COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

STATE GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE HEARING

STATE CAPITOL HARRISBURG, PA

IRVIS OFFICE BUILDING ROOM G-50

TUESDAY, MAY 6, 2014 9:00 A.M.

PRESENTATION ON HOUSE RESOLUTION 578

IMPEACHMENT OF ATTORNEY GENERAL

KATHLEEN KANE FOR MISBEHAVIOR IN OFFICE

BEFORE:

HONORABLE DARYL METCALFE, MAJORITY CHAIRMAN

HONORABLE STEPHEN BARRAR

HONORABLE GEORGE DUNBAR

HONORABLE ELI EVANKOVICH

HONORABLE MATT GABLER

HONORABLE FRED KELLER

HONORABLE JERRY KNOWLES

HONORABLE TIM KRIEGER

HONORABLE DAVID MALONEY

HONORABLE JOHN MCGINNIS

HONORABLE BRAD ROAE

HONORABLE RICK SACCONE

HONORABLE DAN TRUITT

HONORABLE MARK COHEN, DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN

HONORABLE MARY JO DALEY

HONORABLE MARTY FLYNN

HONORABLE JORDAN HARRIS

HONORABLE DANIEL MCNEILL

HONORABLE DAN MILLER

HONORABLE MICHAEL O'BRIEN

HONORABLE MICHAEL SCHLOSSBERG

HONORABLE BRIAN SIMS

HONORABLE GREG VITALI

* * * *

Pennsylvania House of Representatives Commonwealth of Pennsylvania COMMITTEE STAFF PRESENT:

SUSAN BOYLE

MAJORITY EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

AMY HOCKENBERRY

MAJORITY RESEARCH ANALYST

KAREN PENICA

MAJORITY RESEARCH ANALYST

PAM NEUGARD

MAJORITY LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT

I N D E X

TESTIFIERS

* * *

<u>PAGE</u>
MICHAEL BEKESHA, ESQ. JUDICIAL WATCH, INC
JOSHUA PRINCE, ESQ. FIREARMS INDUSTRY CONSULTING GROUP, A DIVISION OF PRINCE LAW OFFICES, P.C
JAMES N. CLYMER, ESQ. CLYMER MUSSER & CONRAD, P.C49
J. CHRISTIAN ADAMS, ESQ. POLICY BOARD OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS UNION69
SUBMITTED WRITTEN TESTIMONY
* * *

(See submitted written testimony and handouts online.)

1	PROCEEDINGS
2	* * *
3	MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Good morning. This
4	hearing of the House State Government Committee is called
5	to order.
6	Before we take the roll call, if I could ask
7	everyone to please rise and Representative Truitt to lead
8	us in the Pledge.
9	
10	(The Pledge of Allegiance was recited.)
11	
12	MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you,
13	Representative Truitt.
14	If I could ask our Member Secretary,
15	Representative McGinnis, to call the roll call, please.
16	
17	(Roll was taken.)
18	
19	MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you,
20	Representative McGinnis.
21	Before we call our first testifier this morning,
22	I'd like to just lay out the way the hearing will proceed.
23	As past hearings and for the benefit of the Members as a
24	refresher, this morning testifiers will have 25 minutes
25	with us, approximately 10 to 15 minutes for their testimony

and then the balance of the time for Q&A. I'll go back and forth between Democrat and Republican on the questions.

We'll take the questions we have time for during that period of time. When we're at the end of that time, we will conclude the Q&A with that testifier and move on to the next testifier.

And if you had had a question for that testifier and you'd like to ask a question of the next testifier and I didn't recognize you the first time around for the previous testifier, I'll make sure you're on the beginning of the list but we might run out of time with various testifiers. And in the interest of respecting our guests' time and the Members' time, we're going to stay on track as much as possible to conclude the hearing before we have to be up to the Floor for Session starting at 11:00.

Also, the individuals who will be testifying today are here as guests of the Committee and I would ask the Members to pose your questions, avoid the pontification as much as possible if you would, please. I know it's hard for many of us but we'll have more information delivered to Committee if you ask your questions and allow them to answer and not turn into a debate. We can debate each other at a future hearing to follow up on this if we have that as a kind of informational hearing rather than a public hearing.

Also, just for the Members' information, there was a previous hearing we held with the Ethics Commission before us, and at that time I'd asked for them to look into the actions of two individuals. One of those individuals was the Attorney General. The Ethics Commission did get back to us earlier this year. As a result of their investigation, to read in part -- and I have this letter available for any Member that would like it; we can provide it to you later on today or email it over to you -- but in part what they have said was:

2.2

"The Commission has determined that there is a lack of sufficient evidence to establish one of the required elements of a violation of Section 1103(a), specifically a use of the authority of your public position to promote your sister. As such, the Commission has terminated its inquiry into this matter. However, the selection process coupled with a lack of documentation establishing the criteria used to fill the vacancy concerning the Chief Deputy Attorney General of the Child Predator Section created a perception that the promotion of your sister was not free of your influence."

As I said, that letter would be available for Members in the future if you'd like to have a copy of that.

Representative Cohen for a brief opening statement before we get started.

MINORITY CHAIRMAN COHEN: Yes. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman for this opportunity.

2.2

As you know, I delivered a letter to you yesterday asking that you consider cancelling today's hearing not just in the best interest of the House of Representatives as an institution but also in the best interest of democracy in Pennsylvania. Let me repeat my reasons for that request.

We have seen how the politicization of almost every aspect of the U.S. Congress has led to endless conflict and constant partisan gridlock, and while legislators in Pennsylvania certainly engage in strident political debate on partisan issues and policy, we've avoided turning these political debates into Constitutional crisis. This has allowed our Legislature, while we engage in healthy debate, to maintain our focus on the real issues the people of Pennsylvania sent us here to address.

Today's hearing is a departure from that spirit and that precedent. Impeaching for political reasons is never a good idea. Using this Committee and this Legislature to settle political grievances is even worse. The impeachment measure before us today is not based on any violation of law or ethics by the Attorney General but by the very political and partisan disagreements with Attorney General Kane. Examining the background of these witnesses

shows they have little to no expertise in the issues relevant to impeachment, Constitutional law, the ethical conduct of attorneys or prosecutorial discretion.

Contrary to the rules and standards procedures of this House, neither the Attorney General nor anyone with relevant experience or expertise on the issues of impeachment have been asked to testify before this Committee, nor was the opportunity given to testify to any of the witnesses of the Democratic Members' committee staff offered.

The process by which impeachment has been raised is also improper based on precedent in the Legislature for cases of impeachment. According to a memo from the Parliamentarian of the House, a petition for impeachment is to be presented to the House containing the charges and asking for an investigation. The Speaker is to refer the petition to a standing committee or special committee for investigation which determines whether the charges are well-founded.

The Committee is to report its findings to the full House. Only if that report recommends that articles of impeachment should be prepared are those articles to be presented to the full House for adoption or rejection. The entire process is being bypassed by a proposed amendment to our House Resolution originally commending the Attorney

General. We have no investigation, we have no report, we have no basis to proceed with this hearing.

2.2

Mr. Chairman and Members of this Committee,

Pennsylvania is currently facing a budget that is out of

balance by more than \$500 million. We have less than two

months to address this budget crisis to begin once again to

grow jobs and the economy of Pennsylvania, start the

process of restoring proper focus on investment in

education, improve tax fairness, provide access to

healthcare for more than half-a-million Pennsylvanians who

have none, and address other critical issues that the

people of Pennsylvania tell us are important. Surely we

have better things to do than spend time and tax dollars on

this investigation.

For these reasons and the interest of preserving the proper role of the Committee and preserving the proper role of the House and serving the people of Pennsylvania in the manner all of us were elected to do, I move that this committee meeting be adjourned.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Representative

Cohen, I think it's a little misleading to say that you

want to make an opening statement and include in that a

Motion to Adjourn.

MINORITY CHAIRMAN COHEN: Motion to Adjourn is always in order, Mr. Chairman.

1		MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Representative
2	McGinnis,	call the roll on a Motion to Adjourn.
3		REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Chair Metcalfe?
4		MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: No.
5		REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Barrar?
6		REPRESENTATIVE BARRAR: No.
7		REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Dunbar?
8		REPRESENTATIVE DUNBAR: No.
9		REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Evankovich?
10		REPRESENTATIVE EVANKOVICH: No.
11		REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Everett?
12		REPRESENTATIVE EVERETT: [No response]
13		REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Gabler?
14		REPRESENTATIVE GABLER: [No response]
15		REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Keller?
16		REPRESENTATIVE KELLER: No.
17		REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Knowles?
18		REPRESENTATIVE KNOWLES: [No response]
19		REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Krieger?
20		REPRESENTATIVE KRIEGER: No.
21		REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Maloney?
22		REPRESENTATIVE MALONEY: No.
23		REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: McGinnis?
24		No.
25		Roae?

1	REPRESENTATIVE ROAE: No.
2	REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Saccone?
3	REPRESENTATIVE SACCONE: No.
4	REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Simmons?
5	REPRESENTATIVE SIMMONS: [No response]
6	REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Truitt?
7	REPRESENTATIVE TRUITT: No.
8	REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Chair Cohen?
9	MINORITY CHAIRMAN COHEN: Yes.
10	REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Daley?
11	REPRESENTATIVE DALEY: Yes.
12	REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Flynn?
13	REPRESENTATIVE FLYNN: Yes.
14	REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Harris?
15	REPRESENTATIVE HARRIS: Yes.
16	REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: McNeill?
17	REPRESENTATIVE MCNEILL: Yes.
18	REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Miller?
19	REPRESENTATIVE MILLER: Yes.
20	REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: O'Brien?
21	REPRESENTATIVE O'BRIEN: Yes.
22	REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Schlossberg?
23	REPRESENTATIVE SCHLOSSBERG: Yes.
24	REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Sims?
25	REPRESENTATIVE SIMS: Yes.

