## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA

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Supreme Court's Suspension of the Acts of the General Assembly

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House Judiciary Subcommittee on Courts

Altoona Area Public Library Theatre 1600 Sixth Avenue Altoona, Pennsylvania

Thursday, October 23, 1997 - 1:00 p.m.

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## **BEFORE:**

Honorable Daniel Clark, Majority Chairperson Honorable Larry Sather

## ALSO PRESENT:

Karen Dalton, Esquire Majority Counsel

Galina Milohov Minority Research Analyst

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CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Good afternoon. I am State Representative Dan Clark and I'm from the 82nd legislative district, which is just about two hours east of here on Route 22.

I am the House of Representative's
Chairman of the Judiciary Committee's
Subcommittee on Courts, and we've been conducting
hearings in various parts of the state focusing
on the Supreme Court's actions in suspending
certain acts of the General Assembly.

We're here today and we'd like to thank the Altoona Area Public Library for supplying us with a place to conduct these hearings. And the hearings have resulted primarily from a ground swell of unhappiness, to say the least, in the Legislature with our Supreme Court overruling and nullifying certain elements of legislation which the Legislature has passed.

They have gone into a number of arenas such as our Medical Malpractice Tort Reform, parts of our Landlord-Tenant Law, parts of the review of our Death Penalty Appeals and the Legislature's efforts to consolidate those appeals and bring some finality to that appeal process.

Additionally, as the Legislature reviews issues such as the Commonwealth's right to a jury trial, why we continually run into the prospect that the Supreme Court will indicate or decide that the legislation we have passed invades their rule-making authority and strike that legislation down as unconstitutional.

We've had problems with codifying our Code of Evidence where we've received information that the Supreme Court would likely strike that down because it invaded their rule-making authority.

And another item that has interested the Legislature is the court order from the Supreme Court that Pennsylvania should have a unified court system and their efforts to begin to shape that into what they feel ought to rule across the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

So with that backdrop and with role indication as to why we're here and what has brought us here, why, I'd like to start today's hearing.

But before we receive testimony, I'd like the individuals up here at the table to introduce themselves; and I'll start with

Representative Sather on my right.

REPRESENTATIVE SATHER: Thank you,
Representative. I am Larry Sather from the House
81st Legislative District, which is Huntingdon
and Northern Blair County. It's great to be here
and observe and witness the Subcommittee's
action.

I'd like to, as a member of the General Assembly, anxiously await comments and expressions of concerns that might be involved in the length of the process that we have now in the Common Pleas Court, Supreme Court.

Recently we just had, as Dan mentioned, was Attorney General Mike Fisher advising us that the U.S. district judge was attempting to strike down a portion of our work that we did on the Welfare Reform Law as dealing with residency requirements and so on and so forth. So I'm anxious to hear the testimony that's going to begin today.

MS. DALTON: Karen Dalton, counsel to the Committee.

MS. MILOHOV: Galina Milohov, research analyst.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: I thank you. The

1 first

individual who has already taken his seat and will provide testimony to the Committee is Dr. David DiLeo. He is assistant Professor of Political Science for Pennsylvania State University.

DR. DiLEO: It's Daniel.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Daniel?

DR. DiLEO: Yes, it is. I'd like to begin by saying that I was able to watch the hearings of the Subcommittee televised by PCN from York. Thank God for PCN. We need more of PCN and better equipment too for PCN, if that's possible, so the faces don't break up when people move. That would be great.

This Committee must consider the nature of certain questions, specifically the nature of questions concerning the limits of the Supreme Court's rule-making authority and the limits of its power of judicial review.

Are these technical, professional questions which only members of the legal profession can answer or are they questions of constitutional interpretation which only the Supreme Court can answer or are they political

questions that bear on the inalienable and indefeasible right of the people to alter reform or abolish their government in such manner as they think proper -- Article 1, Section 2 of the Pennsylvania Constitution?

Ultimately, they are the latter. The Pennsylvania Constitution recognizes all powers inherent in the people and all free governments are founded on their authority, Article 1, Section 2.

Therefore, the authority to decide whether the Supreme Court as overstepped its bounds is an authority that belongs to the people, not to the Supreme Court.

Likewise, if the people are sovereign, then the court to which they have delegated the authority to decide whether a particular law is unconstitutional has not been delegated the authority to pass ultimate judgment on whether it has overstepped its bounds.

Similarly, if the Legislature and the Supreme Court are in dispute as to the limits of the Court's rule-making authority, the ultimate arbiter's not the Court; it is the people.

To define these foundational questions

bearing on the sovereignty of the people as technical legal questions to be resolved by members of the legal profession is to transfer sovereignty from the people to a particular group.

When the legal profession holds that these are technical legal questions that it should resolve rather than foundational questions that only a sovereign people can resolve, that profession is opposing the right of the people to govern themselves.

To say that these foundational questions are questions for the people to decide is to say that they belong in the political arena.

Citizens need to know which justices believe that the Court has the last word in deciding how far its powers of rule making and judicial review extend.

They also need to know who's responsible for bringing these justices to the Supreme Court. Bringing these questions into the political arena means politicizing retention elections.

This is not undue politicization because unless the citizens use the retention elections to pass judgment on the scope of the Court's

powers of rule making and judicial review, the Court will have the final word on these highly political foundational questions, questions that only a sovereign body should answer.

Although the percentage of judges and justices who are defeated in retention elections is only about 1 percent, the campaign against Justice Rose Bird in California, which focused on her resistance to the death penalty, indicates that when the voters are convinced that justices are usurping the authority of the people the voters will deny retention.

Holding the governor and his party accountable for judicial appointments is another part of the political remedy available to the citizens.

The notion that the Court should have the last word in deciding the scope of its powers did not come about suddenly and is not limited to Pennsylvania. It has become part of the legal culture of our state and our nation. That legal culture is produced primarily by members of the legal profession.

The predominant views in that profession are that trailblazing and progressive decisions

are the ones that block majority of citizens and legislatures and that <u>Brown v. Board</u> proved that the wider the scope of judicial review the better.

While it is certainly true that the rights of minorities must be protected, it is also true that republican government is essentially a majoritarian institution.

It is unfortunate that Article 4,
Section 4 of the U.S. Constitution, which
guarantees a republican form of government to
the states, is one of the least litigated
clauses in that document. That speaks volumes
about the culture of the legal profession.

I only single out the legal profession because an understanding of its culture informs us of the necessity of maintaining a close watch on the judicial branch and engenders a healthy skepticism towards claims that judicial competence, a technical matter best decided by professionals, is all that should be at issue in the selection and retention of judges and justices.

All professionals, even college professors, tend to forget that our ability to

provide specialized, high-quality services to the public does not give us the right to decide what is good for the public. The public has to do that for itself.

That requires information, and I commend the Subcommittee on holding these hearings around the state because that is an effective way to provide information and a forum for debate.

On the question of a constitutional amendment, I am uncommitted so far. I agree that it could help to clarify the limits of the Court's rule-making powers; however, I also believe that the justices will retain and should retain a good deal of discretion over the scope of their powers.

The best way to bring their use of that discretion into line with the requirements of popular sovereignty is to turn the election -- the retention elections into referenda on the scope of judicial power and to address the legal profession with friendly yet firm criticism about its very human failure to distinguish between the ability to assist people in certain areas and the right to make

well-intentioned decisions for a sovereign people.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Thank you, very much, Doctor. And if I could follow-up on a few things that you brought out, I guess ultimately you indicate that it's the people who will rectify any situation that may be out of bounds or may be perceived as being out of bounds.

However, their ability to do that is limited to retention elections, which are held maybe every ten years or when vacancies appear. Do you have any suggestions on a way to allow them to be more active in exercising their concerns about the Court?

DR. DiLEO: Yeah. I agree that the retention elections doesn't allow very frequent input and also it's very hard to defeat justices that are running. I think more input would be indirect.

All of these judges and justices are appointed. And I think the party system gives the voters a way of holding the people -- if not the people that actually make the appointments, of holding somebody accountable.

And I think if it reaches a level of

being a real concern to the public, I think this could be a factor in political campaigns for people -- for offices other than justice.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: You also indicated that if the people enter the political arena, et cetera, when they should know how justices would feel on certain areas.

And my understanding is that when you have judicial elections that the judges generally indicate that, well, we can't speak about that.

I can tell you that I am for law and order, but I'm not going to tell you what that means.

DR. DiLEO: Right.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: And is there something that the Legislature can do to maybe open up that process so that the people can compare what candidates they're looking at?

DR. DiLEO: I think that's very important. I think something needs to be done about that. I definitely agree with that, absolutely.

There's really no point in having these retention elections if the justices are going to say I can't say this, I can't say that, especially if the issue is that the justices may

be arrogating powers to themselves that are not appropriate. If you're going to have any kind of accountability for that, that has to be brought out into the open.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: And you indicate that ultimately the political parties will need to emphasize this or will put this out for public information since, of course, that's probably the only place that I can see where that information's coming from.

And you also make an indication to the judicial -- or not judicial -- but the legal profession; and I'm trying to figure out how they will come into play in those decisions.

DR. DiLEO: The way I think -- the way I understand they come into play is that in the law schools, even in undergraduate -- if I look at textbooks and I see what people are learning about in the law, the decisions that are brought out are the decisions always where the justices are overruling the elected branches.

And those are considered the great decisions is when the justices are overruling the elected branches. And you sort of get the

opinion that that's sort of the purpose and the more they do that the better. And, you know, it goes to the way we educate even undergraduates but lawyers too, certainly, lawyers.

I mean, I've got friends and associates that are lawyers and they've all soaked this up that the more they overrule the elected branches that's the way they are trailblazers and that's sort of their role almost as much as possible to do that. And so I think it's really embedded in the culture and -- of that profession.

And if you see the Court acting excessively in this matter, I think it does come from the culture. And how to deal with that, I think that just needs to be challenged in some kind of ways.

But, you know, certainly all of the professions have privileges that are granted by the Commonwealth in exchange for promoting the interests of the Commonwealth, as the Commonwealth sees fit. That's really the relationship between the professions.

All the professions generally have monopolies on services that are provided in exchange for their benefitting the Commonwealth.

That's the way that works.

And it's very natural to just sort of assume that you have this monopoly because of how hard you worked and how competent you are, and it's just sort of natural; but there's one other step to it.

You have that monopoly because the Commonwealth feels that it's in the interest of the Commonwealth for you to have that monopoly. And it's something that needs to be looked at a little bit.

I think -- you know, it's not restricted to the legal profession. All the professions I think have this natural tendency to just sort of assume that these privileges are their birthright or that they're earned strictly by virtue of their competency.

But I think that that really needs to be challenged that, you know, we're giving you this monopoly. Are you working with us, you know? Because there is a give-and-take there.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Do you have any thoughts on having judges sit on our appellate courts and our Supreme Court with merit selection as opposed to elections?

DR. DiLEO: Well, okay, basically just in light of what I said, I think that we need more popular input and more avenues of popular input into the selection and retention of judges.

