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| <p>SUPREME COURT, STATE OF COLORADO 2 East 14th Avenue Denver, CO 80203</p> | <p>SUPREME COURT MAR 31 2008 OF THE STATE OF COLORADO SUSAN J. FESTAG, CLERK</p> |
| <p>ORIGINAL PROCEEDING PURSUANT TO § 1-40-107(2), C.R.S. (2007) Appeal from Ballot Title Board</p> | |
| <p>IN THE MATTER OF THE TITLE, BALLOT TITLE AND SUBMISSION CLAUSE FOR 2007- 2008 #61 ANDREW PAREDES, CLARA NEVAREZ AND MARY PHILLIPS, PROPONENTS</p> <p>Petitioner,</p> <p>v.</p> <p>JESSICA PECK CORRY, OPPONENT, AND WILLIAM A. HOBBS, SHARON EUBANKS, AND DANIEL DOMENICO, TITLE BOARD,</p> <p>Respondents.</p> | <p>▲ COURT USE ONLY ▲ Case No.: 08SA89</p> |
| <p>JOHN W. SUTHERS, Attorney General MAURICE G. KNAIZER, Deputy Attorney General* 1525 Sherman Street, 5th Floor Denver, CO 80203 (303) 866-5380 Registration Number: 05264 *Counsel of Record</p> | |
| <p>OPENING BRIEF OF TITLE BOARD</p> | |

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William A. Hobbs, Sharon Eubanks and Daniel Domenico, as members of the Title Board (hereinafter "Board"), hereby submit their Opening Brief.

STATEMENT OF THE ISSUES

1. Did the Board properly refuse to set titles on the ground that it could not discern the meaning and intent of the proposed initiative?
2. Did the Board properly refuse to set titles on the ground that the proposed initiative has more than one subject?

STATEMENT OF THE CASE

On February 1, 2008, Andrew Paredes, Clara Nevarez and Mary Phillips, the proponents ("Proponents), submitted Initiative 2007-2008 #61 (#61) to the Board. On February 20, 2008, the Board, by a vote of 2-1, determined that the content of #61 constituted a single subject and proceeded to set a title. The title set by the Board stated:

An amendment to the Colorado constitution concerning a prohibition against discrimination by the state, and in connection therewith, prohibiting the state from discriminating against or granting preferential treatment to any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in the operation of public employment, public education, and public contracting; preserving the state's authority to take actions regarding public employment, public education, and public contracting that are consistent with the United States constitution as interpreted by the United States supreme

court; and defining “state” to include, without limitation, the state of Colorado, any agency or department of the state, any public institution of higher education, any political subdivision, or any governmental instrumentality of or within the state.

On February 27, 2008, Jessica Peck Corry, the opponent (“Opponent”), filed a motion for rehearing. Opponent contended that #61 contained a deceptive opening sentence, that the measure contained more than one subject, and that the titles did not clearly set forth the true meaning of the proposal.

On March 5, 2008 the Board granted the motion for rehearing. The Board concluded that #61 does not constitute a single subject. The Proponents filed a timely appeal with this Court. A certified copy of the administrative record and a copy of the transcript of the motion for rehearing are attached.

STATEMENT OF THE FACTS

#61 purports to amend the Colorado Constitution to add section 32 to article

II. #61 states:

(1) The State shall not discriminate against or grant preferential treatment to any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in the operation of public employment, public education, or public contracting. Nothing in this section shall be interpreted as limiting the state’s authority to act consistently with standards set under the United States Constitution, as interpreted by the United States Supreme

Court, in public employment, public education or public contracting.

(2) As used in this section, "State" means, but is not limited to, the State of Colorado, any agency or department of the State, and public institution of higher education, any political subdivision, or any governmental instrumentality of or within the State.

SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT

The Board could not determine the true and accurate meaning of #61.