1	REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Vitali?
2	REPRESENTATIVE VITALI: Yes.
3	REPRESENTATIVE MCGINNIS: Chair Metcalfe, we have
4	11 against, 10 in favor. The Motion does not carry.
5	MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you,
6	Representative McGinnis.
7	Our first testifier this morning will be
8	REPRESENTATIVE O'BRIEN: Mr. Chairman.
9	MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE:Mr. Michael
_0	Bekesha
L1	REPRESENTATIVE O'BRIEN: Mr. Chairman, point of
_2	order.
L3	MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: No. Right now,
L 4	we're proceeding with the hearing. This is not a voting
_5	meeting. We're proceeding with the hearing.
L 6	Mr. Michael
_7	REPRESENTATIVE O'BRIEN: Mr. Chairman, I'm about
L8	to call a Privileged Motion
_9	MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: If you continue
20	REPRESENTATIVE O'BRIEN:under Rule 55
21	MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: You are not
22	recognized to make any Motion or to be recognized to make
23	any comments.
24	REPRESENTATIVE O'BRIEN: Mr. Chairman, a
25	Privileged Motion

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1
                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: You are not in order
       and I will have you removed---
 2
 3
                 REPRESENTATIVE O'BRIEN: ---is always in order.
                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: ---from the hearing
 4
 5
       if you do not stop---
 6
                 REPRESENTATIVE O'BRIEN: It is always in order.
 7
                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: It is not in order
 8
      now---
 9
                 REPRESENTATIVE O'BRIEN: Rule 55---
10
                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: ---because you're
11
      not recognized.
12
                 REPRESENTATIVE O'BRIEN: ---Privileged Motions
13
       are always in order---
14
                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: You are not
15
      recognized.
16
                 REPRESENTATIVE O'BRIEN: Mr. Chairman, I would
17
      like to make---
18
                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Security, please
19
      remove Representative O'Brien---
20
                 REPRESENTATIVE O'BRIEN: ---a Motion---
                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: --- from this hearing
21
2.2
      now.
23
                 UNIDENTIFIED REPRESENTATIVE: Mr. Chairman, you
24
      do not have the authority to remove---
25
                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: I have---
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1
                 UNIDENTIFIED REPRESENTATIVE: ---a sitting Member
 2
       of this Committee.
                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: I have the
 3
 4
       authority. Go check with the Speaker. Please remove
 5
       Representative O'Brien from this hearing.
 6
                 REPRESENTATIVE O'BRIEN: I would like to make a
 7
       Motion to Adjourn---
 8
                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Sir, you are not
 9
       recognized---
10
                 REPRESENTATIVE O'BRIEN: --- to a date certain of
       June 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2014 under---
11
12
                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: The microphone is
13
       not on for you to be recognized.
14
                 REPRESENTATIVE O'BRIEN: That's it. We're out of
15
       here.
16
                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: You are out of
17
       order.
18
                 UNIDENTIFIED REPRESENTATIVE: We're all leaving.
19
                 REPRESENTATIVE O'BRIEN: We're out of here.
20
                 UNIDENTIFIED REPRESENTATIVE: [inaudible] your
21
       own meeting, Mr. Metcalfe.
22
                 REPRESENTATIVE O'BRIEN: Have your kangaroo
23
       court, pal.
24
                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Members that want to
25
       leave on their own, you're more than welcome to.
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Mr. Bekesha, I apologize for the actions of the Minority Members that didn't want to stay here and be involved in actually a conversation on the comments that Representative Cohen made and the comments that I think that many of our testifiers will make and the disagreement that is a very basic disagreement that I have with the Minority leader. He doesn't believe that the Attorney General has violated the laws of this State and the Constitution. I believe she has. That's why I introduced an impeachment resolution.

2.2

My dispute with the Attorney General is not policy; it's the law. I have a dispute with her regarding the Constitution and the law. I think she's in violation of both, and as such, I think she should be removed from the Office of Attorney General since she doesn't want to fulfill the duties of that office.

But the spectacle the Minority Chair tried to make with his Members, it was sort of anticipated. My understanding was that he and all the Democratic Members asked to have their names removed from their resolution, the resolution they introduced they asked to have their names removed from in order to try and stop this hearing today. That failed so they would walk out in protest.

But we will continue with the hearing and the viewers will be able to decide for themselves if the

1 | information makes the case or not.

So you can begin when you're ready, sir.

MR. BEKESHA: Thank you very much.

Good morning. I'm Michael Bekesha, an attorney at Judicial Watch. Judicial Watch is a Washington, D.C.-based educational foundation dedicated to promoting transparency, integrity, and accountability in government and fidelity to the rule of law.

Thank you, Chairman Metcalfe, for inviting me here today. Although it is always an honor for me on behalf of Judicial Watch to be here and appear before this Committee, it also comes with mixed emotions. Last time I was here, about three years ago, I testified on behalf of your "National Security Begins at Home" legislative package. At that time, it saddened me to report that the Federal Government had decided to not enforce the Nation's immigration laws. However, you and your colleagues sought to protect the citizens of the Commonwealth even though the President refused to do so. I thank you for that.

Today, I am here to testify about another public official who refuses to uphold her Constitutional and statutory duties. However, this time the Federal Government is not at fault. Although I could spend hours talking about how President Obama and his cabinet continue to disregard their oaths of office and cause

"complications" -- as the Commonwealth Court of

Pennsylvania recently described it -- I am here to discuss
a public official who was directly elected by the people of

Pennsylvania and who was sworn in to office a little over

one year ago.

2.2

On January 15, 2013, Attorney General Kane placed her hand on the Bible and stated:

"I do solemnly swear that I will support, obey and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of this Commonwealth and that I will discharge the duties of my office with fidelity."

Although she placed her hand on the Bible and recited this oath, she apparently did not mean it. She must have had her fingers crossed because less than six months later, she openly defied her most important duty as Attorney General: upholding and defending the duly enacted laws of the Commonwealth.

Before I discuss how the Attorney General failed the people of Pennsylvania and harmed the Commonwealth in the process, I will briefly address the Attorney General's duties, what they mean, and why they are in place. The Commonwealth Attorneys Act states:

"It shall be the duty of the Attorney General to uphold and defend the constitutionality of all statutes so as to prevent the suspension or abrogation in the absence

of a controlling decision by a court of competent jurisdiction."

2.2

What this means in plain English is that the Attorney General cannot decide which laws she wants to uphold and defend. She must uphold all laws passed by the Legislature and signed by the Governor. Importantly, you do not need to take my word for it. In 1973, seven judges of the Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania stated in unequivocal terms:

"The Attorney General is without statutory authority to implement his opinion as to constitutionality. The only branch of government that has the power to declare the law unconstitutional is the Judiciary."

The Court further stated that the Attorney

General had the power to suspend a statute by declaring it

unconstitutional, "he would seriously evade and encroach

upon this area of judicial responsibility and possess an

effective veto over legislation."

The Court therefore concluded that "the Attorney General is without power or authority, even if he is of the opinion that a statute is unconstitutional, to implement his opinion in such a manner as to effectively abrogate or suspend such statute which is presumptively Constitutional until declared otherwise by the Judiciary."

The rationale for this conclusion is the basic

principle of separation of powers, which first appeared in Pennsylvania as early as 1776. In 1938, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court explained:

"When the Constitution of 1873 was adopted, the people acted in the light of generations of experience with the operation of the doctrine of the separation of powers, and with the resulting necessity for judicial review to resolve differences of opinion between the legislative, executive, and judicial departments."

As James Madison warned in Federalist 47, "The accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive, and judiciary, in the same hands, whether of one, a few, or many...may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny."

Attorney General Kane's announcement on July

11th, 2013 makes it clear that she believes that she has
the authority to create, enforce, and interpret the law.

In Attorney General Kane's view, Pennsylvania is a tyranny
of one, not a democracy. This is because Attorney General
Kane declared a duly enacted Pennsylvania law
unconstitutional and announced that she would not uphold
and defend it. Although her action in itself may not have
suspended the law, the result of her declaration was just
that. Less than two weeks after her announcement, the
Montgomery County Register of Wills stated that he was

prepared to violate the law based in part on the Attorney General's belief that Pennsylvania's marriage laws are unconstitutional.

Now, the Attorney General and others may argue that because the Office of General Counsel is defending the law in court, "no harm, no foul." However, that viewpoint misses the forest for the trees. Kathleen Kane ran for and was elected to Attorney General of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. If she wanted to only uphold and defend some laws, she should not have run for Attorney General or at a minimum she should have been honest enough to campaign on the slogan, "I will uphold and defend the laws of this Commonwealth when I want to." The people then could have made a choice between a candidate who would take her oath seriously and fight for Pennsylvania and a candidate who only wanted to play Attorney General on television.

on TV. I say that because when she decided that the law was unconstitutional, she held a press conference. If she sincerely believed that the Commonwealth was enforcing an unconstitutional law, she could have taken one of two legitimate actions. As the Commonwealth Court explained in 1973, if an Attorney General is in the opinion that a statute is unconstitutional, he has the right and indeed the duty to initiate a legal action and obtain a judicial

determination of the issue or prepare for submission to the General Assembly a revision to the statute. Surely the Attorney General knew she had these options. Instead of doing what was right, she went on TV.

Sadly, this is not the only time that Attorney

General Kane has taken an action that diminishes her

office. In January 2014, the State Ethics Commission

concluded that the promotion of the Attorney General's

sister "created a perception that the promotion of [her]

sister was not free from [her] influence." Again, the

Attorney General and others could argue "no harm, no foul."

But we know that isn't true. The process is as important

if not more important than the results. As lawyers and

judges regularly say, just the appearance of impropriety or

misbehavior damages the office. Whether it was technically

illegal or unethical, it is irrelevant. Her actions show

the people of Pennsylvania how little she thinks of them

and the office that she was elected to serve.

I believe that another witness will testify about the Attorney General's attack on the people's Second Amendment rights. I just briefly want to say that based on records received by Judicial Watch, Attorney General Kane, shortly before taking office, received a "Gun Policy Memo" from then-Mayor Bloomberg's Mayors Against Illegal Guns group. One can only wonder who and what money is

influencing her decisions concerning the Second Amendment.

Then, we have Attorney Kane's decision not to prosecute certain elected officials for allegedly accepting cash and other gifts in exchange for voting "no" on the Pennsylvania Voter ID bill. I know for a fact that my colleague Christian Adams will be testifying on how the Attorney General has ignored her prosecutorial responsibilities imposed by the Commonwealth Attorneys Act. However, this action is personally troubling to me because I was here three years ago testifying before this Committee in support of that bill. At the time, I had no idea that the opposition may have been receiving cash and jewelry. It is disheartening to learn that the process may have been corrupted and nothing is being done about it.

