1	STATE OF MINNESOTA DISTRICT COURT
2	COUNTY OF RAMSEY SECOND JUDICIAL DISTRICT
3	CASE TYPE: OTHER CIVIL
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5	The Ninetieth Minnesota State Senate and
6	The Ninetieth Minnesota State House of Representatives,
7	Plaintiffs,
8	vs. TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS
9	Mark B. Dayton, in his official capacity as
10	Governor of the State of Minnesota, and Myron Frans, in his official capacity as Commissioner of the Minnesota
11	Department of Management and Budget,
12	Defendants.
13	
14	COURT FILE 62-CV-17-3601
15	MOTION
16	
17	The above-entitled matter came
18	duly on for a motion hearing before the HONORABLE JOHN
19	H. GUTHMANN, one of the judges of the above-named court,
20	on June 26, 2017, at the Ramsey County Courthouse, St.
21	Paul, Minnesota.
22	
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1	APPEARANCES
2	DOUGLAS A. KELLEY, Attorney at
3	Law, STEVEN E. WOLTER, Attorney at Law, and KEVIN M.
4	MAGNUSON, Attorney at Law, representing the Minnesota
5	Legislature;
6	SAM L. HANSON, Attorney at Law,
7	SCOTT M. FLAHERTY, Attorney at Law, SCOTT G. KNUDSON,
8	Attorney at Law, and EMILY M. PETERSON, Attorney at Law,
9	representing Governor Mark Dayton and Commissioner Myron
10	Frans, Defendants.
11	ALSO APPEARING: Brett Kelley and
12	Commissioner Myron Frans.
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	62-CV-17-3601 MOTION 6/26/2017
1	* * * *
2	[WHEREUPON, the following proceedings
3	were duly had:]
4	THE LAW CLERK: Page 1, line 2, the
5	Minnesota Senate and the Minnesota House of
6	Representatives versus Governor Mark Dayton and
7	Commissioner Myron Frans.
8	THE COURT: Appearances.
9	MR. KELLEY: Your Honor, Doug Kelley from
10	Kelley, Wolter, and Scott on behalf of the legislature,
11	and I have with me here Steve Wolter and Kevin
12	Magnuson, from my office, and, also, Brett Kelley who's
13	here.
14	MR. HANSON: Your Honor, Sam Hanson
15	representing Governor Mark Dayton and Commissioner
16	Myron Frans. With me at counsel table is Commissioner
17	Myron Frans and my partner, Scott Flaherty, Scott
18	Knutson, and Emily Peterson in the jury box.
19	THE COURT: All right. Thank you. Well,
20	I know there is a motion for judgment on the pleadings
21	by Governor Dayton, but this is a response to an order
22	to show cause, so I think we'll just go in pleading
23	order, and we'll start with the plaintiff.
24	MR. KELLEY: Thank you, Your Honor. I
25	represent the entire Minnesota Legislature here today, $_{4}$

1	and we are here because on May 30th of 2017, the
2	Governor effectively eliminated the senate and house as
3	functioning bodies by vetoing all funding for the core
4	of the legislative branch for the next two years, so we
5	have brought a declaratory judgment action asking this
6	Court to declare the vetoes null and void.
7	The Governor did not veto these appropriations
8	because he objected to the appropriation. In fact, his
9	budget proposal proposed the exact same amount. He
10	vetoed these provisions to coerce the legislature into
11	concessions on unrelated provisions some not having
12	anything to do with appropriations that he had already
13	signed into law.
14	Make no mistake about it, Your Honor, we are at
15	an impasse. The Governor has said I will call the
16	special session only if you agree to concede on the
17	following five items. My client has said we are not
18	gonna negotiate while we have a gun to our head.
19	THE COURT: Have the parties considered a
20	third-party mediator, perhaps, a retired judge?
21	MR. KELLEY: We have not, and what we have
22	done, Your Honor, is with regard to this impasse is
23	what and I'm lucky to have opposing counsel, former
24	Justice Hanson with me we have tried to set this up,
25	so that this Court can break the log jam, make a 5

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1	ruling, and do it, and we'll all go back to our
2	respective positions as quickly as possible.
3	This whole issue of the power of the
4	executive and I know Governor Dayton when he
5	announced his veto said I have a line-item veto and
6	there are no constraints on that power and that is the
7	position that Mr. Hanson has taken in his briefs.
8	This whole issue of the power of the executive
9	goes all the way back to Montesquieu and way back at the
10	time when they were looking at the separation of powers
11	and the independence of the various parties
12	THE COURT: But did Montesquieu have a
13	line-item veto
14	[WHEREUPON, laughter.]
15	MR. KELLEY: Well, here's the deal, Your
16	Honor. Here's what he said, and I think this is
17	important for us that the branches have to be
18	independent lest the executive sword become a, quote,
19	sword of Damocles precariously and intimidatingly
20	suspended over the other branches. That's where we are
21	here today. My clients have this veto, and the veto
22	will require them would start next week would be the
23	first furlough notices which would have gone out had we
24	not been able to narrow the issues.
25	THE COURT: So if the Governor thought 6

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1 that the legislature was engaging in unsound fiscal 2 practice, spending too much money on itself, what power 3 then would the Governor have to control that for the line-item veto? 4 5 MR. KELLEY: He could have vetoed the 6 entire bill. 7 THE COURT: He's only concerned theoretically with the excessive spending on the 8 9 legislature. 10 MR. KELLEY: Well, that's not really true. 11 If you look -- the things that he's asking for, a concession on, have to do with teachers' licensing 12 13 procurements --14 THE COURT: That's the reality. I'm just 15 saying that if I were to accept your argument as true 16 that the Governor is categorically prohibited from 17 using the line-item veto to cross out the legislative 18 appropriation, wouldn't that also take the so-called baby out with the bathwater and now the Governor is 19 20 deprived of having any check on excessive or 21 extravagant legislative funding -- spending on itself? 2.2 MR. KELLEY: No. This will not have, for 23 sure, an effect on other cases. 24 THE COURT: It's really assuring right 25 now. Anything is possible, and we've seen that play 7

1	out in real life. So where is the where is the
2	governing, legal principle that I could use to draw
3	this line that would make me more comfortable with what
4	you just said.
5	MR. KELLEY: Do you mean how do you draw
6	the line in an order if you grant the order that we're
7	asking?
8	THE COURT: No. I mean, what you're
9	saying is I don't have to worry about throwing this
10	veto out and still having the Governor retain authority
11	to control excessive or extravagant legislative
12	spending on itself. Where is the governing, legal
13	principle that would allow me to navigate that
14	distinction?
15	MR. KELLEY: I'm gonna get to that, and I
16	come to the separation of the powers and that
17	separation of powers, we believe, is dispositive and
18	gives you the power to do this and do it this time. As
19	far as we can tell this is really unique. New Mexico
20	has just gone through a little bit of an issue, but
21	there the governor called them back into special
22	sessions, so the court said maybe we out to stay out.
23	But I think Mr. Hanson and I have explored
24	everything, and we have not had any discussions about
25	resolving this issue other than getting it teed up to $_{8}$

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1	this Court so you can make a decision quickly. We have
2	worked hard last week to do that. The line-item veto
3	here was adopted by the State of Minnesota in 1876, and
4	in the ensuing 141 years, no governor has used this
5	line-item veto this way and for good reason because it
6	so obviously violates the separation of powers.
7	Now, Your Honor, what I thought I would do this
8	morning, and I know you have read the stipulation, but I
9	thought I would just go through a little bit to let you
10	know what our thoughts were and how we think the
11	stipulation affects what's going on. Is that
12	appropriate?
13	THE COURT: That's fine.
14	MR. KELLEY: Reading all the cases going
15	back where you had and the Court has already noticed
16	them where you go into the whole issue of core
17	functions and nurse special masters and all of that. I
18	think Mr. Hanson and I thought that the best way to get
19	this to you would be like a silver bullet. Get a
20	question, get it to you so you can decide it, and both
21	sides agree whichever wins or loses that the other side
22	will help and will go straight to the supremes, and
23	this was our best guess as to how to do a few things.
24	How to save the bond rating. We think 90 days worth of
25	comfort will help them, and that was very important to $_{9}$