Its first sentence purports to prohibit all types of discrimination and preferential treatment, thereby altering the status quo. Its second sentence reinstates the status quo. Because the Board could not ascertain the true meaning and scope of #61, the Board correctly concluded that it could not set a title.

Even if the true meaning and intent of #61 are discernible, the measure contains more than one subject. It has two distinct and irreconcilable purposes: (1) it seeks to alter the status quo by eliminating all forms of discrimination and preferential treatment by governments in public employment, public contracting and public education; and (2) it seeks to reaffirm the status quo regarding equal opportunity by allowing governments to implement programs that have been deemed constitutional by the United States Supreme Court.

ARGUMENT

- I. **The substantive portion of the measure contains inherently contradictory provisions. Because the Board could not determine the subject of the measure, it properly refused to set the titles.**

The Board is tasked with the responsibility of facilitating the initiative process. *In re Title, Ballot Title and Submission Clause, and Summary for 1999-2000 #104, 987 P.2d 249, 254 (Colo. 1999)*. The Board must: (1) “designate a fair and proper title for each proposed law or constitutional amendment,” (2) “consider the public confusion that might result from misleading titles” and “whenever practical, avoid titles for which the general understanding of the effect of a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ vote will be unclear,” and (3) set titles “which shall correctly and fairly express the true intent and meaning thereof, together with the ballot title and submission clause.” Section 1-40-106, C.R.S. (2007). Before the Board can set a title, it must ascertain the meaning of the language within the measure. *In re Title, Ballot, Ballot Title and Submission Clause, and Summary for 1999-2000 #25, 974 P.2d 458, 467 (Colo. 1999)*. If the Board cannot determine the true meaning of a measure, then it cannot set a title. *Id.*

The substantive section of the measure contains two sentences. The first sentence provides, “The State shall not discriminate against, or grant preferential

treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in the operation of public employment, public education, or public contracting.” This sentence contains a broad prohibition against discrimination and preferential treatment, even if such actions are designed to help those persons or groups in society who may have suffered discrimination in the past.

The second sentence states, “Nothing in this section shall be interpreted as limiting the State’s authority to act consistently with standards set under the United States Constitution, as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court, in public employment, public education, or public contracting.” This sentence seemingly allows the State to implement programs based on race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in public employment, public education and public contracting in a manner which is authorized by the United States Constitution.

The Board struggled to define the exact scope of the measure. In the end, each Board concluded that meaning and intent of the measure was not apparent from the text. Mr. Domenco stated:

I just—it’s clearer to me than ever that this really is the kind of thing that the prohibition against confusing or deceptive, not in the sense of intentionally deceptive but of measures that contain things that the average voter would not—would be surprised and confused by.

It's quite clear to me that that's what is—would happen here. And I mean, the Supreme Court has very clearly said that certain at least racial preferences are constitutional. They use that language. So it doesn't require, really any speculation on our part that the second sentence does something that the first sentence purports to—the second sentence allows something that the first sentence purports to prohibit.

(Tr. March 5, 2008 p. 76, ll.15-25. p. 77, ll 1-5). Thus, “including a blanket prohibition and then essentially a blanket unprohibition in the second sentence, which is what this seems to do, is misleading and will be confusing.” (Tr. March 5, 2008, p.78, ll. 6-9).

Ms. Eubanks reached a similar conclusion:

I don't know if, for folks who are not attorneys, whether or not they will know what the language in that second sentence of subsection 1 will mean and whether or not you have sort of the log-rolling threat because they think they understand the first sentence and perhaps don't understand the—what the second sentence may mean in terms of an exception or preservation of certain types of programs, they may vote for this and then find out, just like in 43, the Court's discussion of they think they're getting rid of the single subject requirement and yet they found out that for certain measures they weren't getting rid of the single-subject requirement. I think there is that potential with this measure.

I think in terms of voters knowing from the language of the measure the effect of a yes or no vote

may be questionable based on the language of the measure itself.