And some of the merit selection boards are moving away from that, actually. So what I would consider, maybe, would be instead of the elections -- I think the partisan elections are better than nonpartisan elections because then you can hold the parties accountable. So we're not that bad off that way.

The only other possibility I would consider would be gubernatorial appointment perhaps because then the governor can be held accountable. So that's one possibility.

But right -- I really don't see any problem with partisan elections. I think it's certainly better than ways that take the people further out of it than they already are, which most of these other plans would do.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: So you prefer to bring the people more into it --

DR. DiLEO: Yeah.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: -- open up more discussion of various issues by the candidates

and politicizing --

DR. DiLEO: Yeah, somewhat -- yeah. I mean, of course there is a balance and it's not supposed to be a political branch. I just feel that the pendulum needs to be pushed a little bit towards the accountability side of it right now.

You know, I mean, certainly there is a need in our system for this independent judiciary, and I see the need for that; but right now I see a need for restoring the balance by politicizing it a little bit more.

Politicizing is one word for it. The other for it is accountability. Accountability's another word for it. So we would be making them accountable to the voters, at least more than they are now.

I'm not saying that they should be strictly worrying about public opinion all the time and all that kind of thing. I do think it's important to have an independent judiciary, but independent doesn't have to mean totally unaccountable either.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Absolutely --

DR. DiLEO: Right.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Do you have any

thoughts on the Supreme Court's idea or order, I guess, that Pennsylvania be placed under a unified court system?

DR. DiLEO: A whole lot of states have been doing that. No, I don't have too much to say about that, no.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: And I guess the last thing I'd like to touch on with you is -- an example of where the Legislature has had problems is we'll pass a piece of legislation -- the House will pass it, the Senate will pass it, and it'll be signed into law.

The Supreme Court then will indicate that it's unconstitutional. The Legislature will then try to amend the constitution and put that to a vote of the people.

And then the Supreme Court will find a way of indicating that the law we passed wasn't passed constitutionally, the advertising of the question on the ballot wasn't constitutional, or the ballot question itself is unconstitutional.

And I guess our concern is that
we -- even when we recognize, okay, you know,
Supreme Court, you indicate your reading of the
constitution is different perhaps than the

legislative and the executive branch and we will even go a step further to amend that constitution to satisfy your desires and then to be frustrated further by that.

DR. DiLEO: Oh, I think they're playing with fire when they strike down these amendments for this reason: I think it's a lot safer to assume that your political system is somewhat fragile and then be pleasantly surprised to see how long it endured than to assume it'll withstand anything and then wake up one day with the world falling down around your feet.

And when the right of the people to amend the constitution is taken away from them, what do they have left? What do they have left? What are they going to do?

At a certain point if they -- they elected, you know, they voted for who they wanted, okay. Okay. Fine. Who they wanted passed the laws that they wanted, fine. They got struck down, okay. They amended the constitution, fine. Still didn't get it, okay.

You're playing with fire because you're giving people no further avenue to pursue that's legal. This isn't good. This isn't good. And

especially if this happens frequently, this is not good.

And this is the kind of thing that makes people that are dissatisfied instead of becoming part of the system drives them out of the system, against the system. And it might not happen now, but there is certainly a situation where people would not have to be crazy to say there's no place else to go. There's nothing else we can do.

So I'd say they're playing with fire.

It's better to assume -- we need to be flexible.

We need to adapt to what the people want, okay.

It's better to assume that because we need to keep our institutions functioning, so we need to listen to the people.

It's better to make that assumption than to say things might be fragile so we better make sure that the people are with us. It's better to assume that than to assume the people won't do anything and then one day find chaos, you know.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Um-hum.

DR. DiLEO: You know, this is America; but it's still part of the human race. Things could happen.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: I thank you very much.

DR. DiLEO: Okay.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: We might have some more.

REPRESENTATIVE SATHER: Just a comment about retention. It does work effectively in some areas of the Commonwealth. I mentioned, coincidentally, before we started the meeting that in Huntingdon County there are two judges, two sitting judges who have lost on retention by the electorate.

So whenever the electorate sees the need, I believe and are adequately to their mind informed, they make decisions, as long as they're adequately informed.

DR. DiLEO: Um-hum. Right.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: I think one of the problems there is that on a local common pleas level and you're familiar enough with what your judge does, you see your judge, and basically, you know, it is a true knowing what you're doing type voting as opposed to sometimes in the statewide elections where they're not allowed to discuss issues; they're not allowed to do this;

1 they're not allowed to do that. 2 Even from retention to retention, they're even limited in the activities that they 3 4 can engage in during that ten-year period that 5 people become removed --6 DR. DiLEO: Yeah. 7 CHAIRPERSON CLARK: -- from knowing 8 nothing about them and they're not allowed to educate the electorate with their views. 10 DR. DiLEO: Yeah. CHAIRPERSON CLARK: And I think that's 11 12 why people are sometimes frustrated with the system. 13 14 DR. DiLEO: Right. CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Any questions? 15 (No audible response.) 16 17 CHAIRPERSON CLARK: We thank you very much for spending some time with us today, and we 18 certainly enjoyed your testimony. 19 20 Next we have Mark Mitman, and he is the President of the Landlords Association of 21 22 Pennsylvania. Mr. Mitman, nice to have you join 23 us today. MR. MITMAN: I would like to start by 24 thanking the Committee for extending this

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invitation to testify and by telling you a little bit about myself and the organization that I represent, Landlord Association of Pennsylvania.

I've worked in and around my family's rental properties most of my adult life. And when my father took ill and required a heart transplant operation, I took over the direct management of his rental investments.

Once I became active in the everyday operations of dealing with tenants and the landlord-tenant legal system, I quickly came to realize that our laws in Pennsylvania are rather hostile towards the small businessman known as the landlord.

The problem for landlords is not only the system, however. There are very few resources available to landlords to assist them in the self-management of their small businesses. This is the reason why I founded the Landlord Association in late 1995.

The Association's goal is to provide as many free resources to Pennsylvania's landlords as possible. We provide a wide variety of tenant screening services to aid in the selection of renters such as eviction searches, credit

reports, criminal checks, bad check scans, and identity verification.

We also offer educational support for Pennsylvania landlords in the form of newsletters, seminars, and free telephone advice. The more a landlord knows about his rights as well as the rights of the tenant, the more effective he will be at running a successful rental business.

Lastly, we provide our members with resources with which they will be able to better manage their rentals. And I'm referring to such things as leases, applications, legal notices and so forth.

As I said previously, the Association was founded in 1995. Since its conception roughly two years ago, we've grown to over 700 members. Our membership reflects all segments of the rental industry.

We have many small mom-and-pop landlords with only one or two units; we have the investment landlords who own possibly dozens of units; we have real estate and management companies as members; and we have several local housing authorities, the largest of which is the

Housing Authority of the City of Pittsburgh with its 10,000 units.

The Association has been growing steadily adding dozens of new members each month. We are readily becoming a major voice for rental property owners in our state in two short years.

The overall legal climate that landlords must cope with in Pennsylvania can best be described as frustrating. If the landlord acts professionally and businesslike, he can typically count on winning at the local district justice's office; however, while he may win the battle in court, he will certainly lose the war.

The eviction process is still long and costly to the landlord, particularly the average landlord who owns only three or four units and depends on every dime of every rental payment to cover the bills.

Even after a victory in court, the mom-and-pop landlord is held hostage by the fact that the tenant can freely destroy the property without any substantial repercussion, continue to live rent free for weeks, and never be held accountable for the judgment obtained at the magistrate's court.

The bottom line is that the overwhelming majority of landlords provide decent and safe housing to tenants and must be held to that standard; however, the reckless tenant who inflicts financial chaos onto an owner of rental property ultimately has no accountability under the present system.

There have been some serious efforts to rectify the inequities in the present landlord-tenant law. Most notably are three pieces of legislation that were introduced in 1995.

The State Legislature finally began to move its wheels to remedy some of the most disturbing areas of Pennsylvania's landlord-tenant law.

I'm referring to Act 33 of 1995 which requires a tenant pay to an escrow account during an appeal, Act 36 of '95 which provides for a more expeditious removal of tenants who have breached the condition of their lease, and Act 5 of 1996 which provides for the garnishment of wages to recover losses due to the physical damage of a rental unit.

I would like to take this opportunity to

go over each law a little more specifically and describe the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania's treatment of this legislation.

Acts 33 and 36 of 1995 were signed into law on June 6, 1995, and both were designed to alleviate a common problem: The difficulty of removing the nonpaying tenant.

If a tenant ceases his rental payments, it used to take almost three months before that tenant could be forced to surrender the apartment. Act 33 shortened the waiting requirements and reduced the overall time frame to about 55 days for a landlord to effect an eviction and subsequent ejection of a nonpaying tenant.

Another common technique used by tenants who desired to get over on the system was to appeal the district justice's decision. While I'm not advancing the notion that anyone should be denied the possibility to appeal, frequently many tenants used it only a stalling technique that would postpone their removal from the apartment by an additional month and in the interim, obviously, permitting them to avoid paying rent.

Act 36 sought to relieve this conflict.

It allows a tenant to appeal an eviction
judgment; however, in order to remain in
possession of the rental property, the tenant has
to place in escrow the amount of the judgment in
lieu of an outcome set by the higher court.

Tenants must also continue to make rental payments in escrow during the appeal process. This action has all but eliminated the frivolous appeals filed by nonpaying tenants who simply used the system to lengthen their stay in an apartment before they were forced to move out.

Acts 33 and 36 were both suspended by the State's Supreme Court in September, 1995. The Supreme Court delayed implementation of these laws because in their opinion they were not consistent with the Minor Court Rules of Civil Procedure.

In addition, the Court allowed a period for public comment concerning the fate of the legislation. Ultimately, the Court did adopt the Rules of Civil Procedure concerning actions before district justices as they relate to Pennsylvania's Landlord-Tenant Act.

The new rules became effective at the

end of March, 1996. The Supreme Court held up the implementation of this legislation for a total of around six months.

In order to understand the impact this has, one needs to examine the financial ramifications a landlord endures during an eviction. The mean rent in Pennsylvania as determined by the Pennsylvania State Data Center in 1990 is \$450 per month.

Under the older, three-month eviction process, a landlord could expect to lose a minimum of about \$1350, or three months times 450, in lost rent over the course of an eviction.

Compare that to the 55-day version which nets a loss of around \$900 from beginning to end, a difference of about one month's rent. That means the cost of an average eviction that ran its full course was reduced by about \$450.

On average during the six-month period like that during which the Supreme Court suspended this particular legislation, there are approximately 25,000 evictions in Pennsylvania's magistrate courts that run their course.

If each landlord was forced to wait out that extra month during the eviction of a

nonpaying tenant, the total loss for him due to the delaying in implementing Acts 33 and 36 totals about \$11.3 million.

One has to wonder if that \$11 million would have been better put to use keeping rents down and maintaining our communities' properties.

