SUPERIOR COURT OF NEW JERSEY LAW DIVISION, CIVIL PART MERCER COUNTY, NEW JERSEY DOCKET NO. MER-L-001007-19 A.D. # GEORGE E. NORCROSS, et al., Plaintiffs, TRANSCRIPT OF v. ORAL ARGUMENT PHILIP DUNTON MURPHY, et al., Defendants. Place: Mercer County Criminal Courthouse 400 South Warren Street Trenton, NJ 08608 Date: June 17, 2019 **BEFORE:** THE HONORABLE MARY C. JACOBSON, A.J.S.C. TRANSCRIPT ORDERED BY: RAHAT BABAR, ESQ. (Special Counsel, Office of the Governor) APPEARANCES: WILLIAM M. TAMBUSSI, ESQ. (Brown & Connery, LLP) MICHAEL CRITCHLEY, ESQ. (Critchley Kinum & DeNoia, LLC) Attorneys for Plaintiffs, George E. Norcross, Connor Strong & Buckelew, NFI, and Michaels Organization

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THE COURT: Norcross versus Governor Phil Murphy, et al., docket number MER-L-1007-19.

If I could have the appearances of counsel for the record, please, starting with plaintiffs.

MR. TAMBUSSI: Good afternoon, Your Honor, William M. Tambussi, Brown & Connery for the plaintiff, George Norcross, Connor Strong & Buckelew, NFI, L.P. and then Michaels Organization.

MR. MARINO: Good afternoon, Your Honor, Kevin Marino, Marino Tortorella & Boyle for Plaintiff, Parker McCay.

MR. CRITCHLEY: Good afternoon, Your Honor, Michael Critchley for George Norcross, Connor Strong & Buckelew, NFI and Michaels Organization.

MR. CRITCHLEY:

MR. STERN: Good afternoon, Your Honor, Herb Stern for Cooper Hospital.

MR. FERGUSON: Good afternoon, Your Honor, Robert Ferguson also for Cooper University Healthcare.

MR. BOYLE: Good afternoon, Your Honor, John Boyle for Plaintiff, Parker McCay.

 $$\operatorname{MR}.$$  TORTORELLO: And John Tortorello, Your Honor, also for Parker McCay.

THE COURT: Okay. And for defendants. MR. WELLS: Good afternoon, Your Honor. My

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name is Ted Wells from the law firm of Paul Weiss. I'm counsel for all of the Defendants, Governor Murphy in his official capacity, the Task Force, Ronald Chen, the Governor's Designees, Walden Macht & Haran, Jim Walden, and Quinoes.

MR. MOSKOWITZ: Ben Moskowitz of Paul Weiss for all defendants.

MR. CLEARY: Good afternoon, Your Honor, Yahonees Cleary, also from Paul Weiss, for the same defendants.

MS. BENEDON: Good afternoon, Alison Benedon from Paul Weiss, also for all of the defendants.

MR. BABAR: Good afternoon, Your Honor, Rahat Babar, special counsel litigation, counsel for Governor of New Jersey, on behalf of three of the defendants, Governor Phillip Murphy, the Task Force, and (Indiscernible).

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Your Honor, before we get started, we wanted to raise the issue of the outstanding pro hac vice applications.

THE COURT: I hadn't signed the orders yet, but I didn't know if there was any objection.

MR. TAMBUSSI: No, Your Honor. Your chambers called and we voiced no objection.

THE COURT: Okay. Somehow, the message

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didn't get to me, but I'll sign them all and make them nunc pro tunc to whatever it 145. Okay.

Anyone else back there entering the appearance?

DANIEL FRIEL: Daniel Friel, Paul Weiss, for same defendants.

MS. WITTE: Jamie Witte from Paul Weiss, relevant defendants.

THE COURT: Okay. Anyway, before the court today, is the order to show cause filed by the plaintiffs seeking temporary restraints to prevent the Task Force, convened by the Governor, to review the activities of the Economic Development Authority from continuing to conduct public hearings or publishing any report based on its work to date until this court can hear, review, and decide the issues raised in the complaint filed by plaintiffs.

So, we're going to start with the argument on behalf of plaintiffs and I'll also allow you rebuttal time after hearing the arguments of the defendants. So, whoever is going to start us off.

MR. TAMBUSSI: Your Honor, Mr. Marino will be starting the argument for the defendants followed by Mr. Critchley and Judge Stern.

THE COURT: Okay.

MR. TAMBUSSI: To the extent that the court has any additional questions regarding the factual component, I will provide those answers.

The other thing is you're THE COURT: Okay. more than welcome to use the podium, but I also don't mind if you want to remain at counsel table, depending upon your access to your materials.

MR. MARINO: I appreciate that, Your Honor. I'm more comfortable at the podium if that's all right. THE COURT: Yeah, that's fine.

MR. MARINO: Good afternoon, Your Honor, and may I please the court, the plaintiffs in this case clearly have met all four prongs of the Crowe vs. DeGioia standard for the issuance of preliminary injunctive relief and the temporary restraining order we have requested that Your Honor enter.

With respect to the first prong of that test, the irreparable harm prong, Your Honor I believe has made clear and it has been made clear by the Supreme Court of New Jersey as well that reputational harm, in and of itself, is sufficient to give rise to irreparable harm. A threat to one's reputation and good name is in many ways the paradigmatic type of irreparable harm.

I'm put in mind once hearing about a penance

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that was issued for someone who asked his confessor what he could after taking someone's good name in vain and he said, you should go to the tallest building in town with a pillow stuffed with all the feathers that a pillow will contain and cut it open and shake out those feathers and then go and collect them that.

That's because taking one's name, putting one's reputation at risk is, by definition, irreparable harm. It isn't the only type of irreparable harm we have in this case.

Your Honor, will, I'm sure, will recall your own decision on this decision in the Burgos matter in which you indicated that reputational harm can suffice to be irreparable. And I believe the Supreme Court said so as well in the Doe vs. Poritz case as Your Honor will remember, Megan's Law case.

In Poritz, the court said instructively, where a person's good name or reputation are at stake because of what the government is doing to that person, we conclude, sufficient constitutional interest are at stake. Not very much different from what Your Honor would say in the Burgos decision when you made it clear, similarly, that you're dealing with something of a very significant magnitude not only when you deal with a harm to reputation, but something else that's

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present in this case which is a constitutional violation.

Ipso facto, a constitutional violation, is a significant, significant matter. And, of course, we have alleged violations of the constitution in this case, the New Jersey Constitution. We believe, Your Honor, that this case raises very significant issues --separation of powers.

I don't think there's very much question when you look at the enabling statute of the Economic Development Authority, when you look at the statutes that Governor Murphy has invoked to justify his conduct with respect to the Task Force. I don't think there's any question that we are dealing with a constitutional issue.

And, in addition, Your Honor, the constitutional issue presented in this case is a First Amendment issue because, of course, the invitation that was extended to the "entities of concern" that were identified by the Task Force leadership the very day before the second Task Force proceeding went forward on May 2nd, these entities of concern including, of course, all of the plaintiffs whose name were mentioned repeatedly.

Those are individuals who were given an

opportunity in a very truncated way to submit a written statement, nothing on the order of what the enabling statute that the Governor invoked 52:15-7 would provide. So, that, the First Amendment violation and also the due process violations we'll talk about when we turn to the reasonable probability of success prong of Crowe vs. DeGioia.

Those, as well, Your Honor, make it very clear that there is a constitutional violation afoot here, a significant constitutional violation whenever you are denying the opportunity to confront one's accusers, whenever you are truncating their ability to make a full and fair presentation in their own defense you are, of course, violating their constitutional rights.

The third type of irreparable harm that is present in this case, and I think undeniably so, is that if you think about how this matter if you think about how this matter arose. In the first instance, we were told on May 1st there's going to be a hearing tomorrow. Your entities of concern there could be adverse statements made regarding you at this hearing. That was the heads up we received late in the afternoon before that hearing took place in a public forum at Rutgers Law School.

And what transpired next, Your Honor, I thin, is very, very significant. We find ourselves in a position where, at that point, we're wondering, okay, what to do about this. We're now learning that a Task Force that purports to be operating pursuant to a statute, and we speak in a moment about that statute; 52:15-7 is somehow going to be not only invoking our names, but repeatedly invoking our names, the names of the entity plaintiffs, law firm that I represent and the others represented by my colleagues at the plaintiff's table.

And so, you know, at that precise moment, we thought, well there isn't much to do here except to object to this and so, we objected to it. That objection was turned aside. And, therefore, in fact, the way it was turned aside was Mr. Walden, counsel for the Task Force, was famously quoted as saying, "Bring it on." And that's not a phrase that I've heard much since, you know, athletic days, but bring it on means bring it on, so we brought it on.

We filed a law suit. I will tell Your Honor, we were mistaken about one thing. We thought that once we filed that lawsuit and the issue was joined on the subject of whether this Task Force even had authority to exist.

And I want to make it clear that's what we're talking about in the first instance, that's what count one is about. One we filed the lawsuit that went to the very heart of what this Task Force was undertaking to do, we did not, for a moment, think it would roll forward.

It had no hearing scheduled at that time. It had conducted two hearings. The second hearing was tremendously detrimental to us. The second hearing was very clearly -- had very clearly cast us in a very negative public light.

We've cited in our briefs all of the media attention. I'm sure it has not escaped Your Honor's notice that all of the plaintiffs were reviled based on what was heard and what was done at that May 2nd, "Task Force Hearing."

So, at this moment, we thought, we'll have a fight in front of Judge Jacobson. It will be a fair one. We know what we will get in Judge Jacobson's courtroom. We know we will get a fair consideration of the issues. However long that takes, it will take. And, at the end, the matter will be resolved.

Not so, because we no sooner had filed our complaint then all of a sudden, there was going to be another hearing and it was going to happen as quickly

as humanly possible. Scheduled on June 3rd to proceed on June 11th. Barely time to breathe, much less find a way to get issue joined before this court which, respectfully, is most entitled to hear this matter and whose conclusions about this case are essential.

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Until Your Honor interprets the law, it doesn't exist. And so, you know, it puts me in mind of what brings us here in the first place, Your Honor, a separation of powers fight. But we have everyone seeming to get into everyone else's lane. So what happens?

They move forward and say we're going to have this hearing. It's going to be in public. It's been announced. It's going to happen on June 11th.

Well, we immediately reacted to that. We thought bringing it on by filing the lawsuit would suffice to join issue before this court and that we would have an orderly and fair resolution of the very significant issues presented.

As it turned out, we would have to take another step to make that happen. And so, we took that step. We filed emergently before Your Honor on June 6th. Your Honor was gracious enough to hear us that afternoon in a telephone conference.

I think what transpired during that telephone

conference is very instructive, Your Honor, because as we told you we think we're right on the merits. We had talked about the irreparable harm scenarios that I've just briefly discussed here this afternoon. And we said we think the balance of equities clearly favors us. There doesn't seem to be any emergent need for this Task Force to come forward and announce findings, and we don't think there's any emergent need for this Task Force to inform the Legislature and inform the Governor of what has transpired. We did not see the urgency.

But on that call, counsel for the Governor and the other defendants made it abundantly clear that in their view this is a most emergent matter. And the reasons given as to why it was a most emergent matter were laid out in detail. The Governor is waiting. The Legislature is waiting. The Grow New Jersey and the ERG Programs, tax incentive programs, at issues in this case, are going to sunset on July 1st.

And heaven forfend that the Legislature doesn't hear from the Task Force before that happens one could envision the disarray into which the entire state would be thrown. As it turned out, that wasn't so.

Because, as Your Honor will recall, at the

end of our telephone conference when Judge Stern, the senior statesman, finally got an opportunity to speak, he said I want to do some due diligence into this. And he, in fact, did some due diligence and we've shared that due diligence with Your Honor.

He wrote a letter. He wrote a letter to Senate President Sweeney. He wrote a letter to Assembly Speaker Coughlin. And made it clear some of the things that had been represented by counsel on that call, and those things as Your Honor, I believe, will recall, and I'll direct your attention to them, of course, this Mr. Stone's letter is attached to Mr. Tambussi's certification as Exhibit Number 12.

Mr. Wells said in response to Your Honor's question as to why the report had to be issued so promptly.

"The importance of getting the report out is that the two tax incentive programs involved expire on July 1 of 2019 or they don't go beyond that date. And that the legislature is going to have to act if they want to extend them. And that the Legislative calendar, as Your Honor knows, is very tight now at this time of year."

And Your Honor asked if this would be the

last report, said certainly had a very cataclysmic sound to it. A sound like that would be the denouement of this exercise. And Mr. Wells said, no, the Task Force is going to continue and may, in fact, issue additional reports, but that is the report, the one that they were to announce on June 11th, that is being issued and was contemplated to be issued in time for both the Governor and the Legislature to consider the Task Force's first report findings in order to assist the Legislature and the Government in deciding what to do before the two programs expire on July 1st.

Your Honor questioned again fairly, "I'm trying to figure out how critical it is to do this." Mr. Wells replied, the public interest is that the program will expire and that based on the Legislative calendar, the hope would be that, at least, there would be a possibility that both the Governor and the Legislature would be able to come together and make a decision, not only whether to extend the program but in what format.

Well, thereafter, Mr. Stern, of course, quoted those statements to Messrs. Sweeney and Coughlin and asked them if they could just give some, illuminate, give some illumination to this question of whether the Legislature, in fact, required the Task

Force's preliminary report to determine whether to extend the tax incentive programs.

We provided to Your Honor the response is fairly immediate and forthcoming. Mr. Sweeney responded by letter June 11th indicating that both in the Senate and the Assembly, there are bills that had been introduced and would be considered and that they would extend both tax incentive programs and Mr. Sweeney expected that to move through the Senate on June 11th also. Mr. Cimino, the executive director, responded on Mr. Coughlin's behalf, said the General Assembly's consideration of these programs is ongoing and the body will continue to examine the programs in its general course of business and expects to take action in the near future.

They're not waiting, as it turns out, with great anticipation for the interim report of this Task Force. And I think it's very important for our consideration today. As you'll see as we move into the second prong here, you'll see that there are very significant issues.

And I know Your Honor has already reviewed these materials and is aware of the significant issues. But this is not a minor issue. It's a very significant issue. Significant to the public. Significant to the

parties. And I would expect, of course, significant to all three arms of Government.

So what we basically want here, of course, is Your Honor to have the opportunity to consider this. And, of course, you know, the last kind of irreparable harm when you first realize that no great urgency, but the last type of irreparable harm is you denied this opportunity to litigate the case. And that's irreparable on its face.

It's as irreparable as a continuing constitutional violation. It's as irreparable as the sort of harm to one's good name and reputation that can never be recaptured. It's significant when you have an issue of this magnitude and you say we would like the court of competent jurisdiction to resolve it.

It should not be short-circuited. Now, that sometimes happen if there is a true emergency. And I think as this exchange of correspondence and the fact as we indicated in our briefs to Your Honor that the Legislature has indicated that there will be two committees.

The Assembly is going to have a committee to examine this tax incentive issue, what it thinks about the manner in which the EDA has administered the incentive programs, and whether they should continue

and in what format and so forth. All of that will be the subject of a properly convened Legislative hearing in both the Senate and a similar committee has been appointed in the Assembly.

So, the idea that but for allowing the Task Force to immediately announce its findings, although they are in the middle, not at the end of the road. The idea that somehow an emergency that ought to derail this court from extending to us our right to have Your Honor decide these issues, I think is, frankly, a non-starter. It doesn't make a great deal of sense.

But I would like beyond the irreparable harm prong, I'd like to turn our reasonable probable of success.

I don't think it could be clearer that we have a reasonable probability of success in this case. And I'll tell you as Your Honor knows, Executive Order Number 52 signed by Governor Murphy, very shortly after he took office actually on the 24th day of January, one of the very first things that had to be done was to issue Executive Order 52.

Executive Order 52 begins in a precatory language by saying the taxpayers deserve a thorough explanation of how and why the tax incentive programs operated with minimal oversight. This is in light of

the auditor's report. And a public accounting will help lawmakers inform their deliberations and so forth as to whether the program should be renewed and in what way and there should be an in-depth examination of the deficiencies.

And in that Executive order, Governor Murphy said at paragraph four, The Task Force is authorized to call upon any department, office, division or agency of this state to supply it with data and other information, so forth. And in paragraph five, it's going to seek voluntary cooperation. If individuals refuse to cooperate, it may refer the matter to the State Comptroller which may exercise subpoena authority. And it concludes -- actually the paragraph six says it's going to be purely advisory in nature.

THE COURT: I just want to correct you. Fifty-two was not immediately after the inauguration of Governor Murphy. That was Executive Order 3 that directed the Comptroller to do the study that found many many irregularities with the EDA.

MR. MARINO: Yes.

THE COURT: That came in, in January. And then 52 came within a couple of weeks where the Governor created the Task Force in response to the Comptroller. And one of the key pieces was to make

recommendations regarding Legislation. That's why it's been important because that is the, you know, that really was one of the, what Governor Murphy wanted them to look at.

What kind of proposals are you going to make for us to, you know, to continue with tax incentives but do it in a way that's more, you know, more responsible and more in the interest of the state. So you got the dates mixed up a little. So the Comptroller report was really important.

MR. MARINO: Yes, and I don't disagree with that. Obviously, that's right as a matter of fact. And the significance that Your Honor attaches to it, I also acknowledge.

It's certainly significant that the Comptroller was asked to take a look at these programs. The Comptroller took a look at the programs. Then, you have this Executive Order. But what happens and what brings us together today, I would suggest to Your Honor, and what is of great significance is the delegation of authorities to this Task Force that occurs on March 22nd of 2019.

And I know Your Honor is familiar with this, and I will, of course, highlight it for you, once again, because I think it is the most significant

thing.

Thanks.

If you look at the statute that is invoked. The statute, as I've said, is NJSA Section 52:15-7. So, if you take a look at that statute, it's quite clear what it permits and what it does not permit.

So, the statute says, and I know Your Honor has been over it, but I draw your attention to it because I think it's of critical importance that you consider it at this moment.

The Governor is authorized at any time -- UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: I want to give the Judge a copy of the statute.

MR. MARINO: I think Your Honor has it in front of you. If you don't, I can hand it up.

THE COURT: I have it, but I can't -- I have so many papers up here I'm always trying to find where I put something.

MR. MARINO: May I approach, Your Honor? THE COURT: Yeah, you can give it to me. Thank you.

MR. MARINO: So, the statute says the Governor is authorized at any time, either in person or by one or more persons appointed by him, for the purpose to examine and investigate the management by any state officer of the affairs of any department,

board, bureau or commission of the state and to examine and investigate the management and affairs of any department, board, bureau or commission of the state.

That is quite clear. That's a very clear legislative mandate that the examination and investigation that could be undertaken pursuant to this legislative statement is an investigation of state officer and of the affairs of a department, board, bureau or commission of the state.

THE COURT: Now, this was adopted in 1941. MR. MARINO: That's correct.

THE COURT: Which was before the 47 Constitution. And so that has bearing on what the legislative intent is because it wasn't until after the 47 Constitution that the language "in, but not of" became, you know, a term of art following the  $\underline{\text{Parsons}}$  case.

MR. MARINO: Yes.

THE COURT: So, you're dealing with statutory interpretation of a statute adopted before the, you know, before the, you know need to use the "in, but not of" language because the Constitution of 47 said it has to be the state departments are limited to twenty.

MR. MARINO: Yes, that's correct. And this issue was taken up, as Your Honor is aware, by the

Appellate Division first and then subsequently by the Supreme Court in the COAH case which we have cited and explained <u>In re Plan for Abolition of Council on Affordable Housing</u> which is a decision authored by Judge Carchman for the court.

And in that decision, the Judge addressed precisely the question that Your Honor has put your finger on. Yes, the statute, this statute, 52:15-7 was patterned on the Moreland Act. It was passed in 1941. And very shortly after it was passed, very shortly after it was passed, it was made clear that what was not warranted there was sort of a star chamber type proceeding where you wouldn't have the ability to question witnesses, cross-examination and so forth.

But what happened in the COAH case is critically important. As the court said, the "in, but not of" language reflects the fact that under the New Jersey Constitution, all agencies are constitutionally required to be housed in one of the twenty executive departments. I believe that's what Your Honor referred to a moment ago.

That's where "in, but not of" is borne. Because the Constitution having stated that we are going to organize this in a way that there will never be more than twenty principal departments of state

government, that being the case, there was a need to draw distinctions between quasi-governmental entities or authorities, independent entities that, nevertheless, in order to comply with this constitutional mandate had to be located within a department of state government.

So, in Judge Carchman's opinion, states the "in, but not of" language reflects the fact that all agencies are constitutionally required that he has in one of the twenty executive departments, as well as the drafter's recognition that some agencies required a quasi-independent status, beyond the reach of the otherwise strong executive, the Governor.

And the court went onto say, for example, at the time of the 1947 Constitutional Convention, the committee on the executive Militia and civil officers considered how to organize a quasi-independent entity such as the public utilities commission. It was recommended that such entities be under the Governor's supervision but not under the Governor's supervision and control.

That's an issue that Justice Rabner would take up and revisit later when this case came before the Supreme Court and was affirmed.

The court went on, after citing Parsons which

Your Honor had referred to in which the court found that the 1949, just after the Constitution was adopted, that the Turnpike Authority is "in, but not of" the State Highway Department. And that fact does not make it any less, any of the less an independent entity, right.

So, again, this is Judge Carchman, "This in, but not of, language is the most common means of identifying those agencies that the Legislature intended to be independent and outside the scope of executive control," --

including the executive's reorganization power which was at issue in that case --

"while also abiding by the Constitutional mandate allocating every agency independent or otherwise to an established department in the executive branch."