(Tr. March 5, 2008, p. 83, ll. 1-20). Mr. Hobbs concurred:

But I really think this is a very difficult measure for the board to understand. And the Supreme Court has said that if we cannot understand it well enough to set a title, then we cannot set a title. And I don't know how to set a title for this measure, a fair title that expresses a single subject.

(Tr. March 5, 2008, p. 86, ll.2-8)

The plain language of the measure confirms the members' concern that the true meaning of the measure cannot be discerned. The two sentences of the first section of the measure are inherently contradictory. The first sentence prohibits discrimination or preferential treatment. It would preclude the State from enacting or enforcing programs designed to prefer one class of persons over another that are constitutional under the United States Constitution, as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court for any reason.

The California Supreme Court affirmed the absolute nature of the first sentence. In describing wording very similar to the first sentence of the proposed measure here, the Court found that the measure intended to remove all types of distinctions made by governments between groups because ““preferences, for any

purpose, are anathema to the very process of democracy.” *Hi-Voltage Wire Works, Inc. v. City of San Jose*, 12 P.3d 1068, 1083 (Cal. 2000) (quoting dissenting opinion of Mosk, J., *Price v. Civil Ser. Com’n of Sacramento Cty*, 604 P.2d 1365, 1391 (Cal. 1980))

The second sentence, on the other hand, does more than create certain exceptions.¹ It entirely negates the intent and purpose of the first sentence. It permits implementation by governments of a broad range of curative programs authorized by the United States Constitution. (Tr. March 5, 2008, p. 61, ll. 12-25, p. 62, ll. 1-5). *See Grutter v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 306, 344 (2003) (Ginsburg, J. concurring)

Because the measure, on its face, is inherently contradictory and confusing, the Board could not determine the single subject of the measure. The Board could not reconcile the provisions of the measure in order to determine whether the measure contains a single subject.

¹ An “exception” is “something that is excluded from a rule’s operation.” *Black’s Law Dictionary* (8th ed. 2004) 604.

II. The measure contains two subjects: (1) A prohibition against certain remedies in public contracting, public education and public employment and (2) Authorizing the state to continue to employ such remedies.

The proponent contends that the Board should have set titles because #31 contains only one subject. For the following reasons, the Court must reject this argument.

Colo. Const. art. V, § 1(5.5), which states:

No measure shall be proposed by petition containing more than one subject, which shall be clearly expressed in the title; but if any subject shall be embraced in any measure which shall not be expressed in the title, such measure shall be void only as to so much thereof as shall not be so expressed. If a measure contains more than one subject, such that a ballot title cannot be fixed that clearly expresses a single subject, no title shall be set and the measure shall not be submitted to the people for adoption or rejection at the polls.

The Board must also abide by the single subject rule. Thus, the Board cannot set title for a measure that contains incongruous subjects “having no necessary or proper connection, for the purpose of enlisting in support of the measure the advocates of each measure, and thus securing the enactment of measures that could not be carried upon their merits.” Section 1-40-106.5(1)(e)(I), C.R.S. (2007).

Likewise, the Board cannot set a measure that would cause surprise and fraud to be practiced upon the voters. Section 1-40-106.5(e)(II), C.R.S. (2007).

A proposed initiative violates the single subject rule if “it relates to more than one subject, and has at least two distinct and separate purposes that are not dependent upon or connected with each other.” *In re Title, Ballot Title and Submission Clause for 2005-2006 #55*, 138 P.3d 273, 277 (Colo. 2006)(#55); *In re Title, Ballot Title and Submission Clause for Proposed Initiatives 2001-2002 #21 and #22*, 44 P.3d 213, 215 (Colo. 2002) (#21). A proposed initiative that “tends to effect or to carry out one general objective or purpose presents only one subject.” *In re Ballot Title 1999-2000 #25*, 974 P.2d 458, 463 (Colo. 1999). The single subject rule both prevents joinder of multiple subjects to secure the support of various factions and prevents voter fraud and surprise. *In re Title, Ballot Title and Submission Clause for Proposed Initiative 2001-02 #43*, 46 P.3d 438, 442 (Colo. 2002) (#43).