The third piece of legislation, Act 5 of 1996, was designed to put teeth into a district justice's judgment. Act 5 allowed for the garnishment of tenant's wages who have done physical damage to a rental above and beyond normal wear and tear.

While the legislation as passed by the State Legislature and signed into law by the Governor does not address the primary issue of unpaid rent, it does attempt to hold a tenant fiscally responsible for any damage or destruction done to the property by attaching wages.

This would permit the landlord to mitigate some of his losses, also it would act as a deterrent against a tenant seeking revenge against a landlord by destroying the rental.

Such instances of revenge are unfortunately rather common.

I've heard many a horror story, as I'm sure members of the Committee have, of a tenant willfully destroying a rental property to get back at a landlord. I've heard of tenants who have purposely flooded a basement with toilet water.

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I've heard of a tenant painting every wall, ceiling, floor, and fixture -- to include the inside of the refrigerator -- with black lacquer paint. I've heard of man who removed an entire wooden stairwell to prevent the landlord access to his apartment.

I've heard of animals left locked in apartments to urinate and defecate in the rental for what was estimated at about a week. And I've heard a story from a landlord whose tenants boarded up every window and doorway from the inside. To this day, the landlord still can't figure out how the tenant got out of the unit.

This obviously goes above normal wear and tear. The point is that when a landlord evicts a tenant for a breach of the rental agreement, there's little to protect the property against outright vandalism.

Act 5 would allow a landlord to recover

normal losses from excessive damage and also act as a deterrent against willful destruction.

Act 5 has run into some major difficulties at the hands of the State's Supreme Court.

The Civil Procedural Rules Committee refused to provide any guidelines for implementing the legislation until substantial changes are made to the legislation. Basically, their stand is that the Legislature needs to take another stab at it.

It would seem to me that the Legislature spoke clearly enough enacting Act 5. In any event, the Committee's objections were summarized in a June 26, 1996, letter. There were four problems identified as to why they were unable to establish guidelines:

Number (1), What is the physical makeup of a rental unit? Apparently, they were confused as to whether or not such things as carpeting and wallpapering counted as part of an apartment's makeup; No. (2), Who was responsible for the destruction of the unit; No. (3), How has the security deposit been applied; and lastly, No. (4), the method and the amount of the wages to be attached?

For these reasons, the Committee opted not to establish any guidelines. Without guidelines to follow, most prothonotary offices have been very reluctant to permit the attachment of a tenant's wages.

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It appears to me that the Committee simply danced around the issue and found weak excuses not to implement Act 5. Even someone with the most limited intelligence could find the answers to these four questions, let alone a magistrate or a judge who deals with matters more complex than these on a routine basis.

The difficulty again is that without procedure most prothonotaries are not attaching wages. The duty of the Court is to interpret statutes as written so as to effect the intention of the Legislature as faithfully as possible.

Act 5's enforceability should not really even be contingent upon the promulgation of new, specific procedural rules for wage attachment actions. To the contrary, our Legislature plainly intended our courts to rely on existing rules of civil procedure to implement the law.

However, the problem of implementation

has been clouded by the Rules Committee's statement that the legislation needs to be changed.

In closing, I would like to elaborate on the issues that are important to landlords.

Acts 33, 36, and 5 all have been positively received by the Pennsylvania landlords; but so much more could be done to improve the Landlord-Tenant Act.

This past session has seen numerous pieces of legislation that require landlords to live up to their end of a rental agreement. The slumlord bills, as they're known, allow punishments for landlords who take advantage of the system and who disregard the health and safety of their tenants.

Overall, I would say that that is a proper expectation to have of a landlord; however, I still find it more than a little ironic that landlords can face steep penalties for not playing by the rules while their tenant counterparts are permitted to run reckless through the system without any responsibility for their actions.

First, if it's going to be criminal

action for a landlord to habitually avoid complying with housing codes, it should likewise be criminal for a tenant who willfully and maliciously destroys a rental unit.

If someone were to spray paint the outside of my rental building, it would be viewed as vandalism. However, if that same person were to spray the exact same wall except from the inside on a rental unit, it would be viewed as a civil matter.

Vandalism is still vandalism and malicious destruction of property should be criminal, regardless if it occurs in the street or in an apartment.

Second, tenants must bear financial responsibility for their actions and commitments. Legislation permitting wage attachment of a judgment-debtor must take high priority both for damages and unpaid rent.

Most landlords are mom-and-pop landlords with only three or four units. Without a steady stream of income, property falls into disrepair and tenants' rents tend to rise.

Additionally, a tenant's unpaid utility bills should remain the responsibility of the

tenant. Too frequently, municipalities will pursue the landlord for a tenant's unpaid water, sewer, garbage, and even electric bills.

If the landlord refuses to pay the tenant's outstanding debt, the municipality will lien the landlord's property. Third, government should pass landlord-friendly laws which impact whole neighborhoods.

Laws such as tax credits to those who rent to low-income tenants, income tax credits for investing and rehabilitating investment properties, placing more of a burden on a tenant to prove uninhabitability and require written notice of unsafe conditions, and also create liability limits on conscientious landlords who are sued for lead poisoning.

The problems Pennsylvania landlords face affect everyone. They're more than just the landlord's problem. If landlords can't collect rent owed or protect their property from destruction, rents rise affecting the poor, property values decline, and our State's general housing stock suffers.

Empowering landlords empowers whole communities to improve themselves. Thank you

for your attention. I have greatly enjoyed this opportunity to present my views on the Supreme Court's effect on recent landlord legislation as well as to speak about the problems still confronting us.

If I can ever be of assistance to your office or your constituents as they pertain to landlord-tenant matters, I would welcome the opportunity.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: We thank you very much. I had a question. Whenever we pass these landlord tenant bills, then the courts, you know, automatically convene the Civil Procedure Rules Committee to review those bills and flush them out sort of like a regulatory agency would; is that correct?

MR. MITMAN: That is correct. I would like to add to that, um, if we're talking about the difficulties dealing with courts in general, a lot of times there are magistrates in Pennsylvania who take it upon themselves to override the Legislature if they have a problem with the extension -- or I'm sorry -- with the, for instance, with the typing up the waiting requirements to go through the eviction process,

to have a hearing, to have the appeal process and go through the whole gamut.

Many, many magistrates I've heard have granted continuances specifically designed to extend the tenant's stay or at least extend the eviction process back to the way it was before the legislation was passed.

I don't know how common that is currently; but beginning in '96 when the laws went into effect, there is no --

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Well, I think that existed even prior to those laws. I mean, when you talk about three or four months, you're talking best case scenario where there weren't any continuances and everything.

MR. MITMAN: Exactly.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: But it just struck me that when we pass another law -- any law in Harrisburg, it's signed into law, we have -- there's regulations that go with those; but they're the departments that we basically control through the Executive Branch or through funding or they're departments that are directly responsible to the Executive Branch.

REPRESENTATIVE SATHER: I can relate to

the issue. I am what was to be properly referred to as one who previously owned and so very joyfully referred to in that category.

MR. MITMAN: That's very common, and it's a problem too. The flight of landlords -- I don't know to the degree that the investments that you had in rental properties --

REPRESENTATIVE SATHER: Four units.

MR. MITMAN: So basically you were the norm. The problem is that the smaller landlords -- three, four, five units -- tend to take better care of their properties.

But the catch is they don't have the resources to cover an unexpected loss in rent, as I'm sure you're probably aware. And it's the small lenders that really go in and take care and maintain our urban centers.

REPRESENTATIVE SATHER: Do you know -- and I don't know the law on this issue.

But many have ceased -- I did -- accepting the security deposit because you have to keep it in a separate account, interest-bearing.

MR. MITMAN: You say refused to accept this --

REPRESENTATIVE SATHER: Right. And now they're going to first and last payment. There's always going to be a last month's rent.

MR. MITMAN: Well, the way the law's written in Pennsylvania, you're only allowed for the first year to hold two months' security deposit.

You can call it whatever you want to call it -- deposit, last month's rent, security deposit; but the first year, you're only allowed to keep two and after that you're required to give one month's back. I guess the assumption is the tenant's proved their worthiness to --

REPRESENTATIVE SATHER: After one year?

MR. MITMAN: Right, after one year.

REPRESENTATIVE SATHER: If you have two month's of security or first and last month, you have to return --

MR. MITMAN: You're only allowed to keep one month's rent as security deposit after the first year.

REPRESENTATIVE SATHER: Because invariably, regretably, when the payments -- rent payments get later and later you know something's going to happen and then you get stuck with --

MR. MITMAN: There's usually a critical
mass that in those instances you can see. But,
again, the typical landlord is a mom-and-pop
landlord; and not being their primary business,
they tend to be decent people and to give breaks

and given extensions.

And then a lot of times it's -- the stuff hits the fan and it's too late and they're into it for a couple thousand dollars.

REPRESENTATIVE SATHER: I had a situation as you mentioned where spackling -- I just had it refurbished, all the walls, new carpet put down.

And the first tenant we had in they put spackling compound all over the picture holes and so on and so forth and then made demands for the security deposit. I just empathize with you.

That's all I'm saying.

MR. MITMAN: I think one of the largest problems with the Landlord-Tenant Law is that it's vague. It's very vague, and there are a lot of rooms for interpretation and -- like, for the security deposit for example, there's a lot of room for interpretation.

And unfortunately, a lot of the

magistrates for whatever reason -- a good segment of the magistrates take it upon themselves to act as a tenant's advocate.

While I think they should look out for both the tenant and the landlord, I don't think it's their position in many instances to say I'm going to extend the eviction process just because, you know, because I think the tenant deserves it or they deserve a break, I should say. If there's actual merits involved, I could understand that; but usually --

REPRESENTATIVE SATHER: Those numbers, are they geographically --

MR. MITMAN: Yes, they're geographically spread out over the state. For obvious reasons, they're concentrated in the population centers. We're rather sparse in this area other than around State College and Harrisburg.

REPRESENTATIVE SATHER: Thank you.

MR. MITMAN: Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Let me -- the vandalism that occurs inside the apartments -- and maybe you'll take one of our district attorneys aside -- have you ever sought a criminal prosecution on any kind of vandalism

inside?

MR. MITMAN: No. It's nothing that is not really -- usually it's viewed as a civil matter. While there are some instances where there's some mechanisms that you can go and make a criminal action, they're not that effective.

It's traditionally viewed as a civil matter regardless of what happens in the apartment. Whether it just be a couple of holes in the walls or somebody being malicious about it, there really isn't much recourse.

If there is recourse, it's something that is not readily accessible; it's not practical. It's not practical to hire an attorney and spend \$3,000 possibly in attorney's fees to litigate a thousand-dollar damage.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: I think -- I want to thank you very much for your testimony --

MR. MITMAN: Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: -- and we hope you continue to send us information so we consider your views in crafting legislation in Harrisburg.

MR. MITMAN: Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Thank you. We're running a little bit ahead of schedule; but

Robert Stewart, the District Attorney of
Huntingdon County, has indicated that he is ready
and would like to present us with some of their
views regarding the situation the Legislature has
found itself in.