Unfortunately, there is a second part to this story and it is more troubling than the first. After the *Philadelphia Inquirer* broke the story, Attorney General Kane in her individual capacity hired an attorney to defend her decision not to prosecute these elected officials.

In March 2014, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported that the Office of the Attorney General set up a meeting with the newspaper to discuss the story. When Attorney General Kane arrived at the meeting, she was accompanied by two attorneys. According to the *Inquirer*, the attorney said that they "would launch an investigation into the

conduct of the prosecutors who ran that sting operation."

Also, the Attorney General indicated to the *Inquirer* that she hired the attorneys to represent her in any possible defamation suits arising from the newspaper's story.

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Because the Office of the Attorney General set up the meeting and the attorneys stated that they were going to investigate the conduct of the prosecutors, Judicial Watch assumed that the Attorney General, in her official capacity, had hired them. Judicial Watch therefore sent a records request to the Office of the Attorney General under Pennsylvania's Right-to-Know law. Just last week, we received a response indicating that no records of contracts, agreements, or communications existed between the Office of the Attorney General or of the Attorney General herself and the attorneys. In other words, Kathleen Kane hired these attorneys in her personal capacity, yet she's giving them access to records of the Office of the Attorney General. Apparently, Attorney General Kane has little respect for her office and the people of Pennsylvania.

I have gone on for a while now. Simply put,
Attorney General Kane is lawless. To quote U.S. Supreme
Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, "If one man can be allowed
to determine for himself what is law, every man can. That
means first chaos, then tyranny."

Thank you, Chairman Metcalfe, for continuing the fight for the rule of law and for amending House Resolution 578. I'll now answer any questions.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, 5 Mr. Bekesha.

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The first Member with a question is Representative Saccone.

REPRESENTATIVE SACCONE: Yes. Thank you for your testimony.

I think this is really difficult sometimes for the public to understand this but I think the argument boils down to this: Is there prosecutorial discretion for an Attorney General? And I just want to kind of add that because some people are going to claim that even in the military -- and I'm a former military officer -- if you're given an order that you feel is unconstitutional or is unjust, you have a duty not to obey it. Is there the same kind of thing for an Attorney General? Can an Attorney General say I don't think it's is right; I'm not going to do it?

MR. BEKESHA: There is. In the Pennsylvania laws, as I said in my testimony, there appears to be a mechanism for an Attorney General if she believes that a statute is unconstitutional to do something about it but she didn't do it properly. She hasn't initiated any court action, she hasn't asked the General Assembly to change the law. So is there a mechanism? Yes. Has she followed that mechanism? No. As I said, she just went on TV, issued a press release, and said I have this duty. It's my duty to uphold and defend the laws of Pennsylvania but I don't feel like doing it at this time.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Representative Roae.

REPRESENTATIVE ROAE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Before I ask my question, I thought it was interesting before the meeting started they were back there talking about whether they need 9 or 10. I couldn't figure out what they were talking about but I think they were trying to figure out if they had enough votes to adjourn the meeting. So that was all planned ahead of time.

But anyway, my question is when you look at somebody that's in government, I think that people in government should follow the law. So I guess my question is just for the sake of argument, say the Department of State decided that they thought it wasn't right that you had to be 18 to vote and they started registering people to vote when they were 16, or say some County Sheriff decided that people shouldn't have to be subject to a background check before they get a permit to carry so they just start issuing permits because I don't agree with that law, or some state trooper decided that, well, DUI laws, we don't

really need them, I'm not going to enforce the DUI laws, do you have any thoughts? What would our society be like if people that are in government could just pick and choose what laws they support as part of their jobs and what laws they don't?

MR. BEKESHA: It would be chaos. It would be tyranny. And I think in Pennsylvania the precedent is now set for government officials to decide which laws they want to enforce and which ones they don't. I mean Attorney General Kane, as the chief law enforcement officer in Pennsylvania, has made it clear that she believes Pennsylvania public officials can choose what laws to enforce. And I think, based on her decision about a little over a year ago, you may see more public officials in Pennsylvania doing just that.

REPRESENTATIVE ROAE: All right. Thank you.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you,

Representative Roae.

Representative Knowles.

REPRESENTATIVE KNOWLES: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

This would be more of a statement, just looking for a response from you. Does it start with the Attorney General who decides that there are specific laws that she's not going to enforce? What do we do if the District

Attorney in Montgomery County decides that there's a law
that he doesn't like so he's not going to enforce that?

What do we do if a police officer in the city of

Philadelphia decides there's a law that he doesn't like?

He's not going to enforce that law.

2.2

My point, Mr. Chairman, is we are going down a slippery slope. Whether you be an officer of the court or whether you be a law enforcement officer, you have a responsibility to enforce each and every law. Whether you agree or you disagree with that law, as the gentleman had indicated, there is a way to change it. So if you don't agree, do it the right way. And I just think it's unconscionable that the Attorney General refuses to enforce things that she doesn't like.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, Representative Knowles.

Mr. Bekesha, Representative Knowles is kind of looking for some feedback on that thought.

MR. BEKESHA: He's absolutely correct. There's a right way in going about challenging what you believe is unconstitutional. Attorney General Kane didn't go about it the right way and now the question is what other government officials are going to follow her lead and decide that a law should not be enforced and therefore not enforce it?

And it's concerning, it's disappointing, and who knows where it's going to end, but it's definitely a slippery slope that has started in Pennsylvania but also around the country. Attorney General Holder has decided what laws he wants to enforce, which once he doesn't. The Attorney General in Virginia has done the same. It's usually always happened in California but California is a little bit of its own beast. But now we have this problem in Pennsylvania. Something needs to be done about it, and when it comes to the Attorney General, really the only way to prevent her from continuing to decide which laws she will uphold and defend is to impeach her.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, Mr. Bekesha. Thank you, Representative Knowles.

Representative Truitt.

REPRESENTATIVE TRUITT: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Bekesha.

You just actually partially answered my question.

I wanted to know if there were any other instances that we are aware of of a State's Attorney General choosing which laws to uphold in which ones not to uphold. And the second part of the question is has any other State ever taken any action in that regard?

MR. BEKESHA: I'm not sure if other States have.

I know everybody looks at it and thinks about what can be

done, but impeachment in every State is different. It's always a challenge. The easiest way is to have the citizens of the State or the Commonwealth vote the person out of office short of impeachment. There are other mechanisms in place.

Judicial Watch as an organization litigates around the country in support of the rule of law. It looks at bringing what's known as taxpayer standing challenges to various actions. Judicial Watch has done so in Cook County, Illinois, against the sheriff there because he decided not to enforce the rule of law there.

But besides that it's very difficult. We see that with Attorney General Holder and the President and all of his decisions not to enforce the rule of law. So I think it's great that this Committee is taking the first step, holding a hearing, and figuring out what can be done next.

REPRESENTATIVE TRUITT: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you,

Representative Truitt.

Mr. Bekesha, the Minority Chair, before he stormed out of the room with his Members in protest, had gone into quite a long explanation of his thoughts on the hearing today. And one of the points that he tried to make was that we shouldn't impeach somebody over policy

differences, which I would agree with. We shouldn't impeach somebody over differences in policy. That's what we fight campaigns over. But I do think that we have a responsibility to make sure that when somebody is in office that they are abiding by the law and that they are complying with the law as it spells out the duties of their office.

And the sponsor of the resolution, he's a previous sponsor; he withdrew his name last week, but he had sponsored a resolution to commend the Attorney General about the same time that I sponsored the original resolution to impeach the Attorney General. We've since then updated our language and offered as an amendment to his resolution today and it's what brought about the hearing.

And in that amendment, which is the impeachment language, we spelled out that she would be impeached for misbehavior in office, not policy. We also noted that she refused to comply with the Commonwealth Attorneys Act, which states that "it shall be the duty of the Attorney General to uphold and defend the constitutionality of all statutes so as to prevent their suspension or abrogation in the absence of a controlling decision by a court of competent jurisdiction." So that's a mandatory duty that we've imposed in the law, as our Constitution allows us to

do for the Attorney General.

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She refused to comply with that so for me that's not a policy dispute; that's a dispute on the law, whether somebody is going to comply with it or not. Do you have any thoughts on that?

MR. BEKESHA: Absolutely. I'm not here today to talk about disagreements in policy. I'm here to talk about what the Attorney General's obligations, duties, and requirements are under the law. And as you just said, Chairman Metcalfe, she has a duty and obligation to uphold and defend all statutes, all laws of the Commonwealth, until the courts deem those statutes unconstitutional. In this case she decided to be the judiciary. She decided to be the court and say I believe this law is unconstitutional. Therefore, I will not defend it. She doesn't have that option. She doesn't have that choice. I guess she was making up law as she was going along because it she believed she had that option, had that choice.

But there is no policy dispute. This is about the rule of law and what the Attorney General is required to do as Attorney General, which is the o--ffice that she ran for and was elected to.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: From the perspective of Judicial Watch, we here in Pennsylvania of course become focused on a lot of State issues but I don't think the

Nation can miss the fact that Attorney General Holder has acted in a similar manner it seems, which from my perspective seemed to kind of play out as a role model of misbehavior in office for our Attorney General, which then played out for the clerk down in Montgomery County with his actions. Have you noticed this? Because I think it's very dangerous for us to see elected officials that have sworn to uphold and defend the Constitution and have responsibilities under the law to ignore the Constitution, ignore the law, and advance their own objectives outside of the law. Have you seen that occurring in other States with other Attorney Generals? Have you been keeping an eye on some of this activity?

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MR. BEKESHA: Unfortunately, we have seen this starting with Attorney General Holder. It is very concerning that other Attorney Generals around the country are starting to look at his actions and decide, well, if he doesn't need to enforce the laws, he doesn't want to, why do I? And I wish the Congress would do similar to what you did and introduce an impeachment resolution for Attorney General Holder. Congress still hasn't done that and now you have States like Pennsylvania, California, Virginia.

There's a situation in Ohio where the Attorney

General there, his office filed a principal brief with the

Supreme Court in favor of one position and the Attorney

General of Ohio in his personal capacity filed an amicus brief with the Supreme Court disagreeing with his official position. I mean if that's not confusing to the public, I don't know what is. So it's this trend around the country and it just needs be stopped.

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MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you. Thank you very much for your testimony today. We appreciate you making the trip up from D.C. today.

MR. BEKESHA: Thank you very much.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you.

Our next testifier will be Mr. Joshua Prince,
Esquire. He's with the Firearms Industry Consulting Group,
a division of Prince Law Offices, P.C. So you can begin
when you're ready there, sir.