It goes onto say,
"Examples include," --

and it lists several and at the bottom of the  $% \left( 1\right) =\left( 1\right) \left( 1\right)$ 

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"the New Jersey Economic Development Authority, NJSA 34:1-4A establishing the New Jersey Economic Development Authority in,

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1 but not of the Department of the Treasury." 2 And the court went onto say, 3 "For the purpose of complying with the 4 provisions of Article V, Section 4, 5 paragraph one, of the New Jersey 6 Constitution, the Civil Service Commission 7 is allocated within the Department of Labor 8 and Workforce Development but withstanding 9 this allocation, the Commission shall be independent of any supervision or control by 10 11 the department or by any officer or employee 12 thereof." 13 That's the way Judge Carchman saw it for the 14 court when Governor Christie had attempted under the

Reorganization Act to abolish the Council on Affordable It was rejected and it was rejected on this exact basis, that an "in, but not of" agency is not a department of state government. It is not a state entity.

> At the end of the opinion, the court said, "The debates of the Constitutional Convention inform us that the issue of executive control of independent agencies was addressed by use of the simple but meaningful phrase in, but not of. While the

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framers of our Constitution intended to create a strong executive in the office of Governor, perhaps, the strongest in the United States, they also recognize the need to insulate functions and agencies from executive control."

That's what we're dealing with today. is an "in, but not of" entity without any question. as we allege in count one of our complaint, the idea that it, the EDA, could be the subject of a Gubernatorial investigation under 52:15-7 simply is not right. It's not right ab initio.

That's before you get into what the Task Force is actually doing which is to examine private entities and individuals which is not its providence either. And before you get to the subject of how they are going about it, which is what is with a rather extreme denial of the typical due process rights that even attend those who are properly investigated under 52:15-7.

What struck me, Your Honor, and I'll ask you, if you will, to just look along with me at this. you have the March 22nd, 2019 delegation letter which is Exhibit E to our complaint.

I found it to be useful, Your Honor, in

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1 examining this issue to compare the wording of the 2 enabling statute -- not the enabling statute, but to 3 compare the wording of 52:15-7 which is the animating 4 statute for this Task Force investigation. And just 5 take a look at the language of the statute and then 6 take a look at how that language is conveyed in 7 Governor Murphy's March 22nd letter. 8 So, if you look at paragraph one of the 9 statute, it says the Governor is authorized at any time either in person or by one or more persons appointed by 10 11 him for the purpose to examine and investigate the 12 management by any state officer of the affairs of any 13 department, board, bureau or commission of the state. 14

So, let's stop there and take a look at Governor Murphy's delegation letter. He says,

> "As Governor, I am authorized to personally investigate or to appoint one or more persons to investigate the management and affairs of instrumentalities of the state, such as the EDA."

Well, that's inaccurate. As a matter of fact, that is not what the statute says. That is not what the Legislature enabled him to do or empowered him to do. And the idea that you could somehow gloss over a legislative mandate that speaks in very carefully

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chosen language to a department, a board, a bureau or a commission, none of which is considered quasigovernmental, none of which is considered independent, none of which is "in, but not of." All of which are right in the heart of the state government. that reason subject to the control, as well as the supervision of the chief executive.

THE COURT: One thing that was puzzling to me is why you omitted from the brief the Governor's power to veto the minutes?

MR. MARINO: I'm sorry, Your Honor. think, I didn't think the Governor's power to veto the minutes was determinative.

THE COURT: I think it's in the EDA statute, I mean isn't that indicative of certain though. control that the Governor has beyond -- I mean he's got the appointment authority, but he also can veto the minutes. I mean that's true a lot of the "in, but not of" agencies.

MR. MARINO: Yes, that's exactly right. know --

THE COURT: So, he can't investigate and "in, but not of" agency over which he has the power to veto the minutes?

MR. MARINO: Yes, I take it from the manner

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in which Your Honor puts the question that you think those things all make sense together?

THE COURT: There's a certain absurdity in it.

MR. MARINO: Well, I'll tell you why I respectfully disagree that it's not even -- not only do I not think it's absurd, I think if you take a step back and consider what the Legislature was trying to accomplish in respect of this independent entities such as the EDA.

THE COURT: But this is before -- you know, the statute came before 1941. You know, I don't -- there wasn't he need, as far as I can tell, because you didn't have the twenty state departments. I mean in the 47 Constitution, they were faced with all these different boards and commissions and they wanted to, you know, centralize things as opposed to having them decentralize.

So, the language seems to be such to be inclusive and expansive over the Governor's powers.

MR. MARINO: You know, Your Honor, when the Legislature of New Jersey wants to be inclusive and expansive, it has exhibited on many occasions the ability to do precisely that.

THE COURT: Yeah, but we're talking about

1941. I mean some of what you're saying makes sense in the, you know, after the twenty departments were established, but I'm not sure in terms of -- you know, we have to decide what the Legislature was up to in 1941.

MR. MARINO: Well, I agree with that, Your Honor, but I think we also have to take heed of what the Supreme Court was up to in 2013 when it decided the COAH case and affirmed the Appellate's Division's ruling.

I think this is not something of minor consideration. I don't think the power to veto the minutes is tantamount to the power to conduct this type of investigation. I just don't see how those two things are married to one another.

And I think it proves too much to advert to the fact that the statute was passed many years ago and significantly before, the seven years before the Constitution was adopted.

And the reason is the need to have a separation of powers, that is a true separation, right, that doesn't just meld these different branches. Certainly persisted well beyond the 1947 Constitution and persist to this day. And the Supreme Court found it sufficiently significant in the COAH decision to

call it out in just those terms and to speak about.

THE COURT: But we're talking about -- COAH talked about the Reorganization Act and the Governor's wanting to essentially, you know, end COAH, remove COAH as an entity. And the court found that you didn't have the power to do that.

But, here, we're talking about investigating an instrumentality of the state. I think maybe the language of the EDA, you know, enabling legislation. And so, we're talking about investigate an entity that is important to the operation of state government and state policy and so forth.

And so, it just is somewhat counterintuitive to think that the Governor didn't have investigatory powers to look into problems that were identified by the state auditor in 2015 and the state comptroller, because, frankly, the Legislature didn't do it until recently.

And so, the Governor, in his, you know, he encouraged the Legislature to do it in some of his budget addresses, but they didn't. So, he came in and conveyed a Task Force and then he utilized a couple of months later, he utilized the statute 52:15-7.

MR. MARINO: Well, the problem with that, Your Honor, and it is a significant problem, is these

words of this statute like the words of every statute must be interpreted to glean the legislative intent as they would have been interpreted at the time that the language was adopted. That's a settled principle of statutory construction. It doesn't change over time.

The defendants direct Your Honor's attention to the online dictionary and say well these -- actually, the EDA could be any of these things. It could be a department. It could be a board. It could be a bureau or it could be a commission. But we know that it isn't any of those things.

So, the question becomes can you read this language, right, can you read the language department or bureau or commission to say more than that, to actually say this was designed not to be a check and balance on the Governor at all.

This was just designed to give him free rein to investigate as he saw fit. And if you look at what this investigatory power is that is in 52:15-7, it's actually quite expansive. Right.

It speaks to examining and investigating the management of the department, board, bureau or commission and the management and affairs of any department, board, bureau or commission, right. That's in the first place.

As we'll see, that's not the use it's being put to here. But before we move off the point, and I understand exactly what Your Honor is saying, but, of course, the court is aware that the Legislature could at any time have determined that this statute NJSA 52:15-7 did not give sufficient power to the Governor to allow him to actually, in addition to supervise, instrumentalities. In addition to supervising quasigovernmental agencies and independent entities that are "in, but not of."

They actually could have passed a statute that allowed him to control them, but they didn't do that. And it seems that what Your Honor is saying is well, the statute was in existence for many years before the New Jersey Constitution, at least it was passed seven years before. It's been in existence for a long time since. It says what it says, but, you know, that was then and this is now.

And I don't think that's right, Your Honor. I believe that the Legislature makes the laws as Your Honor knows and they certainly -- this is not the first opportunity, not the first time this issue has arisen over the scope and magnitude of a grant, an enabling statute that says you are an independent agency or, as the enabling statute puts it, "in, but not of."

I think it's important, Your Honor, to take a look at that statute, that enabling statute for the EDA. This is not a state agency by anyone's likes. The defendant's brief says, widely says anybody that gets compensated by the state is, of course, subject to gubernatorial control.

Well, the EDA is a completely self-supporting organization. In it's 2017 annual report --

THE COURT: Do you know one thing is you're making a lot of the same arguments that are in the brief which I have read.

MR. MARINO: Well, I don't want to -THE COURT: So, I would try to move it along.
MR. MARINO: Tell me what is of interest to

Your Honor about it?

THE COURT: Well, I mean I've asked you questions about the legislative history, the timing and so forth. I mean if you want to point out some other things about the EDA, I have the statute here. But you don't need to repeat everything that's in the brief.

MR. MARINO: Understood, Your Honor.

I think if you take a look at what's been done in this with respect to this Task Force in addition to undertaking which is what we allege in count one, the undertaking an investigation that I

believe it's not empowered to undertake. If you move forward that what's going on here in this case is an investigation of individuals and entities. They're not involved in the management or affairs of the EDA. They're outsiders, right.

And when you talk about investigating these individuals as this does, I think that, in and of itself, even if it were the case, that you would read the statute as Your Honor is reading it or suggesting it could be read, right. Even if you read the statute to suggest these are sort of state agencies, even though that's not what they're called, you still would not see in this statute the ability to investigate individuals.

And when you get to our count three of our complaint, of course, that goes to the fact that we've been denied cross-examination rights and so forth that would, even under this statute, it makes it quite clear that you are entitled to that. Right, the statute itself makes it clear, ane Your Honor has it front of you, that we're entitled to cross examine and to round out the field division and so forth.

If you look most instructively, Your Honor, and perhaps as I can be most helpful to the court on this subject, if you look at what's really happened in

this Task Force, I would suggest to Your Honor that it bears absolutely no resemblance to a public hearing designed to get to the bottom of what's really going on. It is more like a grand jury proceeding where the Task Force has met with witnesses and prepared their testimony with them, and then it's presenting it by simply leading the witnesses through all that it has to say.

First, it speaks about federal crimes being at issue here and, perhaps, there were crimes committed. And when you really get into the details, you have this kind of question.

Now, is it fair to say that prior to coming here today, I asked you to review five applications? Yes.

I asked you to review the project files. Yes.

I'm only going to ask you about four of the applications and, of course, they're about the plaintiffs.

And this sort of leading examination isn't it a fact that these are material misrepresentations? Isn't it a fact that this is the sort of thing that you want to know?

It took on a cast that wasn't even remotely

the sort of public hearing that I think one would envision for an entity that actually was permitted to be examined by the Governor. And so, that sort, you know, our take on this, Your Honor, and I don't want to belabor the record, but you have individuals here, and I just — I respectfully think this is an issue and maybe it's an easier issue for Your Honor than it is appreciate it to be for us, but to me, I think this is an issue that would benefit by very careful consideration by Your Honor as to exactly what was going on in this statutory construct and exactly what has transpired here, the nature of the EDA.

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The enabling statute makes it clear you've got public members appointed at the recommendation of the Senate President and the Assembly Speaker and so forth. There seems to be an effort to do something more than simply have an arm of the Governor conduct the kind of investigation that you would expect to find with respect to something that is actually a state entity.

So, for those reasons, Your Honor, I haven't gotten to the balance of equities. I don't know what the rush is. It doesn't appear that there is any rush. And so, if we are right, and Your Honor will be the one that will determine in the first instance where we are

right. But if we are right and this Task Force has gone off without proper legislative authority and is trending on ground on which it does not belong, if we're right about that why wouldn't we be entitled to not have them announce their findings in the middle of the story before Your Honor gets to say in detail why that's so to carefully consider the issue.

On the other hand, it doesn't seem that there's any harm going to ensue because both houses are considering the issue and their own committees and because there's legislation pending with respect to these continued programs.

THE COURT: We don't know what the report is going to say, you know. I mean so there's certain -- there's a certain amount of speculation. So, I mean when you look at irreparable harm, you know, that's one of the things they're cautioning the court to look is how speculative is the harm.

What happened on May 2nd happened. That's in the record. It's clear. But whether or not the preliminary report that the Task Force is anxious to release prior to the expiration of the New Jersey Grow and the Economic Redevelopment and Growth Act, the ERG, a piece of the 2013 legislation we don't know.

So, I mean in that sense, it's speculative.

They could go on and the report could have nothing about the individual defendants. We just don't know.

MR. MARINO: Well, Your Honor, we certainly haven't read it, right, so we don't know. That's exactly correct. We haven't read it, but --

THE COURT: And your clients opted to file litigation rather than to put in their own statements the budding what was said at May 2nd because you felt it was inadequate and part of, you know, not sufficient due process, but you had the opportunity. And I think they said we would add it to the report.

So, I don't know what it's going to say, but I just want to note that we don't know what's going to be in there.

 $$\operatorname{MR.}$  MARINO: Just two things in response to that, Your Honor.

First of all, the opportunity that was extended to us was not in any way, shape or form the opportunity prescribed by 52:15-7. Not at all.

THE COURT: That's correct.

MR. MARINO: But that's what the delegation was about, right? Now, we're hearing --

THE COURT: Well, it's what seven means, what it covers. And there's a dispute between the parties as to whether seven was meant to give third-parties the

right to cross-examination or whether it was meant to give the state entity cross-examination. If you read through the transcript, they did afford the EDA the right to cross-examination.

And your position is that its, you know, seven does not extend to third-parties that an investigation encompasses because they were, you know, the third parties here sought tax incentives from EDA. So, the Task Force position is it's a legitimate topic of interest to look at companies that have filed applications in terms of looking at any red flags that some of those applications should have raised to the underwriters.

MR. MARINO: Yes, certainly that's right, Your Honor. But, again, to the statutory language and this is the statute that the Governor invoked. This is the Godhead of this delegation.

I don't think we can have -- I know we've heard about well there's constitutional mandate and so forth and so on. We're looking at the statute by which the Legislature said what could be done.

And I want to draw your attention to four words or six words, or individual under investigation or scrutiny. The suggestion that only these EDA folks would be able to cross-examine is simply directly at

odds with this statutory language whom whenever any person shall be examined by the Governor or by his representative and so forth that officers, department, board representative or representatives, commission, I beg your pardon, or individual under investigation or scrutiny may cross-examine any such person on any phase of the matter.

That's not the same as saying put in a written statement and if we think it's relevant we'll add it to the record. So, you can't have, I don't think, I just don't think it's quite cricket. And I just have very little more to say.

I don't think it's quite cricket to say what enables us to conduct this investigation is a legislative mandate contained in a particular statute being 52:15-7. Forget about the fact that the language doesn't speak to "in, but not of." That's what enables us. But then say but when we get down to the part about cross-examination let's talk, instead, about the Investigative Procedures Act. Pay not attention to that language either.

That's just not right as a matter of law. And so, when we look at this we say, okay. We don't think we're a proper subject. We don't think you're examining the affairs or the management of even the

EDA, which we don't think is a state agency. But be that as it may, if you're going to do that let us cross-examine. Let us tell the whole story so we don't have Jim Walden saying, isn't it a fact that these are material misrepresentations.

That's not an investigative body. That's an accusatory body. That's a Grand Jury proceeding but being done in the public square. And it's absolutely problematic.

And I ask Your Honor, I know because you've indicated that you have concern over the statutory language and the timing and so forth. And you're quite correct and, of course, you're correct that the first thing that happened was the comptroller said well there's an issue. And that's why the Executive Order, I jumped the gun and started talking about my Executive Order.

 $\,$  THE COURT: First thing I know of was the auditor.

MR. MARINO: Yeah and you're right. And that's the first crack out of the box.

THE COURT: That's seventeen, 2017.

MR. MARINO: Sure. And they could have done more. The comptroller does have the ability to investigate even "in, but not of" entities. But the

Governor doesn't. He just doesn't have it. ignore COAH, to ignore those pronouncements, to ignore what the Supreme Court said. And I know we said it in our brief. I don't mean to beat a dead horse. ignore that, I have to say is to make, is a significant misstep. And I just want Your Honor to be able to carefully consider it and, frankly, the balancing the equities being what it is, I don't know what the rush would be.

Now when we talk about the public interest, is there a greater public interest? Does the public have a greater interest in hearing what the Task Force has to say, particularly when you go through and see what a, if you'll pardon the expression, dog and pony show this was, right, where it was Mr. Walden leading witnesses through pre-scripted statements, basically for the benefit of the public.

Is the public interest in having the benefit of that proceeding, is that greater than the public interest in having Your Honor decide this issue on fair reflection. And ask them well if you're enabling statute was 52:15-7, why aren't you quoting 52:15-7 in the delegation letter? And if you are relying on 52:15-7, why aren't you letting them cross-examine? Because we do have lawyers on our side of the

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table who have some capacity in that regard, Your We like the opportunity. I would have loved the opportunity as Parker McCay was being dragged through the mud and these other plaintiffs were being dragged through the mud, I would have loved to have the opportunity to cross-examine so a full picture would be provided to the public for which this was being done.

And so, really, today we are not here for Your Honor to decide fully and finally what the infer You've given us, I think, preliminary views as to some of the thorny issues of statutory construction that it entails. But I don't think that we're at the end of the road.

And I would like to have Your Honor carefully consider this at length and allow whatever determination you wish to make. It's not the case that how this case gets decided and how this Task Force acts in the next two weeks is going to impact what happens in the short term with respect to these programs.

Thank you very much, Your Honor. THE COURT: Okay. Thank you. MR. CRITCHLEY: Good afternoon, Your Honor. THE COURT: Good afternoon. As usual, you know the facts. MR. CRITCHLEY: I just to before I begin my comments just

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address a couple of things the court addressed to Mr. Marino.

And you talked about counterintuitive nature of the Governor not having the inherent authority to investigate a state agency. And, to some extent, it is counterintuitive. But I would point out that the Governor, as has been stated from the United States Supreme Court when it talked about the chief executive of the United States in Youngstown Steel & Tube Company vs. Sawyer and that opinion has been followed by our Supreme Court in Worthington vs. Fauver and discussed extensively in the CWA vs. Christie.

The Governor doesn't have aggregate powers to engage in inherent activity. The powers that the Governor has to flow from one of three sources. It has to flow, for example, if it's an emergency order, has to flow from an emergency in New Jersey. We have the Disaster Act or it has to flow from a constitutional mandate which we say doesn't exist here, and I will explain that or a legislative act.

And our position is that the Executive Order 52 and the creation of the Task Force really has no right to exist. The Governor, as much as we say, well the Governor has inherent authority to supervise and investigate anything the Governor wants. Judge, that's

a myth. That has no basis in law. It has no basis in statute. It has no basis in the Constitution.

It may sound logical, but it has to have some basis in law to support that proposition. And I will discuss the evolution of Gubernatorial power going back to 1776, the first state constitution.

But when the court talked about a couple of things, the court talked about well the Governor has the authority to veto the minutes of the EDA. Why didn't you mention that?

Well, one of the things we would point out that Chief Justice Rabner in his opinion in COAH talked about that very topic. And he said, "Enabling statute can set limits to an agency's independent." And he goes on further and says, "Many statutes also give the chief executive the power to veto minutes of independent agencies." And then he cites about four different agencies.

But independent agencies are, nevertheless, insulated from the full supervision and control of the executive branch, see Barron Supra. The chief executive power over them extends only as far as the enabling statute permits. So we're saying from what authority springs this ability for the Governor to engage in this type of activity, even though it may

sound counterintuitive.

Now much of the arguments made by defense in this case I think a foundational them is that just as the court pointed out that the Governor has supervisory authority over state instrumentalities. And when you look at what is the authority upon which that could be made it springs from the Constitution, Article V, Section 4, paragraph 2 -- The Governor shall have supervision over the instrumentalities of governing.

But then we look at how did that clause get there. Was that clause meant to be an expansion of the Governor's power or was it counterintuitive utilizing the word supervision? Was it counterintuitive in a sense that it meant to constrict and restrain the Governor's powers?

And I would submit that when we look at the judicial opinions that utilization of the word supervision was not a word of expansion but much rather a word of extraction in terms of limitation. And why do I say that?

We say that because as Mr. Marino had pointed out, we talk about, you know, how do we get to this point where we're challenging the Governor's ability to conduct an investigation. We start with the various Constitutions. There's been three Constitutions in the

state -- 1776, 1844, and 1947. And also, we had the draft Constitution of 1944 which is kind of relevant.

But when we look at how the Governor's power evolved, we know in 1776, the Constitution was such that it would have limited the Governor's power because their concern is not to create a Governor who had power to the King of England. The power left in the hands of the Legislature.

In 1844, sixty-eight years later, the only change they made is they said, okay, the Governor can be elected by the people. Other than that, the powers were diluted.

Now, we come to the 1940s, '44 and '47, we had a situation where they're saying we have to streamline Government because as the court said, you have to reach the times. And when we look at what's going on in 1944, Judge, that's when we had the Constitutional Draft Convention which many of the analogues that are founded in '47, originally found their place.

And one of the chief drafters of the 44 Convention to the Constitution was Arthur Vanderbilt who later became the Chief Justice and author of the <u>Parsons</u> opinion.

So when we look at what Judge Vanderbilt said

in <u>Parsons</u>, and remember when he's speaking. He's speaking not only as a Chief Justice, but he's speaking as one of the original developers of the Constitution. He was advisor to Governor Driscoll.

He took the "in, but not of" and basically what he said was is although we're going to give the Governor stronger powers because the Constitution in 1947 was obviously intended to create stronger powers in the Governor's office, as well as to deal with the hodgepodge in the judiciary.