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1 the Governor. My clients do not -- start sending out their 2 3 things, their furlough notices next week and have 500 4 people's lives be interrupted, so here's what we did, 5 said, let's get Count I, and by the way when I was 6 drafting the complaint, there were discussions of all 7 kinds of other things, and you've seen them in other 8 cases, single subject matter and the bill, the whole 9 issue of pay raises, all that. I drew this complaint 10 with one thing in mind and that is try to get a simple, 11 quick question to the Court. 12 So we've decided that Count I of the complaint we hope -- we believe it's ripe, and we believe it is 13 14 ready for the Court to decide, and we ask in Count I, 15 also, that you put injunctive relief for whoever is the 16 winner, and we believe that will help ensure the 17 appealability of the -- with the count immediately, if 18 there's any question about the declaratory judgment, and 19 paragraph 2, we ask you to go forward --20 THE COURT: Before you go on, there's 21 injunctive relief to require payment at the 2017 fiscal 2.2 rate through October 1st. Are you talking about a 23 second form of injunctive relief that would go with 24 Count I? 25 MR. KELLEY: No.

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1	THE COURT: Okay. Just wanted to clarify.
2	MR. KELLEY: Second, Your Honor, that you
3	enter judgment without delay, and we put that in for
4	Rule 54.02. And then that would have the effect, we
5	hope, that if you accept this stipulation that we would
6	put off Counts II and III for the remaining time, and
7	that would alleviate us having to go through all the
8	core function and all those arguments.
9	Both sides agree to seek accelerated review, and
10	under this the pay would continue under 2017 levels for
11	either through the appeal or to October 1, whichever
12	occurs first, and also we agree that there would be no
13	bond required in terms of that.
14	Important to the Governor was that we pay all of
15	our obligations, and so we have agreed to do that. And
16	we have also agreed to pay the payments on the senate
17	office building. So there are those payments which
18	would come one is on July 30, and we have July
19	excuse me, June 30, July, August, and September. And
20	interestingly enough according to the argument you had,
21	the last paragraph, paragraph 8, says that we are able
22	to we have an agreement that we are able to, but not
23	required to, use the carry forward funds in order to
24	make the payments. So that's the
25	THE COURT: Are you looking for that in 11

62-CV-17-3601 MOTION 6/26/2017 1 the order as well because that paragraph appeared to 2 stand on its own as a private agreement between the 3 parties. It was separate in the stipulation. 4 MR. KELLEY: We have it in -- I have a 5 proposed order here, Your Honor, and I think that -- we 6 anticipated that that would be part of the order. 7 Paragraph 8. THE COURT: MR. KELLEY: 8 Yes. 9 THE COURT: Okay. 10 MR. KELLEY: Can I give the Court --11 THE COURT: You may. 12 MR. KELLEY: We drafted this yesterday. Ι 13 did not have a chance to have -- to get this to 14 Mr. Hanson earlier, Your Honor, so he has not had an 15 opportunity to discuss it. 16 THE COURT: All right. 17 MR. KELLEY: The Court would also note 18 that I did not bring a TRO. Part of that was because 19 we know about the carry forward and other kinds of 20 things, and I think the last part of this agreement, 21 which I think is a good agreement for the people of 2.2 Minnesota, is that it will fund things and people will 23 not be put out of work. So we would ask that you adopt 24 that stipulation, and if I've said anything inaccurate, 25 I'm sure Mr. Hanson will correct me.

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1	New lot me to turn to the mercite and T
1	Now, let me to turn to the merits, and I
2	start I noticed you mentioned this in the first
3	case's argument today, Your Honor, that we're here with
4	the declaratory judgment under Chapter 555
5	specifically because the Minnesota Supreme Court said
6	that's where you go. We did not try to get directly to
7	the supreme court, and we think it was better to come
8	straight to here.
9	THE COURT: Well, I think the underlying
10	cause of action supporting a declaratory judgment case
11	is the challenge to the constitutionality of the veto.
12	MR. KELLEY: Correct.
13	THE COURT: So I'm tracking perfectly with
14	what the supreme court has said in those cases.
15	MR. KELLEY: So when we get to the
16	separation of powers clause, meaning this was a
17	provision in our federal constitution before Minnesota
18	become a state. As I mentioned Montesquieu had a great
19	deal of writing about it, Madison and Hamilton
20	described it extensively in the federalist papers, and
21	Minnesota followed the federal model when it adopted
22	its constitution in 1857.
23	Article III specifies that the powers of
24	government shall be divided into three different
25	distinct departments: Legislative, executive, and 13

1	judicial, and then the second sentence says: No person
2	or persons belonging to or constituting one of these
3	departments shall exercise any of the powers properly
4	belonging to either of the others except in instances
5	expressly provided in this constitution.
6	THE COURT: Which is what we're arguing
7	about. That's the line-item veto authority.
8	MR. KELLEY: Correct.
9	THE COURT: You would agree the line-item
10	veto is a part of the separation of powers analysis?
11	MR. KELLEY: Sure. Yes.
12	THE COURT: 'Cause the distinction between
13	the two arguments that I'm hearing from you is very
14	narrow. I mean, you're arguing that I can consider the
15	reasoning behind the line-item veto, and if it's for
16	the wrong reason, it's an invalid veto, and the
17	Governor's arguing that I have an unfettered line-item
18	veto authority and the Court can't consider the
19	motivation behind it. Isn't that the line between the
20	two sides?
21	MR. KELLEY: It is. It is, and I think
22	we'll be able to show there clearly are limitations to
23	this, and it has come from our court and from other
24	courts in other states. So it was first tested in
25	Minnesota in 1865 during the Civil War. The Minnesota 14

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1	Senate sent over a bill and said tells us if it's
2	constitutional or whether it will pass mustard. And
3	the supreme court said that they would not do it, and
4	it said we have to respect the duties of the branches,
5	and this is one of the first cases that helps delineate
6	these, and it says it is the duty of each branch to
7	abstain from and to oppose encroachments on either.
8	Any departure from these important principles must be
9	attended with evil. They use interesting language in
10	those days. That was the first the first time but
11	that we cite in our brief many, many others, and I
12	won't go through them all, but more recently the
13	supreme court has said in Brayton versus Pawlenty the
14	separation powers clause expressly prohibits each
15	branch from usurping or diminishing the role of another
16	branch, so it has continued on down through.
17	In our view, since the Governor has essentially
18	obliterated the legislature for the next biennium, you
19	don't need to go any further. We don't have to talk
20	about intent. We're gonna talk about the intent because
21	it's relevant to the line-item veto itself, but we could
22	stop right here. I think I could stop, sit down, and
23	rest and say this is improper, impermissible, most
24	courts would say, yes, that's true.
25	However, the Governor the Governor made his 15