MR. PRINCE: Good morning, Mr. Chairman and honorable Members of this Committee. I appreciate the opportunity to be here today and to discuss these important issues.

As my time is somewhat limited and as you can see from my written testimony that exceeds 90 pages with exhibits, I will quickly review the issues and rely on my written testimony to fill in the gaps.

I want to start with Attorney General Kane's modifications, amendments, rescissions, revocations of licenses to carry firearm reciprocity agreements. The

background to this saga is that shortly after taking office, Attorney General Kane amended existing reciprocity agreements, including Florida, Arizona, and Virginia. Let there be no dispute that the Attorney General sought to amend the existing reciprocity agreements as the language found in each of the amended agreement provides "this reciprocity agreement is intended to amend and supersede the original agreement entered into." In relation to Florida, as evidenced in Exhibit B, 4,700 Pennsylvania residents were affected by this amendment alone.

The amendments to the reciprocity agreement provide that while Pennsylvania will continue to honor licenses of residents of that respective State,

Pennsylvania will not honor that State's license for Pennsylvania residents or other nonresidents of that State. Clearly, as I will explain shortly, this raises serious constitutional issues.

First, in turning towards the delegation of power conferred upon the Attorney General by the Legislature, 18
Pa.C.S. 6109(k) provides: 1) The Attorney General shall have the power and duty to enter into reciprocity agreements with other States providing for the mutual recognition of a license to carry firearms issued by the Commonwealth and a license or permit to carry a firearm issued by the other State. To carry out this duty, the

Attorney General is authorized to negotiate reciprocity agreements and grant recognition of a license or permit to carry a firearm issued by another State.

The first issue is that Attorney General Kane lacks the power and authority to modify, amend, rescind, revoke, or otherwise change or invalidate firearm reciprocity agreements pursuant to Section 6109(k). As reflected in the statute, Section 6109(k) only provides the Attorney General with the power and duty to enter into reciprocity agreements. It continues on to emphasize this limited delegation of power that "to carry out this duty, the Attorney General is authorized to negotiate reciprocity agreements and grant recognition of a license or permit to carry a firearm issued by another State".

Notably absent from this delegation of power from the Legislature to the Attorney General in Section 6109(k) is the power to modify, amend, rescind, revoke, or otherwise change or invalidate any firearm reciprocity agreement. Therefore, the Legislature has only delegated its power to enter into and grant reciprocity agreements but has retained the power to modify, amend, rescind, revoke, or otherwise change or invalidate any firearm reciprocity agreement.

The second issue that arises is the grant of recognition is absolute and cannot be limited under the

statute. Pursuant to the second sentence of Section 6109(k)(1), the granting of recognition of another State's license or permit to carry a firearm is absolute and cannot be limited. In addition to being in violation of the strict statutory language, it would likely violate the due process, takings, privileges, and immunities and equal protection clauses since citizens of Pennsylvania were provided no opportunity to be heard before or after a fundamental change was affected in their liberty and property interest in issued license to carry firearms, were provided no compensation for the governmental taking, and are being treated differently than those of other States and similarly situated individuals.

In pertinent part, Section 6109(k) provides, "to carry out this duty, the Attorney General is authorized to negotiate reciprocity agreements and grant recognition of a license or permit to carry a firearm issued by another State. This statutory delegation is extremely clear that the power is to grant recognition of another State's license or permit and does not provide the Attorney General with the power to limit the grant of recognition based upon the State of residence of the license or permit holder. Either the Attorney General can take no action or can grant recognition of the other State's license or permit.

However, as is the case in this matter, the

Attorney General cannot grant recognition to a resident of the issuing State but refuse recognition for a nonresident of the issuing State. In amending the reciprocity agreements with Florida, Virginia, and Arizona, Attorney General Kane modified the reciprocity agreement so that although Pennsylvania will recognize a resident of that State's license or permit, Pennsylvania will not recognize a nonresident of that State's license or permit even though former Attorneys General Fisher and Corbett found and entered into previous reciprocity agreements that provided for recognition of licenses or permits issued by those States to nonresidents of those States.

While seemingly in direct violation of the statutory delegation, as the Attorney General only has the power to either grant or not grant recognition of another State's license or permit in an attempt to usurp the Legislature's power, Attorney General Kane's actions raise serious Constitutional questions as Pennsylvania provided no opportunity to be heard to these changes, no compensation to the aggrieved, and is now discriminating against its own citizens as a Florida, Virginia, or Arizona resident may lawfully carry a concealed firearm based upon his or her respective Florida, Virginia, or Arizona license or permit in Pennsylvania, but a Pennsylvania resident may not carry a concealed firearm in Pennsylvania based upon

the same Florida, Virginia, or Arizona license or permit.

The right to due process is triggered when the government seeks to deprive citizens of legally recognizable liberty or property interest. The Commonwealth Court in Caba v. Weaknecht held that an individual has both a protected property and liberty interest in an issued license to carry firearms under the Pennsylvania and U.S. Constitutions. That is the case that I litigated. Therefore, those Pennsylvania residents who have had their Florida, Virginia, or Arizona licenses in effect revoked were denied all forms of due process as no pre- or post-deprivation hearing was provided.

The Fifth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution requires that just compensation be paid when the government takes private property. In this matter, Pennsylvania residents paid fees to Florida, Virginia, and Arizona for licenses or permits from the respective States. In relation to Florida alone, as we know approximately 4,700 Pennsylvania residents were affected, this would result based solely on the renewal rates that are listed in my written testimony, which is cheaper than the original application fee, in the deprivation of approximately \$479,400 to those residents of Pennsylvania.

Unfortunately, we do not know the cost in relation to those Pennsylvania residents who were affected

by changes to the Virginia and Arizona reciprocity agreements. Accordingly, any Pennsylvania resident who obtained a Florida, Virginia, or Arizona license for purposes of carrying in the Commonwealth as a result of Attorney General Kane's actions has been deprived of the fees paid without any form of just compensation.

Under both the U.S. and Pennsylvania

Constitution, the people are to be treated equally.

Additionally, the U.S. Constitution privileges and immunities clause provides "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." It is hard to fathom how a Pennsylvania resident may be denied the same rights as a Florida, Virginia, or Arizona resident in Pennsylvania without violating equal protection and the privileges and immunities clause as the Pennsylvania resident is being discriminated against based solely on his or her residency.

The third issue that arises with Attorney General Kane's amendments to these reciprocity agreements is the notice that was issued by Attorney General Kane. Attorney General Kane's notice to Florida, Virginia, and Arizona license holders states, "if you are currently a resident of Pennsylvania only and have a CCP from the State of [insert Florida, Virginia, Arizona], your [insert Florida, Virginia, Arizona] permit will no longer be recognized in

Pennsylvania 120 days from the date of this notice or on June 8th, 2013. In the proscribed time period, you may apply for a CCP in the county of your residence."

This declaration by Attorney General Kane is in direct contradiction to the legislative enactments found in 18 Pa.C.S. Section 6106 and 6108. Section 6106(b) provides exceptions from the licensing requirements in certain situations. Two of those exceptions, 11 and 15, are directly contrary to Attorney General Kane's declaration. Section 6106(b)(11) provides any person, while carrying a firearm in any vehicle in which a person possesses a valid and lawfully issued license for that firearm which has been issued under the laws of the United States or any other State.

Attorney General Kane's declaration would seemingly attempt to invalidate this statutory provision by stating that "if you currently a resident of Pennsylvania only and have a CCP from the State [insert Florida, Virginia, or Arizona], your [insert Florida, Virginia, or Arizona] permit will no longer be recognized in Pennsylvania. Clearly, as "any person" may carry a loaded firearm in his or her vehicle pursuant to a valid and lawfully issued license or permit from "any other State," Attorney General Kane's statement that a Pennsylvania resident's out-of-state license or permit will no longer be

recognized in Pennsylvania is contrary to the law and will only seek to confuse law enforcement and violate civil liberties of those carrying a loaded firearm in their vehicle pursuant to another State's license or permit.

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In turning to Section 6106(b)(15), it provides any person who possesses a valid and lawfully issued license or permit to carry a firearm which has been issued under the laws of another State, regardless of whether a reciprocity agreement exists between the Commonwealth and the State under 6109(k) provided that 1) the State provides a reciprocal privilege for individuals licensed to carry a firearm under Section 6109 and the Attorney General has determined that the firearm laws of the State are similar to the firearm laws of this Commonwealth.

This provision is very unique as it specifies that it applies regardless of whether or not a reciprocity agreement exists. Attorney General Kane's declaration would seemingly attempt to invalidate this entire statutory provision by stating that "if you are currently a resident of Pennsylvania only and have a CCP from the State of [insert Florida, Virginia, or Arizona], your [insert Florida, Virginia, or Arizona] permit will no longer be recognized in Pennsylvania."

As specified in my written testimony, it is undisputed that Florida, Virginia, and Arizona provide

reciprocal privilege of individuals licensed to carry and Attorneys General Fisher and Corbett previously found that the laws of Florida, Virginia, and Arizona are similar.

Lastly, in turning to Section 6108, it provides no person shall carry a firearm, rifle, or shotgun at any time upon the public streets or upon any public property in a city of the first class unless 1) such person is licensed to carry firearms, or 2) such person is exempt from licensing under Section 6106(b) of this title. As I've reviewed, the exemptions as provided for by Section 6106(b) above, it is clear that a Pennsylvania resident may lawfully carry a firearm, rifle, or shotgun upon the public property in a city of the first class pursuant to a Florida, Virginia, or Arizona license since, at a minimum, Section 6016(b)(11) exempts any person who has a valid and lawfully issued license from "any other State."

Once again, Attorney General Kane's statements that a Pennsylvania resident's out-of-state license or permit will no longer be recognized in Pennsylvania is contrary to the law and will only seek to confuse law enforcement and violate civil liberties of those carrying a firearm, rifle, or shotgun in the city of the first class pursuant to another State's license or permit.

Accordingly, the Attorney General of Pennsylvania lacks the power and authority to modify, amend, rescind,

revoke, or otherwise change or invalidate any firearm reciprocity agreement as the sole power of the Attorney General as bestowed upon the Attorney General by the Legislature is the "power and duty to enter into reciprocity agreements with other States."