They had seventeen independent judiciaries, each running by its own fiefdom. So what he said is we looked at the Constitution. When he wrote <u>Parsons</u>, it was only two years removed from 1947. And he said, there are certain agencies that are safe harbors. There are certain agencies that are removed from the power of the Governor. And I'm speaking not only as the Chief Justice but I'm speaking as someone who's close to the framers one and half years after the Constitution is developed.

And he created and he said its manifestly intent of the Legislature when they utilize the words "in, but not of" was their intent to create a separation of the power of the Governor from investigating state agencies such as the Turnpike.

The Turnpike Authority was created in 1948, after the Constitutional Convention. So, it was created afterwards. So it's not at that time sensitive.

So after the Convention occurs, you have the creation of the Turnpike Authority, the "in, but not of" language and that's where Judge Chief Justice Vanderbilt said, no. We are creating a safe harbor.

And as Mr. Marino pointed out when you follow of the evolution of that thought process, you go from 1949, two years removed from the 47 Convention. You go up to Judge Carchman. Judge Carchman, again, said even though we have a strong executive in New Jersey and we want to h ave a strong executive in New Jersey to meet the modern needs of the modern times. He said the "in, but not of" language is in there for two purposes.

One, to recognize the balancing factor that instrumentalities have to be placed in one of the not more than twenty departments. We only have fifteen departments today, but they allowed for twenty because, at the time, you had fifty or sixty. They restrict it to twenty.

And then he said, in addition, and this is Judge Carchman's opinion writing for unanimous panel like four years ago. In addition, it was the framer's concern that there are some agencies, and I think this is the language, there are some agencies which we require independent status. And he says to be free from the reach of a strong executive - the Governor. And he cites for that proposition the committee on militia, Governor and civil officers.

So, basically what he's saying is it is counterintuitive. But when we look at the intent of the framers of the Constitution, there's a carve-out. You can have broad supervisory powers, but based upon Chief Justice Vanderbilt's opinion in <a href="Parson">Parson</a> and based upon Chief Justice -- based upon Judge Carchman's opinion in COAH, that cannot be considered that you can exercise control over agencies such as the EDA.

Now that was not just a throw-in because when Chief Justice Rabner wrote the opinion in COAH or basically he affirmed not only factually and legally, but in substance, all of the provisions of Judge Carchman in his thinking and in his analysis, interestingly, interestingly he spends a great deal of time on footnote number 2.

And in footnote number 2, the Chief Justice at the time says, the framers were concerned over giving the Governor control over quasi-independent agencies and utilized the word controller, that would be significant. They were concerned about giving

control over quasi-independent agencies. And then he refers to the original draft of the 47 Constitution. The original draft of the 47 Constitution had the words as to Article IV, Article V, Section 4, paragraph two. The original draft had the Governor shall have the authority to supervise and control instrumentalities of Government.

Interestingly, the 1994, the 1944 Draft Convention had the same language. The Governor shall have the authority to supervise and control. So what did the framers say? The framers said, no. We are a little concerned about utilization of the word control because they interpreted, as Chief Justice expressed in footnote number 2. The framers at the time said, we are concerned that if we utilize the word control, it will give the Governor the authority to order quasiagencies to act or not to act.

THE COURT: So, if the BPU existed, you know, the Public Utilities Commission existed prior to 1941 this statute gives the Governor the authority over every commission which would suggest over-independent commissions, which, you know, certainly -- I mean, what do you make of that?

MR. CRITCHLEY: The words commission is utilized loosely, but I think Judge Carchman, when he

discussed why did they utilize -- I think he used the word -- I think Judge Carchman, in his Appellate Division opinion, said why did they utilize the word instrumentality. And he said because you have all these various agencies of government, everyone, whatever you call, a commission, the racing commission, the thoroughbred commission, everybody is named in the commission, but they're not "in, but not of." They're quasi independent agencies.

THE COURT: Yeah, but, I mean, if we're going back to the legislative intent, if the BPU was an independent entity that was of concern in Footnote 2 here and the language of the statute gave the Governor authority to investigate commissions it would seem as if that language could be interpreted to cover independent commissions.

MR. CRITCHLEY: I don't think so, Judge, because if you look at the history of BPU -THE COURT: Because the BPU is not a commission?

MR. CRITCHLEY: No, no. I think if you look at the history of BPU, I think, they later change the statute where it became of the Governor's office so that it can be investigated, but at the time it was an "in, but not of." It later became an of government

agency. And had it not changed the Governor still would be in the same position; he would not be able to investigate the BPU.

But when they changed the statute to make the BPU in and of the Governor's office I think not only does it not contrary to my position, I believe it supports my position. And when you talk about the Statute 52-15.7 we say, well, it happened so long ago, 1941. What about today?

A couple things I would point out.

Number one, its never been amended. It was adopted in July. When I say amended, it had never been amended since 1941 except for one purpose. And the Governor's office recently utilized that very old statute as a justification for initiating the Task Force. He doesn't utilize -- in terms of the delegation letter he didn't say I'm relying on Article 5, Section 4, Paragraph 2. He said I'm relying on 52-15.7. So, that speaks. And when we talk about that statute it was not a throw-away.

When you look at the constitutional convention, Your Honor, when you talk about the section dealing with the investigative power of the Governor the committee actually makes reference to 52:7. It says, "Fourteen states make no provisions by the

constitution or statute from the executive inquiry. Approximately fifteen states, including New Jersey, provide for an executive inquiry similar to that of the Moreland Act." And they make reference to 15:15-7.

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So, when they wrote the constitution 52:15-7 was a basis upon which they utilized to say, okay, does the Governor have investigative power. They used that as a platform. They used that as a platform. So, that is why 52-7 is important. It's important because it was utilized by the framers to give the Governor investigative authority constitutionally because before 1941, YOUR Honor, the Governor had investigative authority. He had no statutory authority to investigate. He had no constitutional authority to investigate. He could do nothing.

So, in '41 they said, okay, we will give you the statutory right to investigate, but when they gave the Governor the statutory right to investigate they said, okay, we're giving it with conditions, and I will explain the conditions. Then, just six years later they said, okay, not only are we going to give you a statutory right to investigate, we're giving you the constitutional. We're embedding it in the constitution with the comments, with the footnotes you have a right to investigate, but, basically, utilize the framework

of 52-7 because that's what we cite as authority; 52:15-7.

Let me just discuss that, Your Honor, for a moment. Let me just -- I think my colleagues also talked about that constitutional right to investigate. And when you look at the wording of the constitution, New Jersey 47, which deals with the constitutional right to investigate by the Governor, its Article 5, Section 4, Paragraph 5. And interestingly, interestingly the 1944 draft convention, which was rejected by the voters in 1944, also contained a constitutional right granting the Governor the power to investigate.

And when you look at historical context and say, okay, what were the framers thinking about in 1944 and what were they thinking about in 1947. And you go back to the draft section of the Forty-Four Convention, its Article 4, Section 1, Paragraph 14. It talks about the Governor having authority to conduct an investigation and interestingly in the Forty-Four draft convention it gave the Governor the power to subpoena. It also gave the person who's the subject of investigation the power to subpoena.

Now, when we fast-forward three years later and you discuss that same constitutional provision now

its Article 5, Section 4, Paragraph 5, the power to subpoena is removed. So, his investigative power under the constitution is very limited. What can he do under the constitution? Can he subpoena anybody? No.

Under Article 5, Section 4, Paragraph 5, it doesn't say you have the power to subpoena as the Forty-Four draft convention said. It says what he can do is the following; he can require someone to submit a written statement or statements under oath, under oath, that's all. So, you can't say this authority is based upon the constitutional authority to investigate because they're issuing subpoenas. And that is why they did not assert Article 5, Section 4, Paragraph 5 as a basis because that does not give them the power to subpoena.

Also, interestingly, as we point out, it said under the constitutional power to investigate under the Forty-Seven Constitution it says it only applies to employees of the state. It only applies to employees who are receiving compensation. And when you look at the opinions that touched on those various provisions, particularly the opinion in <u>CWA v. Christie</u>, when they talk about that investigative power they talk it only applies to the executive branch. It doesn't apply to these quasi agencies.

THE COURT: What branch are they in? MR. CRITCHLEY: Quasi in?

THE COURT: What branch is the EDA in? If its not legislative, if its not judicial, was there another branch?

MR. CRITCHLEY: Yes. They're called -- if you look at -- I have a boring life, I looked us the State Government. If you look at it the State Government has departments. Those are one of the twenty principal departments that they could create. There's fifteen and its Corrections --

THE COURT: Right. Right.

MR. CRITCHLEY: -- and then you have all the other, Racing Commission, EDA; they're all under the term agencies. So, they're not --

THE COURT: But branches, isn't it executive? MR. CRITCHLEY: No. No.

THE COURT: Its more t hen three branches of Government?

MR. CRITCHLEY: This is what Judge Carchman said when that question was raised. Why did we put them -- why did we put them under Article, you know, Article 5, Section 4 where they have to be in one of the twenty principal departments. Why do we even put the Turnpike Authority in there? Does that mean its

part of the Governors Office?

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Chief Justice VandeWalle answered that. He said no, it has nothing to do with the Governors Office. It's a recognition of the constitutional requirement that all instrumentalities, all agencies, not just the principal departments, all agencies be placed in those twenty, but not because they're in and of; its just they're in. They're among and with "in, but not of." Chief Justice VandeWalle made that clear. Judge Carchman placed great emphasis on that.

THE COURT: Is -- what's the -- what's the persuasive weight of an Appellate Division decision when the Supreme Court had the final say? I mean, I -- MR. CRITCHLEY: Which opinion, Judge?

THE COURT: Judge Carchman was the Appellate Division decision, but the Supreme Court decision is the operative decision. So, I mean, I can certainly give persuasive weight to anything.

MR. CRITCHLEY: But, Judge, I say this; you look at Judge Carchman's opinion, who is the unanimous opinion, he wrote for the panel. You look at Judge Carchman's opinion and then you look at Chief Justice Rabner's opinion, <u>In Re COAH</u>, I'm not going to say, but it mirrors. There is no distinction at all. Every emphasis that is made by Judge Carchman in support of

the "in, but not of" concept, and explained it, is adopted fully. There is not a shade bit of difference between the two. Chief Justice Rabner and the majority of the Court, five versus two, adopted completely.

I'm getting something, Judge. I quess this is the Supreme Court opinion in COAH, again, where Chief Justice Rabner wrote the phrase, "in, but not of" the panel noted, was a common means of identifying those agencies that the legislature intended to be independent and outside the scope of the executive control including the executives reorganization power while also abiding by the constitutional mandate allocating every agency independent or otherwise. Independent or otherwise to an established department in the executive branch. For support the panel cited the enabling statutes of the various independent agencies that are "in, but not of." Then, later he cited EDA. That is exactly what Judge Carchman held.

So, there is no absolutely no distinction, no distinction whatsoever between Judge Carchman's opinion in the Appellate Division and Chief Justice Rabner's affirmance of Justice Carchman's opinion.

Now, we talk about 52-15-7, Judge. And we're saying, well, what is the relevance of a 1941 statute to today. As I pointed out, it was utilized by the

framers in discussing the constitutional authority allowing the Governor to investigate and it was cited by the Governor as a basis for issuing his executive order. So, it has very much relevance today.

And when you look at the historical context and how that statute got drafted it was initially — the sponsor was a Senator Hendrickson. I happen to look up Senator Hendrickson. He was a man of substance. He was a former ambassador to New Zealand. he was a former United States Senator. He was a former Treasurer of the State of New Jersey. He was a candidate for Governor unsuccessfully against Charles Edison. He was the President of the Senate. So, he drafted, in 1941, this powerful individual, he drafted this statute.

THE COURT: Well, it came from the Moreland Act, right? The New York Act.

MR. CRITCHLEY: Part of it. Part of it was based on it, yes, because at the time the power of the executives were evolving. And they wanted to give the Governor some statutory authority to investigate, but with limited conditions, Judge. That's what's important. And those limited conditions apply today, almost eighty years later. It has not been changed.

And what he says, this man, he adopts the

statute and when he adopted the statute originally in January of 1941 it did not have those, I'll call them, "The Hendrickson right." The due process rights. It just had, okay, the Governor can inquire as to departments, boards, bureaus, commissions. That's all it had.

Then he says, three months later, three months later in a statement attached to the bill he says, yes, we allowed this legislation to be passed, but it was being conducted, it was being conducted like a Star Chamber proceedings. Then he required these rights to be incorporated. So, he mandated those rights into the statute. And when he did it its not as if he said, okay, those rights only apply to state employees. It defies logic.

Talk about counter-intuitive. When they -you don't have to guess. You have -- normally, you
know, the opinions tells us when the statute is clear
on its face, unambiguous, it gives ordinary meaning.
The only time you go into intrinsic evidence is if
there is some ambiguity, and you look for legislative
intent.

Here, I say the statute it clear on its face, but let's go to the intrinsic evidence, let's go to the legislative intent, let's look at just the statement to

the bill, why they amended it, because it was being abused because at the time they were conducting the investigation, the very first investigation, the people who were being investigated were not given rights to participate jointly. So, what he said is I am going to create the statute and I'm going to amend it. And as we talked about due process being a flexible concept, he took away the flexibility. He mandated what has to be done. And it was signed by the Governor. And he said when you are under investigation, if you are an individual -- because the statute as it was originally drafted said department, board, bureau, commission. Then, when he amends the statute he adds or individual under scrutiny.

THE COURT: Well, it did say initially any State Officer.

MR. CRITCHLEY: Yes.

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THE COURT: So, that would be the individual under scrutiny, wouldn't it?

MR. CRITCHLEY: Well, Judge, I just think to say there's a difference between a state person receiving due process rights and an individual under scrutiny. I think that's a distinction that does not rise to the level of protection of the law under the constitution or even lack, my words, common sense

because if you are an individual under scrutiny it docent take much to understand what that means. You are an individual under scrutiny. And it says, the individual under scrutiny says you shall have the right to cross-examine. Okay. We have the right to cross-examine.

And later on he says the individual has a right, has a right to introduce evidence or otherwise. Then, it doesn't leave it to doubt as to why that is in there. He expresses the reason. The Governor signed the legislation. Why can they introduce evidence? can introduce evidence and the words in the statute are to explain, expand upon or clarify the matter under review, under scrutiny. And it says, again, well, why did they do that. The legislature tells you, the legislature tells you right in the statute. It says to the end, to the end that the full details, not just the full details, can be developed and presented when; you do it this day, you do it tomorrow. It says to be developed and presented one and the same time.

So, when we talk about trial-like proceedings that's what the legislature intended. That is what the Government intended. And what we're saying is when they conducted the proceedings the way they did here a couple things occur.

Number one, we say they did not have the right, they did not have the right to even conduct a task force because they don't have the authority to investigate independent agencies. Hypothetically, its all leading. Are we going to disregard the statute?

They can only exercise delegated rights given to them by the legislature if they follow the will of the legislature. And there are sometimes -- of course, the cases talk about, you know, it's not a water tight compartment. You can't have the executive, the judiciary and the legislature all in self-contained. Sometimes, I think, they use the word osmosis. They bang into one another. And there should be reasonable accommodations.

So, in this situation the legislature engaged in what, I consider, a reasonable accommodation, 1941 to the present. It gave them the authority to, you know, conduct an investigation. But then what did they do? The way they conducted themselves here they violated the expressed will of the legislature. How did they violate the express will of the legislature?

The express will of the legislature didn't say, okay, whoever's being investigated under 52:15-7 after their name has been besmirched, after they have been maligned, you can sometime later on write some

affidavit, maybe a month, two months from now, and we'll consider it. That is not what the legislature said. And that is not what the Governor, Governor Edison, said when he signed the legislation. He said if you're under investigation, under 52:15-7, its not your discretion, you're not doing us any favors.

You are mandated to follow the law. And when you don't follow the law, here we have the words of separation of powers argument, you are violating the express will of the legislature. You are usurping the authority of the legislature. You are impairing the essential integrity of the legislature. And when you combine all those you have a separation of powers argument. That is the concern here.

They conducted this proceeding in complete derogation of their statutory responsibilities as if it didn't even exist. And that is why we're saying, Judge, we're screaming, we want to participate, but not by signing an affidavit.

Now, you had an opportunity, I don't think so, to look at these proceedings. They say we don't get trial-like rights, but they got a trial-like saying. They had a bench, they had -- Mr. Chen is up there like a judge. Mr. Bolen (phonetic) is there. Mr. Quinones is there. They're calling witnesses,

direct examination, direct examination, direct examination. They're criticizing our clients up and down. The next day Norcross is under investigation. Everybody is under investigation.

That is not what the legislature intended. The legislature intended, okay, if you're going to call a witness we have the right to call a witness. If you're going to choose evidence, we have a right to choose evidence, to explain, to enlarge and to clarify so that the matter is fully developed and presented at one and the same time. They took that away from us and they're saying, well, all Norcross wants to do is stop the investigation. All we're looking to do is stop — that's absurd. That is absurd.

I mean, what we're saying is what we don't have a lack of in New Jersey are investigative agencies. The Governor can't say, oh my God, if I don't investigate nothing is going to happen. You have the controller. You have --

THE COURT: You know what, Mr. Critchley, I've let you go on and on. I don't know that there's much else that's not in the brief. Is there any, you know, other point you want to make?

MR. CRITCHLEY: Yes. One other thing. THE COURT: Yeah.

MR. CRITCHLEY: When they sent that letter, they sent a letter, I think its Exhibit F, Exhibit F, they talk --

THE COURT: Hold on. Let me just see, there weren't tabs. Okay. This is the letter from Mr. Walden to Mr. Perino (phonetic), is that the one?

MR. CRITCHLEY: Is that February 22nd, 2019? THE COURT: Yeah. I have it. Okay.

MR. CRITCHLEY: Okay. When you look at that letter, I mean when they delegated the authority to this task force they're limited with that they could do.

Now, what they did during the course of -- I'll let you take a look at it.

THE COURT: You know, I have it right here. Is there any point you want to make?

MR. CRITCHLEY: Yes. I want to talk to the formation. Mr. Chen's formation of the accelerated recertification program. Now, what is that? Now, in addition to conducting the investigation, now they're creating programs aside from the fact as to whether that program violates the Administrative Procedure Act.

THE COURT: Did you raise this in the brief?
MR. CRITCHLEY: We didn't, Judge.

THE COURT: Excuse me. You didn't. So, its

certainly not appropriate to argue now, is it, when they don't have a chance to reply. I didn't have a chance to review it.

MR. CRITCHLEY: Okay. Can I get just one second.

THE COURT: Well, I mean you also didn't cite in either of the plaintiffs' briefs any of the constitutional provisions. I just checked you're, you know, table of authorities. There were no constitutional provisions cited --

MR. CRITCHLEY: We're relying on the constitution, Judge.

THE COURT: -- in your opening brief or the reply brief unless I misread the table of authorities.

MR. CRITCHLEY: Well, Judge --

THE COURT: Only your adversary has cited it.

MR. CRITCHLEY: Well --

THE COURT: But I'd like to go on anyway,

but, I mean, this is a new argument.

 $$\operatorname{MR.}$  CRITCHLEY: Okay. I'm going to finish right now, Judge.

THE COURT: Yeah. Okay.

MR. CRITCHLEY: I'm know when I'm testing the court's patience. I've been around long enough.

THE COURT: Well, I'm -- there's certain

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fairness in terms of raising arguments at oral argument that you're adversaries and the court, frankly, isn't prepared for, but in any event --

MR. CRITCHLEY: Well, as we -- this thing was happening very quickly, Judge, and I have a boring life, and over the weekend that is what I was doing, unfortunately. When I was watching --

THE COURT: Well, whatever, we don't need to know what you were watching.

MR. CRITCHLEY: You just don't stop. You keep reading, Judge, and as I'm reading these things are occurring to me. All I am saying is the accelerated program that is, basically, something that should be promulgated pursuant to rules and regulations of the Administrative PROCEDURE Act.

Number two --

THE COURT: I don't think that's part of your complaint, though, is it?

MR. CRITCHLEY: I'm sorry.

THE COURT: I don't think its in your complaint.

MR. CRITCHLEY: Its not. Its not.

THE COURT: Okay.

MR. CRITCHLEY: But I'm you just to consider

that.

The last thing is, you know, there's no standards. How do you become a member of that? They also refer to it as -- and we put -- they clarified as an entity of concerns. What is -- I mean this is the disparaging comments, almost welling in nature. They create this task force, they create these programs, they create these terms. I've been conducting investigations a long time, criminal and civil. I know what targeted it. I know what subject is. I know witnesses. I never heard of an entity concern, but it sounds bad.

Thank you, Judge.

THE COURT: Okay. Thanks.

Anyone else on behalf of Plaintiffs?

MR. STERN: May I just for a moment?

THE COURT: Yes. Okay.

MR. STERN: Thank You, YOUR HONOR. I promise to be extremely brief because I'm sure you're anxious to hear Mr. Wells. I know I'm anxious to hear Mr. Wells. So, I know how much you must be.

I come only to remind us what we're here to do today. I did not think we're here to finally adjudicate through this court the ultimate answers to the very good questions that you have raised to my colleagues.

We're here, I thought, to determine whether we have made a good enough case so that You should take the time that is necessary to decide these very difficult issues in a mature and scholarly way that I know you will bring to this matter if you're given the opportunity.

I sit here and I listen to this and it seems to me that there are a basic question. You have a statute before you, 52:15-7. And as you will construe that statute you will impact the law of this state for many, many years. Your decision will have enormous precedential value. It will determine what a Governor may do or not do in terms of agencies, which are "in, but not of" the state. Others who stand, will stand later and look to your decision to determine that.