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1	intent known when he vetoed it, and now when we look at
2	the line-item veto, which I saw was adopted in 1876, it
3	was put into the legislative article, Article IV, and
4	the supreme court has interpreted that recently to say
5	it demonstrates it's an exception to the legislature's
6	authority, and it is not a specific grant to others, and
7	here's the term. It is therefore limited and, quote,
8	must be narrowly construed to prevent an unwarranted
9	usurpation by the executive of powers granted the
10	legislature in the first instance.
11	Now, if we look at the language that was adopted
12	in 1874, didn't use the word "veto." And excuse me,
13	1876, and it says and the language is important: If any
14	bill presented to the governor contains several items of
15	appropriation of money so there is a limitation he
16	may object to one or more of such items while approving
17	the other portion of the bill. So "object to" was the
18	word. It didn't say veto in the original one that was
19	passed. [Reading] In such case, he shall append to the
20	bill at the time of signing it a statement of the items
21	to which he objects notice again the use of the word
22	"objects" in the appropriation so objected to shall
23	take effect.
24	Now, this was changed in 1974 when we had a
25	constitutional amendment or article come up, and I 16

1	think it was Senator Jack Davies who kind of modernized
2	the constitution. They tried to put it into a form
3	that's much more readable. And when they did that in
4	1974, they used the term "veto" instead of the term
5	"object to" which was in the original language for the
6	line-item veto.
7	However, at the time that the constitutional
8	amendment was voted on and also after it has been
9	litigated, they put this language in there to ensure
10	that the supposed stylistic changes would not change the
11	substance of what had gone on before. So we've cited in
12	our brief and it says: If a change included in the
13	proposed amendment the 1974 amendment is found to
14	be other than inconsequential by litigation or after
15	submission of the amendment, the change shall be without
16	effect.
17	So we believe that you, when you evaluate the
18	line-item veto today, the original intent of the framers
19	of the amendment still say you have to object to
20	something.
21	THE COURT: Well, isn't that what a veto
22	means? It's an objection?
23	MR. KELLEY: You have to be opposed to
24	something, Your Honor.
25	THE COURT: I think the Governor's made 17

62-CV-17-3601 MOTION 6/26/2017 1 that clear. 2 MR. KELLEY: But -- no, he did not. What 3 he did is, he said, and I think he's made public 4 pronouncements, and I didn't put these here, he said, I 5 don't mean to unfund the legislature. I want them to 6 come back to the table and negotiate, but here we have 7 a letter, this was -- this is Exhibit 1 which was in my 8 complaint, and this is not just a casual letter between 9 friends. This is a formal document that was referred 10 to in the line-item veto language. So this is what 11 came with the veto when the Governor sent it back to 12 the legislature. 13 THE COURT: And would you agree or disagree that Exhibit 1 is the constitutionally 14 mandated statement of objection or --15 16 MR. KELLEY: I would say it is the 17 constitutionally mandated. It's his reasons for what 18 he does. 19 THE COURT: Okay. 20 MR. KELLEY: Okay. So in this, if it 21 has -- as you can see it has the two lines that he's 2.2 vetoed, and he says at the last minute the legislature 23 snuck language into the state government bill that 24 would hold hostage The Department of Revenue appropriation. I am unwilling to put the jobs of 130025

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1	Department of Revenue employees at risk. As a result
2	of this action, I am line-item vetoing the
3	appropriation of the senate and the house of
4	representatives to bring the leaders back to the table
5	to negotiate provisions in the tax, education, and
6	public safety bills that I cannot accept.
7	So he's not saying I don't want you or I
8	disagree with the appropriation or the amount or
9	anything else. He is saying I want basically, I'm
10	doing this for leverage over you. Then he also
11	THE COURT: Isn't, again, that one of the
12	purposes of a line-item veto? I mean, I've been trying
13	to think about why you would veto something, and I sort
14	of thought about two categories: There's the
15	over-my-dead-body veto which would I'm not gonna
16	sign this no matter what form you put it in, and then
17	there's the I want you to do what I want you to do,
18	veto. I like your ideas, but you didn't write it
19	properly, or there's not enough money, or there's too
20	much money involved, so it's the let's meet and
21	compromise coercive veto. Aren't those both legal uses
22	of the veto?
23	MR. KELLEY: No. The second one is not,
24	and the reason is the line-item veto has to do with
25	appropriations. You don't get a line-item veto to line 19

1	out items in a public safety bill that you don't like.
2	It's supposed to be an item of appropriation. That's
3	one of the limits. It comes right from the language of
4	the amendment adopting the line-item veto, and you have
5	to object to what you're doing.
6	So when he line-item vetoed the legislature, he
7	had already sent up his budget proposal which contained
8	the same amount. All the way through those amounts
9	stayed the same. So it's clear to us he's not objecting
10	to 131 million dollars for the legislature. He's just
11	purely trying to get them to the table and
12	THE COURT: Which, again, isn't that one
13	of the purposes of a veto?
14	MR. KELLEY: No well, it can be in
15	other instances, but it can't be if you're holding a
16	gun to the head of the legislature and trying to
17	obliterate another branch of government.
18	So, now, attached to the other letter, was a
19	second letter that goes to Daudt, the Speaker of the
20	House, and Paul Gazelka, the Senate Majority Leader, and
21	he gives a little bit more explanation in this. Once
22	again dated May 30th, and this is part of Exhibit 1: I
23	am signing the law into law the nine so-called budget
24	bills in order to forestall the bitter June showdown
25	over a state government showdown [sic].

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1	The next paragraph: I will allow the tax bill
2	to become law without my signature. I will not sign it
3	because of very major objections I have with certain
4	provisions in it, and then it says: However, I cannot
5	veto it, because of the poison pill provision you snuck
6	into the state government bill.
7	Now, that's just dead wrong. He could have
8	vetoed it. If he thought that was wrong, he should have
9	just vetoed the whole bill, and then the parties would
10	go back into their respective positions, and they would
11	negotiate, and we wouldn't be here to talk with the
12	Court.
13	He considered other options as well
14	THE COURT: You might be here, but you'd
15	be talking about something else.
16	MR. KELLEY: And it's also interesting to
17	me that he considered another avenue of challenge here,
18	and he said in a paragraph down: I will not risk a
19	legal challenge to the Department of Revenue's budget
20	and cause uncertainty for its over 1300 employees. So
21	he looked at all his options at the time and said,
22	well, I could veto it. I could do this, and he chose
23	what I called the nuclear option. I'm going to
24	obliterate you and your ability to conduct business for
25	the next two years unless you come to the table. That 21

62-CV-17-3601 MOTION 6/26/2017 1 is an impermissible use of the appropriation line-item 2 veto, and we're going straight with the text of the 3 language, I mean, the original 1876 amendment. 4 Now -- and we have at no place said, Your Honor, 5 that the line-item veto itself, that power is 6 unconstitutional. We're saying the way it was used in 7 this case in order to overstep the boundaries of the 8 separation of government is where it goes afoul. 9 Well, the previous cases THE COURT: 10 discussing the constitutional test for a line-item veto 11 has simply said is it an appropriation and is it 12 specific and certain and doesn't this qualify? On a 13 technical basis, it was specific and certain and it was appropriation, so based on the case law to date, it's 14 15 technically a valid line-item veto. 16 MR. KELLEY: It's a veto of an appropriation but not in conformance with the 1876 17 18 amendment, and that is you have to object to it. He 19 doesn't object to the appropriation itself. He has 20 communicated that in several different ways. This is, 21 I am gonna reach across and I'm gonna obliterate you in 2.2 order to have a better negotiation or negotiating 23 position going forward. Now --24 THE COURT: So if he had simply said, I 25 object to the legislature's level of funding. I'm