Additionally, Attorney General Kane's actions raise serious Constitutional questions as Pennsylvania provided no opportunity to be heard prior to these changes, no compensation to the aggrieved, and is now discriminating against its own citizens as Florida, Virginia, or Arizona residents may lawfully carry a concealed firearm based upon his respective Florida, Virginia, or Arizona license or permit in Pennsylvania, but a Pennsylvania resident may not carry a concealed firearm in Pennsylvania based upon the same Florida, Virginia, or Arizona license or permit.

Lastly, Attorney General Kane's notices have usurped the legislative authority in enacting Section 6106 and 6108 as her blanket statements that Pennsylvania residents may not carry a loaded firearm in any manner solely pursuant to a valid Florida, Virginia, or Arizona concealed carry permit is contrary to the law and will only seek to confuse enforcement and violate civil liberties of Pennsylvania residents.

My written testimony does go on to explain issues under the Commonwealth Attorneys Act, but as I know my time

is limited, I will be happy to answer any questions at this time this honorable Committee may have.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you very much,
Mr. Prince.

Any Members with questions?

Representative Truitt.

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REPRESENTATIVE TRUITT: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I'm going to struggle through this because I'm not an attorney. Early on in your testimony you talked about the fact that our State law only gives the Attorney General the right to enter into reciprocity agreements but that it doesn't give her the right to revoke them or amend them or change them. And I assume you're saying that because it appears to me that the law is actually silent on who can revoke, amend, or change them. So you're inferring that that power remains with the Legislature?

MR. PRINCE: That's correct. As the power originally rested with the Legislature and the Legislature only granted the delegation of power to enter into reciprocity agreements to the Attorney General, those powers to modify, amend, revoke, rescind or otherwise change would rest with the Legislature.

REPRESENTATIVE TRUITT: How in the world would we amend a reciprocity agreement, though? I mean we have to pass a law to amend an agreement? It's just not clear to

me how we would do that. And maybe someone else on the panel who's been here longer than I have would know the answer to that. I don't understand how the Legislature can modify a reciprocity agreement. So it almost seems to me like it's kind of implied that when you say you can enter into an agreement, it seems counterintuitive to me that if I can enter into an agreement with somebody, I can't back out of it. Somebody else has to do that for me.

MR. PRINCE: I believe it was intended to be a check on the Attorney General, that it was only a limited delegation. There is substantial case law out there on the delegation of power from the Legislature to different governmental agencies in restricting that delegation and that I believe that it was an intent on the Legislature's part to restrict any type of changes as it wouldn't make much sense for one Attorney General to enter into a reciprocity agreement finding that all the bases exist for that reciprocity agreement and then later on to have that reciprocity agreement rescinded or modified.

REPRESENTATIVE TRUITT: Again, what I'm struggling with is how does the Legislature -- we enter into a reciprocity agreement with Arizona. What do we have to do, pass a State law that revokes a law to revoke a reciprocity agreement?

MR. PRINCE: I'm not familiar enough with the

procedures but I believe a resolution would be sufficient to change the reciprocity agreement. However, I would defer to counsel on that.

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REPRESENTATIVE TRUITT: I'm just trying to understand what mechanics or what tools we have to determine whether it was really intended for the legislature to be in control of revoking or amending an existing agreement.

MR. PRINCE: Well, originally it was the power of the Legislature to even enter into those reciprocity agreements. I believe it was because of all the wrangling that would occur in the Legislature to have to try and pass those reciprocity agreements that it was decided that that limited delegation would be given to the Attorney General so to attempt to streamline things.

REPRESENTATIVE TRUITT: Okay. I'll have to study this a little bit further. Thank you.

MR. PRINCE: My pleasure.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you,

Representative Truitt. And I know being involved in a lot

of conversations on the reciprocity language, I know many

of us as we've tried to advance changes our intent has been

to put the Attorney General in a position of entering into

them and as many as possible and not necessarily backing

out of them at some later date with a new Attorney General.

But the intent was to expand reciprocity with other States and direct the Attorney General to enter into those agreements as conditions were met to be able to reciprocate the agreement.

Representative Maloney.

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REPRESENTATIVE MALONEY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Prince.

With respect to the reciprocity and some of the testimony that you gave that makes it problematic for those people who have already entered into another State's right to carry, can you speak a little bit on where it would put our residents who have responsibly trained themselves and/or went through the process of let's say a Utah license, a New Mexico license, and what have you, and especially with State-to-State travel. Could you speak a little bit on where that would stand today?

MR. PRINCE: Absolutely. And just to clarify, as we sit here today to my knowledge there haven't been any changes yet to the Utah or the New Mexico reciprocity agreements. The three currently amended by Attorney General Kane are the Florida, Virginia, and Arizona licenses or reciprocity agreements.

The issue that arises is that many States do require additional background checks and training that Pennsylvania does not require. You brought up Utah. Utah

is one that requires a sufficient amount of training prior to the issuance of any Utah license to carry. Florida also had additional requirements than required here such as the requirement to submit fingerprints. So there were a number of safeguards in place in these States in which we entered into reciprocity agreements to ensure that prohibited persons were not being issued licenses. And let us not forget, even if a prohibited person was issued a license, they still are a prohibited person and could not possess a firearm or any ammunition based upon that.

The reason that these reciprocity agreements become so important to individuals in the Commonwealth is that it depends on the State of issuance as to the number of reciprocity agreements that that State has with other States in the United States. So many individuals will seek out Florida, Utah, Arizona, Virginia licenses to carry or permits so that they have reciprocal protections in States not provided for under the Commonwealth.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, Representative Maloney.

Any other Members?

Thank you very much for your testimony. I would assume that based on your testimony that the amendment that you reviewed that we were seeking to amend the resolution with that you gave us I think it was 92 pages of

information, so I'm assuming that you would believe that we should amend my amendment to include some additional references to the Attorney General's actions related to altering our reciprocity agreements when she doesn't have the authority to do so under the law of Pennsylvania?

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MR. PRINCE: I absolutely would.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Would you be able to summarize and get back to me as far as what major points you think that I should include in something like that to the amendment?

MR. PRINCE: I'd be happy to, Mr. Chairman.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: I would appreciate it. Thank you very much. Have a great day. Appreciate you being here this morning.

Our next testifier is Mr. James Clymer, Esquire, with Clymer Musser & Conrad. You can begin when you're ready, sir. Thank you for being with us today. Welcome.

MR. CLYMER: My pleasure indeed.

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee, as stated, my name is James Clymer. I'm with the law firm of Clymer Musser & Conrad, and I'm here to speak on behalf of the resolution to amend the resolution that was initially submitted to commend Attorney General Kathleen Kane.

As the Attorney General, Kathleen Kane is charged to defend the constitutionality of the statutes and laws of

this Commonwealth. Once she starts picking and choosing which laws she likes, she offends the legislators responsible for enacting those laws as well as the voters who elected those legislators. Her decision to let any law go undefended is an affront to her responsibilities and leaves all of our laws in jeopardy.

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The Attorney General is elected to represent her client, who are the citizens of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania by defending its duly enacted laws. The Commonwealth Attorneys Act compels her "to uphold and defend the constitutionality of all statutes so as to prevent their suspension or abrogation in the absence of a controlling decision by a court of competent jurisdiction." Once the Attorney General starts deciding which statutes she will defend and which she will not based on her personal political beliefs, the stability and security of legislative law in the Commonwealth are severely threatened. We cannot know what positions she will take in future cases.

She could announce tomorrow that she believes that this Commonwealth's sex offender registry is unconstitutional and refuse to defend challenges to it. In any given case, our Commonwealth runs the risk that the Attorney General will read a lawsuit challenging a Pennsylvania law and then decide she agrees with the person

who filed the lawsuit. This selective service view of her position abandons her responsibility, harms the public trust and their elected officials, and casts a continuous cloud over how she will act or whether she will act in the discharge of her duties in the future.

Her action would be analogous to a police officer deciding that he thinks a prostitute has a constitutional right to sell her body or that a drug dealer has a constitutional right to medicate his so-called patients and refusing to make arrests in such cases, or if the Commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service decides that the income tax is unconstitutional and stops collecting taxes. Now, those who agree with their conclusions might applaud their actions but they'd be out of a job pretty quickly. The message should be clear to Attorney General Kane: You had a job to do, a job you were hired to do with duties prescribed under the Constitution you took an oath to uphold. You chose to defy your mandate and you need to find new work.

Attorney General Kane has compounded her dereliction of duty by making a public statement undermining the position of her client by condemning the traditional marriage protection afforded by Pennsylvania's DOMA by directly attacking its constitutionality. She actively took a stance in ongoing litigation against

Pennsylvania's DOMA. This is much worse than merely abstaining from involvement. She intentionally and willfully put our Commonwealth at odds with itself when it came under attack, both in the court system and in the court of public opinion. While such actions may prove politically satisfying to Attorney General Kane, they are detrimental to our Commonwealth.

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Our judicial system is built upon the due process, which simply means fundamental fairness. Our judicial heritage has determined that fundamental fairness is best achieved through the adversarial system. The presentation of adversarial positions in a case gives judges and the trier of fact the opportunity to fully weigh both sides before ruling. Our country considers this so important that we give the right to counsel even to the murderer who has confessed to his heinous crime. There can be no prosecution without defense because a decision is only truly fair if both sides have an opportunity to be heard.

What happens when the one charged with defending the Commonwealth refuses to do so? That is the situation before you today. Attorney General Kane has decided her personal opinions on the law are more important than the rule of law itself and more important than her oath of office. Her apparent goal is to weaken this Commonwealth

law when it is her duty to defend it.

The Attorney General's duty to defend our

Commonwealth's laws is a bedrock principle of our

jurisprudence. This duty is essential to any democracy

because it makes the executive a servant rather than a

master of the law. We accomplish this by tasking the

Attorney General to abide by the legislative judgment

unless and until a controlling court makes a final

determination that duly enacted legislation is

unconstitutional. All attorneys know that it is their duty

to represent the interests of their client, even when they

may personally hold a different viewpoint.

By undermining DOMA, Attorney General Kane usurps the people's legislative authority. If the Attorney General were permitted to reconsider each and every law on the books, the results would be chaotic. The election of a new Attorney General would signal the beginning of a new era as each Attorney General announces which laws he or she will refuse to defend.