MR. STEWART: Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee, thank you for this opportunity to testify regarding the Supreme Court. By way of background, I'm District Attorney of Huntingdon County having served in that position for five years.

Before that, I served for twelve years in the Huntingdon County Public Defender's office, the last ten years of which I was chief public defender. Before that, I was in private practice in Huntingdon County; and before that, I served as an assistant district attorney in Chester County. So I speak to you with experience on both sides of the criminal justice system.

You have previously heard testimony about this Court's power to suspend statutes under Article 5, Section 10 of the Pennsylvania Constitution and you have heard about how this power has been used to overturn the Evidence

Code; the Capitol Unitary Review Act, which streamlined the appeal process in death penalty matters; and the Child Videotaping Constitutional Amendment.

The first focus of my testimony, however, will be the Court's extension of Article 1, Section 8 of the Pennsylvania Constitution to provide greater protection from police searches and seizures than is provided by the Constitution of the United States.

The exclusionary rule was a judicially-created means of implementing the United States Constitution's Fourth Amendment protections against unreasonable searches and seizures.

This means if the police unlawfully search and get evidence, it is suppressed. They may not use that evidence at trial. However, our Supreme Court has decided that the parallel provision in our state constitution, Article 1, Section 8, provides this greater protection.

Let me cite some examples. In

Commonwealth versus Labron, evidence in the case
was excluded because the Court said the Fourth

Amendment was violated. The Commonwealth

appealed to the United States Supreme Court, which overruled the PA Supreme Court and sustained the search.

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court then reinstated its order throwing out the search, this time basing its holding on the Pennsylvania Constitution. A by-product of this ruling is that the automobile exception to the search warrant requirement may very well be a thing of the past.

That exception holds that vehicles, because of their mobility, do not require a warrant for search if there is probable cause to search.

This Court has decided, contrary to other courts in this nation, that the automobile's inherent mobility is not enough to exempt it from the warrant requirement.

Do any of you know how long it takes to prepare a search warrant affidavit and get a magistrate at night? Police officer's job of protecting all of us has been made more difficult.

The Pennsylvania District Attorney's
Association responded to this case and others by

asking for legislation requiring the Court to follow federal standards in the search and seizure area. That legislation did not pass.

This Court has also decided that parolees, people who have been convicted of crime and who are conditionally released on parole, now have the same protections when parole agents wish to search their houses.

In Scott versus the Pennsylvania Parole

Board at 695 Atlantic 2d 32, the Pennsylvania

Supreme Court applied the exclusionary rule to
throw out evidence from a search of a parolee's
residence where there had been found four
shotguns, a semi-automatic .22 rifle, a compound
bow and arrows.

Scott was on parole from a 10- to 20-year sentence for a third degree murder. Pennsylvania Electronic Surveillance Control Act provides that when a prosecuting attorney gives approval and one party to a conversation consents, that party's conversations may be intercepted and recorded.

These consensual wires are one of the ways in which we gather evidence to convict drug dealers. We secure a tape recording of what is

said between the Commonwealth's informant and the criminal accused as a way of verifying what takes place in a drug sale.

The Supreme Court tells us that we cannot use that taped conversation if the sale takes place in the drug dealer's residence unless we get a search warrant.

This Court has also decided cases involving anonymous tips. A Philadelphia police officer got a message over his radio that there was a man with a gun at Sydenham and York Streets. The person was described as a black male wearing a blue cap, black jeans, and a gold coat.

The man was found fitting the description, and he had a .22 caliber recover in his belt with not permit for the gun. Despite the dissent by Justices Newman and Castille, the gun was excluded and the case was discharged.

As a result of these types of rulings, the Pennsylvania Superior Court was required to throw out the arrest of a drunk driver because the State Trooper who arrested him was off duty and not in uniform. That's Commonwealth versus Kiner at 697 Atlantic 2d 262.

In Commonwealth versus Jackson, 698

Atlantic 2d 571, the Supreme Court struck down a search on these facts: The Philadelphia police got a radio report of a man wearing a green jacket carrying a gun at Snyder Avenue and 7th Street.

The police arrived within two minutes and searched Jackson, who was wearing a green jacket. As the police officer searched Jackson for weapons, Jackson dropped a small box containing fourteen packets of cocaine.

The Supreme Court excluded the evidence in spite of the fact that Jackson had thrown it away. Searches are not the only reason the Court throws out convictions.

In <u>Commonwealth versus Lawson</u>, a 1997 case, the Supreme Court threw out a drug conviction because the Cumberland County District Attorney had appointed a deputy attorney general to prosecute the case as an unpaid assistant district attorney.

The reason that the conviction was thrown out was that the Court did not believe the appointment was proper even though both the District Attorney's office and the Office of

Attorney General had agreed to it. Again, there was a dissent by Justices Newman and Castille.

In <u>Commonwealth versus McPhail</u>, another 1997 case, the defendant sold cocaine to a police officer in both Washington and Allegheny Counties on multiple occasions.

He was charged in each county for the respective sales occurring in that county, but the Supreme Court ruled that he should only have been charged in one jurisdiction.

That particular ruling eliminates the traditional jurisdictional basis for criminal prosecutions in a particular county court and now requires police officers to decide when events separated in time and space become a single criminal episode and the police are now required to guess in which county criminal charges should be filed.

The exclusionary rule has been extended beyond its original purpose of preventing police misconduct. Now it is used not to protect the innocent but shield the guilty in ways that I would submit have gone beyond reason and common sense.

In the cases that I cited to you, what

were the police to do -- ignore the radio messages? Not search the man on the corner for the gun? Not pick up the drugs dropped by the other man? Was a state police officer supposed to ignore the drunk driver?

At this time, there is no legal mechanism to check the power of this Court. As previously observed, a constitutional amendment is a drastic measure, not one to be entered into lightly. And even when that is done, the Courts may strike it down as recently happened with the Child Videotaping Amendment.

The first step in dealing with this problem is exposing it to public scrutiny as takes place during these hearings. Secondly, let the public know what is going on. Publish the results of these hearings to the popular media.

Even appellate judges do not sit in a vacuum. Use the power that you do have. Our system of government is based on checks and balances so that no one branch of the government can completely outstrip and take precedence over the others.

Study other court systems both at the state and federal levels. Find solutions to

these issues. Just as this situation with this Court did not develop overnight, it will not be cured overnight. The public must be more informed about those persons it chooses to sit on our appellate courts.

Perhaps it is time to reconsider whether that process should be changed and whether the limitations on what judicial candidates can say should be altered.

I know that you as legislators share our frustration. The cost of crime in our society is tremendous both as to the human costs and the economic costs. It takes resources from other needed programs, adds to the costs of goods and services, and makes our citizens fearful.

Police officers in this Commonwealth are not the agents of an English king against whose injustices the Fourth Amendment was written to protect.

Courts which have interpreted that amendment have managed to do so in a way that balances the needs of 20th-century America with the intent of the drafters of the United States Constitution.

Unfortunately, in my judgment, in 1997,

the majority of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court has fallen short of that standard of performance. Again, I thank you for this opportunity and I stand ready for your questions.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Thank you very much, District Attorney Stewart. I guess as I got back and noted your frustration as to what possible remedies we might be able to find, the only thing that I once talked about or broached was the way that our federal system propounds their rules.

My understanding is that federal rules are established by the federal courts and developed by the federal courts but then they must be approved by Congress.

But as with all the solutions with our Supreme Court, I figure, well, you know, if we do that and we would pass legislation that says that they'll develop the rules and we'll approve them, why, they could -- they'll end up saying that that law is unconstitutional because it violates --

MR. STEWART: Article 5, Section 10.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Yeah. And then we get back in to, well, we'll amend the Constitution and then have them strike down that

legislation on grounds that it wasn't properly advertised, the wording wasn't adequate, or some other basis.

MR. STEWART: Representative Clark, I know that I have two colleagues here that I suspect have things to say about that as well. But right now the way our system is, in my judgment and I suspect my colleagues' judgment, the Supreme Court does have the upper hand because of its rule-making power.

And I think that that rule-making power is almost unparalleled in this nation. I think that our Supreme Court has more of that power than does any other court of any jurisdiction. That's speculation on my part, but I think that's right.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: And I tend to agree with you. And to take that one step further, their willingness to use that. I was going to say maybe after this question we'll take the testimony from our other two district attorneys. I know the one is Roger Germak, the District Attorney from Juniata County.

MR. GERMAK: It's a pleasure to be here, Mr. Clark.

1 CHAIRPERSON CLARK: And David Gorman, do 2 you want to come down? 3 MR. GORMAN: Sure. CHAIRPERSON CLARK: He is the first 5 Assistant District Attorney from Blair County. б I guess the propensity of the Supreme Court to 7 basically do whatever they want to do was outlined when you indicated that the Supreme 8 9 Court had overruled one of their decisions and 10 they came back and found a reason that they could 11 overrule what the -- their country's, I guess 12 Supreme Court indicated or passed. 13 MR. STEWART: That's absolutely correct. 14 I do know that Mr. Germak is going to be speaking 15 to that. 16 MR. GERMAK: I can address that in my 17 testimony. 18 CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Okay. What I think 19 we'll do then is welcome District Attorney Ralph 20 Germak from Juniata County and ask him to provide 21 his testimony to the Committee. 22 Thank you. Good afternoon, MR. GERMAK: 23 members of the Judiciary Committee. Vice-president of Pennsylvania District 24

Attorney's Association -- Mr. Ling has arrived.

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57 1 He's the District Attorney in Bedford County. 2 CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Why don't you come 3 down? We should have another chair for you. 4 Thomas Ling. 5 MR. LING: Yes. 6 CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Come on down here. 7 The District Attorney of Bedford County? 8 MR. LING: Yes, sir. MR. GERMAK: I appreciate the 10 opportunity to testify today on behalf of 11 Pennsylvania's prosecutors concerning the growing 12 trend of our Supreme Court to overreach into the 13 legislative arena, striking down many valid 14 statutes in the name of the State Constitution's rule-making provision and search and seizure 15

> I will address first the rule-making issue and then the issue of search and seizure. I have provide some written testimony and I may paraphrase some, but I hope that the Members of Judiciary have available to them the extent of the written comments.

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provision.

In the written comments, I do cite the article, which has been mentioned here prior to this, about the Pennsylvania Constitution

granting certain rule-making provisions to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

That power really has been utilized to weaken law enforcement's ability to protect victims, witnesses, and all our citizens from the ravages of crime.

The Supreme Court more and more is asserting authority over matters historically left to the Legislature in the name of its state constitutional rule-making power.

If you take a look at some of the legislation that the Court has overruled or modified, it would include such things as laws of evidence, capital punishment proceedings, child videotape closed-circuit TV testimony, and the Commonwealth's right to a jury trial just to name a few.

The Supreme Court typically expands its rule-making authority in such a fashion as to reduce law enforcement's ability to protect citizens from crime. I think some examples may be in order.

