concerned about the potential health effects of the asbestos 10 release from the World Trade Center on September 11, so the 11 grant to Dr. Taub really was in the best interest of his 12 constituents regardless of any benefit that flowed to 13 Mr. Silver.

14 I understand those arguments, but here's thing about 15 corruption: It makes the public very cynical.

So for the HCRA grants, the defense argues the money was available for health-related grants. There might be mesothelioma risks as a result of the World Trade Center collapse, Taub used the money appropriately, so macht nichts.

The problem from the perspective of the taxpayer is that one has to wonder whether but for the quid pro quo arrangement between Silver and Taub, Silver might not have found better ways to spend a half a million dollars. After all, mesothelioma is an incredibly rare cancer, whereas there are a lot of other diseases and conditions that are widely

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1 prevalent in New York City; asthma, Type 2 Diabetes and 2 hypertension, just to come up with three off the top of my 3 head. Might Silver have funded research that had broader 4 applications to more New Yorkers but for his desire to line his 5 own pocket?

As to the actions taken that benefited Witkoff and 7 Glenwood, at trial the defense made it sound like the Public Authorities Control Board, or PACB, which approved millions if 8 9 not billions of dollars of bonds to be issued to benefit 10 Glenwood, is simply a rubber stamp.

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11 First, anyone who ever dealt with the PACB knows that 12 that is not true as a factual matter. But second, the whole 13 problem with having a corrupt member is that we will never know 14 whether the corrupt relationship contributed to those deals 15 being approved. Maybe if there had been an uncorrupted member 16 from the assembly, some or all of those deals would not have 17 been approved.

As to the rent law, the one thing we can know for sure 18 that happened relative to the legislation is that Silver 19 20 checked with Glenwood before he gave his final okay to the 21 proposed legislation. So one landlord who funneled hundreds of 22 thousands of dollars to Silver was privately consulted by the 23 speaker of the assembly, one of the three most powerful people 24 in New York State government, relative to incredibly important 25 legislation.

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As Glenwood itself said, it spoke only for itself in 1 2 that meeting, not for other landlords, including many smaller 3 landlords. I am confident that the Real Estate Board of New 4 York, or any real estate association that represented smaller 5 landlords, would have loved to have a private meeting to 6 discuss what they needed in the law from the speaker. But they 7 didn't get that opportunity because they were not kicking back hundreds of thousands of dollars to the speaker. 8

9 In short, no one can say that the people of New York 10 did not suffer tangible harm from Silver's corruption. But 11 what this New Yorker can say is that whether or not there was 12 any tangible harm, there was incalculable intangible harm to 13 people of New York. Silver's corrupt action cast a shadow over 14 everything he has done and has thrown into doubt every 15 difficult decision any legislator has ever made.

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Did Silver do nice things just to be nice, or did he do those things because somewhere there was something in it for him? Did a particular political decision get made because it was the best compromise available given competing interests, or did one side have a big heavy thumb on the scale because of secret payments being made to one of the politicians who was making the compromises? Did a lobbyist have preferred access because she was a better lobbyist than her competitors, or was it payback for a personal relationship? Did that result in a thumb on the scale for her clients rather than decisions being

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made on the merits? Those sorts of doubts end up corroding trust in government, and that, Mr. Silver, is discernible harm to the people of New York.

Certain facts, mostly from this trial but actually some from the letters that the defendant submitted, stick in my head that shed light to me on what is the fundamental question that I had to grapple with relative to Sheldon Silver's sentence. Is Sheldon Silver a basically good and honest person who just went astray, which is what the defense argues, or is he fundamentally corrupt, as the government argues?

I was struck by a letter from Judith Hope that was submitted by the defense. She was the chairman of the Democratic party in 1995. According to Ms. Hope, Mr. Silver stressed to her that there had to be a complete wall between government business and party business. That's a good thing. Mr. Silver specifically cautioned her never to ask him for any favors in his role as a member of the assembly, and he would never ask her for any favors as the head of the party. While he saw and avoided the risk of mixing Democratic party goals with government goals, he failed to take his own advice when it came to separating government work from his own personal financial gain.