What Attorney General Kane does not seem to understand is the damage that she is doing by setting a precedent of refusing to defend or prosecute issues with which she politically disagrees. The election of another Attorney General with a different political persuasion will put at risk any programs or statutes that are then part of

Commonwealth public policy. Indeed, Attorney General Kane may well come to regret the door that she has opened for future Attorneys General to usurp legislative power and advance their political careers. Attorney General Kane has opened the door, and you should shut it. Unless and until this legislative body tells her, as well as future Attorneys General, that refusal to defend a duly enacted law of the Commonwealth for political reasons is an unacceptable dereliction of duty, Attorneys General may rely on this precedent to refuse to defend the duly enacted laws, thereby thwarting the constitutional process for enacting legislation in this Commonwealth.

Our Commonwealth's laws come under attack on a daily basis. Many of these laws passed through our legislature with bipartisan support; some do not. On a regular basis, this legislature debates whether a proposed piece of legislation is Constitutional. For an Attorney General to refuse to defend laws that he or she would not have voted for has the effect of the Attorney General having de facto veto power. The question becomes can the Attorney General "horse-trade" her defense, or lack thereof, of a proposed law with legislators in exchange for their support of legislation that the Attorney General desires to see enacted? Can whoever holds the Attorney General's Office hold the General Assembly hostage to his

- or her political agenda? This may be the way it works with
 the Governor's office where the separation of powers
 between the executive and legislative branches is properly
 in play but the duties of the Attorney General are
 different. This Legislature has the opportunity to put an
 end here and now to the politicization of the Office of
 Attorney General.

 Voters did not elect Kathleen Kane to enact laws,
 - Voters did not elect Kathleen Kane to enact laws, but to defend them. She ran for and was elected to office knowing full well what her Constitutional duties and responsibilities would include. She then swore an oath to uphold the Constitution and to carry out the responsibilities flowing from it. This is not involuntary servitude but rather is a job she sought. If she no longer desires to fulfill the duties assigned to her position, then it's time for her to seek other employment or for the General Assembly to remove her from this position.

I'd be happy to answer any questions.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you,

Mr. Clymer.

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Members with questions?

Representative Maloney.

23 REPRESENTATIVE MALONEY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

24 Thank you, Mr. Clymer.

I've heard here today -- and I'm assuming that

most people testifying or actually watching, participating in this are obviously attorneys who seem to debate every day the differences. I find it somewhat interesting that we talk about the head law enforcement of the land. We also hear about that these things take place from the bottom up. So I guess some of my question to you is we see this on a local basis also, and it would appear to me that for the due process of the citizens of Pennsylvania that we would be able to challenge our way up the ladder to those who would then say, yes, what took place on the local level was wrong and we're going to correct it.

I guess I'm on the right track with respect to that so I guess what I'm hearing here today is that the top of the ladder is taking a position that they do not have, which leaves in jeopardy every other rung down the ladder all the way to the local level where we see a problem maybe on a smaller scale. So I guess I'm trying to make a picture here today for us to understand that, as an official to a sport, we go to the official whose there to interpret what that rule is and what that law is.

So I guess what I'm hearing here today is that when we go to the ultimate interpreter, they are taking a position that that law doesn't exist or they disagree with it. Is that correct?

MR. CLYMER: If you're suggesting that the

1 Attorney General's office is the ultimate interpreter, is that what you're suggesting? I have a fundamental 2 disagreement with that. I think the Attorney General, like 3 4 any attorney, is hired to do a job. And I would 5 distinguish between the executive office of Governor or 6 President as the case might be from the Attorney General 7 because the Attorney General is hired to represent the client. I don't think it's her prerogative to arbitrarily 8 9 decide what the law should be or what it should mean and 10 enforce it or refuse to enforce it based on that. 11 leaves it very susceptible to political maneuvering. And 12 the Attorney General's office should not be involved in 13 that. The Attorney General has a job to do representing 14 the citizens of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and 15 whether she agrees with the law or not, that's her duty. 16 REPRESENTATIVE MALONEY: Thank you. Appreciate 17 that. 18 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Representative 19 Truitt. 20 REPRESENTATIVE TRUITT: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 21 And again, I'm not an attorney so I'm going to struggle 2.2 with this a little bit. I definitely have a concern with an Attorney 23

General deciding which laws not to uphold because that's

the Legislature's job. It does halfway eliminate the need

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for us to exist and that's a little bit offensive. But then I start to muse over I wonder if it's possible for an Attorney General to enforce a law that doesn't exist because she feels that it should exist, that kind of thing.

But what I was really more interested in your opinion on is the potential precedent-setting that comes from this. Again, I'm going to struggle with this, but if an Attorney General refuses to enforce a certain law or uphold a certain law during her term, does that set a precedent for what future Attorneys General can do? In other words, one way or another, if she gets voted out at the end of her term or at the end of however many terms she can serve, does that now restrict what a future Attorney General can do if the precedent's been set that we don't enforce this particular law? Can the next Attorney General then start to enforce it again or does it weaken the law for all future holders of that office? Am I making sense?

MR. CLYMER: Yes, you do. You're making perfect sense. Candidly, in my opinion it doesn't set a legal precedent which would be binding on a succeeding Attorney General. However, there's still you might call it a mindset precedent. But the greatest damage that is done is the undermining of the rule of law. I think it was Lord Coke who said that "the known certainty of the law is the safety of all." And whether you're talking about the tax

code or speed limits or any law out there, there's safety in the citizen in having a pretty good idea what the law is. And when the state of the law becomes subject to the whims of an enforcer of the law, we don't know what the law is and we lose that safety that Lord Coke was talking about. We no longer have the stability and security of knowing what the law is, and therein lies the danger when you have an Attorney General who's supposed to represent the citizens of the Commonwealth deciding what she's going to do and when or not to do as the case might be.

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REPRESENTATIVE TRUITT: Yes, I agree with you in terms of the instantaneous impact. You know, the impact now is that we have this uncertainty about which laws will be upheld and which ones won't or which ones will be enforced and which ones won't. What I'm just wondering about the urgency to do something like an impeachment or can we wait her out? Then the voters get to decide every four years, hey, they don't like which laws she's upholding, which ones she isn't upholding. But if there is a lasting effect from her choosing not to enforce certain laws, then that suggests that we need to do something more immediate than wait until the next election.

MR. CLYMER: Well, and I think there is some immediacy that's important here because damage can be done and it's already started. I mean it has happened already

until the court stopped it. And we see this happening in other parts of the country. I mean this is becoming a trend of course. California, Virginia, any number of States that have taken the same action where the Attorney General refused to support a duly enacted law, and we see the havoc, the legal turmoil that arises out of that.

And here's political philosophy I know, but I believe that the General Assembly in Pennsylvania is designed to be the body most responsive to the people, especially the House of Representatives. It's the one that's closest to the people to represent the will of the people and should be the most powerful. If the House of Representatives of the General Assembly generally refuses or fails to assert its duty and assert the power that the Constitution has given it, then I think that becomes a dereliction of duty on the part of the Members of the General Assembly. So I think it is incumbent for them to ensure that the laws that they passed are enforced until a court of competent jurisdiction of this country rules that it's not Constitutional.

REPRESENTATIVE TRUITT: Thank you for your opinion, Mr. Clymer.

And thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you,

25 Representative Truitt.

Representative Keller.

REPRESENTATIVE KELLER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And thank you, Mr. Clymer.

I just have a question. Let me sort of lay the groundwork here. If a person is represented by an attorney in a court case and the attorney doesn't fulfill their duties, then evidently they have not had proper counsel. I guess I would like your opinion or just your thoughts. By an Attorney General, whether it's in Pennsylvania,

California, or wherever not defending the law that was passed by an elected legislature and signed into law by the Governor -- in California's case, put on a ballot -- didn't the people of that State or in our case our Commonwealth not get adequate representation from the person that is hired to do that job?

MR. CLYMER: Absolutely. Absolutely they did not get the representation that they are entitled to, which is to reflect the will of the people. And you made the point for me. I mean quite frankly that's---

REPRESENTATIVE KELLER: I guess I just wanted to make sure I was thinking along the same lines because this is a matter of making sure that the people of the Commonwealth, who support all that happens here in our Commonwealth; they go to work every day, they've elected us. I think they have a duty to be heard and have their

day in court. Whether or not their attorney agrees with the law, their attorney has a duty to fulfill that law.

MR. CLYMER: And that's absolutely correct. You as legislators, Representatives, every two years you have to face the people, and if they don't like what you're doing, they vote you out. And therefore, your will or what you do in a representative capacity reflects the will of the people. That's the presumption, that it reflects the will of the people. And certainly in passing Pennsylvania's DOMA, that's what happened. It was passed by both houses of the General Assembly and signed by the Governor as a duly enacted law.

And you see the kind of travesty that I think was done in the State of California where the case turned on the fact that the people who tried to step in and defend the law in place of the Attorney General didn't have standing. I mean that's a terrible travesty and abrogation of the will of the people so clearly stated in the referendum. The situation is a little different here but there's still the same obligation, and I fully agree.

REPRESENTATIVE KELLER: Thank you.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you,

Representative Kelly.

Representative Saccone.

25 REPRESENTATIVE SACCONE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Again, I'm trying to be as objective as possible. I'm trying to remove all politics from this. I just want to get to really the meat of the guestion here. And a previous speaker answered about the prosecutorial discretion, but what about the argument that if I'm an Attorney General and I say, well, look, I can only enforce so many of the laws. We have rampant drugs in Pennsylvania, we have a heroin epidemic going on, and I have to prioritize my office and I don't think I want to devote my resources to the DOMA defense. I want to redirect my resources to drugs and child endangerment and those type of things. Is that now an argument for a form of prosecutorial discretion to say, look, I don't have to enforce every law equally; I only have so many resources at my discretion and I have to prioritize them? Would that be an argument to say you could not defend a certain law?

MR. CLYMER: Well, I think that could be an argument depending on the circumstances, but that's certainly not the circumstance that we're faced with today. I mean, first of all, it's one thing to go out and prosecute people and I think that's where there is a fair amount of prosecutorial discretion. Every district attorney in every county does that and they take into consideration, among other things, what they view as most important where they're going after somebody. But when a

major duly enacted law of the Commonwealth is being challenged in court, then that's a different story. I don't really believe that the Attorney General has discretion in a case like that. I think the Constitution is clear that it is her duty to defend the duly enacted laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

If there is a truly ethical problem in doing that, if there is a conflict of interest or something because of prior involvement of the Attorney General, then of course there's the opportunity to have the general counsel to defend it. But apart from those rather narrow restrictions, it's the duty. That's the job that's described in the Commonwealth Attorneys Act.