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62-CV-17-3601 MOTION 6/26/2017 1 vetoing it. That would have been valid? 2 MR. KELLEY: Well, as I said earlier, I 3 thought it could have stopped without talking about the 4 reason because you can't obliterate another branch of 5 government. 6 THE COURT: Which gets back to the first 7 question I asked you: What constitutionally 8 permissible way then does the Governor have to reign in 9 what the Governor perceives as excessive spending by 10 the legislature on itself. 11 MR. KELLEY: When I read to you what was 12 going on where the Governor said I can't veto this 13 bill, he could have vetoed that bill. 14 THE CLERK: No. No. I'm talking about 15 the appropriation to the legislature. You're arguing 16 that the Governor can't veto the legislative 17 appropriation to run the legislature? 18 MR. KELLEY: If he vetoed, and I know my 19 opponents have put a couple of the costs in there, so 20 there's \$3,000 in there for a chaplain, and there's 21 money for state travel and other things, if he had 2.2 vetoed those and said I think these are excessive, 23 perfectly acceptable. 24 THE COURT: But there's no opportunity to do that because the entire legislative appropriation is

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1	in a single dollar amount or actually two, one for
2	each house, without an itemization underneath it. So
3	if you think there was overspending in any way whether
4	it be a small item or across the board, the only option
5	the Governor has is to veto it, and if I take your
6	argument to its natural conclusion, you are then
7	telling the Governor you cannot constitutionally
8	control excessive spending.
9	MR. KELLEY: If the Governor said I'm
10	vetoing it, and I'm vetoing because I don't like the
11	expensive copiers you have, I would not be here in
12	front of you today. When he vetoes the entire
13	appropriation, it disables my clients from fulfilling
14	their function. So I'm and I'm saying this as a
15	very narrow exception, and as I said in 141 years
16	nobody else no other governor has done this. This
17	is kind of a nuclear option.
18	THE COURT: So how in what sentence
19	would you phrase the governing legal principle that
20	you're hear explaining to me today?
21	MR. KELLEY: I would say to you that I
22	would to I'm gonna talk to you about two cases
23	today: One is <i>Brayton</i> and the second one is a West
24	Virginia case which I sent to your chamber hopefully
25	yesterday, and in that will give the answer and where $_{ m 24}$

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1	I'm coming with this to help the Court. As you recall
2	in Brayton, there was a big Governor Pawlenty, there
3	was a four-and-a-half billion dollar deficit.
4	The legislature passed appropriations to reduce
5	that to 2.7. Then they passed a tax increase that would
6	have raised the additional amounts to balance the
7	budget. The legislature adjourns, and then Governor
8	Pawlenty unallotts two-and-a-half billion dollars worth
9	of things, and then we end up in court. Now, the
10	unallotment authority, just as the line-item veto
11	authority is legal, constitutional, and proper when it's
12	used in its appropriate fashion. Nobody would contest
13	that, but as the Court said, you know, there is an
14	appropriation process here, and the Governor has his
15	role and the others have their role, and by using the
16	unallotment to essentially serve the legislature's
17	power, the unallotment the Court didn't say the
18	statute is unconstitutional but the use of the
19	unallotment was unconstitutional and a violation
20	because they encroached on the legislatures'
21	appropriation powers. That is the analogy that I'm
22	using here. Say it once again: Not saying that the
23	line-item veto itself is unconstitutional. Its use here
24	and especially when it's used to either obliterate an
25	entire other branch of government or to get an unfair $_{25}$

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1	advantage in negotiation.
2	Now, the second case, interesting case, the case
3	of Brotherton v. Blankenship which is out of West
4	Virginia in 1973. I'm not used to going to West
5	Virginia for authority but when I read it, I see it's
6	pretty close in many different ways to our case here.
7	There, there were several things going on. The
8	governor line-itemed vetoed portions of the judiciary's
9	appropriation, and by the way, there's kind of a special
10	statute that protected the judiciary there.
11	THE COURT: It really caught my interest.
12	No one can reduce the proposed budget submitted by the
13	judiciary.
14	MR. KELLEY: Well, and very interestingly,
15	I happened to be present at the capitol when Chief
16	Justice Gildea came and testified in front of the
17	legislature this time for her appropriation, and she
18	said no chief justice has ever been here before, but
19	I'm here because this is so important.
20	And the second thing that went on, the governor
21	in West Virginia also used his line-itemed veto to zero
22	out the operating budget for the treasurer and the
23	secretary of state, but interestingly, he left their
24	personal salaries intact. And so they went to the to
25	the West Virginia Supreme Court. Again, the governor 26

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1	argued just as he's arguing here, they said that the
2	line-item veto was, quote, without limitation, unquote.
3	Where does it show us?
4	Then there was some interesting language in the
5	case, too, so the governor in his brief says: It's
6	ridiculous to even consider that he would act in such a
7	manner as to render such department inoperative, and
8	then the court said, so basically the court said with
9	regard to the judicial veto, we're hanging our hat on
10	the statute some, but we're also turning in we're
11	doing it on just separation of powers.

And so they said: To adopt the view of the intervener -- who's the governor -- a governor would effectively curtail or could effectively curtail or even eliminate the legislative and judicial branches. No such action by a governor is most unlikely. We cannot subscribe to an interpretation of the line-item veto in which that contingency is a possibility.

19 Then, with regard to the constitutional 20 officers, the court said, you know, reducing the 21 accounts to zero, effectively, abolishes those 22 functions, and that's what's happening here. 23 THE COURT: Is there any indication, 24 though, in the West Virginia case that the governor 25 would restore those items with further negotiations

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1	with the legislature?
2	MR. KELLEY: Couldn't tell that from the
3	opinion, Your Honor.
4	THE COURT: The reason I ask is because of
5	the issue of a political question, particularly, in
6	light of the agreement, and this was in both of your
7	briefs before you reached your stipulation, the notion
8	of temporary funding, and you're both citing the orders
9	that have been issued out of this court over the last
10	17 years providing for temporary funding: If temporary
11	funding is provided by the courts and the parties can
12	go on and litigate or not litigate but resolve
13	through negotiation their political dispute, why should
14	the courts get involved?
15	MR. KELLEY: Well, first of all, we're not
16	there. We're presenting the question to you here
17	today: Please say yea or nah on the constitutionality
18	on the basis of the separation of powers of Count I.
19	We all recognize we can get there that
20	doesn't that doesn't destroy justiciability or
21	ripeness or anything else. It's a remote possibility,
22	and I don't think it's appropriate for somebody to say
23	one branch of government. You go and hand to another
24	branch of government to continue your existence.
25	So let's let me turn that a little bit, Your 28

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1	Honor, so what if and this has not happened here, but
2	just as we speak hypothetically, what if before the
3	session ended, the supreme court came out with a
4	decision and the Governor disagreed with it. Governor
5	vetoes the judiciary's appropriation, and says something
6	to the effect, well, I'll help you restore your funding
7	if you do something about your bad case that I don't
8	like.
9	THE COURT: Well, if you look at my notes,
10	I had that question to Mr. Hanson.
11	MR. KELLEY: I mean, I hate to pose that
12	possibility, but when you say the Governor has
13	unfettered discretion to use this and can he use it to
14	do anything, and here's what the Court here said with
15	regard to this: There is a respectable line of
16	authority which holds that the discretion invested in
17	the chief executive by the constitution is not subject
18	to control or review by the courts, and there's a whole
19	section in Mr. Hanson's briefs on those cases, and
20	you've cited one of them here.
21	I agree with that. 99.99 percent of the time
22	those cases govern you wouldn't ever go behind and look
23	at the intent. Here's what the Virginia Supreme Court
24	said: While we agree with the above principle, it must
25	be noted in addition thereto that executive actions of a 29

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1	governor are not subject to judicial interference so
2	long as such actions fall within the spear of his lawful
3	authority.
4	However, when a governor clearly abuses his
5	discretion or when he refuses to perform a purely
6	ministerial duty, the above principle becomes
7	inoperative and it becomes the duty of the courts to
8	define the safeguards against the abuse of power as
9	provided in our constitution and
10	THE COURT: What's the purely ministerial
11	duty here?
12	MR. KELLEY: Well, it's not. I should
13	have left that phrase out, Your Honor. I said when I
14	read the quote "When a governor abuses his discretion,"
15	that's the portion I'm relying on. Then it becomes
16	THE COURT: I'm doing my best to listen.
17	MR. KELLEY: All right. Thank you, Your
18	Honor, and that's my argument. That is it. In this
19	case, we do not say that the line-item veto is
20	unconstitutional of itself. It's just this use, and as
21	I said earlier, 141 years, and nobody has done it. And
22	that's there's a good reason for that, and we
23	believe it's because it so obviously crosses the line.
24	I'll sit down now and unless the Court has
25	other questions.