The Court will not address the merits of a proposed initiative, interpret it or construe its future legal effects. #21, 44 P.3d at 215-16; #43, 46 P.3d at 443. The Court may engage in a limited inquiry into the meaning of terms within a proposed measure if necessary to review an allegation that the measure violates the single

subject rule. #55, 138 P.3d at 278. The Court will “examine sufficiently the initiative’s central theme to determine whether it contains a hidden purpose under a broad theme.” *In re Title, Ballot Title and Submission Clause for 2007-2008*, #17, 172 P.3d 871, 875 (Colo. 2007) The Court will “determine unstated purposes and their relationship to the central theme of the initiative.” #55, 138 P.3d at 278. If the unstated theme is consistent with the general purpose, the single subject requirement will be met. *Id.*

Assuming *arguendo* that the measure can be interpreted, the Board correctly refused to set a title because the measure, on its face, has two subjects. The first sentence prohibits any type of discrimination or preferential treatment based upon race, sex, color, ethnicity or national origin in the operation of public employment, public education or public contracting.

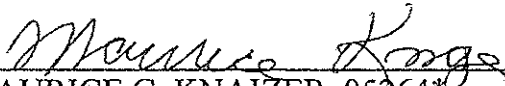
The second subject is a grant of power to governments to authorize discrimination or preferential treatment under designated circumstances. This grant constitutes a separate subject because it contradicts and subsumes the prohibition. While the first sentence prohibits certain actions by governments, the second sentence gives governments the right to discriminate or grant preferential treatment in a manner authorized by the United States Constitution. Because it

negates the first sentence, it effectively creates another subject. The voters likely will be surprised that a measure purportedly prohibiting or eliminating certain programs effectively embeds in the State Constitution the governments' power to create such programs

CONCLUSION

For the above-stated reasons, the Court must affirm the Board's refusal to set titles.

JOHN W. SUTHERS
Attorney General


MAURICE G. KNAIZER, 05264*
Deputy Attorney General
Public Officials
State Services Section
Attorneys for Title Board
*Counsel of Record

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

This is to certify that I have duly served the within **OPENING BRIEF OF
TITLE BOARD** upon all parties herein by depositing copies of same overnight by
DHL at Denver, Colorado, this 31st day of March, 2008 addressed as follows:

Melissa Hart, Esq.
2260 Clermont Street
Denver, CO 80207

Richard A. Westfall, Esq.
Aaron Solomon, Esq.
Hale Friesen, LLP
1430 Wynkoop Street, Suite 300
Denver, CO 80202



A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Daniel Parker", is written over a solid horizontal line.



STATE OF COLORADO

DEPARTMENT OF
STATE

CERTIFICATE

I, **MIKE COFFMAN**, Secretary of State of the State of Colorado, do hereby certify that:

the attached are true and exact copies of the text, motion for rehearing, titles, and the rulings thereon of the Title Board on Proposed Initiative "2007-2008 #61".....

..... IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF I have unto set my hand
and affixed the Great Seal of the State of Colorado, at the
City of Denver this 7th day of March, 2008.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Mike Coffman", is written over a horizontal line.

SECRETARY OF STATE

RECEIVED

FEB 01 2008

10:45 AM
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Final Text
#61

ELECTIONS / LICENSING

BE IT ENACTED by the People of the State of Colorado:

Article II of the constitution of the state of Colorado is amended BY THE ADDITION OF A NEW SECTION to read:

Section 32. Equal Opportunity

(1) THE STATE SHALL NOT DISCRIMINATE AGAINST, OR GRANT PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT TO, ANY INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP ON THE BASIS OF RACE, SEX, COLOR, ETHNICITY, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN IN THE OPERATION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT, PUBLIC EDUCATION, OR PUBLIC CONTRACTING. NOTHING IN THIS SECTION SHALL BE INTERPRETED AS LIMITING THE STATE'S AUTHORITY TO ACT CONSISTENTLY WITH STANDARDS SET UNDER THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION, AS INTERPRETED BY THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT, IN PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT, PUBLIC EDUCATION, OR PUBLIC CONTRACTING.