REPRESENTATIVE SACCONE: Thank you. Thank you very much.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, Representative Saccone.

Representative Krieger.

REPRESENTATIVE KRIEGER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
Thank you, Mr. Clymer.

Perhaps this is more of a statement I want to get your opinion on. I think [inaudible] and nature power abhors a vacuum. And what I mean by that is if the power is once exercised, it will be exercised again. And here's something I've thought about, and again, this is broader

than Pennsylvania as we know. We have this in the Federal Government. We have it with the President of the United States.

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Let's say four years from now or two years from now two Republicans run as Attorney General and there's a law out there that says you can't protest within so many feet of an abortion clinic. And we know that's a very divisive issue in our Commonwealth and our Nation. may be two hypothetical Republican candidates. One might say I don't like that law. Therefore, when I'm elected Attorney General, I will not enforce that law. The other Attorney General might say I don't like the law either but it is the law, and if I'm Attorney General, I will enforce it. I think pretty clearly if we establish in the public mind that part of the job of the Attorney General is to make decisions that, as have been made here, that the Attorney General that says I won't enforce the law because it's a bad law has an advantage in a Republican primary and I wonder if you can comment on that.

MR. CLYMER: Okay. Well, first of all, let me clarify what I think your question or your statement is, and again I make the distinction between discretion in prosecuting people under a law and defending an attack against the law because if the attack against the law is successful, it wipes it out for the entire State of

Pennsylvania for everybody. That's where there's a clear duty under the Commonwealth Attorneys Act for the Attorney General to act to defend.

There isn't the same kind of clear duty to prosecute every violation of the law, and I guess not as a cop-out but in most cases what you're talking about is going to be a decision made by the local district attorney in any event, not the Attorney General. So it's not very often that something like that would come before. It may be good political fodder for a campaign but in reality it doesn't have a great impact on actual policy that the Attorney General would get to fulfill or to practice in office.

So somehow I lost your question in the process of all that but again I think the important thing is a distinction between the Attorney General does have some discretion in determining which cases to prosecute based on priority and other public policy issues.

REPRESENTATIVE KRIEGER: I think perhaps I gave you a bad example and took you down the wrong path and I can't think of another example. There's another political example that from the right might be attractive and perhaps let's say that statute is challenged. I mean we could take the reverse. We could say next month is the General Assembly establishes same-sex marriage and perhaps an

Attorney General -- maybe that's even a bad example but the point I'm trying to get to you is not so much the distinction between prosecutorial discretion and this blanket refusal. It's more the political ramifications of allowing the power to be established in the public mind and the impact going forward.

MR. CLYMER: Okay. And I'll give you the example I think you're looking for. Let's say somebody decided they're going to constitutionally challenge the Abortion Control Act or what's left of it. And you have two candidates running for office, one who's pro-life and one's who pro-choice and they make the kind of statements you say. I'm not going to defend that. And there's a case I think which is analogous to the present one. I think it would be the duty of the Attorney General to defend that whether it believes it or not. Maybe that wasn't the best example. I was trying to think of an example actually on the other side, but still the same thing would apply.

The decision whether or not to defend a duly enacted law should not be made based on the personal views of the Attorney General. That's the overriding point.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you both for your attempt to get us some good examples. But I mean I think it's hard to come up with an example because you're kind of reaching for situations that shouldn't occur. And

I think the prosecutorial discretion versus the clear charge that an Attorney General is given in the law are two different responsibilities of that office. I mean you have to be able to prosecute and utilize your resources in the most effective manner and decide who is at risk most in society to try and utilize those resources to protect the citizens of the Commonwealth but at the same time you have a clear change in the Commonwealth Attorneys Act that says that the Attorney General shall defend the constitutionality of all legally enacted statutes.

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So I think two very different responsibilities of the office I think is very clear, as I believe you would agree, Mr. Clymer, that the Commonwealth Attorneys Act is the point that we're disputing and whether it's the DOMA or a firearms law or an abortion law that, if it's challenged in the courts, the Attorney General doesn't have discretion in defending it. She must defend it, isn't that correct?

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: We thank you for sharing some of your time with us today, sir, and your expertise.

MR. CLYMER:

MR. CLYMER: Thank you. It was my pleasure.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Have a good day.

Our next and our final testifier will be Mr. J.

Christian Adams. He's on the Policy Board of the American

That is correct. I agree, yes.

Civil Rights Union.

And thank you very much, sir, for joining us today. We appreciate you making the trip here. You can begin when you're ready, sir.

MR. ADAMS: Thank you, Chairman Metcalfe, Members of the Committee. Thank you for this invitation to testify today. As a Westmoreland County native, it's a great honor to appear before a body that I actually visited when I was in high school as part of a civics class.

I have followed this sort of lawlessness around the country who engage in this sort of picking and choosing of which laws to enforce. And I want to say that one of the things they tend to do is to delegitimize criticism and to delegitimize debate itself over these issues. But I believe the people of Pennsylvania treasure the rule of law and Americans certainly treasure that laws apply equally to each person. And my view is that those who run away from a debate usually means that they have the weaker argument.

I'm an election lawyer. I litigate cases around the country in an effort to bring integrity to American elections. I formerly served in the Voting Section at the U.S. Department of Justice and have a long record of litigating against racially discriminatory election systems as well as litigating to bring election integrity to multiple States on behalf of the American Civil Rights

Union and others.

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I've spent many long hours inside Pennsylvania polling locations monitoring elections. Those experiences have led me to believe that Pennsylvania is a place where every elected official should be completely intolerant of any criminal behavior touching on Pennsylvania elections.

I appear before you today because of the corrosive effect on election integrity that comments by and policies of Attorney General Kathleen Kane have had.

General Kane's brazen unwillingness to pursue behavior by some elected officials who reportedly took bribes in exchange for votes against voter identification legislation sends a signal that criminal behavior touching on elections will be tolerated. Her unwillingness to enforce the law was not only corrosive to the integrity of Pennsylvania elections but sends a message nationwide to would-be election criminals.

Because of General Kane's comments and brazen unwillingness to enforce the law, particularly as they relate to election integrity, I support Article III of Representative Metcalfe's amendment to House Resolution 578.

As you know, General Kane's predecessor in office initiated an investigation October of 2010. It has been reported that this investigation targeted members of this

House from both political parties, and from all parts of the Commonwealth. Reports indicate that four legislators accepted cash gifts and jewelry in exchange for votes against a photo voter identification bill. Unfortunately, General Kane has decided to drop the matter.

What is even worse than General Kane dropping the matter is her justification as to why she did so. She broadly impugned the competence and the credibility of the investigation conducted by her predecessor, as well as the line investigators in the case. Worse still, General Kane invoked the specter of race. She characterized the investigation as racially tainted, apparently because the members caught accepting bribes were all of the same race.

This is a growing corrosive attitude in the United States that excuses criminal conduct pertaining to elections. The Attorney General of Pennsylvania should not be making excuses for individuals who accepted bribes to block election integrity legislation. Simply because one does not agree with voter identification laws does not mean one should turn a blind eye toward public officials accepting bribes to oppose them. It is the duty of law enforcement officials throughout the Commonwealth to be totally intolerant of any criminal conduct touching on our elections. It is the obligation of the Attorney General to ignore the race, religion, or partisan affiliation of

wrongdoers in deciding whether to enforce the law.

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The integrity of our elections is what provides the genuine consent of the governed. Without the perception that the system is clean, fair, and free from criminal conduct by high officials, people will not long support the system.

General Kane should take action against criminal behavior, not excuse it. Across America, however, instances of voter fraud go unprosecuted. Individuals who vote twice in the same election go unpunished. Election officials who commit election crimes, sometimes even voting six times in one election, are given breaks. Excusing criminal conduct encourages the public to believe that elections are not clean and do not represent the consent of the governed.

Excusing criminal conduct surrounding elections is inexcusable. But it is especially divisive to excuse criminal conduct by citing the race of the wrongdoer. For the Attorney General to assert that it would be improper to proceed with criminal charges against individuals caught on tape accepting bribes because of their skin color wrecks the rule of law.

Unfortunately, in my experience, using race to excuse potentially criminal conduct is nothing new. I write about this phenomenon extensively in my book

Injustice.

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It is immoral to use race either to excuse criminal conduct surrounding our elections just as it is immoral to discriminate against anyone on the basis of race. One of the principles that separate America from every other country in every other age is that citizens are to be treated based on their actions, not based on whether they have friends in high places, not if they come from nobility, not based on their race or religion.

The actions of General Kane undermine this important principle of equality before law. General Kane claims that the investigation was tainted and that others have told the media that a prosecution would be impossible to obtain in the case of legislators accepting bribes. One such opinion was offered by a district attorney, who reportedly did not even review the evidence in the case.

Those defending General Kane's refusal to enforce the law cite shortcomings of the evidence. Fine. Then let the people of Pennsylvania judge for themselves. General Kane should release to the General Assembly all of the hidden camera video of individuals accepting cash and gifts. Press accounts describe hours and hours of videotaped content. Let the citizens of Pennsylvania see some legislators accepting cash and jewelry in exchange for opposition to voter identification legislation. Let the

people of Pennsylvania judge for themselves whether or not General Kane is faithfully executing the laws of the Commonwealth. Let the people be the judge of whether the evidence is sufficient.

It is one thing to assert that a case is not worth pursing; it is quite another to defend that assertion after everyone sees the videos of legislators accepting bribes. Let's also hope the media throughout Pennsylvania will do their job and press for the release of the videos.

Finally, there is plenty of criticism to go around for not pursuing the bribes. I believe that the acceptance of these bribes in return for votes would also implicate federal criminal statutes, statutes which the United States Justice Department has diligently pursued in many other cases, including here in Pennsylvania. Greater scrutiny of the Department of Justice's failure to act in this case is needed. It would be unfortunate if the public believed that serious crimes might go unpunished because those who accepted bribes were of the same political party as the law enforcement officials charged with prosecuting them.

Thank you for the opportunity to appear today.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you,

Mr. Adams.

Members with questions?

1 Representative Maloney.

2 REPRESENTATIVE MALONEY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
3 And thank you, Mr. Adams, for being here.

I find it interesting from your perspective today that it seems to me that you more defend the civil rights position that we individually could have and how we're impacted by these decisions, is that correct?