For instance, the death penalty issue, the collateral appeals area where the Legislature moved to shorten the time period for death

penalty appeals by consolidating the direct and the PCRA appeals by way of what was called the Capitol Unitary Review Act.

Now the Court has thrown out that legislation and reinstated the much lengthier, double appeal process that has resulted in extensive delays in the death penalty procedure. Our citizens are outraged by the lengthy delay between the death penalty verdict of a jury and the carrying out of the penalty.

I've heard many people say, hey, if you're not going to use it, why even bother having this penalty? It's been on the books, the death penalty, now for well over twelve years; and there's only been two executions in that period of time although we have over 200 individuals on death row.

Another area in which the Court has struck down legislation which favored victims is in the area of child videotaping and closed-circuit testimony.

The General Assembly pursued the only avenue available to it to address this matter, and that was a Constitutional Amendment. That Amendment was approved in two consecutive

sessions and presented to the public for a vote.

That's the way the Constitution works.

However, the Commonwealth Court held that even this isn't good enough. It struck down the amendment holding that because of the Constitutional Rule-making Clause, the question before the voters had actually two questions to it and therefore felt that they would have to overturn and disallow it.

But that's another area where the Courts have utilized this rule-making power to the detriment of innocent victims. Another area is the Commonwealth's right to a jury trial.

Historically, the Commonwealth had the right to a jury trial but it was thrown out in the 1970's. Statutorily, it was reinstated in the late 1970s. Never deterred, however, our Supreme Court in a decision in 1982, Commonwealth versus Sorrell, they held otherwise. They stripped that power from the Legislature.

So therefore even though the General Assembly wants victims to be on an even playing field with criminal defendants, the Court has its rule-making clause the power to say what the public wants.

And nevertheless, what the General
Assembly determines what the public wants seem to
be overridden by virtue of those seven members of
the Supreme Court and that rule-making clause.

Another area which has prosecutors concerned is the Evidence Code area. The General Assembly has the power to promulgate evidentiary rules and historically -- and this has never been questioned. Prosecutors are going into court relying on these rules to present their case.

When the General Assembly moved to consolidate all of the evidentiary rules into a comprehensive and organized evidence code -- I believe that was Senate Bill 965 of 1995 -- the Supreme Court decided to use the Rule-making Clause as a means to take over this area of law making as well.

Why this was not impermissible rule making before but is today, no one has ventured to explain or speculate. We don't know when it's going to stop. The Court's usurpation of this traditionally legislative function undermines the fundamental principles of democracy.

Once the Court assumes an area of law within its rule-making power, the process of

developing rules moves behind the cloak of judicial secrecy, beyond the reach of the other branches of the government, and beyond the power of the citizenry.

Indeed, by founding their actions on the State Constitution, the Supreme Court renders any statutory provisions on the point of law it assumed null and void.

Now, Mr. Clark, you had mentioned the federal system. The federal system does not lend itself to the problems that we see in the state, neither do rule-making systems in the vast majority of the states either have this problem. Other jurisdictions recognize the danger of the courts using rule making to become a superlegislature.

Absent some kind of checks and balances, rules of court can be expanded to regulate more than technical housekeeping matters but instead affect important social policy questions such as the revelation of prior sexual conduct to attack rape victims, the release of dangerous criminals on bail, the availability of sanctions for frivolous suits, and the right of victims of crime to have their cases heard by a jury of

their peers.

In most of the country, court rules are subject to a democratic process. The legislature delegates to the courts the initial function of developing purposed rules, usually through advisory committees, and then the legislature would approve the rules in particular cases.

In this way, the public benefits both in the expertise of a judiciary and the perspective of elected officials plus public input. This hearing today is a significant step in the right direction.

Prosecutors have unanimously endorsed the concept of bringing Pennsylvania in line with most other jurisdictions by assigning to the court system the initial responsibility for proposing rules while reserving to the Legislature its proper power in approving or disapproving of rules before they become law.

This rule-making power, although perhaps esoteric in its particulars, has significant impact on the many citizens who must at one time or another have recourse through the court system.

The Pennsylvania District Attorney's

Association urges you move forward with a Constitutional amendment providing democratic oversight of the rule-making power of the Court.

The other area that I would like to address is the area of search and seizure, and this has caused much consternation in the law enforcement community.

Last session the General Assembly considered Senate Bill 806, which proposed an amendment to the Pennsylvania Constitution to stop our Supreme Court from expanding criminal rights beyond those provided by the United States Constitution.

It would have done nothing more than permit the voters to decide whether to grant criminal defendants the same search and seizure rights guaranteed by the Fourth Amendment of the United States Constitution but no more.

Frequently, our State Supreme Court has rejected the holdings of the United States
Supreme Court in this area. Our Supreme Court is manipulating the Pennsylvania Constitution to create new weapons to fortify the already bloated arsenal that Pennsylvania criminals have who wish to seek to avoid punishment for their crimes.

We are not aware of any other state supreme court that has used its state constitution so aggressively to handcuff its police officers in their uphill fight to keep our citizens safe from harm.

Pennsylvania's grant of numerous state-based rights broader than federal rights effectively frustrates the truth-determining process and gives criminals an unfair advantage at the expense of public safety.

These extra rights for criminals result in dangerous offenders to be freed to commit more crime as well as countless other criminals never being apprehended because Pennsylvania police are forced to fight crime with one hand tied behind their backs.

All of this has occurred despite the virtually identical language of the State and Federal constitutions. In my written testimony, I've provided for the benefit of the Judiciary the exact language of the Fourth Amendment of the United States Constitution and also Article 1, Section 8 of the Pennsylvania Constitution.

If you take a look at those sections, there is no substantive difference between the

two provisions; nevertheless, the State Supreme Court has been utilizing Article 1, Section 8 of the Pennsylvania Constitution and broadening the rights of criminals.

Some examples may be in order. You can see for yourself then how the ability of the law enforcement community to fight crimes has been weakened. Take the area when we have abandoned property.

The Court broke truly new ground in expanding criminals; rights by holding that police are not even entitled to seize firearms, drugs, or other contraband even after a criminal has fled and discarded or dropped the contraband.

That would have been the cases

Commonwealth versus Matos, M-A-T-O-S, McFadden

and Carroll And I heard District Attorney

Stewart allude to that situation.

If you take a look at those cases, you will see that where a criminal was confronted by a police officer and the criminal either threw down his firearms or drugs or other contraband and then ran, the police officers gave chase and arrested.

Subsequently, the Courts found that this

action on behalf of the police, which is their normal duty, was improper. I echo what Mr. Stewart has indicated: What is the police officer to do in that kind of a situation?

If a suspect drops a gun, drugs, or other evidence, the suspect can now, in fact, theoretically sue the Commonwealth or the police department if the police officer picks up that contraband.

Another area is the area of allowing criminals to make totally inconsistent claims on seized property. If you take a look at some of the cases that have come down in Pennsylvania, if, in fact, someone wishes to assert a search and seizure protection in that property, they no longer have to claim it's their property.

Our courts, even though they have gone contrary to the holdings of the United States Supreme Court, allow criminals to say, That's not my property; but even if it is my property, I want to exercise my rights under the Constitution for search and seizure protection. And our courts and the courts in the case of Commonwealth versus Sell has allowed that.

Another area would be where drug dealers

are now allowed, theoretically, to destroy evidence of the crime before the police can execute the warrant.

Chambers, our Supreme Court applied to police executing a search warrant a stricter interpretation of the so-called "knock and announce rule" that is mandated by the Fourth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

In the United States Constitution, the only requirement is that the police act reasonably. In Pennsylvania, according to the Supreme Court, law enforcement officers must (A), knock on the door; (B), announce that it's the police; and (C), wait at the door for at least a couple of minutes for a suspected drug dealer to let them into the home to execute the search warrant.

Obviously, it doesn't take a rocket scientist of a drug dealer to realize that during this period of time they can flush the drugs down the toilet and get rid of them; and that's what happens on many occasions.

Worse, drug dealers can now set up an ambush for the police if they do not allow them

into the house and the police have to break the door down.

Our state constitution, therefore, has been interpreted by the State Supreme Court to foolishly presume either that drug dealers will respond to the "knock and announce rule" in a law-abiding manner or that they are extraordinarily dull.

Another area which has caused many problems is in the area of where undercover agents are wearing wires to protect themselves. Recently in the case of Commonwealth versus Brion, B-R-I-O-N, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court held that if a wired, confidential informant is invited by the defendant into the defendant's home, the informant must excuse himself and go get a search warrant if he wishes to go in with the wire.

Now, let's think about this. When an undercover officer is doing his duty, he sometimes does not know where the criminal is going to lead him. And consequently during that episode if the criminal invites the defendant (sic) into the defendant's home, basically then the police officer's going to have to decide,

(1), either break off this engagement or else call time-out somehow and go get a warrant and come back. Now that is just totally foolish and unreasonable.

In Pennsylvania -- I would like to also address the good faith exception to the search and seizure requirements. Of course, under the United States Constitution, there is a good faith exception to police officers who rely on probable cause determination when executing a search warrant.

That's the standard set forth in the United States versus Leon. This reflects the well-established policy that the purpose of the exclusionary rule is to deter police misconduct.

There being no police misconduct where police are executing a warrant in good faith, application of the exclusionary rule -- which has the high cost of compromising the truth determining process -- simply makes no mistake.

But our Supreme Court has allowed criminal defendants to successfully allow evidence not to come into cases where there has been a good faith but probably violation of the rule.

For instance, in <u>Commonwealth versus</u>

<u>Edmunds</u>, in that particular case even if there
was a technical error, the evidence is not
allowed in the case. It's out. And therefore in
most cases, the criminal will go free since the
evidence that's suppressed is necessary for the
conviction.

In Edmunds, our State Supreme Court has stretched the State Constitutional Search and Seizure Provisions too far and in the process has created rules that can only demoralize our police force and jeopardize the safety and well-being of the law-abiding public.

Another area is the drug dog sniff area which is being utilized throughout the country now to catch drug traffickers. The United States Supreme Court over a decade ago resolved that a dog sniff is not a search subject to constitutional protection because it's not as intrusive as a typical search.

In Pennsylvania, however, the State

Constitution was utilized to outlaw the use of
the dogs in investigatory stops of drug dealers.

A dog's mere sniff of a drug suspect in the
opinion of our State Supreme Court is

indistinguishable from a full-body strip search. Full probable cause to arrest is necessary.

And that was the rule that was set down in the case of <u>Commonwealth versus Martin</u>.

The State Supreme Court thus reduces the dog sniff to a redundant exercise. Where there is probable cause to arrest, a dog sniff really isn't necessary.

Therefore, I know as a fact in Montgomery County even though the State spent thousand and thousands of dollars to train drug dogs, these drug dogs are now useless; and consequently, it's a waste of resources.

It may be obvious that when police officers are engaged in the dangerous procedure of a house search they need to protect themselves by temporarily detaining occupants during a search. That was okayed by the United States Supreme Court.