Your decision will determine whether a Governor may convene such a body and, in essence, investigate people who are not state agents. I know that they will claim that that's not what they're doing, but I will paraphrase Mr. Justice Frankfurter and amend it. "Judges need not be blind as men, I'll add, and women to what they know as men and women."

Your Honor has the record before you of what has been going on here. I am confident that when you have a mature opportunity to evaluate you will quickly

come to the conclusion that even if Section 52:15-7 authorized the investigation of an agency, which is "in, but not of" the state, that is not what's going on here. We look to the court to look through the mirage to the facts of what is going on.

And, finally, the third thing that you will have to decide, and we hope you will decide it maturely with time to decide it, is if they're going to do that to people, what rights do those people have? If they're going to invoke 52:15-7 what rights do we have? Can we call our own witnesses? Can we cross-examine? Can we present our own evidence? These three questions are squarely presented in counts one, two and three of the complaint before you.

And I respectfully suggest to Your Honor something that Mr. Marino said to you near the close of his remarks, the real public interest here is not haste or speed, but for this court to shed its guidance correctly after having an opportunity to carefully consider, weigh and answer some of the questions which this court, itself, has raised. For today that is all we ask. Please preserve the status quo and let us answer questions which go to the very heart of the balance of Government in this state.

Thank you for your patience.

THE COURT: Okay. Thank you.

All right. Well --

MR. WELLS: Your Honor, just one procedural

matter.

THE COURT: Yes.

UNIDENTIFIED ATTORNEY: You had asked us on the telephone call whether we had served the nominal defendant EDA, we did.

THE COURT: Okay. I haven't heard from them. UNIDENTIFIED ATTORNEY: Okay.

THE COURT: Okay. All right. Counsel for defendants?

MR. WELLS: Your Honor, I would like to begin by handing up a couple of slides. I don't have a computer and power point, but I want to refer to these during my argument. May I approach?

THE COURT: Give them to my Sheriff's Officer is fine.

MR. WELLS: I'm giving the copies right now to my counsel.

THE COURT: Okay.

MR. WELLS: Your Honor, the management issues that exist at the EDA were recognized originally by the state auditor in 2017 during the governorship of Mr. Christie. So, this is not an issue that arose for the

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first time under the administration of Governor Murphy.

The state controller under Governor Murphy then issued a report a year later, in 2018, in which the state controller recognized, again, continued issues concerning oversight at the EDA, and issues of controls and whether or not those controls were adequate to identify instances of possible fraud and abuse.

As a result of what the 2017 state auditor found, the 2018 state controller found, Governor Christie, on January 24th, 2019, issued executive order 52. And I think that is where we should start in terms of the facts. And Executive Order 52 makes absolutely no reference to 52:15-7. Executive Order 52 provides, on Page 2, right before the first numbered paragraph,

"Now, therefore, I, Philip D. Murphy, Governor of the State of New Jersey, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and by the statutes of the state, do hereby order and direct," And in Paragraph 1 establishes the Task

Force.

Paragraph 2, says that the Task Force will hold public hearings and shall ask individuals to

testify who can provide insight into the design, implementation and oversight of these programs.

Paragraph 5, then, talks about voluntary cooperation. And it says the Task Force shall seek to obtain voluntary cooperation from any individuals or entities who have access to information pertinent to the Task Force mission.

The next sentence then deals with the issue of compulsory process. The next sentence reads,

"If the Task Force encounters individuals or entities who refuse to cooperate it may refer the matter to the State Controller, which may exercise its subpoena authority, or to the EDA, which may exercise its authority to compel information from recipients pursuant to the terms of the incentive program and grants."

Now, as written, Executive Order 52 clearly did not authorize the Task Force to send out subpoena. That power did not exist in the original order.

Now, we know from the record what happened next was that after the Task Force was created on March 22nd, 2019 Governor Murphy wrote a letter to Professor Chen, its Exhibit E to plaintiffs' complaint, and in that letter Governor Murphy designates Professor Chen

to have the power to operate under 52:15-7 in which gave the Task Force and Professor Chen the right to issue compulsory process.

So, when Your Honor earlier, I think in April, heard a motion concerning one of the subpoena involved in this case Your HONOR, actually, was very astute and recognized the distinction, on the record, between the original Executive Order 52 and the letter which gave the Task Force subpoena power. And its very important as we go forward to understand that distinction.

Now, what we know, if we turn to my slide deck, Slide Number 1 is from plaintiffs' reply brief at 22. I think its very important because if you accept what they wrote it shows what they are saying is at issue in this case and what is not. And the plaintiffs wrote, at Page 22, first, whether the Task Force was lawfully created in January 2019 misstates the issue. The conduct challenged in this action concerns defendants misuse of NJSA 52:15-7, not the Task Force's creation as a purely advisory entity with the power to seek only voluntary cooperation.

The Task Force's status and that of its chair, Professor Chen, was purportedly altered on March 22nd, 2019 when the Governor issued his delegation

letter appointing Professor Chen as his designee under NJSA 52:15. It is the supposed bestow and exercise of those powers which Professor Chen has wielded through the Task Force that plaintiffs are challenging. Importantly, the delegation letter is based solely on NJSA 52:15-7, not on generic provisions of the New Jersey Constitution.

Now, I submit that is critical that they have conceded in their reply brief that what is at issue in this case is not whether the Task Force was lawfully created under Executive Order 52 and not whether the Task Force had the power to seek voluntary cooperation. They have conceded that. There have been statements, today, about the Task Force's right to exist, but there is no question what — their arguments are all pinned on, putting aside the due process and first amendment issues, their arguments all center around whether 52:15-7 is applicable and can be used by the Task Force.

I submit it is clear on this record that the powers given to the Task Force to engage in compulsory process were separate from the Executive Order 52 that was set forth in January that said there will be an investigation, they'll seek voluntary cooperation, and there will be a public hearing, and there will be a

report that will be published to assist the Governor, the legislature and the public.

Now, what we are talking about here, today, are issues surrounding the compulsory process issues under 52:15-7 and also, then, arguments about what the procedural rights are because the plaintiffs, they go into different directions. The baseline or initial direction under Count 1 is that 52:15-7 doesn't apply at all. They then say, but, if it does apply then we want to come within the procedural safeguards in it.

But I want to start with Count 1 because in this particular case at no time did the plaintiffs respond to any compulsory process subpoena. They didn't respond to any subpoena. Subpoena were issued. It is not in dispute that the subpoena were withdrawn. They never produced a document. They never came into court and questioned the right of us to serve those subpoena. They were withdrawn before this action was ever filed.

So, I want to start with the proposition that at no time did the Task Force get any documents, get any evidence from these plaintiffs pursuant to 52:15-7. It never happened.

THE COURT: Was there voluntary cooperation? MR. WELLS: No. They didn't cooperate at

all. They just --

THE COURT: Because I thought in one of the -- some of the testimony about Cooper, you know, Cooper had, their application went back to 2014 earlier then some of the others.

MR. WELLS: Right.

THE COURT: Certainly, there were documents regarding Cooper. I thought they said we got documents from Cooper in the context of the testimony, but, you know, I'm not sure, but in any event --

MR. TAMBUSSI: To my knowledge I don't think they gave us anything. We got documents, but we got them — the documents that relate to this plaintiffs, so there is no confusion, were obtained by voluntary cooperation from my going to the EDA and talking to the EDA or in the public record. We didn't —

THE COURT: So, it may just have been a use of a word that they've --

MR. WELLS: Yeah. I'm not sure if I'm -THE COURT: That's all right. It may be, but
they were just Cooper documents you looked at.

MR. WELLS: Yeah. But they didn't -- these plaintiffs, to my knowledge, did not produce anything of the record in terms of the parties is one of acrimony where their letters and people are arguing

about the scope of 52:15-7, but no documents were produced. And I think that's important in terms of what is going on here today because all of their arguments, aside from their due process first amendment arguments, all of their arguments are grounded on the contention that 52:15-7 is inapplicable to the EDA. But with respect to them the reality is we got nothing from them. Its moot or they have no standing to complain about whether or not we served a 52:15-7 subpoena on some other person.

So, I think we have to start there and when you talk about or think about what they're trying to enjoin, they're trying to enjoin, at the moment, two things. They're trying to enjoin the Task Force from issuing its report, its initial report, which is not predicated on any compulsory subpoena they ever responded to because they were withdrawn. So, they're trying to stop a report to the extent it discusses them is based not on them compliant with the subpoena. that is the big thing they're trying to stop. They don't the report to come out. They don't want the report to be issued, but all of their arguments, this entire lawsuit, the temporary restraints, are all predicated on some notion that 52:15-7 is what the case With respect to them it is of no moment. is all about.

It is of no moment.

Now, if you look at the next slide I list the Task Force witnesses, people who have testified. There were four witnesses who testified at the first hearing on March 28th. There were six who testified on March - I'm sorry, on May 2nd. But I want to be clear, none of those -- two of those witnesses did appear pursuant to subpoena; Ms. Comma, who did not discuss -- Ms. Golsen-Comma, who did not discuss the plaintiffs. And a Kerrie-Ann Murray who also appeared pursuant to subpoena, but she did not discuss the plaintiffs.

THE COURT: But there was a big switch, though, from March 28th to May 2nd. There was a very distinct decision at the March 28th hearing not to name names.

MR. WELLS: Right.

THE COURT: I mean, even from Ms. Comma, she was saying her company really provided misrepresentations to the EDA --

MR. WELLS: Right.

THE COURT: -- but they didn't name the company; although, they did give that company the chance to submit an affidavit if they wanted to.

MR. WELLS: They did.

THE COURT: And they mentioned at the

beginning of the proceeding that they wanted to do that for fairness since they were at the beginning of the proceedings, but then something changed, you know, before May 2nd.

MR. WELLS: Right.

THE COURT: And the day before these plaintiffs here were notified that there could be

MR. WELLS: Right.

THE COURT: So, there was a switch there and, you know, I was somewhat concerned about that.

information adverse to them coming out the next day.

MR. WELLS: Well, but part of the switch was, to my understanding, some of the comments after the first hearing was that the first hearing wasn't "transparent" and that people should be more transparent. And they reacted to that. And they did give notice. They told -- this wasn't some situation where they did not give notice, where they --

 $\,$  THE COURT: Well, it was less then twenty-four hours.

MR. WELLS: The facts are that fact is accurate. They said you can submit a statement and then there's a letter where they said at the next hearing you can come and testify. So, those opportunities to be heard were extended.

THE COURT: But even Ms. Murray, at the second hearing, she -- they didn't mention that company either.

MR. WELLS: I'm sorry.

THE COURT: Ms. Murray, at the second hearing -- I mean Ms. Comma, at the first hearing, they didn't mention the company; although, clearly the Task Force knew who the company was.

MR. WELLS: Right.

THE COURT: And then got -- offered them the chance to rebut what she said because these are whistle-blowers who were terminated from employment.

MR. WELLS: Correct.

THE COURT: And -- but, frankly, neither one of them, neither Ms. Comma nor Murray, had anything to do with Camden as far as I could tell because Ms. Comma was talking about a move from Parsippany to Jersey City and Murray was talking about something up North I believe. It just was of interest to me that Murray -- they didn't allow Murray to name names, but then when they were questioning Comma, they had them go over the specific applications of the four plaintiffs by name.

So, I mean there was a distinct shift there. You say it was for transparency. I don't know if that's made clear in the transcripts, but I'll accept

your answer.

MR. WELLS: I will read you, I think it's a, statement from Senator Sweeney if somebody will get it for me. Do you have copies for them?

THE COURT: Its not in the record, I take it? Its not in my record?

MR. WELLS: No, its not, Your HONOR.

THE COURT: Okay. And why should we hear it

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 $\ensuremath{\mathsf{MR}}.$  WELLS: I was just trying to respond to your question.

THE COURT: Okay. All right.

MR. WELLS: Fine. I was trying to respond to

you. I didn't --

THE COURT: You can answer, as long as you have copies to everyone else.

MR. WELLS: Yeah.

THE COURT: I mean, I was looking through the transcripts. I try to read them.

MR. WELLS: Sure. No, Your Honor. I was -so, this was issued, let me get the date right, April 12th, 2019. And Senator Sweeney said -- well, it reads -- do you have a copy for the court?

Senate President Steve Sweeney issued the following statement in response to the announcement by

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the Task Force on tax incentive programs that it has made a criminal referral.

"The announcement by the Task Force of alleged criminal activity regarding the state's tax incentives is vague and incomplete. Everyone agrees that the public should scrutinize state spending which is why the Task Force must say who is being investigated, what law was broken and which law enforcement agency was notified. This Task Force was asked to follow the facts and get to the truth. They should follow their own mandate and allow the If any company public to see the truth. violated their agreements or defaulted on their promises to the EDA they should be identified. If anyone committed fraud, lied or cheated they should be held accountable. The integrity of the incentive programs is critical for their effectiveness and so is the public's trust in any investigations. Everyone should be straight-forward and forthcoming with any relevant information. We want an accurate accounting of the successes, weaknesses and failings of the

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current programs so that the legislature can make informed decisions about their renewal and any needed reforms. We can't forget that these programs are for the benefit of job holders, job seekers and the state's economy." Now, with --

THE COURT: And, you know, I don't know if this is so or not, but when you read the March 28th, 2019 Task Force hearing, Ms. Comma gave testimony that there had been intentional misstatements of fact given to the EDA.

> MR. WELLS: Right.

THE COURT: So, if there was any suggestion -- you know, I think there may have been a statement before both hearings that there were serious issues and misrepresentations could lead to impossible referral for criminal prosecution.

> MR. WELLS: Yes.

THE COURT: I mean that was put on the record and I guess that's part of what Senator Sweeney was responding to, but when you look at the March 28th the one company that was identified, though not by name, was not a Camden company, was not with a development in Camden.

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Right. Now, Your Honor, with MR. WELLS: that background, the basic point I want to start with is that you should look at this entire case through the lens that their statutory argument about Section 52:15-7 is really about additional authority that was given to the Task Force so it could exercise compulsory process and not have to go through the state controller. But in their particular case those subpoena were withdrawn and we never got any information from them pursuant to compulsory process.

THE COURT: Right, but it was -- there also, at least in Section 7 of the Statute, is the cross examination. So, they're talking about, you know, statutory process and due process.

And I'm going to address all MR. WELLS: that, but I'm saying that's when they start to go in a different direction. Remember, point one is 52:15-7 doesn't apply. That is their Count 1. Count 2 is, Judge, if it does apply then I believe we have the right to the procedural safeguards set forth in it. And I will get to that, but in terms of Count 1 I don't think they -- there is no standing, they haven't been harmed, they didn't do anything as a result of the compulsory process and they say, in their reply brief, that they're not challenging the fact that Governor

Murphy had the right to form the Task Force, and that the Task Force had the right to get information voluntarily. They say that point blank.

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Now, with that said let me go to the statutory argument. Now, first, I want to go to Slide 3, in front of you, and that's just a repeat of NJSA 34(1)(b)(4) which is part of the enabling statute of the EDA. But what that statute recognizes, as YOUR HONOR already has observed today, is that the EDA is a public body, corporate and politic, that the EDA is hereby constituted as an instrumentality of the state exercising public and essential government functions, and, finally, that the EDA shall be deemed and held to be an essential government function of the state.

So, there is no question that on the face of the enabling statute it is an instrumentality of the state. There is also no question that the opening sentence says that it is "in, but not of" the Department of Treasury.

Now, in terms of the Governor's authority over the EDA, I set that forth in Slide 4, the next page, the Governor has the ability to appoint members to the EDA, to remove members for cause after a public hearing and suspend them pending the completion of such hearing. I mean think about it, how could you remove

somebody for cause if You couldn't investigate? Has the power to appoint the chairperson of the EDA. Has the power to veto any action taken by the EDA.

Now, there has been talk about -- we've used the phrase "veto of minutes," but what the veto power means is not you veto the minutes like somebody made a mistake in writing down the minutes. That is not what the shorthand term "veto the minutes" means. "Veto the minutes" means the Governor has the power to veto. Its almost like a line item veto, reject any action taken by the EDA. I mean those are powerful powers of supervision.

When my fellow counsel for plaintiffs talked about issues of control and talked about Footnote 2 in COAH, Footnote 2 supports us. Footnote 2 talks about how the constitution took out the term control, but supervision remains. And that lies and derives from the constitution. So, its not about control. But the powers of the Governor set forth in the EDA enabling statute give the Governor great supervisory powers and the ability we submit to investigate the EDA.

Now, I want to make clear. There's a lot of talk about COAH. I don't think COAH has much to do with this at all. They have tried to twist it to support their position, but it is a radically different

case.

COAH is about whether or not under the Reorganization Act, could a governor, in this case Governor Christie, not control or supervise a quasipublic entity, but whether he could abolish it. That is a radically different exercise. And when you read the COAH case, I submit you have to start with what the case involved, again, the power to abolish.

The Court in COAH then engaged in a fairly straightforward statutory analysis and said the use of the word "of" in that case did not give Governor Christie the power to abolish COAH. But as Your Honor recognized while the plaintiffs were arguing, the statute that you ultimately must interpret in this case was passed in 1941 before there were any entities or discussion of entities that were in or not of.

The whole analysis in COAH is impacted because it's viewed through the prism of years of the state legislature being on notice that the in but not of language is special post-1947. And so when they talk about the word "of" in COAH it was viewed through that prism. That doesn't exist in this case.

In 1941, in but not of as Your Honor has recognized, that concept did not exist. So it's against that background that I suggest we have to start

with the statute 5215-7 and that's slide 5. And what that statute says on its face that the Governor is authorized at any time either in person or by one or more persons appointed by him for the purpose to examine and investigate the management by any state officer of the affairs of any department, board, bureau or commission of the state and to examine and investigate the management and affairs of any department, board, bureau or commission of the state.

Those words which I submit are controlling, that the court under traditional principles of construing statutes, you have to start with the words. The words are broad, there is no suggestion that when this was passed in 1941 there was any intent to some way carve out quasi-independent or independent agencies. Such agencies existed back then. But these words are broad and on their face they cover the EDA.

Now the plaintiffs in their brief say oh, the New Jersey legislature knows when it wants to carve out an authority because sometimes they use the word authority. So they quote a case from 1968, or they quote a case from 1980, I mean 30, 40 years later. That doesn't tell you anything.

Your Honor, I submit you have to look at what the statute in 1941, what did that do. It has not been

amended, it has not been changed, and the fact that it doesn't specifically use the word authority doesn't tell you anything. And they can't bootstrap an argument that doesn't exist by saying something happened 30 years later. In fact, they don't use the word authority, it doesn't tell you anything. These words cover the EDA.

Now, if we go to slide 6, what slide 6 shows is a comparison with respect to the COAH issue between the language and the Executive Reorganization Act versus the language in 5215-7. What the Supreme Court addressed in the Executive Reorganization Act was a statute where it said any division, board, commission, agency, office, authority, or institution of the executive branch created by law whether or not it receives appropriations. But that is different it's of, the word "of" is of the executive branch. In NJ 5215-7 it is much broader. It is of the state which is a totally different concept.

So, again, I submit COAH does not control this case, it is of no moment, they are misreading it because they have nothing else to argue about. But the cases are radically different. And 1515-7 should be interpreted based on the words on the face of the statute with full recognition that the word "of" is

used in 1515-7 could not have been intended as some type of limiting principle since the principle they refer to didn't come about until six years later.

THE COURT: The Reorganization Act was a 19

THE COURT: The Reorganization Act was a 1969 statute?

MR. WELLS: It's either 69 or 70, I think. It's much later, it's of recent vintage.

THE COURT: So it was post the 47 constitution.

MR. WELLS: Oh, not just post. If you read what the opinion talks about, they talk about the history of the in but not of, and they view the word "of" through that prism to say well the New Jersey legislature knew about this difference. So they put great emphasis on the word "of" then the have a, then the dissent takes them to task. But the important point is that reasoning does not exist for the 1941 statute because the concept didn't even come about until after the constitution was changed in '47. is a broad statute, there's no basis to interpret it not to cover the EDA. It is brought on its face and I would ask Your Honor again to look at the plain language of the statute and recognize that COAH is not an inhibition in any way, shape or form.

Now, with that said, I want to turn to where

they shift their argument. Because remember, initially they say 5215-7 just doesn't apply. That's their Count, Count One argument. They then switch and say well if it does apply, we want the procedural safequards. So now you're going to move to a world where we're going to assume for discussion purposes that 5215-7 applies. Now we're going to ask assuming it applies what are the procedural safeguards that the plaintiffs are entitled to. And we submit that it is crystal clear that the procedural safeguards in 5215-7 in terms of the rights of cross-examination apply solely to the board or the board employees who are being investigated. And those provisions do not apply in any way, shape or form to private individuals, but that instead the procedural rights of the private individuals are in 15:13E.

Now let's look at slide 7. What I've done in slide 7 is to quote what the original statute looked like when it was passed in March of 1941, and then what the provision looked like that added the rights of cross-examination.

Now, in their brief, the plaintiffs, in their reply brief, because this is the first time I've had a chance to reply to this because I did not have an opportunity. Now, in their brief they cite to the

third column but they don't print it out. Now when you print out the legislative history which is the third column of slide 7, you see that it makes clear that those procedural safeguards that were added in July of 1941 to prevent the so called star chamber effect they were added with respect to departments or boards or the people who worked there, not private individuals. Okay.

The first and the third column it's statement of company initial draft of amendment, July 14, 1941. And it reads, "at the very first hearing held under the provisions of this act, the investigator show clearly that it was his purpose to conduct star chamber proceedings. It is fundamental in a democratic government that any department or board under investigation should have the right to explain or clarify any matters developed before an investigator. This act seeks to accomplish that person."