(2) AS USED IN THIS SECTION, "STATE" MEANS, BUT IS NOT LIMITED TO, THE STATE OF COLORADO, ANY AGENCY OR DEPARTMENT OF THE STATE, ANY PUBLIC INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION, ANY POLITICAL SUBDIVISION, OR ANY GOVERNMENTAL INSTRUMENTALITY OF OR WITHIN THE STATE.

RECEIVED

FEB 01 2008

ELECTIONS/LICENSING
SECRETARY OF STATE

Mike Coffman

Secretary of State

1700 Broadway, Suite 270

Denver, Colorado 80290

February 1, 2008

Dear Secretary of State Coffman:

Enclosed with this letter are the documents required for filing the proposed Colorado Equal Opportunity Initiative (the original initiative as filed with Legislative Council, a red-lined version indicating changes made in response to the review, and a clean copy of the current initiative). The Initiative was filed with the Legislative Council on January 14, 2008. The Legislative Council review and comment hearing on the proposed initiative was held on January 28. The proponents have made technical changes to the proposed initiative in accordance with the recommendations of the Legislative Council. No amendments to the text have been made.

Notices and information concerning the initiative should be sent to Melissa Hart, 2260 Clermont Street, Denver, CO 80207. My phone number is 303-229-5323 and my email is geminimrh@yahoo.com. I can receive faxes at 303-893-8877. I am serving as counsel for the proponents of the initiative.

The proponents themselves include:

Mary Phillips
1837 Albion Street, Denver, CO 80220
Maryphillips1837@comcast.net
303-514-5427; 303-362-8131 (fax)

Clara Nevarez
2915 Baseline Rd. Unit #538, Boulder, CO 80303
Clara.nevarez@colorado.edu

Andrew Paredes
7225 Middleham Place, Castle Rock, CO 80108
ap@redwoodfinancial.net

Please let me know if I can answer any questions or provide additional information.

Sincerely,


Melissa Hart

RECEIVED

BEFORE THE BALLOT TITLE SETTING BOARD
STATE OF COLORADO

FEB 27 2008

ELECTIONS ^{ART}
SECRETARY OF STATE

PROPOSED INITIATIVE 2007-2008 #61

MOTION FOR REHEARING

Jessica Peck Corry, a registered elector, pursuant to C.R.S. § 1-40-107, and through her counsel, hereby moves the Title Setting Board for rehearing of Proposed Initiative 2007-2008 #61.

The proposed initiative is nothing more than a Trojan horse. It is designed to trick voters into believing that they are voting to limit the power of the state to engage in discrimination and preferential treatment when in fact they would be voting for a measure that allows the state to engage in all discrimination and preferential treatment allowed under the United States Constitution. To accomplish this deception, the proposed initiative contains two distinct initiatives wrapped up in one: a purported ban on discrimination and preferential treatment (the first sentence) and the intended preservation of such treatment (the second sentence). This deception violates Colorado's single subject prohibitions, and the title set by the Board, which fails to alert voters to the fact that the proposed initiative does nothing to limit the power of the state to engage in discrimination and preferential treatment, is misleading.