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1	THE COURT: No. I'm fine.
2	MR. HANSON: Good morning, Your Honor.
3	May it please the Court, Counsel. There's a false
4	premise that underlies all of the arguments that
5	Mr. Kelley is making, and that is that the legislature
6	has been left without funding, and that's not true. An
7	appropriation may be equivalent to funding, but it
8	isn't always.
9	We've learned that in the three prior cases
10	where the legislature itself put a gun to the head of
11	the court and the executive body and did not appropriate
12	funding, the court has held, and I think our
13	jurisprudence is in this state, is that you do not have
14	a constitutional right to an appropriation but you do
15	have a constitutional right to funding.
16	Nothing the Governor did here deprives the
17	legislature of funding for its critical core functions
18	to operate as a constitutional body, and we've been here
19	before as you mentioned three times, 2001, 2005, 2011,
20	now, 2017. We end up with the legislative session
21	ending with somebody not getting an appropriation. In
22	some of those cases, it was just executive agency.
23	Sometimes it was the court and the executive. Sometimes
24	the legislature was included because the governor in
25	those cases vetoed the whole entire appropriation bill. 31

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1	Nobody said this was a violation of separation
2	of powers to either have failed to appropriate or to
3	veto the whole appropriation bill, and it isn't because
4	the constitutional right is to get your core funding.
5	And this court through the earlier three cases ruled
6	that even though the constitution says in Article XI
7	that you can only spend money based on appropriation,
8	that has to be resolved and accommodated to the fact
9	that the legislature or the court or the executive is
10	given expressed powers by the constitution, and there's
11	an implied obligation on the state to fund its ability
12	to do that.
13	THE COURT: So would that mean then that
14	as long as the court provides temporary funding for the
15	legislature, this impasse could last the rest of
16	Governor Dayton's term?
17	MR. HANSON: It could.
18	THE COURT: And be perfectly consistent
19	with the constitution?
20	MR. HANSON: It wouldn't be the hope. It
21	could. As in all of those past cases and true of this
22	case, the idea was to provide temporary funding so that
23	the parties could go back and negotiate and get a
24	political resolution to the problem.
25	THE COURT: Well, it worked every time. 32

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1 MR. HANSON: It has worked every time. 2 THE COURT: And we're rather early -those other orders were all in the last week of June 3 4 going back to 2001, and as you know no appellate court 5 has ever passed on whether that's even legal. 6 MR. HANSON: It's the law of Ramsey 7 County, Your Honor. It's been the law since 2001, but 8 you're right. 9 THE COURT: A lot of banks and checkbooks 10 in Ramsey County. 11 MR. HANSON: There's never been an 12 occasion because of the earlier resolution. The 13 problem here and why we worked out this stipulation --14 Mr. Kelley and I on a very cooperative level -- is that 15 both sides have a strong belief that either the veto 16 was or was not legal. Until that issue is resolved, 17 the legislature believing that it was illegal, is not 18 gonna come back and talk. The Governor strongly 19 believes that it is legal. So the impasse that's been 20 created and why the temporary funding wouldn't --21 hasn't happened or hasn't been resolved by a new 2.2 appropriation is that both parties on that legal issue, 23 which we hope that the Court will decide, have staked 24 their position. If the Court decides as we ask that the veto is 3325

1	legal, then, the next step would be to go into a core
2	critical core function proceeding as had been done in
3	the other three cases, issues would be the same.
4	There's nothing unique about this case except the roles
5	of the parties have changed, and those cases it was the
6	legislature who didn't appropriate. Here, it's the
7	Governor's veto who caused it not to appropriate.
8	THE COURT: Except in 2011, there wasn't a
9	core function proceeding as it related to the
10	legislative branch. Funding just continued at a
11	previous level. Core function proceedings only
12	involved executive branch funding and particularized
13	appropriation.
14	MR. HANSON: There is, however, in Judge
15	Gearin's order a statement of what the core functions
16	test would be for the legislature, and I frankly don't
17	know why the special master and the court didn't get to
18	the legislative funding. I know it was continued.
19	THE COURT: I don't think anyone contested
20	any of the items within the legislative
21	appropriation
22	MR. KELLEY: So no issue to be presented.
23	THE COURT: As far as I know. I haven't
24	found anything that would indicate otherwise.
25	MR. HANSON: So that's the position we 34

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1	find ourselves in. The reason there is an impasse and
2	we could go to a mediator, we could go you could
3	order us back into discussion
4	THE COURT: Well, Judge Gearin also found
5	that she had no authority to order you into mediation.
6	Something called separation of powers.
7	MR. HANSON: Well, there is that, and I
8	want to get to that, but the practical point we're at
9	is that there is an impasse, and until this legal
10	issue, which was really the barrier to any further
11	negotiation or political solution, until that is
12	solved, we don't think the parties are gonna get
13	together.
14	So theoretically the temporary order could
15	continue to the next legislative session. We would hope
16	not. What we think should happen is either two things:
17	If the Court determines with finality that this is a
18	legal veto, then we think the parties will get back
19	together and negotiate, and, simultaneously, if we're
20	running out of funding, if the reserve funds are not
21	enough to bridge the gap, then we would be back to you,
22	and their Counts II and III, we have agreed that the
23	Court should institute at the appropriate time a
24	critical core funding procedure so that they would not
25	be obliterated. There's no intent or possibility that 35

1	the legislative function would be obliterated. They're
2	not put out of business because they have this
3	constitutional right to get their core critical
4	functions funded by judicial order.
5	So that I think that's the premise that
6	underlies their argument, and I think it's a false
7	premise, and this case is really not different
8	different in the way it came about but not different in
9	the legal principles than those prior three cases where
10	the court stepped in saying the constitutional duty to
11	perform your function requires that the state fund it,
12	and so there are two exceptions or two ways that you
13	can spend money: Appropriation is the common method,
14	but by court order in an emergency is an uncommon
15	method.
16	Separation of powers. I found I hadn't read
17	this before the 1905 case <i>State versus Bates</i> to be
18	the most helpful, I think, analytical framework for
19	talking about it because it divides our separation of
20	powers, Article III, into two separate clauses or
21	three separate clauses having three different purposes.
22	The first clause is a distributive clause. It
23	gives the power to the executive, the legislative, and
24	the judicial, and inherent powers come with that
25	distribution. The second clause is the prohibitive 36