The next fact that sticks in my head came from Dr. Taub's testimony. Dr. Taub testified that a mutual friend of theirs, Danny Chill, introduced him to Silver, told him that

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Silver wanted to him to refer mesothelioma patients to Silver at Weitz & Luxenberg, and then assisted Taub in drafting the first request for a HCRA grant. The fact that sticks in my head is that Silver subsequently told Dr. Taub not to tell Mr. Chill that Taub was continuing to refer mesothelioma patients to Mr. Silver. If this was all on the up and up, and Silver is basically an honest person, why did he want to hide the referrals from Mr. Chill?

Another fact that stuck with me was Steve Witkoff's testimony about his lunch with Silver when Mr. Silver asked Witkoff to send tax certiorari work to Goldberg & Iryami. Silver lied to Witkoff, portraying the request as asking for a mitzvah, help for a friend, indicating that Mr. Goldberg needed the business, never hinting that what was really going on was that Silver was going to get a piece of the business. Witkoff legitimately thought he was doing a nice thing for a friend of a politician; maybe not the best thing to do, but not necessarily corrupt either. If Silver is basically honest, why didn't he tell Witkoff from the get-go that Goldberg was going to be splitting his fee with Silver?

In this regard, another letter that the defense submitted jumped out at me. Ann-Margaret Carrozza is a trusted estates lawyer. She said that Silver occasionally referred clients to her. When she asked him if he wanted a referral fee, he, quote, dismissed it out of hand and told her he was

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only interested in her taking very good care of the people he sent over, close quote. That's a noble instinct, but it obviously was not in play vis-a-vis Witkoff's and Glenwood's tax certiorari work or Dr. Taub's mesothelioma patients.

Another fact that stands out in my head is what happened when Ms. Iryami insisted that their retainer agreement show that Silver was getting a piece of their fee. Did he withdraw from the arrangement at that point? No. Did he disclose the arrangement on his financial disclosures forms because there was nothing wrong with the relationship? No. He doubled down on the corruption and agreed with Glenwood that the arrangement could be documented in a secret side letter. What would the side letter accomplish? It would keep the arrangement secret because Glenwood was worried that retainers for tax certiorari work might have to be publicly filed, and they knew it would not be good for them or for Silver to know about the arrangement.

Mr. Silver, those are not the actions of a basically honest person. Those are the actions of a scheming, corrupt politician.

The final fact that jumps out -- the government mentioned this -- nothing that happened in the world of criminal prosecutions of Albany politicians seemed to have an iota of an impact on you beyond leading you to amend slightly what you disclosed on your financial disclosure form. One

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would think that the image of Mr. Silver's colleagues being arrested and led off to jail would have caused someone who was basically honest to reappraise what was going on. Instead, in the face of arrests and prosecutions, Silver stopped nothing. He lied to his own press officer and he lied to the press, holding himself as a paragon of virtue who had no business involvement with companies that had business with the state, a statement he knew full well to be absolutely false.

And then when the Moreland Commission started looking at outside employment of members, he threw up every roadblock he could to thwart the investigation, portraying his actions --which, by the way, used taxpayer funds -- as motivated by institutional concerns for the assembly when, as we know now all too well, they were actually the desperate actions of a politician who was trying to ensure that the corruption in Albany could continue unchecked. Those are not the actions of a basically honest person.

Mr. Silver, I have told you that I'm not going to impose a guidelines sentence, and I'm not, but I think it's important for you and your family to understand -- and I'm sure your lawyers have explained this to you -- why the corruption guidelines are so high.

23 Corruption is a crime that does not just victimize 24 individuals or take money wrongfully from the public fisc. The 25 guidelines are so high because corruption attacks the very

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heart of our system of government. There's so much money sloshing around government right now that it's very difficult to have confidence that any decision is being made on the merits. That doubt about whether our public servants are operating in our interests or whether their vote is available for purchase to the highest bidder is magnified every time we see another politician exposed as corrupt.