MR. ADAMS: Yes. I mean when the Attorney

General has a press conference, as she did, and invokes

race as a reason why the law is not going to be enforced,

that's a terribly destructive position to take.

REPRESENTATIVE MALONEY: And could you speak a little bit with respect to constitutionality and the discretion that maybe a DA would have or how this would work its way up the ladder, I'm going back to my original and earlier example. With respect to due process, how does it impact the due process?

MR. ADAMS: Well, in this particular case what's fascinating is the Philadelphia District Attorney,
Mr. Williams, has said if you're not going to do it, I'll do it. And just last week, I believe Wednesday, the
Attorney General shipped the file off to Philly for the local district attorney to take a look at. That's not how it's supposed to work. You folks here have a statewide corruption statute that the Attorney General is charged

with enforcing. It's not supposed to devolve down to district attorneys who are closer to those legislators than the Attorney General is.

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REPRESENTATIVE MALONEY: Well, and see, that's one of the reasons I brought up what I did earlier because I talked about the step from the bottom up and how that kind of meets in the middle if you will and the problems that we have locally because to me this problem is rampant when we have, as was mentioned earlier, political motivations, special interests, bribes. I mean let's face In our neighborhoods it can be more political than any it. other place. So I guess what I'm getting at is I think it's interesting from the civil rights point that you have made of how adversely that can impact us and our neighbors but they are also elected officials supposed to be representing us, denying us due process, denying us our Constitutional right, our civil rights, and so on and so So that's why I brought that up. forth.

MR. ADAMS: Yes. And everyone in this room knows that if the shoe were on the other foot, if this was a Department of Environmental Protection -- I think that's what you call it in Harrisburg -- and an Attorney General was not going to enforce environmental regulations, not bring civil cases, shut down civil enforcement of human rights laws, all the things that some people characterize

as the exclusive province of the Democratic party, which is incorrect, incidentally. If a Republican Attorney General announced that, everybody knows what the people who walked out of this room earlier would be saying. We all know the answer to that. They would be complaining about that lawlessness. And thankfully, I believe that some of the folks here would complain also.

REPRESENTATIVE MALONEY: Yes, and I wasn't even going there as I was the fact of the consistency. And I thought it was interesting what some Members brought up today and testifiers with respect to consistency because consistency from the past to present to the future could be as gray or as clear as mud if we do not have some form of standard and for the citizens' ability to even challenge it.

MR. ADAMS: Yes. I think we heard about Lord

Acton earlier. I think a quote ascribed to Thomas More was

the rule of law is what keeps us off each other's throats.

As you know what the law requires, you behave a certain

way. When officials start willy-nilly replacing what the

law says, what they believe, we've really frankly begun to

plant the seeds of a system that we rejected 200 years ago.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you,

REPRESENTATIVE MALONEY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Representative Maloney.

Mr. Adams, your experiences with the Department of Justice and you've prosecuted voter fraud type cases, election violations from what I understand. When I've looked at what's been occurring over the last year-and-a-half with this Attorney General, and we heard the testimony earlier of her coming into her office and altering reciprocity agreements, amending reciprocity agreements that we in the Legislature had given Attorneys General direction to enter into reciprocity agreements, negotiate, enter into them, not to go back and change them, alter them, rescind them. Our intent has been to expand reciprocity around the country so that our citizens can travel freely in the United States and be able to protect themselves and their families as much as possible.

And then we had the situation occur where she had her twin sister, who works for her administration, was promoted to Deputy Attorney General, received a 20 percent raise in the process. And under our ethics law your family cannot benefit from your being in office financially. We asked the Ethics Commission to investigate and I read an excerpt of that as we started off that essentially they said they couldn't find any evidence that she had influenced it but that it certainly didn't look good. I'm paraphrasing.

It came to light that she'd hired her cousin to

be her personal assistant, which most people understand that being elected office doesn't mean that you have a family business. That's allowed under our law. We need to change that. But it's kind of a pattern that you've seen, a pattern of abuse.

And heading into the situation that occurred last summer with defending the State DOMA where she refused to and went a step further in coming out at a press conference and announcing that she thought that it was unconstitutional, potentially damaging our ability to defend the law that the people had passed through their elected representatives, and then the most recent controversy with her refusing to follow through on this investigation.

And for me that speaks to a pattern of behavior and I assume that you've looked at those types of patterns when you're prosecuting. Can you speak to that pattern of behavior with individuals? And it doesn't seem to me like it's going to end anytime soon.

MR. ADAMS: Well, I can almost assure you that if the Attorney General were here testifying -- I don't want to speak for her but I will -- she will tell you everything she did is perfectly appropriate. And that's the gap we have in this country now where people who behave one way that outrages the other side, they'll defend their behavior

and see absolutely nothing wrong with it.

And that's the challenge that this Committee has is the people who are engaging in this kind of behavior unfortunately usually don't see there's anything wrong with it and will launch the entire apparatus of the party and the media and everybody else to defend the behavior. And that's what's happening both here in Harrisburg, in Washington, and lots of other places around the country.

So ultimately they are using the levers of power to end the Pennsylvania DOMA, to not prosecute people who took bribes, to erode the Second Amendment, and to give people in their family jobs. And they just know how to do it, and the question is will this Committee know how to deal with it better than they do?

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you. And finally, something that occurred that was very troubling to me and I think to many of my colleagues and I'm sure many around the Commonwealth that heard about it but I don't think it received as much coverage as you would hope, but her follow-up with the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in a meeting that I believe she'd asked for and brought her attorney and essentially was not going to say anything because her attorney was speaking for her. But I mean to me that speaks of intimidation, of an attempt to bully those who are trying to expose the truth, for a sitting elected

official to show up like that and threaten to sue a newspaper that outed a story that the people should know about.

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MR. ADAMS: I cannot recall another instance where an elected official in the last five years at least threatened to sue a media outlet for exposing an investigative piece about the behavior of that elected official. Either it speaks to a willingness to issue threats or it speaks to a complete lack of understanding about the public figure component of defamation law or both.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: We really appreciate you making the trip up today. Thank you for sharing your expertise with us, sir.

MR. ADAMS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Have a great day.

Representative Knowles, you had a couple of thoughts you wanted to share with the Committee before we took a Motion to Adjourn.

REPRESENTATIVE KNOWLES: I would, Mr. Chairman. And thank you to all the testifiers for coming to testify today.

This is an issue. I believe it's a very serious problem. I really wish that our colleagues on the other side of the aisle had remained for this meeting because I'm

sure that the line of questioning would have been much different and I would have liked to have heard those questions and I would have liked to have heard the answers because I think it would have contributed to the whole situation.

I think it was Attorney Clymer that said something, and I'm going to paraphrase, but it was something along the lines of she is a servant of the law and not the master of the law. I think that says it best. She's a servant of the law, not the master of the law.

Now, all of the testifiers that we've heard today are attorneys. At least some of the Members of this

Committee are attorneys. And they are the experts when it comes to the law. I'm not an attorney. I like to think of myself as being an average guy with hopefully average intelligence, and it really comes down to common sense. It comes down to common sense.

And I don't know how this is going to move along in terms of impeachment but what I will say is that we as a Legislature had better deliver a message to the Attorney General, to the district attorneys, to the law enforcement community. And hey, I served as a cop for seven or eight years back in the '70s and I wasn't crazy about every law, but I had the duty to enforce every law. And we had better deliver a message to them that it is not up to you to

decide which laws you will enforce because if we allowed that to happen, we are on a very, very slippery slope.

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Mr. Chairman, I thank you for the opportunity to make those comments and I thank you for having this hearing today.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, Representative Knowles.

Representative Gabler for a closing comment.

REPRESENTATIVE GABLER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I just briefly wanted to say thank you for having the opportunity to have the free exchange of ideas. I think that part of the job of being a legislator is to get into the issues, to ask the questions. I've been very quiet today because I've wanted to just listen and benefit from the questions that have been asked, but I think it's important that we remember that at the core of our job is to exercise legislative oversight over the State Government generally, and the ability to be here and get the thoughts and the ideas out there on the record is a very important part of that process. So I just wanted to thank the Committee and the testifiers for taking the time this morning to make that happen.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, Representative Gabler.

And just in closing, the actions of the

Democratic Members of this Committee today should be a surprise to the citizens of the Commonwealth. As Mr. Adams mentioned, when the other side wants to delegitimize debate, then they do run away and they hide behind other accusations and other terms. I think today showed a clear dereliction of duty on behalf of the Democratic Members of this Committee that refused to stay in this Committee, hear the testimony, and engage in thoughtful interaction and discussion on this very important topic that's important to the citizens of this Commonwealth.

As we've seen today with their attempt to just override the process, there was work going on behind the scenes leading up to this hearing that they were attempting to try and shut the hearing down today. A failure to be successful in that, they had every Member of the Committee show up today. And I think if you look at the records, look at the leave slips and look at the absences that we've had and the proxies over the previous several meetings, you'll find that today was one of the best attended meetings by Democratic Members that we've seen in quite some time, only to have them all stand up and walk out at the same time I'm sure on to something else that they wanted to do instead of being here.

But we could have had an exchange of ideas today. I was wondering how they would defend a resolution to commend an Attorney General that has had very little regard for the law and the Constitution of this Commonwealth and the people of this Commonwealth. They clearly are not able to defend her so instead they chose to run and leave this Committee hearing today hoping to distract and keep the people of Pennsylvania from hearing this.

I'm very glad that we had the opportunity to stream this today on the internet. I understand that PCN was covering it live today so the citizens of this Commonwealth have been able to witness the actions of the Democratic Members of this caucus, have been able to listen to the expert testimony that was delivered here today, and will be able to weigh for themselves which argument has the most merit. And I believe that clearly under the testimony that was provided, the argument that has the most merit is one in which this legislative body needs to hold this Attorney General accountable on behalf of the people of Pennsylvania. And I look forward to working with the Members as we move forward to stand up for the citizens of the Commonwealth.

So thank you for our testifiers today. Thank you to the Members for your time. I take a Motion to Adjourn by Representative Truitt seconded by Representative Maloney. Everyone have a great day.

(The hearing concluded at 10:49 a.m.) 1 I hereby certify that the foregoing proceedings 2 3 are a true and accurate transcription produced from audio on the said proceedings and that this is a correct 4 transcript of the same. 5 6 7 Christy Snyder 8 9 Transcriptionist 10 Diaz Data Services, LLC