But focus again on that sentence that "any department or board under investigation." It doesn't say anything about a private citizen. That amendment relates to the internal people, the board or the department or their employees. Then if you look at the next column, at the next piece of legislative history, it says description of bill in legislative index,

Section 448 by Mr. Hendrickson who Mr. Critchley told us about. And reads, "provides that investigations of state departments by governors, such department shall have cross-examination right of person's questioned."

So those amendments clearly go to the department or the board or their people. They have nothing to do with private third parties.

Now, the legislature is sensitive as it should be to the fact that in a hearing people who are not part of the department or part of the board may have their names mentioned and even defamatory comments or negative comments may be made. So what did the New Jersey legislature do? It enacted a different section under title 52. And that different section which applies to private individuals is on slide 8. And that's NJSA 52:13E.

Now:13E says first in 1A. Agency means any of the following while engaged in an investigation or inquiry, the governor or any person or persons appointed by him acting pursuant to PL1941, see 16 section 1, colon, I mean paren see. 5215-7. So right there in the statute is telling any reader and Your Honor that the protections of 52:13E link right back to a 5215-7 hearing. That's what that reference means. This is not a general floating in the air section about

private individuals whose names are mentioned in hearings. This specifically is tied to 5215-7.

And then it goes on to say in paragraph 6, "any person whose name is mentioned or is specifically identified and who believes that testimony or other evidence given at a public hearing or comment made by any member of the agency or its counsel at such a hearing tends to defame him or otherwise adversely affect his reputation shall have the right either to appear personally before the agency and testify in his own behalf as to matters relevant to the testimony or other evidence complained of, or in the alternative, at the option of the agency. That's the task force, to file a statement of facts under oath relating solely to matters relevant to the testimony or other evidence complained of which statement shall be incorporated in the record of the investigatory proceeding."

So this is the provision that grants procedural protections to private individuals and the task force, Your Honor, honored this provision, it offered them the opportunity to submit a written statement, and even though it was not required by the statute, they also said at the next hearing you could testify.

THE COURT: I know one of the things they

bring up about testifying at a future hearing is a limitation of five minutes as if they were, you know, public comment the way you might do as a board of ed meeting or something like that.

MR. WELLS: Your Honor, that is all totally theoretical, totally speculative. The hearing that they are trying to enjoin is not a hearing that's supposed to have any "witnesses." The hearing that the order right now enjoins, at least as I understand it, is the hearing that was supposed to take place on June 11, there were supposed to be two things at that One, issuance of the findings which as I said hearing. are not based on any compulsory process that we received or the task force received from the plaintiffs. And so that report should be permitted to be issued I submit. And two, they were going to let So they weren't producing any the public comment. So whether or not there's some moment in witnesses. the future where they would want to testify and what would actually happen at that particular hearing, that's not before Your Honor, that's totally speculative. Nobody, nobody knows.

THE COURT: But is there a sense -- I can't recall sometimes I confuse case law that I read and the briefs. Was there any argument that some of their harm

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is self created because they did not accept the offer of the commission to set the record straight?

MR. WELLS: Yes.

THE COURT: And I mean going back, they didn't, you withdrew the subpoenas but they could have voluntarily cooperated. But then subpoenas were issued, the subpoenas were withdrawn when they objected. They had the opportunity to provide a statement but they deemed it more appropriate to file litigation.

> That's correct. MR. WELLS:

THE COURT: And then there was, there was this offer of, I mean you know of public comment there was some reference to five minutes each, but in any event.

> MR. WELLS: Yes, but --

THE COURT: Did you make that argument that it was self-created on their part to some extent? MR. WELLS: We made argument that they had the opportunity to come and testify and they refused We made the argument that they had the opportunity first to submit the written statement. And they did not do that. And we made the opportunity that they could testify but nobody ever scheduled.

THE COURT: Does that factor, I mean we

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24 25 haven't gotten to the test yet. But does that factor into the irreparable harm?

MR. WELLS: Yes. And even in an irreparable harm in this case, if you read their opening brief, they start out by saying, they've been harmed. how they start. They really say the toothpaste is out of the tube, we've been damaged, and they acknowledge that most of the damage is in the newspaper articles. But that's their argument, you know, this is not some case that we've seen where you can't let this fact out because once it's out it'll be in the public domain and Their opening brief is replete you never can recover. with references we have already been harmed. So we now in the context of trying to assess irreparable harm going forward, it has to be viewed on the record where they've acknowledge that it's in the public domain already that these entities have been the subject of being part of the task force. That's happened.

But in terms of going forward, I think irreparable harm, I think you're talking about some speculative delta that should not be given much weight at all because it's out there already.

Now, as I said, 13E does not give them anything other than the rights that the New Jersey legislature thought were proper. In terms of the

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constitution, just to save time, we've been here a long time, slides 9, 10 and 11 cite the relevant constitutional sections. But I submit that, Your Honor, when you are interpreting section 5215-7, it should be interpreted in a way that it does not run up against provisions in a New Jersey constitution that we submit clearly give the Governor the powers, the power to supervise. It gives the Governor the power to investigate all officers and employees in New Jersey. It gives the Governor the power to make sure the laws are being faithfully executed, that the principle of constitutional avoidance is of critical importance in this case because the new Jersey constitution perhaps more than any other constitution in the country gives the New Jersey Governor extraordinary supervisory powers.

The word control was taken out of the 1947 amendment, but the word supervision was not. That's why that footnote, the footnote in <u>COAH</u> talks about the constitutional powers. And I think the fact that the EDA is self-funded I think that is personally of little moment in looking at the constitutional provisions because I don't think the legislature could engage in any type of gymnastics to prevent the Governor from investigating state employees just by saying, well,

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you're going to take your fees out of the Government monies that we're able to extract because we're a government entity any more than the turnpike authority can say well, we're going to collect the tolls so the Governor doesn't have anything to do with the turnpike authority.

But everything should be interpreted in terms of the statutory analysis from the backdrop of an extraordinarily powerful and strong set of constitutional provisions that are expressed in terms of the issue of investigation making sure that state employees re carrying out their job. The New Jersey Governor some say is the most powerful governor in the country because of the constitutional provisions and the ability to appoint. Your Honor, that really concludes my argument on the statutory points.

Look, in terms of the irreparable harm, first, I don't think there's any issue of probability of success. And they keep saying to Your Honor, well we want you to have a chance to think about this case. Well, I want you to have this chance to do it too. But at the end of the day this is not a rocket science statutory issue. The 5215-7, if its words are given their fair meaning, the statute covers the EDA. If you read COAH, I submit COAH doesn't control. So you've

got to read the <u>COAH</u> opinion, you've got to look at the statute. But I want you to take as much time as you want, but I don't think, you know, they act like there's some 10,000 page record or something.

This report needs to be issued. There's no dispute, no dispute that the EDA tax programs are important, are important to the state in terms of economic growth. There's no dispute that they expire on July 1. There's no dispute that there have been serious control problems that have not controlled adequately issues of potential fraud and abuse. The report needs to be issued not just to educate the legislature and the Governor and the public.

If the legislature were to extend the program tomorrow, the report would still be relevant. The extension as I understand is being discussed is for 7 months, but it's still relevant and important. And the EDA management who is running the program day to day giving out a tax incentive valued at the hundreds of millions of dollars even in a short period of time, he needs to know what the task force has found. Furthermore, the public has every right to know what has happened in the past in terms of what the task force has found. They're trying to suppress important fundamental information from the public under the guise

now of the possibility that their clients may be mentioned.

tolerate it.

mean when you look at irreparable harm, if there's a violation of a statute, we've gone over the statute, if there's a violation of the constitution and they're saying separate and apart from the statute, you know, section 7 of the statute they have a constitutional right to more process than they were afforded by you. And then if I allow the proceedings to go forward, there will be continuing violation of their right to because they're not being given trial type process.

MR. WELLS: Right. Right, Your Honor. step one, there is whether or not there has been a constitutional violation. That's the lynchpin, then the irreparable harm arguably follows from that. the lynchpin point one is has there been a constitutional violation. So what does the record show in terms of these plaintiffs? What the record shows is they were given the opportunity to submit a written statement. They did not. They were given the They filed opportunity to testify at a later hearing. a lawsuit as Your Honor said. Nothing has happened. mean people were talking, this is voluntary information. I mean that's why it's really important

Because if they're right, then any citizen cannot only hold up a task force hearing, they can hold up a legislative hearing because these principles that they are talking about in terms of due process and the first amendment, they apply just as much to the legislature as they apply to the executive branch. They are talking about a radical change in how Government operates. At any time anybody may be negatively referred to, they can stop a hearing by going into court and saying my reputation is going to be hurt, and I want full cross-examination rights. I mean you'd have complete chaos and everything would come, you know, would just stop. The system could no

to think about what they're trying to suppress.

This is a radical unprecedented ruling that they are asking you to make, radical and unprecedented. The Governor has every right to hold a hearing. This is voluntary information that they got from the EDA, not by virtue of 5415-7. There's no basis to withhold the report. There's no basis to stop anything because there's nothing before Your Honor in terms of well let me look at it in the context, I think maybe you should have given them another 20 minutes or you should have given them another two hours. Whatever. That's not in

the record.

THE COURT: In terms of the balancing of the interest, you know, when somebody raises reputational interest in New Jersey, the case law is more favorable to individuals. You don't need much other than damage to reputation. And if they're concerned about continuing damage from any report that might come out based on the May 2nd hearing, isn't that something to consider with irreparable harm?

MR. WELLS: I don't think so at all, Your Because well the touchstone, touchstone is not the worry, the touchstone is the constitutional violation. That's the gating issue. If you don't get through that gate, you don't get to talk about your reputation because that's what I mean why it would be Because if all you had to say is the unprecedented. task force is going to put a witness on the stand who may say something negative about me or there's going to be a hearing in the senate next week and somebody is going to say something about me. And therefore I have the right to get Michael Critchley, one of the great cross-examiners in the history of this state, to come in and spend two or three days cross-examining people. I don't believe the system could tolerate it, I don't believe the constitution requires it. It would be as I

said a radical and unprecedented change in how Government operates.

We are talking about issues of the public purse. Hundreds of millions of dollars going back to 2017 under Governor Christie when this was identified. So this is, nobody can say this is something that Governor Murphy of, you know, of, you know, invented. In fact he would be derelict if he didn't form the task force. We are talking about hundreds of millions of dollars, and they're trying to keep the truth from coming out.

In terms of the balancing of equities, the public's right to know and the notion that a task force that has gotten information from the EDA and public sources, voluntary sources, can't report on it, that's not grounded in anything in the constitution. And I recognize it under New Jersey law that reputational harm is something that the courts have insisted to. But again, it's always been based on some serious showing that there's a violation before we get there. And that has not happened in this case.

This report should be issued, it should be issued as soon as Your Honor is able to decide what you feel is the right answer. We will accept that. But I would ask Your Honor to proceed as quickly as your

schedule permits. Thank you.

THE COURT: Okay, thank you. Any rebuttal from plaintiff's counsel?

MR. MARINO: Your Honor, the notion that what we have received in the context of that task force proceeding bears any resemblance to due process is completely fanciful. I want you to please travel with me the road that we have taken in this courtroom today and how it veers off the road that was taken before we got here today.

Now, 52:15-7 has become in Mr. Wells's words, moot, irrelevant, meaningless because why? Because they issued a subpoena and then they withdrew the subpoena. And that's why he tells you it's irrelevant. Well, indeed, 52:15-7 is as much the point today when we are examining all the harm that this task force proceeding has engendered as it was at the very inception on March 22nd, 2019. No one is speaking on behalf of Governor Murphy or the task force was saying pay no attention to 15:15-7. Quite the contrary. As governor I am authorized to personally investigate or to appoint one or more persons to investigate the management and affairs of instrumentalities of the state such as the EDA, see NJSA52:15-7. And in the last paragraph of that delegation letter of March 22nd,

2019, I am hereby appointing you pursuant to 52:15-7.

It's outrageous to hear that it doesn't
matter at all that that's the Governor's letter
delegating power pursuant to a branch of the
legislature. And it doesn't matter, it's moot because
they withdrew a subpoena. Not so. It is the absolute
power that is transferred from the Governor of the
State of New Jersey to Mr. Chen's task force, and put
it into the hands of Mr. Walden to conduct what could
only be fairly characterized as a star chamber
proceeding.

And yes, I have the letter in front of me. know Mr. Wells is not aware of it, but it's very clear that what we were offered was "as a further accommodation, we will permit each witness to make introductory remarks of no more than five minutes." No, we did not avail ourselves. And if that's selfinflicted harm, I would inflict the harm on myself every single day. If you told me that I was accused and I was going to have to stand trial in the United States of America and my cross-examination rights would be completely removed from me, the 6th amendment to the contrary notwithstanding, and I would have no ability to do anything but for five minutes go up and say what I had to say and then after the fact I could submit

something in writing, that would be reversed as a violation of due process and as a violation of the confrontation clause about like that. It's outrageous.

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But now 5215-7 isn't the point. And we hear that COAH isn't the point. We hear that COAH is limited to its facts, an interpretation of the Reorganization Act. That on its face is completely false. Your Honor asked about the power that you should afford or the persuasive force that you should give to an appellate, intermediate appellate division If you read those two decisions, you will see that Justice Rabner's majority opinion for the Supreme Court of New Jersey quotes many times in haec verba from Judge Carchman, mentions him by name, mentions his analysis in detail. So, no, COAH is not just a reorganization act. It's something far more significant, the COAH case, it's far more significant. It's about the separation of powers and that's what the court says.

So what are we hearing? We have a self-inflicted gunshot wound here because we would not take the crumbs that they put on the table for us and go and give a five minute statement. If you read the transcript of what transpired, it's nothing short of extraordinary. Mr. Walden says at length, he talks

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about the whistle blower allegations of this fellow, I mispronounced his name, I think its Subsoos (phonetic), and Your Honor I think is aware of the case. This is a whistle blower who lost his case. He lost on summary judgment on his discrimination claim and he lost in a no cause of action. And they say yes, but the jury found that he reasonably believed he'd been wronged. That's question one. Okay? Yes, he reasonably believed it. And question two, does he have a cause of action? No. Here's the reality. They spent probably 45 minutes having someone recount for the public the allegations that this man made. This is not anything remotely approaching a fair proceeding.

And I have to draw Your Honor's attention. You said to me and I know you said it again to Mr. Critchley and it's obviously important to the Court to focus on these dates. So I think Your Honor may be overlooking one aspect of this. You focus on 1940 and 1941 and say well that's these words were used in 1940 and '41 and that was before this notion of in but not of came into existence with the constitutional convention that Mr. Critchley went through at some length.

But in 1974, that's when the EDA was formed, not in 1941 or 2 or 3. It was formed after the

legislature was well aware of the import as elucidated in detail by first Judge Carchman and then by the Supreme Court of those terms, simple but meaningful. Right? But they were aware of it. If they wanted to extend these rights of investigation to the Governor, why on this planet would they not have made the EDA a government agency? Why did they make it in but not of? Look at the enabling statute. Why did they do it? They did it for a reason because it was supposed to be not within the control, just the supervision.

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Now, in response to something Mr. Critchley said, I think Your Honor asked about, asked Your Honor about an individual's rights. And just going back again to 52:15-7. At 52:15-7 the officer is not the individual under scrutiny. If you look at the wording, it says, "whenever any person shall be examined by the Governor or by his duly authorized representative or representatives under the powers contained in this act at a public hearing, the officer, department, board, bureau, commission or individual under investigation or scrutiny. The officer is not the individual under investigation, our clients are the individuals under investigation. And the notion that this is fair game because this is a very powerful Governor, yes the New Jersey constitution gave tremendous powers to the

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Governor, but they were not unlimited. They were not unlimited.

And so if you just take a moment and think about some of what you've heard, it's extraordinary. It's a bait and switch at this point. I will give you power under this statute, but if you try to invoke rights, the statute also gives to you, then I will say no, no, no, those aren't for you, those are for someone else. Who are they for? We are the ones who are at issue here.

And this idea that the harm has already occurred, no it has not. Yes, what they've done was improper. Although over and over they said we're not making any findings here. We're just investigating. You know, that's what we're doing. And Your Honor pointed it out. At the first hearing, it was no mention of names. But at the beginning of the second hearing they said you know what, we've decided because people want to know and the public is entitled to know, we're going to give you some names. And by the way, we've gathered a lot of the information. Basically assuring the assembled masses that what they were saying was factual. And without giving us the opportunity to get up and say wait a minute, let's have a cross-examination.

So either you want to have a 52:15-7 proceeding and if Your Honor were to decide, although I think for the reasons set forth in Count One I think that's not right. If Your Honor were to decide you know what, I think that they really are a department or what have you, and therefore I really think that this investigatory power applies. How could you get us into the proceeding with the investigatory power intact but then somehow along the way even though we're the ones whose rights are being violated, somehow we don't get to say boo about it. And all in the name of what? What's going to happen? We want the opportunity. no, we didn't inflict the wound. We want the opportunity. We don't want five minutes, we don't want a statement that's in writing.

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When you get up and say about one of my clients, he did this and Mr. Walden says and isn't it a fact that Mr. Sheehan did this, and isn't it a fact that this company did that, and aren't these material misrepresentations? When he does that, he better be ready for cross, real cross-examination. Not five minutes of fame, not a written statement after the fact. And so I don't even understand, it makes absolutely no sense to me to say -- and in the constitution, let's be clear. Mr. Wells invoked the

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constitutional provisions. The constitutional provision that they invoked in their brief says basically if you're paid by the state you get to be investigated by the Governor. That's what the provision says. And that's right. Only we're not paid by the state, we're completely self-supportive. what our 2017 annual report says. The legislature could have done a lot here, Your Honor. They could have done a great deal. And when the Supreme Court considered the <u>COAH</u> case, they could have said <u>COAH</u> is limited to its facts. They could have said this is sui generis because it's just about reorganization.

But I'll ask Your Honor this. If the Governor can do this, if he can investigate this in this way, he has the power that no one has. There's no way the legislature can do this and not afford you the opportunity to proceed. There's no way any court would do it. It doesn't work that way. The executive is a co-equal branch. The branches work together. Your Honor is right, the EDA is in but not of the executive department, and specifically the Department of the Treasury.

But I think to look at this and say even though in our enabling statute, there isn't a whisper of us being subject to the control as opposed to the

supervision of the executive to say it doesn't matter, I'm going to let this proceed the pace in the public interest I think would be a significant miscarriage.

Thank you for your patience, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Thank you.

MR. CRITCHLEY: Just briefly, Judge. promise I'm going to cite to something in the record. Judge, Mr. Wells referred to the hearing you had some time ago regarding enforcement of a subpoena. And I read the transcript of that hearing. case you cited in there was In Re Application of And I think it's appropriate because Attorney General. you referred to before "our opportunity to participate in May 1." We received a notice the evening of May 1 about adverse information that's going to occur the We had 18 hours to potentially respond. next day. Re Application of Attorney General which the court cites that with a subpoena or the court said then Judge Byrne, later Governor Byrne, said it violates someone's due process rights. You have to give them an opportunity to respond, to be heard. To give us 18 hours, that shows you basically that they were running roughshod over us. And to say well we gave them that opportunity is really a violation of our rights.

And they also talk about, Your Honor, that

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the statute, 5215-7 just applies to departments, boards, bureaus and commissions. Yet, they also say, although it just applies to them, what we could carve out. It also applies to third parties. We could subpoena individual third parties. But then they say okay, we have rights that just apply to departments, boards, bureaus, and commissions, but we could subpoena third parties.

But those third parties don't have the same rights as anybody else. It just doesn't make any sense. If you are the subject of a subpoena, and you're subject to a subpoena pursuant to that statute, the rights apply to you. And the reason we know that is because the courts have said, and again, when you have a statute, two statutes, a general statute, and a specific statute covering the same subject matter, the specific statute governs. And here we have 5215-7, very specific. And then Mr. Wells talks about 52:13-6 saying okay we have rights there. You have a general statute, the code of fair procedure, 5213-6, and you have a specific statute covering 52-7, the rights are, that statute prevails, Judge. That's basic statutory law.

Thank you very much.
THE COURT: Okay. Thank you.

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MR. STERN: Your Honor, Count One says they have no right to convene such a body at all. The Governor knew that which is why he wrote his letter of March 22nd. In his letter of March 22nd, he points out that we're in but not of and then he proceeds to enlarge the authority of the task force by reaching for our famous 52:15-7. Now, it simply can't be linked. Under the Governor's expression, Mr. Marino read one where the Governor says he's appointing Mr. Chen pursuant to provision. But there's an earlier reference in the letter. It says, "I'm authorized to personally to investigate such as the EDA" which he's not. And then he reaches for 52:15-7. So it's not us that are in a conundrum, it is rather the other side.

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Their legitimacy as told depends upon whether or not you can use this particular statute to in fact investigate an organization like the EDA, assuming of course that's what they're really investigating. But let's take them at their word. That's the first issue before the Court. That's Count One.

The second issue before the Court is well if you're going to invoke that statute, if you've got the right to do it, if a Judge like Your Honor says, yeah, you can do that, you can get around the whole scheme by reaching for that, then you can convene the kind of

tribunal that they have convened in this instance.

Now, 52:15-7, according to slide 5, provided kindly by Mr. Wells, speaks about an individual under investigation or scrutiny. Can it fairly be said, can we look at ourselves in the mirror and say that our clients in this room are not under investigation or scrutiny by this body? I don't believe this Court will say that. And if we are under investigation or scrutiny, then are we not as individuals, it says individual under investigation or scrutiny. Are we not entitled to the procedural safeguards embodied in the statute itself which this Governor has reached for in an effort to bridge the gap which prevented him from investigating to begin with?

I do not now speak of a constitution. We do not have to reach that level unless Your Honor first answers the questions which I respectfully posed to you. But if we reach for the constitution, what's going on is shameful. It's not right. It doesn't pass the smell test.