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1	which counsel has mentioned. No one from one department
2	can exercise the powers of the other, but the third one
3	is the most critical here, and that's the exception
4	clause except as otherwise provided in this
5	constitution.
6	So the veto power including a line-item veto
7	power has to be looked at as an exception to the
8	legislative exclusive authority over legislative power.
9	It is an encroachment. It's a constitutionally
10	authorized encroachment so that the governor has a role
11	in the legislative function and the line-item veto more
12	specific to the appropriation function.
13	The court has said because it's an exception, it
14	has to be construed narrowly, but that means I think
15	construction of the constitution is it authorized in
16	this circumstance? Is it an appropriation? Is it an
17	item of appropriation. Once that construction is done
18	and done narrowly and in the Inter Faculty case, the
19	Governor's line-item veto was not approved because it
20	didn't really constitute an item of appropriation.
21	Here, as you mentioned the legislative
22	appropriations are single-line items. There's no doubt
23	that they are items. The Governor would have no ability
24	to go behind those items. Number one, they're not
25	particularly public to the Governor what the itemization $\frac{37}{37}$

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1	of the budget is, but he can't do a partial line item
2	THE COURT: So is there any point at which
3	perpetual and continuous vetoing of the appropriations
4	to run the legislature would violate the constitution?
5	MR. HANSON: Only if it's not an item of
6	appropriation.
7	THE COURT: So the governor could abolish
8	the legislature?
9	MR. HANSON: No. Because the legislature
10	can come in for funding from this Court for its
11	critical core functions, not for its appropriation,
12	which I think is much larger than it's critical core
13	function cost. The legislature is always protected by
14	the underlying constitutional right to perform its
15	function and the state must fund it but not at the
16	level of appropriation but at the level of critical
17	core function.
18	THE COURT: So taking it further: If the
19	supreme court decided that all the Ramsey County judges
20	over the last 17 years were wrong, we can't fund
21	anything, this is strictly a political fight, wouldn't
22	your position be problematic with regard to the
23	line-item veto?
24	MR. HANSON: It would be very distasteful
25	for sure, but I think it would be legal. I think the $_{ m 38}$

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1	veto would be legal.
2	THE COURT: So the government so the
3	legislature could be shut down by the Governor if
4	there's no mechanism for emergency funding?
5	MR. HANSON: It can't be shutdown. It can
6	be denied on appropriation. The legislature can deny
7	the governor appropriation. The governor can veto an
8	appropriation thereby denying it to the legislature or
9	the court. That doesn't leave them without funding
10	because then they come as they've come three times in
11	the last 17 years to the court to say we have to
12	perform our constitutional obligations, and can't we do
13	it without funding.
14	THE COURT: So you're assuming that the
15	Court's role to provide emergency funding is going to
16	be legal in every circumstance similar to what we've
17	had in the past and today?
18	MR. HANSON: Yes.
19	THE COURT: Okay.
20	MR. HANSON: Yes. My argument assumes
21	that, and I think it's true, and, therefore, you
22	separate out the veto from the funding issue. Again,
23	the underlying principle: You have a constitutional
24	right to funding as a department of the government.
25	You don't have a constitutional right to an 39

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1	appropriation.
2	THE COURT: Is there any circumstance
3	under which the reasoning behind a veto or line-item
4	veto would render that veto unconstitutional?
5	MR. HANSON: I don't believe so, and I
6	think our cases are very clear on that. The Larson
7	versus Carlson case says we don't look at the wisdom of
8	a veto. Once we've decided that it meets the
9	constitutional requirement of an item of appropriation,
10	the inquiry stops. And why is that? That is a
11	separation of powers requirement.
12	So now getting to the prohibitive clause, the
13	prohibitive clause is relevant, and I think in this
14	case, to the extent it limits the scope of judicial
15	review, the Court can't exercise executive power. The
16	Court can't exercise legislative power, and so, if you
17	were to inquire into the motive or intent of a governor
18	in the exercise of a veto or even inquire into the
19	motive or intent of a legislative enactment, you, in
20	effect, are exercising executive power. The governor
21	has the power to veto or to rescind the veto. If the
22	Court is asked to invalidate a veto, it must exercise
23	executive power to do so, and that violates separation
24	of power.
25	THE COURT: The Birkeland versus

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1	Christianson case in 1930, the court talks about the
2	fact that there is the power of judicial review to
3	determine whether the actions of the other branches are
4	consistent with the constitution, and one branch can't
5	coerce the other branch. So how do you jive the
6	argument you're making with the principle that I can't
7	look at the motives? How do I know if there's
8	inappropriate coercion if I can't look at the motives.
9	MR. HANSON: What a slippery slope that
10	would be to begin to look at the motive, not only a
11	slippery slope I think a cliff, frankly. You can't
12	step over that line without invading the province of
13	the other department of government.
14	If you look at the motive, then you are into the
15	political discussion, the political reasoning, of the
16	governor which is within his sole discretion so as long
17	as he is acting within the power given to him by the
18	constitution, and this is a specific power given to him
19	to do a line-item veto.
20	THE COURT: So that gets back to the
21	question that's in my notes that Mr. Kelley asked, so
22	can the governor veto funding for the courts and put in
23	the veto message to the legislature that I am not going
24	to sign a bill funding the courts until they either
25	reverse a decision that they made, or if it's a pending 41

1	decision rule the way I want them to rule?
2	MR. HANSON: I think he can veto, but I
3	don't think he can defund the court, and the Court
4	would have the right, as it has had to do, at least, in
5	two of those past cases, come to this Court and say we
6	need critical core functioning or we can't exist as a
7	constitutional body. As I say, that would be a very
8	unsavory thing for a governor to do, and it is the
9	extreme, but it's nothing near what we have present in
10	this case today.
11	THE COURT: Well, what's the difference
12	between the governor saying I will veto funding for the
13	courts until I get the outcome I want, and the governor
14	saying I will veto funding for the legislature until I
15	get them to revisit legislation that I didn't like.
16	What's the difference?
17	MR. HANSON: I don't think there is any
18	difference in terms of his power to veto. The
19	difference here, though, isn't unsavory as your
20	hypothetical would be.
21	THE COURT: I tried to pick the most
22	distasteful, unsavory example I could come up with
23	because sometimes these principles have to be tested by
24	their extremes.
25	MR. HANSON: By extremes, and I would say $_{ m 42}$

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1	as distasteful as it is, I think the Governor has the
2	power to veto. There's no constitutional principle
3	that limits it unless he were to obliterate that branch
4	of government, and he can't do it, he doesn't have the
5	power to do it, because that branch of government has
6	the constitutional right to be funded for their
7	critical core functions.
8	THE COURT: So we would basically, then,
9	in the example I gave have to wait out the Governor's
10	term as those vetoes come and applications to the court
11	for funding are made, and if the next governor doesn't
12	care about that court decision, then peace would then
13	prevail? That's perfectly okay as far as the Governor
14	is concerned under the constitution?
15	MR. HANSON: It's perfectly okay under the
16	constitution. Our Governor would not support that
17	political view, but it would be a political decision of
18	the Governor to do it, and he has the power to do it,
19	and the remedy of the Court, or any other body that has
20	failed to get an appropriation, as it has been in three
21	prior cases when the court did not have an
22	appropriation, the remedy was to come in and get their
23	critical core functions funded.
24	So they are not without a constitutional remedy.
25	They are protected. Therefore, their continued 43

1	viability as a body in the government is preserved and
2	guaranteed, but it's guaranteed in that way. It's not a
3	right to an appropriation. The appropriation's either
4	within the discretion of the legislature or subject to a
5	veto of a governor each of them acting within their
6	discretion as has been conferred to them by the
7	constitution, and the remedy being then to get funding
8	in a different mechanism not through an appropriation
9	but through a court order.
10	THE COURT: All right.
11	MR. HANSON: Talk about why, if you put
12	limits on a veto, then what effect does it have, or is
13	it improper for a governor to veto a bill to
14	accomplished something secondary.
15	THE COURT: Well, that's another question
16	because you would agree that the policies that the
17	Governor objected to in his letter could never be
18	line-item vetoed because they aren't appropriations.
19	MR. HANSON: Right.
20	THE COURT: So the Governor could do
21	indirectly what he can't do directly.
22	MR. HANSON: Absolutely, and I think it's
23	a little hypocritical for the legislature to make that
24	argument because look at the revenue bill and the
25	defunding potentially of the revenue department. They $^{44}_{44}$