ARGUMENT

I. The Measure Contains a Deceptive Opening Sentence Disguising the True Effect of the Initiative

One of the critical roles of the Title Board is "[t]o prevent surreptitious measures and apprise the people of the subject of each measure by title, that is, to prevent surprise and

fraud being practiced upon voters.” C.R.S. § 1-40-106.5(e)(II) (emphasis added) *In re Proposed Initiative 1997-1998 #74*, 962 P.2d 927, 928 (Colo. 1998) (holding that “[t]he single-subject requirement is intended to prevent voters from being confused or misled . . .”); *In re Proposed Initiative on Parental Choice in Educ.*, 917 P.2d 292, 294 (Colo. 1996) (holding that the “single-subject requirement is designed to protect the voters from fraud and surprise . . .”); *In re Proposed Initiative 1997-98 #84*, 961 P.2d 456, 458 (Colo. 1998) (holding that “the single subject requirement is intended to protect voters against surprise and fraud”).¹

The substance of the proposed measure consists of two sentences. The first sentence provides that “[t]he State shall not discriminate against, or grant preferential treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in the operation of public employment, public education, or public contracting.” The second sentence provides that “[n]othing in this section shall be interpreted as limiting the State’s authority to act consistently with the standards set under the United States Constitution, as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court, in public employment, public education, or public contracting.”

The second sentence of the proposed initiative provides that Colorado may take any action in the area of public employment, public education, or public contracting that the United States Supreme Court has not ruled unconstitutional. The measure expressly permits legislation or other governmental action that supports programs that may have a discriminatory effect. *E.g.*, *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 306, 343 (2003) (allowing the “narrowly tailored use of race in admissions decisions to further a compelling interest in obtaining the educational benefits that

¹ Colorado’s single subject prohibition has special protections against fraudulent and surreptitious measures.

flow from a diverse student body"). This purpose is unquestionably disguised by the addition of a superfluous opening sentence that appears to be designed to 'track' Initiative 31.

At the Board's hearing, Proponents' Counsel was candid that the proposed initiative was one "concerning the prohibition of denial of equal opportunity by ensuring that modest equal opportunity programs remain possible in Colorado." (2-20-08 Hearing Audio Recording, part 3, at approximately 2:50-3:07).² Rather than simply stating this purpose, however, the proposed initiative cloaks it as an exception to a seemingly broad prohibition on discrimination. The measure's first sentence is rendered virtually inoperative by the second sentence, which allows the state to act in any manner consistent with current Supreme Court interpretation. In fact, the only programs which would be prohibited by the proposed initiative are ones that have already been deemed unconstitutional.

The use of this "exception that swallows the rule" is inherently deceptive. The second sentence of the proposed initiative literally swallows the first, rendering it meaningless. The use of complex exceptions to a purported general rule is "the epitome of a surreptitious measure". *In re Proposed Initiative 2001-02 #43*, 46 P.3d 438, 447 (Colo. 2002) (holding that "[t]hose voters in favor of repealing TABOR may vote for this initiative believing that it will permit just this. Only later will they discover that an obscure line in the initiative for which they voted exempts TABOR from the provision apparently permitting its repeal"). "A voter of average intelligence would be surprised to find out that" a ballot initiative that purported to prohibit discrimination and preferential treatment, was craftily drafted to allow the state to engage in discrimination and

² Available at http://www.sos.state.co.us/pubs/info_center/archived_conference.htm.

preferential treatment to the full extent allowed under the United States Constitution. *In re Proposed Initiative 2001-2002 #43*, 46 P.3d 438, 446 (Colo. 2002).³

The Board is not required to interpret the rulings of the United States Supreme Court to reach this conclusion. The proposed initiative is clear that it allows the state to engage in whatever discrimination and preferential treatment is permissible under the United States Constitution. Moreover, the proponents indicated at the Board's hearing that the purpose of the measure is to ensure that "equal opportunity programs" remain possible in Colorado. The Board can find that the United States Constitution has been interpreted to allow preferential treatment in certain circumstances without exceeding its authority to interpret the initiative. Moreover, if the Board does feel that it must resort to interpretations outside of its authority to understand the meaning of the second sentence of the initiative, it must reject the initiative. *In re Proposed Initiative for 1999-2000, #25*, 974 P.2d 458, 465 (Colo. 1999) ("If the Board cannot comprehend a proposed initiative sufficiently to state its single subject clearly in the title, it necessarily follows that the initiative cannot be forwarded to the voters").