Now I heard Mr. Wells of whom I have the highest admiration say well, it really doesn't matter to this side of the room, you see because they did it to us already. It's all out there. Where's the irreparable harm? They've been smeared, tarnished,

tattered, whatever's been done has been done. So what's the problem if we just finish the job? I don't think I have to respond to that. But I do remember in the midst of time, a long time ago, maybe 30, 40 years ago, when an amazing courageous young lawyer defended a man I think his name was Sciavone (phonetic). Do I have it right?

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Yes.

MR. STERN: He defended him in a court in New York. And it was a long trial, months, months and months. And he won an acquittal. And this young lawyer turned to his client Sciavone and said congratulations. And Sciavone said thanks, but where will I get my reputation back. I don't believe that lawyer would say it didn't matter if they do it again because they already did it to you once.

MR. TAMBUSSI: Excuse me. Judge, could I correct something, the facts on the record? I haven't spoken a lot.

THE COURT: Okay. Mr. Tambussi, go ahead.
MR. TAMBUSSI: Very quick, Judge. You made
an inquiry of Mr. Wells with regard to whether or not
Connor Strong, Michaels, NFI and Coopers responded to
any subpoenas. Subpoenas were issued on April 17th to
Connor Strong, NFI and Michaels Organization. There

are 12 days given for a response to that subpoena. The subpoena to Cooper was issued on April 22nd. On April 29th, Connor strong, Michaels Organization and NFI responded to Mr. Walden and specifically requests that he provide the legal basis for the issuance of the subpoenas. Cooper's subpoena was not yet due yet.

On May 1st, Mr. Walden advised counsel for Cooper, NFI, Connor Strong and the Michaels Organization that he would withdraw the subpoenas to obviate the need to address the lawfulness of the subpoenas and that he would send more narrow document requests in their stead. To date, none of the plaintiffs have received any further requests from Mr. Walden. This was confirmed to Mr. Walden in writing and we never received a response, Your Honor. Thank you.

THE COURT: The one thing I was referring is, and I even found it in the transcript. It must have been, just had to do with documents of Cooper that were from Cooper to the EDA and not provided by Cooper voluntarily. So I think that's what it must be.

MR. TAMBUSSI: That's correct, Your Honor. And Mr. Walden did raise this issue of the accelerated program in his letter requesting the documents. But he never sent the request, the more narrow request that he

had promised in order to get Cooper's documents. date, we're still waiting. Thank you.

> THE COURT: Okay.

MR. WELLS: First, there was a lot of discussion about the opportunity to give a five minute introductory statement. The introductory statement was totally distinct from the opportunity to testify. five minute introductory statement is similar to what you might see at a congressional hearing where the person is permitted first to talk for five minutes uninterrupted and then is permitted to testify. you look at the letter of May 9, 2019, there is absolutely no time limit put on the testimony.

> THE COURT: Where is the May letter? MR. WELLS: It's Exhibit K to the complaint.

THE COURT: Okay.

MR. WELLS: Okay. So let's get to Exhibit K, it's May 9, 2019. And --

> Let me -- I'd like to get it. THE COURT:

MR. WELLS: Sure, no, no.

THE COURT: I have one of May 6th.

Exhibit K, this is J. just see.

> MR. WELLS: I think I read it --

THE COURT: No, it's not tabbed. When it came off ecourts it wasn't tabbed. K, okay, I have it

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MR. WELLS: Okay. Okay. So let's take the mystery away and let's just read the letter.

"Dear All" -- this is from Mr. Walden to the plaintiffs -- "I write as special counsel to the New Jersey task force on the economic development authority's tax incentives in response to your letter of May 6th, 2019. Six points bear mentioning. if you wish to have a dialogue with us, have a dialogue. Please do not write a letter and then immediately leak it to the press. I am surprised that such an August group would rely on this kind of stunt. It is beneath you, especially since although we were not obligated to, we advised you in advance that our hearing might include potentially adverse information about your clients. I did not receive a single response to my offer to read a statement from any of your clients into the record. Second, we provided subpoenas for the production of documents in advance of the hearing so that if there was another side to the facts, we had the opportunity to present those facts. Your clients produced nothing by the deadline. Instead, at the 11th hour you requested that your clients have the opportunity to cooperate voluntarily.

25 As an accommodation, Professor Chen withdrew the

subpoenas to permit such cooperation. Your letter of May 6th is hardly cooperation. At bottom you have produced not a single document before or after the hearing supporting any conclusions or assertions that your clients out of state locations were bonafide, suitable and available. We await word from you on when you will voluntarily produce the documents we requested assuming it is still your client's intention to do so. Third, you have raised the specter of litigation over the task force's authority. Feel free to file a challenge to executive order number 52. certainly prepared to defend it. Fourth, you also include the following language in your letter 'we dispute that the task force's participants are cloaked with any immunity from liability from your defamatory conduct.' You are members of the bar, as such you cannot make bad faith threats to attempt to dissuade us from our work. You should carefully review the transcript of the proceeding during which we carefully explained that the public should draw no conclusions about the company's intents, and further that the questions reflected our concerns about EDA, EDA's oversight of these applications. Whether or not we enjoy immunity which I will not address here, you have no basis for a suit. Fifth, you request the

opportunity to be heard at the next proceeding. Professor Chen will accommodate that request by permitting fact witnesses from each of your client's companies to testify at the next hearing which would not have otherwise focused on these projects. Please confirm by May 23, 2019 whether the following individuals will voluntarily provide sworn testimony."

And then they list various people. And then the letter on page 3 goes on to say, "please review the applicable statutes in article 52 as counsel's role in this hearing will be strictly limited. However, as a further accommodation" -- again, this is not testimony -- "as a further accommodation, we will permit each witness to make introductory remarks of no more than five minutes. Once you confirm these witnesses will voluntarily appear to provide testimony we will confirm available dates for the proceeding."

So this five minute business is a mischaracterization. It was five minutes of introductory remarks and then they would be permitted to testify.

Now, Your Honor asked why did they start to identify some companies. I just checked the transcript at page 7 at the second day of the hearing where Professor Chen says that they provide more information

because some of the comments, I read now page 7, line 16. "Some of the comments including members of the legislature said that the public had the right to know more information about what we are finding as we investigate." So that's what prompted a more fulsome disclosure. And I read to you Mr. Sweeney's statement which is from a member of the legislature. So they explained on the record what they were doing. It was just, I think we all agreed that no documents were submitted at any time.

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I just want to end -- oh no, they made one They said for the first other argument on rebuttal. time that the word individuals in 5215-7 in terms of the procedural rights means that that includes private parties submit based on what I argued before, it absolutely does not. It just includes individuals who are employed by the state, members of the state and dose not involve any private rights of action. very, when Mr. Critchley said that there was a general statute of 15-7 and then the 13E statute was specific, or maybe he said it the other way around. But the bottom line is that 13E specifically cross-references There is no dispute that they are linked. the 15-7. It is in the statute. That's why I printed it. Last point. In terms of the due process, I'd

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like to refer Your Honor to a case Pelullo v. State of New Jersey, it's the SCI case. And it's 294 NJ Super. 336 (1996). But there's discussion of the problems with applying the due process clause to investigative hearings. And what the case law says is that an adjudicatory hearing is radically different and requires much more in terms of procedural due process. But when there are public investigative hearings that the due process clause has to be applied differently. And in fact if you did not apply it differently, it says what I said earlier, that the whole system would break down. And if you look at page 566 of that opinion that I just cited, I just want to read from it. It is "when government action does not partake of an adjudication. As for example when a general fact finding investigation is being conducted, it is not necessary that the full panoply of judicial procedures Therefore, as a generalization, it can be said that due process embodies the differing rules of fair play which through the years have become associated with different types of proceedings whether the constitution requires that a particular right obtained in a specific proceeding depends upon a complexity of factors. The nature of the alleged right involved, the nature of the proceedings, and the

1 possible burden of proceedings are all considerations 2 which must be taken into account." Then the court goes 3 on to state, "the investigative process could be 4 completely disrupted if investigative hearings were 5 transformed into trial like proceedings. 6 persons who might be indirectly affected by an 7 investigation were given an absolute right to cross-8 examine every witness called to testify. Fact finding 9 agencies without any power to adjudicate would be 10 diverted from their legitimate duties and would be 11 plagued by the injection of collateral issues that 12 would make the investigation interminable. 13 person not called as a witness could demand the right 14 to appear at the hearing. This is what they're asking 15 for. Even a person not called as a witness could 16 determine the right to appear at the hearing, cross-17 examine any witness whose testimony or sworn affidavit 18 allegedly defamed or incriminated him and call an 19 unlimited number of witnesses of his own selection. 20 This type of proceeding would make a shambles of the 21 investigation and stifle the agency and its gathering 22 of facts." That's from the appellate division of New 23 Jersey. 24

Last point, Your Honor.
THE COURT: Actually it's not.

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MR. WELLS: It's not?

THE COURT: No. It's a quote, it's a direct quote from the United States Supreme Court.

 $\mbox{MR. WELLS:} \mbox{ Oh no. } \mbox{Oh no, the opinion.}$ 

THE COURT: What you just read was from the, was from the appellate division quoting I believe --

MR. WELLS: I understand that.

THE COURT: Oh okay. I'm sorry.

MR. WELLS: No, no. I was saying that the opinion. But you're right, it's from the U.S. Supreme Court.

THE COURT: Right. It's a direct quote.
MR. WELLS: Yes. But the opinion is an appellate division opinion. That's the only point I was trying to make.

The last point, I also refer in terms of first amendment case, <u>GJJM Enterprises v. City of Atlantic City</u>, it's a District Court case 293 F.Supp 3.d 509. It talks about the first amendment issues. Because these first amendment issues and the due process issues tend at times to overlap. But the opinion reads -- I got to get the page.

THE COURT: Is it cited in your brief?
MR. WELLS: I believe -UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: It's cited in the

plaintiff's brief.

investigative committee.

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It's in plaintiff's brief. MR. WELLS: THE COURT: Okay. The main brief or the reply brief? I just want to get the, I didn't get the cite, so I was just going to check the brief. MR. WELLS: Okay. But it's plaintiff's brief, 293 F.Supp 3d 509, (2017). I'm just having trouble finding the page. But it reads "the loss of first amendment freedoms for even minimal periods of time unquestionably constitutes irreparable injury. For that irreparable injury to support granting a preliminary injunction, plaintiffs must show a chilling effect on free expression." And the point that that sentence makes in terms of first amendment analysis is the court has to ask are the plaintiffs in some way being chilled from getting their story into the public They've written op eds, And they are not. they have been very active. And the task force has no ability or intent to chill them. They have every opportunity to put their side of the story out and they can do that in forms other than the task force. fact if you read some of the stuff they said, they seem

to say they're going to cooperate with the senate

But in terms of doing the analysis they are

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not being chilled. Nobody is putting them in a spot where they can't tell their side of the story. But again, the core point, Your Honor, this is not an adjudicatory hearing, and the very procedural rights that they are asking Your Honor to give them are the very rights that the U.S. Supreme Court as Your Honor just recognized stated a minute ago said would destroy investigative hearings. And they are not to be treated like they are at adjudicatory hearings. Thank you.

MR. CRITCHLEY: Judge, (indiscernible) one distinction, one comment from Pelullo that Mr. Wells did not read, and I read this from the opinion. "In

distinction, one comment from Pelullo that Mr. Wells did not read, and I read this from the opinion. the present case, SCI did not in publishing its reports make an accusation or hand out an adjudication that the plaintiffs were guilty of any crime." Well that's not what we have here. We have here we have a (indiscernible) reports. They have also indicated they've made criminal referrals of activity of wrongdoing. They labeled us entities of concern. Pelullo is misplaced. Here we are directly involved in a situation where the statute clearly indicates we have a right to cross-examine, we have a right to direct. And if we had that letter that Mr. Wells just read, May 9th, that's like giving us snowballs in the winter. they would have just said, okay, we're going to allow

you to participate the way the statute says you can, we produce evidence, you produce evidence, examination, we would not have a due process argument. We are not making this up. If they don't like the law, change the statute. But the law exists, you have to apply it. Plain and simple. And sometimes, sometimes, Judge, believe it or not, due process rights, sometimes pose a burden on the Government.

THE COURT: Thank you. It is the Court's intention to give you a decision today. I'm going to take a break of anywhere from 15 to 30 minutes to collect my thoughts. I tend to give lengthy decisions, so it will be, we'll be here a while longer. I assume Jeffrey you can stay. And but I understand that many of you may have other things you need to get to. There will be a recording made, there will be the opportunity tomorrow to get a CD of whatever I say.

I'm only saying this to tell you that while I'm taking the break, if anyone has to leave I do not take it personally. You have, you have lives and things that you may have anticipated doing today. So I just leave you at that. The camera people have to go. And so I'll be back in 15 or 20 minutes. But it's important to me to get you a decision today. So, thank you.

(Recess 4:50 p.m. to 5:19 p.m.)

THE COURT: Okay. This will be the Court's decision on the application for temporary restraints brought by plaintiffs. And first, I want to thank all of you who have remained and for your patience throughout the afternoon and for your continuing patience as I provide you with a decision. I have the different materials I'm going to be using here, and I just beg your indulgence because there was a somewhat short period of time to pull all of this together. But as usual, the attorneys helped by the excellent briefs I received and also the assistance of my law clerk and the rest of the staff, including the staff who are willing to stay tonight.

So, the plaintiffs in this action are four companies: Conner Strong & Buckelew, NFI, The Michaels Organization, and Cooper University Medical Health Care; an individual, George Norcross, who is the executive chairman of Conner Strong, and also, he is the chair of Cooper's Board of Trustees. And one of the defendants is a law firm, Parker McCay, who advised some of the -- some of these parties and was involved in the drafting of the Economic Opportunity Act of 2013, which created the New Jersey Grow and the ERG -- Economic Redevelopment and Growth Act, which are the

two current tax incentive programs that are the focus of -- of the Task Force's investigation.

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All of the parties were mentioned in the course of a Task Force hearing on May 2, 2019, and the -- as part of an investigation into the practices of the Economic Development Authority in which the Task Force was asked to examine the activities of the EDA over the past few years, and bring any concerns to light, and also to suggest changes to the enabling legislation, that Economic Opportunity Act of 2013, which is scheduled to expire on June 30, 2019, which is less than two weeks from today.

The Task Force was created by Governor Murphy pursuant to Executive Order Number 52 and subsequent — that was, I think, January 19th of 2019, and then he subsequently empowered the chair of the Task Force, Rutgers law professor Ronald Chen with gubernatorial investigatory powers including subpoena power under N.J.S.A. 52:15-7, which has been a real focus of so much of the argument here this afternoon.

The four companies named as plaintiffs had all made applications for tax incentive grants and so forth to EDA. And so, among the issues in the applications they filed were concerns or intent to relocate offices and employees of these four, to

Camden, a distressed city in New Jersey that was identified for special treatment in that statute, in order to encourage economic development there. And the record shows that there was significant economic development in Camden.

In addition to the governor, named as defendants are Mr. Chen, the head of the Task Force, and the attorneys employed to assist in the investigation. EDA has been named as a nominal defendant. I have had no appearance filed on behalf of EDA, and they have not participated today.

As I mentioned, plaintiffs seek to obtain temporary injunctive relief in order to stop the Task Force's ongoing investigation, including the release of a preliminary report that the Task Force had indicated it was intending to release on June 11th pending the Court's consideration of the claims set forth in their complaint. And those claims, at least the ones before me today, challenge the validity of the Task Force and are -- and claiming constitutional and statutory violations of their rights. And it's all against the backdrop of the test the Court has to apply for whether or not an injunction can issue.

There was a considerable background that was -- that was provided to me that underlines the present

controversy, so I am going to take some period of time to go over my reading of the -- of the record that was provided to me.

Tax incentives are something that has -- that have certainly been a matter of public interest around the country in the last couple of years, I think perhaps most vividly by the efforts of Amazon to pick an alternate headquarters. We know what happened in New York. They picked Long Island City, and then there was so much opposition to the tax incentives that were going to be provided, that Amazon said, don't need this, and walked away.

But in New Jersey, we've had our own concerns about tax incentives as a result of the 2013 statute. And it's not just individuals or groups in New Jersey that have raised questions about the tax incentives. The record shows ongoing interest of the Pew Charitable Trust, which has done a nationwide examination of various tax incentive programs throughout the country, and one -- a representative from the Pew Trust was called as a witness in this case.

So, in terms of the -- what led up to the Task Force, the first primary thing was that January 2017, during the Christie administration the State auditor issued a report that identified some problems

with EDA in regard to verifying information in applications and the monitoring of grant recipients. And the -- they did speak about <u>Grow New Jersey</u> grants and that there were -- the auditor was concerned that there were inadequate verification procedures used by EDA in regard to what companies were grant-eligible and whether the jobs that were intended to be retained in New Jersey actually were retained. And a lot of that examination, even though it talked about <u>Grow New Jersey</u>, a lot of it went back to a prior program under the <u>Business Retention and Relocation Assistance Grant Program</u>. But it was -- it's ultimately -- it morphed into, under 2013, the <u>New Jersey Grow</u> and the ERG programs.

One of the things of interest to me in light of what went on here is that the auditor identified projects in the city of Camden as having inadequate documentation. This was back in 2016. And they specifically recommended that the tax credit funding methodology for Camden needed to be -- needed to be examined because it might not be in the best interest of the State. And there was a mention in the report of something that has come up in the testimony before the Task Force, and I don't know that it was in the comptroller's report, but certainly it's come up in the

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Task Force. And that -- I know in the Task Force, there -- there was testimony regarding EDA -- even EDA staff being of two minds as to whether projects in Camden needed to show that jobs were leaving the state in order to be eligible. And some -- some staff said that you didn't have to show that in Camden. you did have to show that you were going to leave the state, but were going to go to Camden instead, but the -- whether you had to show it or not, what I take from the record is that if you could show it, that these jobs were going to move -- in the case of these four plaintiffs, move to Philadelphia instead of to Camden, then you could qualify for higher -- a higher grant or higher incentive -- higher tax incentive. And so, all four of the plaintiffs here, as will come out -- it came out in the testimony, did make representations to EDA in regard to considering Philadelphia as an alternative. And ultimately, then, I believe they all did locate in Camden -- located those jobs in Camden.

EDA had a response to the auditor's report, and you see this theme throughout all of the record here by EDA and others that these tax incentive programs, including Grow New Jersey are complex and they're nuanced. The whole aim is to -- is to support job creation and retention in New Jersey. And the --

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there was a statement even in the EDA response to the auditor that if there's any certification that was submitted to EDA that was false, it could lead to the revocation of tax credits or maybe even criminal civil penalties. So, this was -- this was what the auditor said, and it's shone a light on what -- on what EDA had done back in -- you know, at the time of the Christie administration.

Now, we're dealing with a statute from 2013, and one of the things that's in the record is that New Jersey was one of the states that was the slowest to recover after the recession. And so, there was a lot of interest, and then the legislature adopted the statute in 2013 as part of the -- part of its design to help the -- help the State recover from the recession. And the record shows that tax incentives and tax incentive programs are viewed by everybody as being important and the -- and the investigation is really to see how best should you -- how best should you craft, and then how best should you administer, what kind of checks and balances do you need from the agency that's overseeing these -- these important programs where the amount of money that is being cited is in -- is in the billions of dollars.

So, after the -- after the auditor -- report

of the state auditor, Murphy administration comes in and then it was Executive Order 3 in which they directed the comptroller to do a performance review, a careful performance review of the EDA activities in regard to tax incentives. And Executive Order 3, I believe, was January 19th of 2018 and it -- it then led to -- the comptroller took a little bit longer than what the governor had intended, and the report of the -- the report of the comptroller came in on January 9th of 2019. At least, that's what on the front of the report that I have.

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But in the interim, Governor Murphy, in his budget address on March 13th of 2018, noted that he had directed the comptroller to do a comprehensive performance — performance audit of New Jersey's tax incentive programs. And at least the information that he had — and I'm just stating what was in the — what was in the budget address without saying how accurate it is — in New Jersey, it appeared to him from some data he had that per job, it was about \$160,000 in tax incentives for one job; where Massachusetts, it was \$22,000 per job. And so, he asked the legislature to work on a new program in light of the expiration of the 2013 statute and New Jersey Grow and ERG in 2019.

And so, the next thing then, is the

comptroller report comes out, and it's a lengthy And it really doesn't name -- it really report. doesn't name names. It's really focused on the EDA procedures themselves. It gives some background about the -- you know, about the agency, but it really presents quite a troubling picture of lack of oversight at the agency that was, you know, was directed to get involved with very large amounts of tax credits. the -- they didn't do statistically or scientifically a statistical sampling. They just took 48 projects and looked at the number of jobs, and at the -- what was the benefit to the state. And they -- they went over the Grow New Jersey program and the ERG program, and they, you know, really drilled down with the cooperation of EDA, and the -- they found numerous significant deficiencies in EDA's management and oversight of the incentive programs. I'm reading from the summary of audit results at page 9.

"Key internal controls were lacking or non-existent for the monitoring and oversight of recipient performance. EDA was, thus, prevented from determining whether the incentive jobs were actually created or retained or from ensuring that the awardees had satisfied the incentive program requirements for these jobs. And, in addition, the agency lacks adequate

policies, procedures, and controls to provide accurate and reliable program results."

And then they -- you know, they went through their findings including that according to their review, close to 3,000 jobs had not been substantiated as having been created or retained. And then they went through 21 recommendations to enhance EDA's monitoring and its administration of the -- of the incentive And as I said, they really -- really drilled programs. Some of the things they highlighted was -- you down. know, were -- they looked at certain projects that got incentive rewards under a transit hub program. looked at the economic benefit analysis and how that was analyzed by the EDA underwriters. And they went over the application process and were -- came to the conclusion that certain incentive awards were improperly awarded, overstated and overpaid.