62-CV-17-3601 MOTION 6/26/2017 1 said if the Governor doesn't sign the tax bill, the 2 appropriation to the revenue department is gone. It's 3 only effective after the tax bill becomes effective. 4 Now, did they object to the amount claimed in 5 the revenue department's budget? No. There was no 6 objection to that. They weren't saying you're spending 7 too much money. They used the poison pill to defund the 8 revenue department potentially in order to get the 9 Governor to sign the tax bill. 10 THE COURT: Is that unconstitutional? 11 MR. HANSON: I don't believe so. 12 THE COURT: So you could still sue to have 13 that --MR. HANSON: -- had the Governor --14 15 THE COURT: -- taken care of? 16 MR. HANSON: Pardon? 17 THE COURT: So the Governor could still 18 sue? 19 MR. HANSON: No --20 THE COURT: He signed the bill. 21 MR. HANSON: You asked was it 2.2 unconstitutional, I said, no, I don't believe it's 23 unconstitutional. I think they can do, indirectly, 24 accomplish one person -- purpose through another 25 mechanism.

62-CV-17-3601 MOTION 6/26/2017 1 THE COURT: Well, is there a way that --2 except the distinction is that the Governor can't line-item veto policy provisions, that is 3 unconstitutional --4 5 MR. HANSON: Right. 6 THE COURT: -- is there anything 7 unconstitutional about what the legislature wanted to 8 do that would have made it unconstitutional to do it 9 directly but constitutional to do it indirectly? I'm 10 trying to find the analogy. That's all. 11 MR. HANSON: We were very disappointed 12 with what they did. We thought it was a breach of 13 trust, but we didn't believe it was illegal for them to 14 do it and presented the Governor with this choice: Ι 15 don't like the tax bill. There are three things in it 16 I would, if I had a line-item veto, I would line-item veto, but if I veto the whole tax bill, I'm 17 18 jeopardizing 1300 employees that work for the revenue 19 department and the function of the revenue department 20 is to serve taxpayers and collect revenue. 21 Now, he would have had the remedy of coming to 2.2 this Court to get emergency funding for the revenue 23 department because it is a critical core function of 24 government, but he'd gone through that process in 2011. 25 It was a difficult process, and he made a political 46

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1	choice to say I'm gonna avoid the temporary shutdown of
2	the revenue department and sign a bill that I that is
3	distasteful to me, but in order to get the legislature
4	to come back because they haven't listened to my
5	objections, they haven't reflected my concerns in that
6	bill, so we should discuss that more, I'm gonna veto
7	their appropriation as a mechanism to get them back.
8	He did object to it. This question about the
9	word "object" in the old version of the constitution
10	simply means state your opposition. That's what the
11	word "object" means even by the definition the
12	plaintiffs have provided. He did state his opposition
13	to it? He was opposed to it for a number of reasons.
14	He said you haven't finished your work, so I'm not gonna
15	appropriate money approve the appropriation of money
16	to the legislature when your work is unfinished.
17	Yes, it was in his budget, the amount. That was
18	under the assumption that the legislature this
19	legislative session was gonna be fairly conducted. He
20	wouldn't be faced with this Hobson's choice either do or
21	don't do, and he felt that that had been breeched and
22	they hadn't done their job. So at the point he vetoed
23	it, he did object to their appropriation.
24	THE COURT: Well, he didn't object to the
25	dollar amount of the appropriation or to the use of the 47

1	money and that really goes to the Bright Line Rule that
2	Mr. Kelley would have the Court adopt, and that is if
3	you don't object to the appropriation itself but you
4	are vetoing the bill for some unrelated purpose, that's
5	the definition of an invalid veto, and what's your
6	reaction to that.
7	MR. HANSON: That's why I say it's exactly
8	what the legislature itself did when they put the
9	poison pill to defund the revenue department if he
10	didn't sign the tax bill. Indirect government action
11	is is replete in all of our laws. Look at our tax
12	laws, for example.
13	THE COURT: The difference is that the
14	legislature has the authority to legislate and the
15	Governor doesn't, and as you pointed out from the State
16	versus Bates case, the third item, the exception, the
17	veto or line-item veto has to be construed narrowly, so
18	if your objection isn't to the appropriation, then how
19	can you use this very narrow authority to accomplish
20	some other result that you agree is forbidden if done
21	directly?
22	MR. HANSON: I don't agree that it isn't
23	to the appropriation, number one. He said you haven't
24	finished your work, so I'm not gonna appropriate to you
25	until you finish your work, so it is to the 48

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1	appropriation, but, secondly, I believe he can do
2	make a veto, use a veto for one purpose to accomplish
3	something else, and that's the nature of a veto.
4	If the Court were to begin to look at the intent
5	or political motivation of a governor behind a veto, I'm
6	not there can be no bright line that would exist
7	that would embrace the Court's authority to violate the
8	separation of powers and enter the political decision
9	making of another branch of government. Once you talk
10	about motive or intent, then you're getting into the
11	political deliberations of that other branch.
12	And I think our cases, the Johnson case, the
13	Duxbury case, the McConaughy case all come to that
14	conclusion. You can't second guess the reasons why a
15	legislature uses its power, a governor uses its power,
16	that would be separation of powers. Interestingly, the
17	McConaughy case was quoted in the West Virginia case
18	that counsel referred to but not followed because West
19	Virginia law is not like Minnesota law.
20	In Minnesota under McConaughy, there is no rule
21	of the court to second guess a political decision made
22	by the governor. In West Virginia apparently there is,
23	but West Virginia has a completely different budgetary
24	constitutional structure, much stronger role of the
25	governor in the front end of developing the budget and 49

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1	then a much weaker role of the governor in vetoing it.
2	He can' veto, the Court said, anything relative to the
3	court. He can't veto anything relative to the
4	appropriation of the legislature, so it's simply not a
5	comparable case.
6	It does give me comfort, however, to know that
7	if you scour the country to find a case that authorizes
8	you to do what the plaintiffs have asked you to do and
9	validate a veto on a motive basis, you can't find a case
10	that is comparable to Minnesota's Constitution. You
11	find a 1973 West Virginia case that isn't even
12	comparable. There are no other cases out there,
13	certainly, none from Minnesota, and all of the Minnesota
14	cases say that the motives and intent of the governor
15	behind a veto once he meets the threshold this is a
16	veto of an item of appropriation is beyond the power
17	of the court to consider because that would itself
18	invade the province of the executive and be a violation
19	of the separation of powers.
20	THE COURT: All right.
21	MR. HANSON: The perhaps, just a moment
22	on the stipulation. As I mentioned earlier, the
23	Governor's reasoning and desire to be part of the
24	stipulation is the conclusion that the parties had
25	reached an impasse and could go no further until this 50