But Pennsylvania police who put their lives on the line every day in the fight against crime are not permitted to take this simple, common sense precaution.

The Pennsylvania Constitution won't allow it, according to our court. And that's

the case of <u>Commonwealth versus Rodriguez</u>, which is a 1992 decision.

There are more examples of our Supreme Court utilizing this section of the law to benefit drug dealers and criminals at the expense of the public safety and safety of our police officers.

In the 1993 case of <u>Commonwealth versus</u>

<u>Mason</u>, police officers are not permitted to
secure a residence while obtaining a warrant;
but instead, police must politely wait outside
even though they have credible, independent
evidence that crimes are being committed at that
time inside.

In <u>Commonwealth versus White</u>, even where the police had probable cause to arrest a criminal in his car and make an arrest, they may for their own protection search the passenger area of the car for weapons as a search incident to an arrest -- under the U.S. Constitution, but not under the Pennsylvania Constitution.

Now, what can be done? It's unfortunate that there is no other solution to the problem than a constitutional amendment. The State Supreme Court is based on -- has based its

procriminal rulings on the State Constitution.

If the Legislature was to address the situation by passing legislation by statute, it would automatically be struck down by the State Supreme Court.

The only way to stop the State Supreme Court from using the State Constitution to help criminals and for making our streets and homes even more dangerous is by prohibiting them from doing so in the state constitution itself.

Now, there are -- in fact, it is clear that the founding fathers believed that the State Constitution should be amended from time to time when necessary. We don't feel that it should be done willy-nilly; but obviously when necessary, it can and should be done. There are specific procedures for doing this.

Such efforts to repeal unwise state cases is not without precedent in Pennsylvania since in 1984 when Section 9 was amended in response to the case of Commonwealth versus

Triplett dealing with the rights -- the right of an individual to utilize the courts to squash statements.

Unfortunately, what happened was that

even though there was a violation of Miranda rights, the federal constitution allows the Commonwealth who allows the police and prosecutors to use a confession where the defendant gets on the stand and lies.

In Commonwealth versus Triplett, our Supreme Court said, no, we weren't going to allow the confession under any circumstances. The Legislature and people of Pennsylvania stepped in and overturned that; and we see that, therefore, there is a way to do it and it can be done.

Similarly in 1995, the voters amended the State Constitution to reverse the State Supreme Court to make clear that closed-circuit or videotaped child testimony could be used at trial in child abuse cases.

Other states have utilized this procedure, and I have set forth some in my written comments as to what other states do in order to change the constitution.

Our concern has been expressed -- there has been some concern that if the United States

Supreme Court expands the rights of criminals maybe a proposed amendment might lock

Pennsylvania into those decisions.

We would be locked into that U.S.

Supreme Court decision regardless of whether there is an amendment or not because the United States Constitution sets a minimum floor of rights for criminal defendants which all states must comply with.

The only thing a state supreme court can do is expand the rights of criminals, and that's exactly what our Court has been doing for the past two decades.

A proposed constitutional amendment would simply put a stop to the expansion of criminal rights and bring it in line with federal protections.

A constitutional amendment is necessary also to protect federalism. And I have indicated in my written comments why I feel that federalism can be protected by use of the amendment.

We are convinced the founding fathers would approve an amendment to the state constitution because the state Supreme Court has thrown the constitutional structure of government into an imbalance.

The Court has anointed itself as a superlegislature and has used the State Constitution Search and Seizure Provision to legislate more sweeping rights for criminals at the expense of law-abiding citizens.

We are certain that the founding fathers would be shocked at the illogical and dangerous rulings of our State Supreme Court. We believe if they were alive today they would be leading the charge for this constitutional amendment.

In summary, unless Pennsylvania acts to limit its exclusionary rule, criminals of this state will continue to be a specially-protected class. Erosion of the ability of the State Government to protect its citizens from crime will continue to accelerate.

Our State Supreme Court recently has granted allocatur on several defense appeals seeking to further expand criminals' state constitutional rights at the expense of the public safety.

The Court appears bent on adopting even more rules that are making Pennsylvania the easiest state in the nation to commit crime and get away with it.

The citizens, however, pay a high price with their lives, their health, their property and their piece of mind for this bloated arsenal of state procedural protection for criminal activity.

Our citizens deserve the chance to go to the ballot box to decide in accordance with the State's constitution's provisions for its own amendment whether or not their constitution may be abused in this way.

I thank the Judiciary Committee for allowing us to be here today to present this testimony, and I would like to point out something that's not part of my written comments.

But if you would look at the Monday,

October 20th issue of <u>Pennsylvania Law Weekly</u>,

there is an article -- and it's located on page
4 and it's the editorial page. And I read that
editorial page, and it's very appropriate to
what's happening here today.

And in there, the bar association has basically taken a position that law makers should be more cautious in criticizing the courts and that the rhetoric surrounding the

recent Megan Laws decision has been overblown.

Well, I'm here to tell or at least to suggest, we support what you were doing in this effort that the courts are public officials just as we are public officials and that as part of that, if we do something, that we should open ourselves up to public scrutiny.

This is the public's business. It should be available for the public to review and to criticize us when necessary. And in this case, I feel that the criticism of the Supreme Court and the courts is appropriate under the circumstances. And thank you for allowing us the opportunity to present this today.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: I thank you,

District Attorney Germak. That article was from
the bar association. I'd like to check down over
the list of people that are on our Supreme Court
and see how many people they've highly
recommended over the past ten years.

MR. GERMAK: Well, I just want to indicate that this is the editorial page of Pennsylvania Law Weekly and I'm not positive that it came from the bar association. Let me just -- I'll put a footnote there.

But I should allow you all to read this because, again, it's criticizing the Legislature for basically criticizing the courts or at least making an inquiry; and I thought that was very ironic.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: You wêren't here earlier, but we had a professor from -- an assistant Professor of Political Science from Penn State.

time for more popular input into selecting and reviewing and electing judges and go -- maybe move away very quickly and strongly from the, I guess, the professional body of lawyers that surrounded these judges for questions and try to open up that process more for individuals, maybe having the judges indicate where they stand and why they stand because, you know, it's -- as I hear your testimony, you know, I keep trying to wonder, how did this happen and how did we get to this point and why has it gone so out of whack?

MR. GERMAK: Because the public really hasn't become aware of what has happened. This is where the press can play an even more important role in publicizing a lot of decisions

of the Supreme Court.

Because it doesn't only affect one district attorney's office or it doesn't affect just one police department. When they come down with the rules and regulations or overturned decisions basically changing the law and how we go about doing our business, it affects everybody.

And I think the more the public knows exactly what happens with these decisions the better off I think we will all be because the public will become empowered and therefore use that power at the ballot box to choose judges who are more attune to what the public wants.

You have to realize that some of these decisions -- the State Supreme Court expects our law enforcement officers at times to be constitutional experts in carrying out their duties; and they are not constitutional experts.

They're following what the law is. And when the courts change the law midstream, how can they expect anybody to comply and how can they expect the law enforcement officers to do their job?

And like I said, when they come out with

these decisions, that's the time for the press to really publicize these things and let the people know the impact of these decisions.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: And the precedent has been effective with some federal judicial decisions that have come out where if the press gets on it right away, why, they can drive some of those decisions and appointments and direct the flow of how things were going in the federal judiciary. And maybe the media in Pennsylvania should be as vigilant in that process.

I guess the follow-up to that would be if we want to get the public involved and we want them to know of these decisions and how they may not make sense, et cetera, why then we're going to have to determine how to open up the process so the candidates for these judicial positions will be able to talk about them and discuss them within some parameters that they feel comfortable with.

But then I guess we get back to the chicken and the egg. If we try to do that, will the Supreme Court tell us that we're interfering with their process and procedures and strike that down?

I think as I look at the one clause in the constitution, you know, practice, procedure, and conduct of courts, you know, I look at that as where to file your papers, how many copies to have, how to conduct yourself or whatever in the courtroom as opposed to setting up remedies and et cetera.

But, you know, can I have any or all of your comment on that and open up the floor and let us know what each of you think?

MR. LING: I was just going to say in response to or in accordance with what District Attorney Germak is saying, I think one of the things, perhaps a radical suggestion, but one suggestion that should be considered by the Judiciary Committee is -- and we're talking about access and response of the courts -- I don't believe there's any other office in the -- first and foremost, the fact that judges are public officials.

But unfortunately, I think what occurs is that once judges get elected they are somewhat insulated that they are prevented from putting their stance in terms of policy; they are precluded by statute from doing that; the voters

do not have an idea where these judges are going to vote with regards to various issues; and that once they're elected, I don't believe there's any other term of public office as lengthy as that of a judge and that when their term is up, they don't run for reelection.

They run for retention, which is essentially a "yes" or "no" vote from the voters as to whether to keep the judge or not to keep the judge.

And even if the voters vote no, that judge now has an opportunity to run for election. So I think what's occurred here is that we have effectively insulated the judges from public comment, from public criticism in terms of their responsiveness to the electorate and what the electorate deems appropriate.

And while understanding the judge's role in terms of making unpopular decisions, protecting the constitution, protecting the rights of citizens, at the same time, in my mind, this seems to speak to the ability of a judge to have almost unlimited power in that we therefore then say, well, we're going to insulate you from the electoral process in one sense such that, you

know, if a judge is elected, essentially, that judge is elected for an entire lifetime.

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I believe if you look at the number of retention elections, I would say it is -- it has not happened that a judge has not been retained; but it is a highly unlikely, unusual occurrence.

And that, consequently, you have a situation and a scenario where once a judge is elected he's particularly immune from public criticism.

Whether he chooses to respond to what the media does, what the media says, what the public says is purely a matter of his own conscious. There is no way to reach that judge and to reach what that judge is doing.

You know, he has to basically, you know, go through eight years of ruling however that judge wishes and then after two years of time come to the time of retention, perhaps be aware of what the public is saying.

But essentially, he can run roughshod and the Supreme Court certainly can by virtue of their rule-making ability in determining whether or not, you know, how the constitution's going to read, what constitutional provisions are

appropriate, what constitutional provisions are not appropriate despite what the legislature and what the electorate has said.

And I think one of the things that could be proposed, could be looked at is the question of limiting -- well, three things: One, the length of term of sentences of judges; two, the question of retention as opposed to an election; and also the question of term limits.

If you have a judge who is elected when they're 40, they can basically extend thirty years of being a judge without response, without criticism, or without really responding to what the public believes is appropriate, what the public believes should be done.

It's not to say that a judge should be tied to the public in terms of the decision in terms of a particular case, but there needs to be I think a little more awareness and a little more responsiveness on the judicial branch with regards to the decisions that they make.

So I think that's -- that's something that should be looked at in those three areas in terms of election, length of term, and term limits with regards to the judicial candidates

and judges.

You know, all the other elected officials, ourselves here, are subject to the public. Why should judges be so different and so insulated such as to be almost unapproachable?

I mean, if you had a judge in a county -- and perhaps Mike can speak to it a little bit better -- in a one-judge county, that judge basically rules that county.