But they didn't identify any particular applicant or any particular awardee who got -- got an award under the program, but they also noted that EDA has not consistently collected sufficient information from recipients regarding the employees who filled the -- filled the jobs, and again, failed to implement appropriate controls to properly verify the recipient reported tax data used in determining the actual award,

and failed to take action when recipients failed to meet the terms of their award agreements. And a couple — it was only one <u>Grow New Jersey</u> recipient, but a couple from the earlier program failed to meet the employment levels as required by their award letters. And they did note that EDA has not taken any action to recapture any part of the tax incentives that may have been improperly — improperly awarded. And the — again, they had all the — all these recommendations that — some of which I've gone through.

EDA had a response to the -- to the comptroller report and were committed to making changes, although they defended a number of the things that had been cited in the report. And in the appendix to the report, the -- was a -- they -- the comptroller included a report to the governor's office prepared by Rutgers University to -- in analyzing Grow New Jersey and ERG tax incentive programs. And the -- you know, the concern that there was -- so many projects have been approved.

There was a very substantial offset to the corporation business tax and premium tax, so that New Jersey would be receiving much less tax income going forward as a result of the large number of recent awards. And they were critical of the long lead time

associated with the <u>Grow New Jersey</u> and ERG projects, and the South Jersey project funding was concentrated in Camden and other projects were in the north, more populous counties of the state. And some incentives may be more generous than intended by the statute. And Rutgers then recommended the -- you know, that there be a closer look at the program and looked at the cost benefit -- Rutgers looked at the cost benefit analysis.

And there was also reference to the work of the Pew Charitable Trust, an independent non-profit organization, that had issued a report in May 2017, which assessed how states were -- were formulating and applying tax incentive programs. And New Jersey was noted in the Pew Charitable Trust analysis as trailing other states, because it lacked a plan for the regular evaluation of tax incentives. I think this was coming out of the Rutgers report, though, and not out of a separate report from the Pew -- from the Pew Charitable Trust. But then there was a list of other states that Rutgers was suggesting should be -- should be -- their processes should be looked at by New Jersey.

So, then we come to Governor Murphy getting the report from the comptroller, and then very quickly thereafter, within about ten days I think it was, issuing Executive Order Number 52. I think it was

January 19th of 2019. And so, in the executive order -- oh, this is January 24th of 2019 -- he goes through the -- his concern about the state comptroller's performance audit revealing grossly inadequate compliance and enforcement efforts that failed to ensure that the tax incentive programs were operated to the benefit of New Jersey's economy and were lacking the key internal controls. He mentioned the 3,000 jobs that couldn't be substantiated and highlighted a number of the things that I've already quoted from the comptroller's report. And he noted that the programs, Grow New Jersey and the Economic Redevelopment and Growth programs, the EDR -- ERG, excuse me -- were scheduled to expire on July 1st and wanted this Task Force to examine the program -- programs and to help inform lawmakers about whether and in what form the programs should be renewed and the types of controls that are needed both in law and in practice.

And then he established the Task Force to conduct an in-depth examination of the deficiencies in the design, implementation and oversight of <u>Grow NJ</u> and ERG, including the problems identified in the state comptroller's audit, and to make recommendations regarding future oversight and future -- future legislation. And the Task Force was not given subpoena

power. They were referred to the comptroller for subpoena power, and they were directed to seek to obtain voluntary cooperation.

And then as was raised in the colloquy and in the papers here, subsequently in a letter to Ronald Chen in March, the governor provided, at least his view -- March 22, 2019, the governor then said:

"As Governor, I'm authorized to personally investigate or appoint one or more persons to investigate the management and affairs of instrumentalities of the state, such as EDA."

Citing  $\underline{\text{N.J.S.A.}}$  52:15-7 and gave his subpoena power under that statute to -- to Mr. Chen.

And then the next thing was that on March 28th, there was the first hearing — the first public hearing, and there were, you know, introductory statements sort of posing the problem, and one of the — one of the first things that was noted is that the legislation itself did not have enough controls to ensure effective monitoring of the programs by EDA. The statement — beginning statement went over the state auditor report, and then over the — mention of the comptroller report. And they — Mr. Chen noted that the Task Force had sent letters to every company that took tax credits to preserve documents, also to

consultants and lawyers that were involved with the EDA applications, and they now had started to review specific cases.

And you know, they noted that they were going to be hearing from experts making recommendations as to what tax-incentive legislation should look like to better serve the citizens of New -- of New Jersey. They said there was one company that had actually admitted it wasn't in compliance and had -- was planning to repay tax credits of over a million dollars.

And there was a statement made that if any company had included misleading information in its application or any compliance documents, that they — the state might seek repayment, or there may be referral to criminal authorities. And, frankly, that was — that was mentioned, as I said earlier, in the auditor's report as well.

At the first hearing, they did not name names. There was testimony of Ms. Golsen-Comma. (phonetic) She is a whistleblower. She has a lawsuit against her employer. The employer was not named. And she made allegations that the company she worked for had knowingly submitted false information to EDA in order to get the tax incentives. It was noted that --

on the record that the Task Force had extended to that company the chance to submit a written statement giving their perspective, but that the company had not submitted anything.

The second witness was Philip Degnan, the comptroller, and he was -- you know, he was questioned about the report of the comptroller and how it was critical of the EDA reliance on recipient reported data without adequate need for verification. And it was raised with him that there were certain inconsistencies in program administration and lack of compliance. But, you know, the -- Philip Degman did admit that they were enormously complicated programs, and that the comptroller had to review a tremendous amount of data.

The next witness was from the Pew Charitable Trust, a man named Mr. Goodman. They had studied tax incentive programs throughout the country and he was advocating for caps. That the New Jersey -- NJ Grow and the ERG did not have caps. And he was concerned about -- about the need for caps.

And that came up a few times, also by the next witness. I don't know if his name is Whiten or Whiten, W-H-I-T-E-N. He was involved with a group called New Jersey Police Perspective, and he also raised the need for caps. The number -- amount of tax

incentives that had -- New Jersey had issued had gone up and up and up in a short period of time under the 2013 -- 2013 statute. He cited some statistic with a cost per job of approximately \$78,000 with Camden's cost per job. I'm just saying he cited this. it's true or not, I don't know. But he cited -- and it's part of the record in the case -- that per job, it was over \$270,000 for every job that was retained or added in Camden. And he supported tax incentives but says it's important to do it in a way that is -- is more careful, and, again, with caps and, you know, he claimed that the amount of spending on tax incentives since 2009 had gone up tenfold each year. admitted there were benefits from these programs, but concerned about their form, and that it was not -- the current form was not -- you know, really was not serving the citizens of New Jersey well.

He identified Camden as an extra-special bonus category as a very distressed city. It was a target area for the 2013 statute as were a few other municipalities. The ones that comes to mind were Paterson and Passaic, Trenton, and I think later Atlantic City was added. And he advocated giving the statute more teeth, and also that -- you know, that the program was to -- was to show a 10 percent profit for

the state, and that Camden had gotten favorable treatment in terms of just breaking even. There was this net benefit of 100 percent for Camden and for the rest -- for projects in the rest of the state, it was 110 percent.

And that was pretty much it after the May 28th hearing. And then we heard in the colloquy about the subpoenas that were served on the -- at least on the companies here, who are plaintiffs and how they -- they were withdrawn. And for whatever the reasons -- we heard two versions of it -- no material was voluntarily provided by the -- by the four companies who were plaintiffs to the -- to the Task Force.

So, then on May 1st of 2019, the Task Force notifies the plaintiffs here that there may be adverse information that is going to come out about them on the May 2, 2019 hearing. And they would be given a chance to put a statement in for the public record. And it was less than 24 hours' notice. And the companies were identified at the beginning of the May 2nd hearing as entities of concern where there were potential irregularities that would require more investigation. And Mr. Chen did note that they were going to provide names at this hearing for the public record, but that they had notified the individual companies or whatever

in advance, and they could submit sworn statements to be added to the -- to the record. He emphasized that the Task Force was conducting a hearing and not a trial.

And there was discussion about the two different attitudes toward applications from Camden, whether you had to show you were -- the jobs were at risk of leaving New Jersey or just whether the jobs were going to be coming into Camden being -- being enough. And he -- it was identified, the concern about the lack of clarity and consistency with EDA policies, particularly in regard to Camden. And the -- there was a mention by one of the attorneys for the Task Force that there could be potential criminal exposure for any company that was found to have lied to EDA and -- but the Task Force itself does not have any criminal authority. Any referral would have to be made to an entity, state or federal, that had criminal authority.

The Task Force made the representation they weren't drawing any conclusions in regard to breaking the law, that their focus was the level of diligence applied to applications, particularly about jobs moving out of New Jersey and they were going to focus on what EDA did or didn't do to vet the companies' representations.

Then they went over that lawsuit that was filed by that Mr. Succses (phonetic) who was a whistleblower, and that was here in Mercer County. It was eventually a no-cause on the whistleblower piece of it. Summary judgment was granted on the discrimination piece of it. And there was some testimony as to why that lawsuit wasn't brought to the attention of the comptroller. I don't see that it's so relevant to the proceedings today, but that was -- that was one of the topics that came up, and the testimony of Mr. Succses was -- at the trial was summarized by one of the -- one of the attorneys for the Task Force.

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They also heard from another whistleblower, who had filed a lawsuit against her company and claimed that there had been misrepresentations to EDA. That employer had disputed her claims, and so, they decided not to identify that employer. And one of the -- one of the claims this whistleblower made was that there were employees that were hired and then were quickly fired, and that went against the aim of the -- you know, of the EDA to create jobs and retain jobs.

The next testimony was from John Boyd, who is a business location expert. And, you know, he told what a corporation would typically do when you're considering relocating to another property. And this

was the backdrop for the testimony that came out about the four plaintiff companies here. Mr. Boyd talked about the due diligence that the companies would go through, and how they'd look for office space. It would be preferred to have it on contiguous floors, and that there would be quite a bit of documentation, site visits, and things of that nature, if the company was seriously considering moving to another site.

And the Task Force then moved on to the two witnesses that are really at the crux of the complaints of plaintiff, and that is David Lawyer (phonetic) and Tim Lezura, (phonetic) who were both long-term employees of the -- of the EDA. David Lawyer was an underwriter, and he did note that there was no formal training process for EDA underwriters between 2013 and 2017 as to what the statutory requirements were for the projects, but that in his view, everybody that applied for a New Jersey Grow grant had to show that the jobs were at risk of moving out of New Jersey, even if you were going to move into Camden, and that was the -- you know, that was his view.

And then we hear later from Mr. Lezura that there were another point of view that you didn't have to show that if you were going to be taking jobs into - into Camden. So, it was at that point that Mr.

Lawyer was shown applications from Conner Strong, The Michaels Organization, NFI, and Cooper Health, where each one said they were considering a move to Philadelphia and had been represented by the same consultant.

And there were various things brought out of statements regarding -- you know, statements from the press regarding some of the companies showing that they were suggesting that they had intended to move to Camden all along, and they -- there was a, you know, careful review or close review of letters of intent that each of the four corporations had provided in terms of their intending to move to Philadelphia if they did not get the tax incentives.

And there were issues about the timing of the -- of the proposals, you know, that they had lined up for, you know, alternate sites, and whether those proposals had expired before the applications were submitted. And as the -- Mr. Walden took Mr. Lawyer through the various files, Mr. Lawyer said, well, what you're pointing out to me are things that EDA did not vet carefully, and there is doubt now cast about whether these alternate sites were available. And it raised some certain inconsistencies from different filings that were made over the course of the months

when EDA was looking -- was looking at the -- looking at the -- at the applications.

And the -- there was a -- there was a statement that there may be reasons to explain all this. We don't have all the records, but Mr. Lawyer said the underwriters should have done -- you know, should have done more vetting and should have asked -- should have asked more -- more questions and they went through some details on each of the four applications. And the emphasis was -- certainly to some extent was on what the underwriters did or didn't do and the -- whether the documents raised questions regarding the bona fides of the alternate locations.

We then had Mr. Lezura, who testified in a somewhat similar vein, although he noted how Camden --because of its intense poverty -- that there had been a special focus on trying to help Camden even as far back as the McGreevey administration. And the -- he confirmed that 11 billion had been improved in tax incentives, and that he was -- he was supporting a lot of what EDA had -- had done.

And then he was taken through the 2013 legislation, and he had been involved for EDA in reviewing drafts of the legislation. And there were certain parts of the legislation that had been -- had

been changed at the -- you know, towards the final days before it was adopted. I think they said, initially, it had been a 43-page statute. Then it came to -- or bill. It then went up to about 80 pages. But even though the -- Mr. Walden may have been leading Mr. Lezura, Mr. Lezura, you know, at times, he refused to say that changes were put in, you know, for the reasons that Mr. Walden was insinuating. So, I mean, the -- Mr. Lezura, you know, tried to be as -- you know, tried to refresh his recollection. Certain provisions he remembered. A lot of provisions in the statute he didn't remember -- he didn't remember at -- he didn't remember at all.

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And the -- you know, he supported the aim to get people to invest in Camden, given the -- given the extreme poverty that was -- that was there. And the -- he said any role that Parker McCay had in drafting the bill didn't influence how he would apply -- apply the statute, and he's the one who said that for Camden projects, you didn't actually have to show that you were going to move to an out of state location, and he admitted that there were two different interpretations.

The final witness was someone named Brandon McCoy (phonetic). And he noted that it's not unusual for legislators to seek expert advice from attorneys or

experts in a field when they are drafting bills, but that it -- it should have -- have had -- I think he said there should be more -- there should be more monitoring.

So, that was the -- that was the testimony that came out and the four companies and Mr. Norcross were named. And then quickly thereafter on May 21st of 2019, the complaint was filed by the -- by the plaintiffs as an action for declaratory relief to invalidate the Task Force for lack of gubernatorial authority, and for where we had much of the argument on the merits here -- here today. And then if -- if the Court did not accept that argument, the complaint went on to say that the -- the plaintiffs were denied the statutory right -- their statutory rights under -- what is it, 52:15-7, and -- so, let's see.

Count 1 is a declaratory judgment that all executive actions taken to create and empower the Task Force pursuant to 52:15-7 are invalid, and the Task Force is unlawful. And count 2 is for a declaratory judgment that 52:15-7 doesn't authorize an investigation of individuals who are not involved in state government. And 3, that 52:15-7 does not authorize an investigation that denies the plaintiffs the right to cross-examine witnesses and introduce

witnesses and/or otherwise -- and they cited First Amendment and due process guarantees.

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And so, when the -- when the Task Force set another hearing for June 11th and noted that they would be -- they would be releasing a preliminary report, that's when the application came in for -- for a temporary restraining order. And I should note that after the May 2nd hearing, the -- there were -- was extensive publicity on the testimony regarding these four -- these four companies, and Mr. Norcross and Parker McCay and the plaintiffs provided many citations from the New York Times, from Politico, from NJTV News, from ProPublica, from the Philadelphia Enquirer, from WNYC. There were many, many -- many articles, and I printed some of them and reviewed them and there was -there certainly was negative -- negative coverage in regard to -- regard to the testimony that had come out at the May 2nd hearing.

And in the course of the record provided to the Court, it's now -- the legislature and the senate have determined that they're going to do their own hearings, and there was some news coverage that the attorney general may be looking at a grand jury investigation as well.

But what we're about today is the application

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to stop the Task Force from -- from issuing a report and from holding more meetings and from continuing its work while this -- while this action is pending. so, a temporary restraint, a lot of the case law also deals with injunctions, and to issue a restraint is really one of the strongest weapons at the command of a Court of Equity. It's been noted to that effect in Continental Insurance v. Honeywell Insurance, 406 N.J. Super. 156 at page 186, an Appellate Division case from 2009. So, the courts are told to grant it sparingly with great care, to apply discretion, and to take into account the well-known, four-part test that is established in Crowe v. De Gioia, 90 N.J. 126, and has been, you know -- other cases include Waste Management of New Jersey v. Union County Utilities Authority, 399 N.J. Super. 508.

And in terms of the -- in terms of the actual -- actual test, the -- you have to find that:

"The moving parties have demonstrated a reasonable probability of success on the merits, a balancing of the equities and hardships favors injunctive relief, the movant has no adequate remedy of law, and the irreparable injury to be suffered in the absence of injunctive relief is substantial and imminent, and that the public interest will not be

harmed." I'm just reading from the <u>Waste Management</u> case at page 520.

And the -- one of the tough things for plaintiffs is that each of the factors must be clearly and convincingly demonstrated. And the -- it's -- the Court also went out of its way in the <u>Waste Management</u> case to note that a court may withhold relief despite a substantial showing of irreparable injury in the public interest, and that the public interest is typically given more weight than private -- than private interests. And that's something that is guiding the Court's -- Court's analysis here.

In terms of irreparable harm — and we had Mr. Marino go through four different categories of irreparable harm, the Court has been concerned throughout this review of these papers about the fairness element of all this. I mean, that's not one of the four categories, but, you know, is this process fair? I mean, that's the essence of — that's the essence of due process. And when you're looking at injunctive relief of harm to reputation, it's something — reputation is — is something that is protected in New Jersey, as I mentioned in the colloquy, even — even more than under — you know, under federal, you know, federal law through, you know, <u>Doe v. Poritz</u>, 142

 $\underline{\text{N.J.}}$  1. So that constitutional issues arise when reputations are at stake.

But when, you know, -- you can have the concern of reputation, but it doesn't always translate to -- into, you know, into due process rights in terms of being -- giving the person whose reputation is at stake, entitlement to, you know, to trial-type protections and a adjudicatory hearing. And the court has to balance their interests and the -- and the interests of the -- and the interests of the public.

So plaintiffs have certainly raised continuing concern about their reputation and damage to reputation is -- is something that can be viewed as And when you look at whether the issues irreparable. present a legally-settled right, we have declaratory judgment brought by the plaintiffs in the underlying complaint saying that the statutes of New Jersey and the constitution of New Jersey and the Federal Constitution in terms of all the constitutional rights to due process, we want a declaratory judgment that those -- all those rights apply here and require that the -- the Task Force be shut down permanently, and then at this stage, they're saying, Judge, we can -- we can show a likelihood of success on the merits, and we can also show that the balance of hardships is in our

favor and not in favor of the Task Force.

Certainly, they're -- you know, that whole settled legal right is something that -- that I think is often given courts a little bit of a problem in, you know, is there a valid cause of action here? Yes, there's a valid cause of action here under the <a href="Declaratory Judgment Act">Declaratory Judgment Act</a> to declare the rights and interests of the -- of the plaintiff. So they meet that aspect of the test.

The two pieces that are tough for the plaintiff to meet here -- and all of them have to be proven -- are the likelihood of success of the merits and the public interest and the balance of the public interest in the context of what is -- the Task Force was directed to do, and the plaintiffs' individual interests in their -- in their reputations.

And one of the -- one of the problems for a court in applying its discretion here is we're at the beginning of the case, and so -- but plaintiffs have sought a preliminary injunction that requires the Court to look at a likelihood of success on the merits at this early stage. So my reaction -- you know, my view of the merits is a view of the merits at this early stage, but I can't say that there's a likelihood of success on the merits that's been shown by plaintiffs.

I find that the -- the two affordable housing case decisions, both by Judge Carchman and also by the Supreme Court, dealt with a very different statute than what's before the Court here. And in the attempt to bring this case under those, you know, those statutes, I just find unconvincing at this point. Can you convince me in the future? Maybe you can, but I have to look now at your likelihood of success on the merits that the governor does not have the authority to have a task force to investigate an "in, but not of" entity, like the EDA that has made awards of billions of dollars, and where that have been a state audit report and a comptroller report that have raised significant irregularities that -- that go to the interests of the -- of the State of New Jersey.

And the argument about supervision versus control, you can make these arguments, but what the --what Judge Carchman and the -- and the Supreme Court were doing was looking at the Executive Reorganization Act where the governor wanted to abolish an independent agency, abolish it, get rid of it. And they drilled down on what the statutes -- on what the statutes were, both the COAH-enabling legislation and on the Reorganization Act. And they did get into a discussion of "in, but not of" agencies -- "in, but" -- yeah, "in,

but not of" entities and what they would -- you know, whether or not the governor could abolish it. And in the context of abolishing an agency, both the Appellate Division and the Supreme Court said it wasn't something that the governor could do, because it was -- they were "in, but not of" gave a certain independent status.

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To me, at this point early on, the -- that analysis really doesn't transfer easily or convincingly to N.J.S.A. 52:15-7. We're not talking about abolishing an agency. We're talking about looking at -- looking into serious problems that independent entities, the auditor and the comptroller have confirmed and asking this Task Force to look further and then to propose legislation to prevent -- you know, misuse of these tax incentives in the future.

And to me, it's very telling that the statute 52:15-7 was adopted in 1941. It was well before the Constitution of 1947 that directed that all -- that there be only 20 -- no more than 20 principle departments to get all these various boards, commissions and so forth under some centralized management. And as I mentioned in the colloquy, to me, it was somewhat persuasive that the board of -- you know, the Public Utility Commission that was mentioned, I believe, in -- maybe in that footnote -- in that

footnote 2 that we were talking so much about -- well, maybe not there, but it was -- it was mentioned -- yeah. It was mentioned in footnote 2. It was a commission. And so, in 1941 the legislature authorized the governor to look into a quasi-independent agency, the board of -- which would include the Public Utility Board, as part of department, board, bureau or commission of the state.