I hope the sentence I'm going to impose will serve as 8 9 a general deterrent to others, that other politicians will see 10 that corruption is going to be dealt with severely. I hope 11 that the sentence I impose on you will make the next politician 12 hesitate just long enough before taking a bribe or a kickback 13 for his better angels to take over, or if there are no other 14 better angels, and for some people there are not, then maybe 15 his fear of living out his golden years in an orange jumpsuit will keep him on the straight and narrow. 16

Mr. Silver's crimes were motivated by greed and were able to continue for years because Silver had essentially unchecked power. The sentence I intend to impose will deprive him of most of his finances, or many of his finances, and his freedom for a substantial period of time, not only to serve as a general deterrent to others, but to provide just punishment for an exceptionally serious crime.

In addition to his substantial period ofincarceration, I intend to impose a substantial fine.

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Mr. Silver's New York's pension, which he filed for just days after being convicted, has a present value of approximately \$850,000. I have taken that into account in setting the fine, as well as your liquid and not-entirely liquid assets, specifically your co-op and your country house.

I have also taken into account the government's notion that a fine above the statutory maximum on each crime will create Apprendi problems.

Mr. Silver, I sentence you to the custody of Attorney General for a period of twelve years on each of Counts One through Six, and ten years on Count Seven, all to run concurrent.

I impose a fine of \$250,000 on each count to run consecutive, for a total fine of 1.75 million. In setting the fine, I have considered the cost of the government of incarcerating you and supervising you during the period of supervised release. Because I find that the defendant has the ability to do so, he must pay at least 1.5 million of the fine not later than June 14, 2016.

Furthermore, during each month that Silver is incarcerated and on supervised release, he must pay a minimum of \$5,846 towards his fine. In addition, while incarcerated, 23 he must pay 50 percent of his UNICOR earnings towards the fine. If he's not employed by UNICOR, he must pay an additional \$25 per quarter from his BOP earnings towards his fine.

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I impose a term of two years supervised release on each count to run concurrent.

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The mandatory terms of supervised release are that you may not illegally possess a controlled substance. You may not possess a firearm or a destructive device. You must cooperate in the collection of DNA.

I am waiving the mandatory drug testing because I find Mr. Silver poses a low risk of substance abuse.

In addition to the standard conditions of supervision which will be on the judgment and which the probation officer will explain, the defendant must provide the probation officer with access to any requested financial information. The defendant may not incur new credit card charges or open additional lines of credit unless he is in full compliance with the installment payment schedule reflecting payments on the balance of the fine.

The defendant must report to nearest probation office within 72 hours of release, and will be supervised in the district of residence.

20 The defendant must pay a special assessment of \$700. 21 Mr. Molo, are there any requests relative to 22 designation?

23 MR. COHEN: Your Honor, we understand that your Honor 24 can't order it, but recommend the Otisville prison camp. 25

THE COURT: Otisville camp?

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1 MR. COHEN: Yes. Mr. Silver, as I'm sure your lawyers 2 THE COURT: 3 explained, I only have the power to recommend, I do not have the power to control your designation, but I am happy to 4 5 recommend that you be designated to Otisville. 6 Mr. Silver, you must surrender to your designated 7 facility not later than noon on July 1, 2016. If no facility has been designated by that time, you must surrender to MCC New 8 9 York at that time. 10 Mr. Molo, you have told me that you wish to move for 11 bail pending appeal. 12 MR. MOLO: Yes, your Honor. 13 THE COURT: Do you want to submit papers? 14 MR. MOLO: We would like to submit papers. We could 15 do that within ten days. THE COURT: I was going to say your papers are due 16 17 May 13, any response is due May 20, and your reply is due May 25. 18 19 Mr. Silver, you have the right to appeal your 20 conviction and sentence. If you're unable to pay the cost of 21 an appeal, you may apply for leave to appeal in forma pauperis. 22 The notice of appeal must be filed within 14 days of the 23 judgment of conviction. 24 Anything further from the government? 25 MS. COHEN: Your Honor, just in an abundance of

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1 caution, earlier you said you would impose the forfeiture 2 amount of the fine, \$5,393,976, but that also has to be part of 3 your formal sentence.

THE COURT: I had already said I was going to do that, that was my intent to get that out of way at that point. There's been a draft submitted. I will double-check the arithmetic on that. It will be the amount I announced plus the earnings reflected in the government's submission.

Anything further from the defense? MR. MOLO: No, your Honor. THE COURT: Thank you all. MS. COHEN: Thank you, your Honor.

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