That judge cam basically dictate, depending on the disposition of the judge, what occurs and how it occurs in that county and that he is essentially -- he or she is essentially insulated in a way that we are not from what the electorate wishes to do with criticisms and how they want to see the changes.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: What about also opening up their views? Could you see having the judicial candidates running this fall to enter a forum and discuss some of these cases and why they decided and, you know, can we justify those in your mind and how you would decide?

Do you envision something like that or is there getting --

MR. LING: I don't believe that that's

necessarily -- I believe there's always matters, you know, a judge decides a matter many times such as we do; but those reasons, you know, if they're going to have a decision potentially would have an opinion and that opinion is public knowledge, why shouldn't their opinion -- why shouldn't they be able to have to defend their opinion?

We have to defend the decisions that we make. In terms of prosecuting individuals, we have the process of filing criminal complaints that if the police don't file something, a private citizen can file a complaint and they can proceed with regards to that.

While judges -- there's no other, you know, no other availability, no other option available to the public. So I think certainly that they can -- need to defend their decisions. I mean, you know, they made a decision for whatever reason.

But the opinion's out there. It's going to be subject to criticism. There's no reason why they shouldn't be required to face the media or face the public with regards to that.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Were you going to

add

something, Bob?

MR. STEWART: Yes. In this state and in this nation, we give judges certain special powers. In my opinion, with those special powers come special responsibilities which I have not always seen exercised by judges both in the Common Pleas and at the appellate levels.

In this part of Pennsylvania, I'm aware of four judges who were not retained because in Huntingdon, Mifflin, and Blair Counties the populous was sufficiently educated to vote no on judges they believed should not be retained.

I -- other than one in the western part of Pennsylvania, I'm not aware of any judges that weren't retained; although, there very well could have been.

About a month ago, I was in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania arguing a case involving an anonymous tip and I was confronted by the question from one of the justices which goes like this:

Suppose, Mr. Stewart, you know or you get a tip that I am going to be in a certain location, my car, my license number, and my

person is described and the tip will say that I am delivering drugs. Do you have the right to stop me?

The questioner was obviously wanting me to answer that question "no," that I would not stop this particular Supreme Court justice or the police officers would not stop this particular Supreme Court justice because of who he was.

Well, the answer to that question is if that tip is sufficiently reliable because of the informer, because of his reliability in the past and if that particular supreme court justice is in that location, he at least needs to be asked who he is and what he is doing.

In my opinion, the Supreme Court has set themselves up as almost a superpolice review board. Because what it seems to me that they were trying to do in this case is formulate rules for the police in dealing with informants.

The fact is, there are all kinds of rules for police. The United States Supreme

Court does a good job writing those rules. And I think what we are saying at this table is that we don't need to reinvent the wheel as our Supreme

Court thinks they must.

I think that's one of the messages that you need to understand. We all understand what it means to have restraints on the conduct of police, especially in a society where rights of the individual are guarded as well as the rights of individuals in this country are.

We don't quarrel with that. What we quarrel with is the nonsensical decisions that say when the guy throws down the guns or the drugs, you can't use it. That's not common sense.

When a guy's on parole for murder, you ought to have the right to search his house for guns any time. And when you find those four shotguns and that .22 rifle and that compound bow and the parole regs say you're not supposed to possess weapons or be in areas where there are weapons and you sign a condition of parole that says that, you ought to go back to jail.

What was the guy going to do with four shotguns, a .22 rifle, and a compound bow? He sure wasn't opening up a sporting goods store. Those are the kinds of decisions that don't make any sense; and that is why there is no respect for law, law enforcement, or lawyers.

Look at the kind of decisions we're making. It's ludicrous. Seven people -- 'actually, six now -- six people in this Commonwealth are frustrating the will of thousands of police officers, 67 district attorneys, numerous common pleas judges, the superior court, and all of our citizens.

What other society gives six people that much power? When you boil it down to the simplest part of this, that's what we're talking about.

Now, a couple of hundred years ago, one person had that much power. As a result of that person's abuse of power, a whole revolution got started.

Some guys threw some tea overboard in the Boston Harbor. Some guys met in Philadelphia and signed the Declaration of Independence. We fought a war against the greatest power in the world at that time and we beat them.

Now, instead of a king and an army, there's a court who sits in Harrisburg, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh. And what we have on our side is a good legislature, an awful good bunch of cops, some of the best prosecutors I've

ever been able to work with. We ought to be able to beat these guys.

You have the power of the press. Larry Sather calls a press conference, people want to know what he has to say. Dan Clark calls a press conference, people want to know what he has to say. The Legislature also has the power of the purse string.

These branches of government work together. The Supreme Court has to understand that we're talking about common sense. You know, I really can't imagine Washington or Jefferson or Madison saying, Oh, no, if a guy throws down a gun or drugs, you can't use it. I find that personally very hard too believe and morally offensive.

In the long run, in the great scheme of things, it doesn't matter if Mr. Jackson's case got dismissed; but that principle, that principle that says if the police violate this, if they don't cross an "i" or dot a "t" -- I said that intentionally -- the search warrant's no good.

If they don't seal it three places, it's no good. That's just not common sense because as all of us sitting at this table have done and as

you have done, we've all written search warrants. We've all called magistrates out in the middle of the night to do things like that.

It's not easy. And we have done it to protect our citizens. We haven't done it to satisfy the abstract academic dictates of six people sitting in Harrisburg. When you get right down to it -- and I'll quit -- that's what it's all about.

Who's going to control -- the people through their elected Representatives or these six guys on this bench? We have to decide that. And I apologize for length of my remarks, but I think that's the bottom line.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Now, and I think we have tried to do what we can; but we have run into this frustrating roadblock with every time we try to change or try to do or begin discussing, why, we violate this clause of the Constitution.

And as we ran into with other amendments, whenever we've tried to -- it wasn't advertised properly, the question needed to be two instead of one; and we're extremely frustrated in Harrisburg and, you know, to the

point that we're trying to find answers. And I guess maybe we're not alone in our frustration.

That might help us to bring that out more publicly. I'd like to say in a press conference or something you can bring attention to it and hopefully do something that way.

Representative --

REPRESENTATIVE SATHER: Just briefly,

District Attorney Stewart -- Bob, who I've known

for many years and I've known Mr. Ling and Mr.

Gorman and this gentleman here I've touched base

with only slightly in Luzerne County Commission.

But I believe an electorate will make the right choices; but how we allow these things to happen, I'm not quite sure. Bob, you mentioned -- Mr. Stewart, you mentioned the purse string. Well, I know one commissioner -- this is common pleas court.

I know one commissioner, it

was -- warrant case where he refused to fund what

the courts felt was adequately and was thrown in

jail. So I don't know -- I don't know what the

Supreme Court will do. We may find out with the

acts of our judicial system if we may, because

I'm not sure where that's going to end up or how

it will play up.

I guess we should be certain of what we ask for; we may just get it. I believe from what I observed here an informed electorate means we need to open this process up and allow and require -- it's not here today -- but allow the electorate to be more informed and change the process that says can they not discuss how they react to a given situation?

I think at the local level we meet on the street. We've passed you in every day society. But that person that serves on the Supreme Court who got there, I would assume, by serving in some other Common Pleas or Superior Court, District Attorney, public defender's office, or whatever and then as they become isolated and serve in that capacity for at least ten years, I really do believe they lose sight of what the people and the citizenry want and are asking for.

So I'm not sure the purse string's the answer, but we may find out with what we're about to proceed with the unified judicial system. So I look to more so -- and people don't want us tampering with the constitution.

But I believe really there are times we must absolutely -- we must absolutely do this.

So I tend to look to the issue Mr. Ling brought up that in prohibiting from doing so by the state constitution itself. So I guess we're going to have to look to that area more so than the purse strings. I'm open to any response there.

MR. LING: I think what's being attempted with the constitution amendments, you know, the videotaping of children and things of that nature, they've attempted and the Legislature's attempted to respond to the need of what the public wants and have been repeatedly struck down by the State Supreme Court and that, therefore, we tried the way that it's been set out.

think we need to change or in some way modify the responsiveness of the courts to the electorate; and that's the reason I think, you know, changing how they get elected and that process is what's needed so that there is more of a direct impact on the judiciary and the judicial branch because we'd tried to make those changes, tried through the legislature and the public and elections and

constitutional amendments to change those things and we have been frustrated by the very court which sets out the rules.

We tried to change those rules, and we've come up against it and not being able to do what the electorate wants.

MR. STEWART: The bad part about this is that all of these responses are usually reactive to some kind of awful result: A murderer goes free because his statement that was voluntarily suppressed and it can't be used when he lies. That's the case that Mr. Germak was talking about.

As a result of which, the Legislature passes an amendment which says, okay, now you can do this. Nobody is going to get excited about some guy with a gun charge who gets 21 month's probation where the case is dismissed. Nobody's going to get outraged about that because nobody got hurt.

But should that same person have killed somebody and the case gets thrown out, yeah, everybody gets alarmed. The problem is from our prospective, we see these cases coming down every day and we see this court chipping away at our

ability to do our jobs, whether we're police officers or whether we're prosecutors.

And there are many fine Pennsylvania trial judges who feel the same way. You know, don't get the idea that the judiciary is all lined up behind the Superior Court because I know that it's not so -- Supreme Court, excuse me.

REPRESENTATIVE SATHER: Many refused to express themselves for fear of --

MR. STEWART: No. They're not allowed to. They're not allowed to make public comments. We're not stuck with that rule; they are. But they're not allowed to make public comments. But when in private in their chambers, you'll hear them say things that aren't said in polite company.

And I think you'll hear appellate judges -- I think you'll hear good appellate judges say the same kinds of things. I do not want to get involved in personal attacks. I don't think that's appropriate here.

But I have to say that in the last five years I have seen a substantial decline in the performance of Pennsylvania's highest court. I said so in my comments.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: That's essentially the same court that's been here ten years. The question is, What has -- why are we keeping this last three, four year --

MR. STEWART: The balance of power within the Court I think has changed. And that is -- and as new justices come on, that's a fluid thing. People who watch that court will be able to tell you where balance of power is. But that balance of power does change as justices go off and justices come on.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: I'm trying to think of the last Supreme Court justice that had run on the platform that he was in favor of law and order.

MR. STEWART: You couldn't do that.

That's like being against motherhood and apple
pie. Nobody's going to say that. And you'll
hear judges say we can't tell you how we're going
to decide particular cases because we don't get
to see them until we see them.

And judges are not going to make contracts with you to decide cases this way or that way. But there does -- my colleagues and the Professor is right about one thing: There

does need to be more accountability.

The Supreme Court is not above criticism; however, in popular media it would appear so. And in the paper which is distributed to lawyers, the Supreme Court is not apparently to be criticized. And I don't think that's so.

We're not above criticism, the
Legislature isn't above criticism, and neither
are those six people on the Supreme Court.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: And that's what concerns me a little bit about the unified court system. I'm afraid that that would give those gentlemen and maybe those six gentlemen in particular even more authority, more insulation.