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1	legal issue, the legality of the veto is determined.
2	There are other benefits in the stipulation.
3	The commitment to the senate rent payments supports the
4	bond rating, the the Governor was not intending by
5	his veto to deny funding to the legislature. He
6	obviously was aware they could come to court and get
7	funding, but in order to allow for the parties to pursue
8	this legal question while not simultaneously starting
9	the critical core function proceeding before this Court,
10	which may or may not be necessary depending on the final
11	outcome of the legal question, it just seemed to us to
12	be the appropriate solution that for a 90-day period
13	that we would continue the old appropriation, not
14	embrace the new appropriation.
15	If that stipulation is not accepted by the
16	Court, if we don't have that temporary, then the relief
17	that we've asked for and, of course, the way we briefed
18	it because that was before the stipulation was dismissal
19	of Count I with prejudice on the finding that the veto
20	was legal. To the extent Counts II and III rely on
21	reinstating the appropriation, we would ask those be
22	dismissed as well. To the extent they ask for critical
23	core funding under the principles of our prior cases, we
24	agree they're entitled to that. They have a
25	constitutional right to that, and we would support the 51

62-CV-17-3601 MOTION 6/26/2017 1 commencement of a proceeding to have that determined. 2 THE COURT: So the difference between the 3 position the governor took in 2011 and the position 4 that the government -- Governor took now in the 5 pre-stipulation world is that the governor did not 6 parse out individual items of core critical funding 7 through the legislature in 2011 but now takes the 8 position that but for the stipulation there would be a 9 dispute? Is that -- is that true? 10 I'm not sure it's a true MR. HANSON: 11 statement of what the governor did in 2011. 12 THE COURT: Okay. 13 MR. HANSON: The governor may --THE COURT: I didn't see --14 15 MR. HANSON: It's not apparent from the 16 order how the funding to the legislature was resolved 17 whether that was by agreement of a number of parties. 18 There is in the order, as I say, the judge said --19 identifies what the critical core functions of the 20 legislature would be to devise law, craft laws, to 21 debate laws, to publish and to pass them and to publish 2.2 them. 23 THE COURT: And then the order just said 24 pay it, and I have an affidavit in this case which says that the legislature was funded at its existing level $_{52}$ 25

1	during the course of the litigation, so I didn't see
2	anything to dispute that, and that was one question I
3	was gonna leave with each of you: Are there any
4	disputed facts in this case?
5	MR. HANSON: I don't believe there are any
6	disputed facts that would be material to the issue of
7	the legality of the veto.
8	THE COURT: Okay.
9	MR. HANSON: If we got into a critical
10	core function, then I think there are facts to be
11	determined, and we've tried to provide some basic facts
12	to show that not everything in the appropriation
13	requested by the legislature would qualify as critical
14	core function, but if the stipulation is accepted, we
15	don't get to that issue.
16	THE COURT: Yeah, and the way you both
17	presented that stipulation to me it says "if accepted,"
18	and I'm going to go through my own analysis of whether
19	I can independently do this even if you hadn't
20	stipulated to it. Similar to what my predecessors have
21	done, I don't know what will happen after here. You've
22	agreed, so neither of you are going to appeal anything
23	that's consistent with your stipulation. I don't know
24	if someone would intervene later and challenge it at
25	the appellate level. I have no idea. That's why I'm $_{53}$

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1	gonna go through my own analysis, and if I follow the
2	stipulation, it'll have its own supportive reasoning.
3	MR. HANSON: We understand that we can't
4	confer authority or jurisdiction on the Court by our
5	agreements, so that's why we framed it in that way, but
6	we believe we believe that you do have authority,
7	and I think judicial economy and the Court's inherent
8	power over judicial economy is a driving factor behind
9	that.
10	If you don't accept the stipulation, then as we
11	say we should immediately go into a critical core
12	function proceeding. Now, that makes very murky the
13	question whether the legality of the veto can reach an
14	appellate court while that's pending. Perhaps, with a
15	Rule 54 certification, there's no reason to delay entry
16	of a final judgment that could be separated out, but
17	that would be several weeks, maybe several months
18	process which may be negated by any ultimate decision,
19	and so for reasons of judicial economy and I think
20	serving the parties who are all public parties and
21	therefore serving the citizen of Minnesota, I think you
22	have the power to do it.
23	THE COURT: Well, if the parties get a
24	third party perhaps a retired judge involved to
25	help them mediate this dispute, you could resolve it $_{54}$

62-CV-17-3601 MOTION 6/26/2017 1 even sooner. MR. HANSON: I think that could happen, 2 3 but I don't see it happening while this legal question 4 is unresolved: Is the veto legal or not? The 5 legislature has very little motivation to come to the 6 table if they believe it's an illegal veto and their 7 appropriation will be restored. 8 THE COURT: Well, the flip side is true, 9 and the best settlements are reached in an atmosphere 10 of uncertainty. 11 MR. HANSON: Very true. Thank you, Your 12 Honor. 13 THE COURT: Mr. Kelley, any final parting 14 thoughts? 15 MR. KELLEY: Just a few, Your Honor. Ι 16 have to say I think that is the most expansive delineation of executive powers for a governor that I 17 18 have ever heard, and you're posing to Mr. Hanson the 19 hypothetical: Is it okay to veto the judiciary's 20 budget because he doesn't like something, and the 21 answer was, yes. I think that's clearly, clearly out 2.2 of bounds. And the fallback position that somehow 23 we're all safe because of the core functions, let me 24 just say, that is very disruptive. It's inimical to the efficient running of government to have it, and as_{55} 25

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1	I said before, I quoted from this, the Governor
2	himself, Mr. Hanson said, you know, he didn't like what
3	was going on before. He wasn't gonna put the executive
4	department through it. He says, I will not risk a
5	legal challenge. So the premise here is so if somehow
6	that, oh, we're not obliterating the legislature, we're
7	not doing away with them because you can always go to
8	court, the Governor himself didn't want to do that.
9	THE COURT: But one of the Governor's
10	linch pins here is the availability of court assistance
11	in gaining temporary funding, and that as long as you
12	have temporary funding and that goes to a well-known
13	doctrine, the Doctrine of Judicial Restraint why
14	should the judiciary get involved in a political
15	question when it can, by injunction essentially,
16	mandatory injunction, keep the core functions of
17	government going while these political issues are
18	addressed?
19	MR. KELLEY: Well, I think you heard my
20	colleague say is, well, that we're not going anywhere
21	here unless you solve this question for us, I think, in
22	terms that's why we have done so much to tee this up
23	for you to say, call the balls and strikes. That's
24	what the Court does, and I think they're clearly,
25	clearly out of bounds. 56

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1	When he talks about the poison pill and how that			
2	puts the Governor in a bad spot, et cetera, et cetera,			
3	you know the Governor had a very simple resolution:			
4	Veto it. Veto the whole dang bill, just do that, and			
5	then the parties would have been back into the			
6	legislative area. You know, we are used to some really			
7	sharp elbows in this state between various branches of			
8	government. We've seen that before in the Mattson case			
9	and the funding cases and the other ones. I think the			
10	expansive view of executive power that you just heard			
11	is should not fly and shouldn't get anywhere.			
12	And in your position if you go back to <i>Baker</i>			
13	versus Carr, and I know we don't have, you know,			
14	basically the political question issue is different, but			
15	if the court there, the U.S. Supreme Court said if the			
16	government acts in a manner repugnant to the			
17	constitution, the court has the authority and the duty			
18	to step in and uphold the constitution's mandate.			
19	That's what I'm asking you to do here today, Your Honor.			
20	I'm asking you to resolve this dispute, and I think			
21	it'll be for the good of the State of Minnesota. We're			
22	asking you to declare his line item veto as null and			
23	void. Thank you.			
24	THE COURT: The matter is under			
25	advisement. 57			

57

I REPORTER'S CENTIFICATE 2 I, SHERRY G. TREIBER, Official 3 Court Reporter in and for the Second Judicial District, hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct transcript of the proceedings as herein set out. 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 /S/ Sherry G. Treiber 19 20 21 DATED: July 7, 2017 22 23 24 25		62-CV-17-3601 MOTION 6/26/2017		
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