And so, it's -- I was -- you know, I'm not convinced at this point. You know, as I said, all I have to do is look at likelihood of success on the merits, but when I looked at the -- at the legislation and the case law, it wasn't -- it wasn't persuasive to me at this point. I mean, we're talking about the governor, you know, exercising supervisory responsibility to some extent under the Constitution, because he didn't rely on 52:15-7 in creating the Task Force, but he did to give it the, you know, the additional powers, the subpoena powers and to enforce the attendance of witnesses, et cetera.

So, you know, on count 1, the Court, I said, wasn't convinced. So, I can't -- can't grant a temporary injunction when I have concerns about the -- the likelihood that plaintiffs can prevail.

There's also the -- you know, the -- there

was one point, I think, that Mr. Wells made that, you know, that the governor is given the authority to terminate any employee, which would extend to EDA employees, and how can you terminate without an investigation? I thought that was fairly telling. also, under the EDA statutory -- its own statute, the governor has those -- you know, has the appointment authority, some of which is connected with the approval by the, you know, various legislative -- houses of the legislature, but he also has the power to veto the It was awfully telling to me that even in the -- I mentioned this in the colloquy, but that plaintiff's brief, both of the briefs, didn't even mention the governor's power to veto activity of the And to me, the fact that the governor can veto actions of them, but could not, in his supervisory power, have a task force to look into how they're -how they're administering these critically-important programs for the State of New Jersey, it really -- you know, it really seemed like an incongruous argument. And the fact that there was so much attention

And the fact that there was so much attention paid to that argument here, made me think that some of the other arguments that I thought might be more persuasive for the plaintiffs were almost completely ignored. The fairness -- I mean, we heard some of --

some about that, but there was -- you know, there was really no -- no discussion by plaintiffs of a lot of the case law that was cited in regard to -- you know, in regard to commissions and investigatory commissions versus accusatory commissions. That were -- that case law was important to me in trying to look at the fairness and what the rights of these individuals are versus a State Task Force charged with looking into irregularities that independent entities had identified as being of very significant state interest.

Before I forget, there's also the issue regarding the rights that plaintiffs are — you know, plaintiffs are afforded under the statute itself, they're count 2, and the legislative history that was provided by Mr. Wells, I think is really helpful on that point. The statute itself gives the governor authority to investigate state officers and state departments, boards, bureau or commissions. And so, when they're looking at, you know, when they're doing these investigations at a public hearing, the officer, department, board, bureau, commission or individual under investigation may then have the right of crossexamination. And the legislative history cited by, you know, by Mr. Wells, noted that that when there was a fairly quick amendment to the statute to add the crosse

examination right, it was that the little legislative statement that we have, it's fundamental in a democratic government that any department or board under investigation should have the right to explain or clarify any matter developed before an investigator, and that -- the -- even description of the bill in the legislative index says it provides that investigations of state departments by governor, such departments shall have cross-examine rights of the persons questioned.

And so in terms likelihood of success on the merits, the record at this point causes me to find that plaintiffs' argument based on the statute, 52:15-7 is giving -- giving them the rights of cross-examination is also -- I'm not -- I'm not even -- it's not that I have to be persuaded by it. I mean, when you look at the <u>Waste Management</u> decision, I don't have to be persuaded by it, but if I'm going to enter an injunction stopping a task force from releasing its recommendations prior to the legislature considering changing or -- or extending these programs, I would look for certain claims that would be stronger than what the plaintiffs have put before me here.

So -- and then also, we have the  $\underline{N.J.S.A.}$  52:13e-6 where there was concern about third parties,

about any person who's mentioned, and there's specific reference over to N.J.S.A. 52:15-7, and if there's any -- if any person who is mentioned who believes testimony or other evidence given at a public hearing or comment made by any member of the agency and it was two members of the EDA that were -- that gave testimony or statements made by the council, tend to defame him or otherwise adversely affect his reputation shall have the right either to appear personally before the agency and testify on his own behalf as to matters relevant to the testimony or other evidence complained of, or, in the alternative, at the option of the agency to file a statement of facts under oath relating solely to matters relevant to the testimony or other evidence complained of, which statements shall be incorporated in the record of the investigatory proceeding.

The agency, at first, offered only the opportunity to provide a statement of facts that they would include in the report. They gave it at the very first hearing to the company identified by the whistleblower, Ms. Comma. That was extended to that —to that company, and at least in the record of this case, there was no — no statement submitted on behalf of that company.

For the defendant -- the plaintiffs here,

excuse me, the plaintiffs, who had objected to -- to the existence of the Task Force, objected to the lack of ability to cross-examine, they were extended the right to file a statement of facts, but then in the letter that Mr. Wells read into the record, it was clarified that at the next hearing, they would invite any of the -- any of those four companies to provide witnesses to -- you know, to add to the public -- you know, add to the public record.

And so with all that -- all of what the statutes provided, again, the Court was not convinced that the plaintiffs had made a sufficient case to warrant a finding of likelihood of success on the merits.

And I have to say that there was very little discussion here of cases that were — that were important to the Court in trying to get a handle on this whole sense of fairness. What's fair to these — you know, fair to these — to these plaintiffs? And, you know, the fact that they got notice less than 24 hours before there was going to be negative information about them, that's something that was of concern to me. And then — you know, to hear Mr. Chen, well, say we've been criticized that we haven't been transparent enough, we have to name names. And then today, seeing

Senator Sweeney seemed to be encouraging, name names. You know this -- we want to know what's going on here. It's important for the legislature to understand what the Task Force is looking at.

And you know, it's clear from the legislative history that New Jersey statute was patterned on the Moreland Act, which is a New York statute and there were a couple of cases, Weil v. New York State Commission to Investigate Harness Racing, 205 Misc. 614; 128 N.Y.S. -- I think it may be supplement section -- 2d 874 from 1954. And there was a series of Moreland cases that gave the governor the right to inquire into activities of state agencies and in this, you know, in these -- the two cases that I looked at, subpoena power was really one of the big -- was one of the big issues. And the -- in this Harness Racing case, there were third parties that were called to provide information through these subpoenas to the commission looking at harness racing in the State of New York and the court said that those private third parties had a legitimate connection to the government action under scrutiny.

And to me, the -- you know, the -- any company that applied to tax incentives, they have a legitimate connection to the Task Force activity. And

the -- as I said, in terms of this <u>Weil</u> case, the objection was to -- to the subpoenas and, you know, the court found that if the commission is going to uncover information concerning harness racing in the state, we have to have the information from these people who participate in the industry, and that petitioners enjoy privileges granted under their licenses and their personal connection with harness racing is a legitimate subject of inquiry.

All of these -- the four companies who are plaintiffs, they had -- they applied for grants. They made certifications and submitted them to the EDA. It was the EDA that provided the files to the Task Force. They didn't rely upon the four companies, because the subpoenas were withdrawn and the -- you know, the court in this <u>Weil</u> case noted that the -- if the subpoenas weren't honored, the investigation might well be stymied upon its threshold.

And then there was a quote from Chief Judge Cardozo from Matter of Edge Ho Holding Company, 256  $\underline{\text{N.Y.}}$  374, that -- noting that if subpoenas are to be quashed upon speculation upon forecasts of the testimony and its probable importance, their activity, the investigation would be paralyzed. And so in any event, the court upheld in that Weil case the subpoena.

In another case under the Moreland Act, New York Republican State Committee v. New York State Commission on Government Integrity, 138 Misc. 2d 790; 525 <u>N.Y.S.</u> 2d 527 from 1988, a more recent decision. The other one, I think, was 1954. There was a Moreland Commission investigation with -- where subpoenas were issued to third parties, and they were political parties. And the aim of the commission was to investigate instances of corruption in the administration of government, and particularly, in regard to certain election laws. And so, these were subpoenas that were to the political parties looking into the efficacy of the existing laws to promote confidence in government and further the public interest.

And there was — there was concern and the commission raised concern about misconduct of how certain funds were handled by both political parties. They subpoenaed both the Democrats and the Republicans. The Republicans objected, as saying the commission overstepped its legal authority, because they had issued subpoenas to entities that were not department, board, bureau or commission of the state, and that the subpoena power should be limited to state entities and not extend to third parties. And the Moreland Act was

then quoted, and it is -- it is similar to the New Jersey statute including the right to subpoena and require the attendance of witnesses.

And they -- they just noted that when you're doing an investigation, under the Moreland Commission statute, it's common to subpoena testimony or documents from non-state entities or individuals whose activities are regulated or directly relate to the laws or state entities under scrutiny. They cite the Weil case and then another one, Schiffman v. Bleakley, 46 N.Y.S. 2d 353, which looked into workers compensation laws, and a physician was subpoenaed.

And the court noted that despite the protestations of the Republican party there, the relationship of that testimony to the mismanagement alleged with the Board of Elections was that the focus of the inquiry was on the Board of Elections, and the efficacy of the laws in existence to promote the -- a confidence in government and to ensure that the State Board of Elections was doing what they -- what they were supposed to do. And the Court said that the petitioner's insistence that they are the focus of the investigation is a misunderstanding as to the purposes of the commission, and they said it was part of the fact finding of the commission, and that the, you know,

it was -- it went on to talk about other inquiries that have been done by the Commission on Government Integrity, and how their fact finding bodies -- and even though the commission may describe possible misconduct, you know, by the time you get to the end of the investigation, it would not necessarily be -- that misconduct would be substantiated.

And there was a claim that the entities that got the subpoenas, that they were issued in bad faith as a means to harass the Republican party, and their subpoenas were issued to both Democrats and Republicans, and it's -- you know, a lot of the kinds of claims that we hear from plaintiffs are reflected in some of these cases looking at the -- looking at the fairness of investigatory proceedings.

There was a First Amendment argument there about chilling effect on free association and rights to privacy, and the court -- the court rejected it, because of the commission showing that there was a legitimate state interest in the -- you know, in the inquiry. And the court there didn't see how requiring the -- the political parties there to disclose their finances would have a chilling effect on any person's First Amendment rights, and the -- so they rejected a First Amendment claim there.

The Court also -- in terms of the due process claims that have been raised by the plaintiffs, the Pelullo v. State Commission on Investigation case at 249 N.J. Super. 336, an Appellate Division case from 1996, and there were several, you know, on the State Commission of Investigation in New Jersey. Another one, In Re: Vitabile, V-O-V-I-T-A-B-I-L-E [sic] 188 N.J. Super. 61 and the -- I think the oldest case of the group, In Re: Zicarelli, 55 N.J. 249 from 1970.

In the <u>Zicarelli</u> case, the appellants refused to answer questions before the State Commission of Investigation even when they got a grant of immunity, and they contended that the statute denied them due process of law and denied them their rights under the Bill of Rights, and the court said that's -- you know, the State Commission on Investigation is not an accusatory body, and that its purpose is to conduct public hearings to ascertain facts. And the State Commission on Investigation was looking into whether there was probable cause to believe a criminal violation had occurred, and the -- under the State Commission of Investigation, the fact finding was to be made public and could include conclusions as to specific individuals.

And, nonetheless, the Court went on and noted

-- cited <u>Hannah v. Larche</u>, which was cited in the <u>Pelullo</u> case also that Mr. Wells was reading at 363 <u>U.S.</u> 420 from 1960. And despite having an investigatory body like the SCI that could make findings public with conclusions as to specific individuals, the court concluded -- and this was the Supreme Court of New Jersey -- the SCI is in no sense an accusatory body with -- an accusatory body. The purpose is to find facts which may be used as the basis for legislative and executive action that arises from a review of the statute itself.

And it noted how the SCI was to make recommendations to the governor and legislature with respect to changes or additions to existing provisions of law. And they found that the right to hold public hearings was not an infraction of any constitutional right of the individuals who were the subject to -- to scrutiny in the course of the SCI public hearings. The court said, we have a typical commission created to discover and to publicize the state of affairs in a criminal area to the end that helpful legislation may be proposed and received needed public support. And that the commission might aid law enforcement in gathering evidence of a crime and transmitting it to the appropriate agency does -- you know, does not turn

it into an accusatory -- an accusatory body. And the aim was to aid the executive branch to obtain information that, in fact, could be provided to accusatory bodies, and the Supreme Court rejected the due process -- the due process claims that had been raised by the plaintiffs there.

You know, and when the plaintiffs or the appellants, in the <u>Zicarelli</u> case claimed that their individual rights, their constitutional rights were denied, the Court said that the answer is that the role of the SCI is not accusatory, and that the rights that were accorded to those individuals are appropriate and adequate in light of the agency's mission and powers.

They noted the governor is a party to the legislative process. He has to give the state of the state each year and can recommend to the legislature measures for approval or disapproval, and they -- you know, they turned back -- the court turned back a separation of powers argument there.

And <u>Pelullo</u>, 294 <u>N.J. Super.</u> 336, the Appellate Division case, the -- you know, the court noted again that the SCI was not an accusatory body, and that their aim was to make investigations and then submit recommendations to the governor and the legislature as to changes in the law. And there, the

plaintiff was given notice and the right to submit a sworn affidavit. And that is similar to what was accorded plaintiffs here, although they were also -- have also been accorded the right to provide witnesses and testify, not just the -- not just the five minutes.

But many of the decisions rely upon -- you know, frankly, before I leave Pelullo, the -- there were the -- there were -- the SCI released a report about organized crime in bars, which referenced the plaintiff regarding a threat that the plaintiff was alleged to have made against an individual, and there were a lot of details here about a number of individuals and actions that they took that could lead -- potentially lead to criminal prosecution and again, claims of violation of federal and state constitutional rights, allegation that the plaintiff's reputation was harmed when the SCI published its report about this threat, and he also urged that he was entitled to confront and cross-examine the person who had given the information under the -- under subpoena. And, you know, the court went on to say that due process is not a fixed process -- I'm sorry -- a fixed concept, but a flexible one. It depends upon the particular circumstances, and they found that the SCI did not require trial-type rights to be afforded to individuals

who were the subject of fact finding to the end that helpful legislation may be proposed and received needed public support.

They made the point that there wasn't an adjudication that plaintiff was guilty of any crime, and they don't have any -- that the SCI doesn't have the right to do -- to pursue a criminal indictment, neither does the -- neither does this Task Force. And the court found that we don't perceive that the SCI puts aside its investigative role in favor of an accusatory one when it reports on plaintiff's activities in this manner in its report.

The question was, was defendant given due process in the investigative report. He was given an opportunity to respond by sworn affidavit, which would be included in the report. Plaintiff argues that he was entitled to the full panoply of rights for one who has been criminally accused, and the court said no. The sufficiency of the process is appropriate for a non-accusatory investigative body, and that they went through a balancing of the governmental interests against the private interests and found that information that's readily available to the public that the -- the individual identified by the SCI can't expect it to remain private, and it's generally not

within the ambit of constitutional protection.

So these were EDA documents, documents submitted by plaintiffs to the EDA that were the subject of examination of two EDA officials as to whether red flags on the -- that appeared to be in the documents would be -- you know, should have given rise to more intense vetting and the -- the court noted that -- acknowledged the <u>Doe v. Poritz</u> case, but said we're convinced the nature of the information disclosed, when balanced against the strong state interest in disclosure to inform the government and public as to organized criminal activity, entitles plaintiff only to reasonable protection against false and reckless information by means of procedural safeguards without interfering with the investigatory process.

And they rely on <u>Hannah v. Larche</u>, 363 <u>U.S.</u>
420, and then they gave that extensive quote from <u>Hannah</u> about how due process is an elusive concept, and its content varies according to specific factual context. And when governmental action does partake of an adjudication, such as when a general fact finding investigation is being conducted, it is not necessary that the full panoply of judicial procedures be used.

And the court went on to say, I think this may be the section Mr. Wells quoted:

"The investigative process could be completely disrupted if investigative hearings were transformed into trial-like proceedings, and if persons who might be indirectly affected by an investigation were given an absolute right to cross-examine every witness called to testify, that it would divert fact finding agencies from their legitimate duties and would inject collateral issues that would make the investigation interminable.

1 2

"Even a person not called as a witness could demand the right to appear and cross-examine any witness whose testimony or sworn affidavit allegedly defamed or -- defamed or incriminated him, and they could call an unlimited number of witnesses of their own selection. It would make a shambles of the investigation and stifle the agency in its gathering of facts."

And then they went on and found that the safeguards afforded to plaintiff were -- were sufficient.

And the  $\underline{\text{Hannah v. Larche}}$  case, you know, 363  $\underline{\text{U.S.}}$  420, there it was the Commission on Civil Rights was investigating allegations made by individuals who were unnamed about how they had been discriminated against in terms of their deprivation of their right to

vote, and the court found that the Civil Rights Commission investigation was, you know, was not an accusatory commission. It was -- it was an investigatory decision, and that there were different rules of fair play as -- you know, as I just noted. And that the rights claimed by plaintiffs, as the rights claimed by plaintiffs here, are generally only afforded in adjudicatory proceedings. And this is not -- I mean, whether Mr. Chen sat at a bench, it's not an adjudicatory proceeding, and he doesn't have the power to do a criminal indictment. And it's an -- it's not an accusatory -- not an accusatory body. As in the Hannah v. Larche case, the only purpose is to find facts to use as the basis for -- to make recommendations as to how the EDA should be reformed and how the legislation should be -- you know, should be changed.

I don't think I need to go into the <u>Hannah</u> rationale since it was really extensively -extensively quoted in -- in <u>Pelullo</u>, but again, it's this -- the Supreme Court of the United States says this commission does not adjudicate, it does not hold trials, it does not determine anyone's civil or criminal liability. It does not issue orders. It doesn't indict, punish or impose any legal sanctions.

Its purpose is to find facts which may subsequently be used as the basis for legislative or executive, you know, -- or executive action.

And so, you know, after looking at all those cases, I can see why they weren't cited today by plaintiffs' argument, but they were extremely persuasive to me when I was looking at the -- you know, whether or not this was fair and whether I should stop something that was -- that was unfair. You know, I understand. I looked at the newspaper articles. result of the commission hearings, there's been a lot of negative publicity. The Task Force is not the media. What the media does is they have their -- you know, their right to what they want to emphasize, but as an investigatory body, the -- and not an accusatory body, the plaintiffs' view the body as an accusatory The actual testimony was a small part of the total testimony taken by the commission. It was done in the context of dealing with the underwriter and the -- and one of the executives from EDA as to with the underwriter, what should -- shouldn't the agency have looked at this more carefully. And the underwriter said, yeah, I think you're right. They should have looked at some of these inconsistencies. And then with Lezura, they were looking at the statute and how it was

changed at the last minute and concerns about provisions that were put in, and frankly, we have the - you know, we have a Task Force that has to make recommendations as to what should be included and what should not be included.

The main -- the last piece, though, is that when the Court balanced the interests of the private parties, I think the case law that I've cited shows that the public interest weighs out over -- over the private interest when you are dealing with an investigatory body established in the public interest. And we have an entity that is -- we have Task Force that's on the cusp of providing a preliminary report based upon their fact finding, based upon these two hearings.

And whether or not the legislature does anything with it, I've looked at the statutes that were included in the appendix provided by the parties. Their proposals may be the ones that are in there, maybe others, to give some extension to these two programs, NJ Grow and ERG, but frankly, the public interest is that this Task Force be allowed to report before there is a -- before there's a vote in the legislature. It may not affect the legislators one way or the other. I don't know. I can't predict that, but

I think the public has a right to know what the -- what the Task Force has found so they can contact their legislators if they want.

I mean, I do these OPRA cases all the time. Open Public Records, Open Public Meetings Act and New Jersey is committed to public participation. Here's a Task Force that was initiated after two independent findings of significant problems with the EDA and a Task Force that was asked to make recommendations as to legislation. And to stop the Task Force at this point when they -- as I said, they have a preliminary report, balancing the public interest, it weighs -- it weighs against the temporary restraint sought by plaintiffs.

And if I didn't mention it earlier, I'll mention it again. I think I did mention it. That in that Waste Management case on public -- you know, on the -- how you weigh the public interest, the Court noted that even where there is irreparable harm, the public interest can trump private interests, and the public interest behind this Task Force and its being continued to do -- being able to continue to do its work, to me, at this early stage of the proceedings, is -- goes -- the balance goes in favor of continuing the Task Force, letting its report go out to the public and the legislature or the governor doing whatever --

whatever they determine is appropriate under the circumstances. So for all those reasons, the Court will deny the application for temporary restraints.

And we'll endeavor to get an order up on eCourts within the next hour or so, so that the plaintiffs' appellate rights can be pursued as earlier as later tonight.

Anyway, thank you for your patience. I warned you it would be long, but I do believe the issues were serious enough to warrant the extensive -- the extensive oral opinion of the Court.

Thank you very much. Good night.
UNIDENTIFIED MALE ATTORNEY: Your Honor, -THE COURT: Is there something else?
UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER: Could we -- I
want to understand what I'm permitted to do

want -- I want to understand what I'm permitted to do.
I don't want --

THE COURT: There's no stay.
UNIDENTIFIED MALE ATTORNEY: Okay.
THE COURT: There's no restraint against the

issuance of a report or the conducting of further hearings.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE ATTORNEY: Thank you. (Proceedings concluded.)

## CERTIFICATION

We, MARY C. ZAJACZKOWSKI, THERESA PULLAN and CHRISTINE JENKINS, the assigned transcriber, do hereby certify the foregoing transcript of proceedings on CD, playback number 1:42:17 to 6:56:00, is prepared in full compliance with the current Transcript Format for Judicial Proceedings and is a true and accurate compressed transcript of the proceedings as recorded, and to the best of our ability.

/s/ Mary C. Zajaczkowski
MARY C. ZAJACZKOWSKI AOC# 051-AAERT

/s/ Theresa Pullan
THERESA PULLAN AOC# 052-AAERT

/s/ Christine Jenkins
CHRISTINE JENKINS AOC# 056-AAERT
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