And if they can sign a court order to the Legislature that says this is the funding we need for this year, why, then that is taking that out of the realm of any influence that we could have over them when it comes to spending money, rightfully or wrongfully.

I'll just say we'll take at a look at what they've spent on their computerization system and what they told the Legislature they were going to pay and what cap the Legislature put on it and what went from there. I'm afraid

that that's another step to insulate them and to provide them with even more and more authority.

MR. LING: Essentially, they've been able to dictate what the Legislature does in terms of rule-making policy and how the money's to be spent, what's left that they can't touch or reach to.

MR. GERMAK: I think that those folks that say, and rightfully so, that the constitution should not be easily tinkered with, I think we all agree with. That process is so difficult.

I think folks also have to understand that no constitution's static and the current evolution of our court system in Pennsylvania, I personally believe it is beginning to throw in jeopardy the balance of the political branches of government.

Our court system isn't static, our legislature isn't static, and the current trend in the Court is not healthy for democratic government.

And I think that folks that don't like amendments to the constitution will have to recognize just what the founding fathers -- we

have ten amendments to the original founding constitution originally planned by the founders.

The folks wanted to size that Bill of Rights so our court system is evolving -- it's an evolving process. I think it's currently getting out of kilter and it's in violation of the principle of co-equal branches of government.

And I feel strongly and I'm here to speak in support of my prosecutors that people need to express themselves more. The Constitution of Pennsylvania does not belong to the prosecutors. It doesn't belong to the police. It doesn't belong to the Supreme Court. It doesn't belong to the Legislature.

It belongs to the people of Pennsylvania. We feel strongly that -- prosecutors do, that a change must be had. All we're asking for is a chance to take that case to the people of Pennsylvania. It is to them that the Constitution belongs.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Mrs. Dalton, do you have any questions?

MS. DALTON: Actually, I just have a couple brief ones. Thank you very much for giving us an awful but impressive list of acts by

our Supreme Court that no one really except them can explain.

Prosecutors are not the only lawyers that are frustrated by the process. I as a drafting attorney have been frustrated at a number of turns, and I would like to just focus on one specific act; and that was the child witness law.

I suppose I'm emotionally connected to that because I was the person that wrote that legislation. I'm also the attorney that drafted then Representative Piccola's package. So I do have some familiarity with what the Court has done.

But with regard to the child witness legislation, as you know, the Supreme Court and Legislature has had a ten-year battle on this subject. And finally in 1995 during a special session on crime, the child witness amendment was adopted.

And the reason why that had to be adopted was because the Supreme Court had this literalist interpretation of those words in the constitution -- the Pennsylvania Constitution that the defendant had the right to meet his

accuser face-to-face; and that to them meant eyeball to eyeball.

And that was despite the fact that the U.S. Supreme Court had said that states have a legitimate interest in protecting child witnesses from the further trauma of testifying in front of their perpetrators.

So my question to you is for the -- and I'm not sure whether this is working now. But what is the status of that statute now since the amendment itself has been overturned?

And what I personally see is a pure technicality. This is my personal view of that. If we had gone ahead and asked two questions, they would have had found another reason to do it. Just in my view, the Court's protecting its own prerogative.

And there are a whole class of lawyers out there that believe that the Supreme Court instead of the Legislature should set procedure and they're willing to find a number of ways to slice the ham to try to make that the case.

So if it wasn't two questions, it would be something else. But my question is, In the brief period in which that amendment stood, how

is that statute working and is it able to be used now?

MR. STEWART: It isn't.

MR. LING: It isn't.

MS. DALTON: Did you get a chance to use it at all?

MR. LING: I think the technicality for getting that set up in terms of -- the short time it was here didn't allow us to use it; and then when the Supreme Court made the decision it did, it killed it.

MS. DALTON: I just --

MR. LING: I was just indicating, yeah, it does -- I agree with you and I think the Court had a certain agenda and a certain prerogative; and I think that's also indicated by not only that amendment but also to the fact that we can't use experts in regards to child abuse cases but the defense bar in -- where they're alleging battered women syndrome can use experts.

And that dichotomy in my mind is contradictory in and of itself. We can't use psychologists or psychiatrists to testify as to why a child is reacting as a child is reacting while the defense bar can use in Battered Women

Syndrome to support the assertion -- let's say a homicide case where the woman had shot the husband to death.

This is, you know, the reaction of this woman that I think parallels what you're indicating in terms of why -- how they're going to go about and find something wrong with it even when nothing is wrong with it.

MR. STEWART: This is a tool that prosecutors ought to have in their arsenal and which the Court has denied us. And worse than that, it's denied those victims. You know, we have all put 4-year-olds on the stand to testify that Daddy did thus and so or Uncle Pete did thus and so. That's not easy. That's not fun.

And it's worse for that child to have to face Daddy or Uncle Pete eyeball-to-eyeball and say so. I can't tell you that I would use that tool because I don't know that people in Huntingdon County are necessarily going to convict based on that.

But I also know that it's certainly something that I would like to have in my toolbox and don't have. And thank those six people in Harrisburg and those folks on the Commonwealth

Court for that.

MS. DALTON: Um-hum. And it's especially frustrating for me because as a drafting lawyer, you take the time to do the research and you make sure the constitutional parameters are respected and then something like this happens.

But I just have one more question. You talked about the Matos case. How do you train the police officers when the law is in such a state of flux?

What do you tell them -- and this is not a question -- I literally mean what do you tell them when you say you're chasing a suspect and he throws his drugs and his guns away? Do they have to break off and go get a warrant? Do they have police stand there? How do you train police officers to handle these kinds of situations?

MR. GERMAK: The difficulty is, as was alluded to earlier, you can't try to beat them when you change the rules in the middle of the stream. You train them to follow the laws as you know it.

And when the law is reversed after the arrest, after the trial, it's impossible to train

1 people for it. So you do the best you can and hope that the rules don't change on this particular case. There's no way to train for it.

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MS. DALTON: Well, the police officer can't just let them stay there until kids come around and pick them.

MR. STEWART: The bottom line is that in my county if the police officer asks me that, I'm going to tell him, You pick up the gun anyway. At least there's that much more dope and that one more gun that we get off the street. We're not going to let those things lay there.

We'll worry about the evidence battles later and we'll battle; but, no, we're not going to do that.

MR. GERMAK: I agree with Mr. Stewart. I've told the police that you always err on the -- for safety purposes. If there's a gun, I don't know of any police officer who's going to let it there. They're going to pick it up or, obviously, get help as soon as possible to secure it.

The other areas I agree with Mr. Stewart and Mr. Ling that police officers, when we've trained them what the law is and if the law

changes and the cases get thrown out, that's bad.

But what I've been telling my police officers that expect that a case is going to get challenged, expect that evidence is going to be challenge; so in all cases, go overboard as much as possible to get a warrant.

And even if we lose the case, if we have to lose the case, so be it; but we'll try to do whatever we can. And they're being overly cautious now and going out and getting a warrant. That's basically what we tell them. Yes, get the warrant, if you can.

If you can't, go ahead and make the arrest or make the stop and gather the evidence and then we'll worry about it later on. And if we lose that case, that's just part -- it's sad.

It's sad because what happens is that the cases are not decided on the basis of truth or falsity but rather on legal technicalities.

And I know a lot of people say, Well, that's the Constitution. It's there for protection. But that's baloney.

A lot of cases are getting thrown out that have nothing to do with the truth process, and that's the sad part.

MR. STEWART: We need to face this too.

If you have a case where a person does possess a firearm or does possess drugs and does get, arrested, does go through the system, one of two things is going to happen to that person if the case gets tossed out:

Either that person is going to say, hey, it's not worth it. I'm not going to be involved in this anymore. I've learned something. Or else, he'll go back to doing it. In which case, we'll still be there. We'll get him again and next time do it better. That's what the cops in, I think, all our jurisdictions would tell you if they were here.

MS. DALTON: But I would think that this has to have a demoralizing effect on law enforcement officers. You're trained in law school that there's some -- that gives you consent to enter and that's all you need.

I don't -- it's just struck me

that -- another example is the case of

<u>Commonwealth versus Leahman</u> (phonetic) in which

Justice Flaherty decided to Robinhood the legal

proposition that sheriffs can make DUI stops.

Now, we can argue whether that's a good

idea or not, but at least cite to a legal proposition that has some cogency. If I tried to argue that in court when I was in law school, I would have gotten an "F."

And that's the thing that makes me so angry, again, personally as a lawyer. Where the heck are they coming from? How do you make sense of the cases that they've handed down? When you go ahead and try to draft a statute, you can't follow it.

MR. GERMAK: What the interesting thing is, if you were able to read the Supreme Court cases when they come down every month as they are issued and you read through them, you go away just shaking your head and scratching your head and saying exactly what you said, Where are they coming from? And what's scary is, Where are they going?

And we have analyzed many of their decisions and their procedures and policies and their philosophies. Fortunately so far, they have pretty much upheld the statute when it comes to the death penalty and the aggravating circumstances.

We fear that this Court in the future is

going to drop a bombshell on the citizens of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and it may happen sooner than we hoped. If, in fact, the Court rules that the death penalty is unconstitutional, the one avenue and the one area that they're going to do it on is this proportionality.

It's scary to think that we have so many cases in the pipeline right now that will be null and void, so to speak, in the death penalty area because six or seven people decide that this proportionality argument to them makes sense when, in fact, as presented to the population, to the public as a whole it makes absolutely no sense or little sense.

And the only ones who will be screaming and yelling for it are the 200 and some people who are on death row and their lawyers who get paid to represent them.

To the majority of people, the argument is silly. It has no basis at all in common sense or the law; but it may be the basis for throwing out all of the work of all the prosecutors, the police, the witnesses, and the juries convicting and sentencing to death all these people who deserve to be there.

1 That's what the scary part is right now 2 is to see if, in fact, the Court is going to 3 address this issue of proportionality and use that as the vehicle to overturn these death 4 penalty cases. 5 6 Thank you, Mr. Chairman. MS. DALTON: 7 CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Anything further? MR. STEWART: You can tell your folks in 8 9 the Legislature that regardless of what this 10 Court does, that Pennsylvania's police and 11 Pennsylvania's prosecutors will be there. We 12 will continue to fight the fight. 13 CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Thank you. 14 that, I think we'll conclude today's hearing and 15 taking of testimony. We certainly thank everyone 16 for coming up and spending your afternoon with 17 us. 18 (At or about 3:32 p.m., the hearing was 19 adjourned.) 20 21 22 23 24 25

## CERTIFICATE

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I, Deirdre J. Meyer, Reporter, Notary

Public, duly commissioned and qualified in and

for the County of Lancaster, Commonwealth of

Pennsylvania, hereby certify that the foregoing

is a true and accurate transcript of my stenotype

notes taken by me and subsequently reduced to

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Deirdre J. Meyer, Reporter, Notary Public. My commission expires August 10, 1998.