Finally, to the extent that the first sentence of the proposed initiative is alleged to serve the purpose of signaling that the state disapproves of discrimination, it is duplicative of provisions already in the Colorado Constitution. "Although the Colorado Constitution does not contain an explicit equal protection clause, equal treatment under the laws is a right constitutionally guaranteed to Colorado citizens under the due process clause of article II, section

³ Ms. Eubanks asked at the Title Setting Hearing whether the second sentence of the proposed initiative should be viewed simply as an exception to the general rule set out in the first sentence of the proposed initiative. Opponents respectfully submit that it is not appropriate to classify as an "exception" something that is, at a minimum, the principal purpose and effect of the measure.

25, of the Colorado Constitution.” *Mayo v. National Farmers Union Property and Cas. Co.*, 833 P.2d 54, 56 n. 4 (Colo. 1992).

Initiative 61 is a surreptitious measure that would practice surprise and fraud on Colorado voters, and, thus, violates C.R.S. § 1-40-106.5(e)(II). The Board should grant rehearing and rule that 61 violates single subject on this basis.

II. The Measure Does Not Constitute a Single Subject Because It Purports to Both Limit and Expand the Power of the State to Engage in Certain Forms of Discrimination and Preferential Treatment

It is well-established that any proposed ballot initiative is limited to a single subject. C.R.S. § 1-40-106.5(e)(I). The proposed initiative, however, contains two subjects. On the one hand, it purports to eliminate the power of the state to engage in certain types of discrimination and preferential treatment. On the other, it purports to allow the state to engage in precisely the same activity to the full extent allowed under the United States Constitution. The joinder of these two distinct measures constitutes fraud on Colorado’s voters and violates C.R.S. § 1-40-106.5(e)(I).

The single subject requirement is to be liberally construed to prevent abuse of the initiative process. C.R.S. § 1-40-106.5(2). “An initiative violates the single subject requirement when it (1) relates to more than one subject and (2) has at least two distinct and separate purposes that are not dependent upon or connected with each other.” *In re 2005-2006 #55*, 138 P.3d 273, 277 (Colo. 2006). Thus, “an initiative may neither hide purposes unrelated to its central theme nor group distinct purposes under a broad theme.” *Id.* “This limitation . . . protects against fraud and surprise occasioned by the inadvertent passage of a surreptitious provision coiled up in the folds of a complex bill.” *Id.* (internal quotations omitted). Thus

initiatives which “bury[] unrelated revenue and spending increases within tax cut language” or “contain[] mandatory reductions in state spending on state programs, which was a purpose both hidden and unrelated to the central theme of effecting tax cuts” violate the single subject rule. *Id*

In this case, the proposed initiative purports to involve both the preservation of “equal opportunity” programs and the elimination of discrimination and preferential treatment in public education, contracting, and employment. Thus, to the extent the proposed initiative is not one in which a single subject is wrapped in misleading and inoperative language, it is necessarily one that relates to more than one subject and has two independent—indeed contradictory—purposes. The Board should grant rehearing and determine that 61 violates C.R.S. § 1-40-106.5(e)(I).

III. The Title Is Misleading Because It Fails To Clearly Inform Voters That The Initiative Will Allow—Indeed Is Intended to Allow— the State to Engage in All Discrimination and Preferential Treatment Allowable Under the United States Constitution

In setting the title for a proposed initiative, the Board is required to “correctly and fairly express the true intent and meaning” of a proposed initiative. C.R.S. § 1-40-106(3)(b). Only by setting a fair title will the Board serve its purpose of “enabling informed voter choice.” *In re Proposed Initiative for 1999-2000 #37*, 977 P.2d 845, 846 (Colo. 1999). In this case, any title set by the Board must clearly inform voters that the intended effect of the proposed initiative is to allow the state to engage in all discrimination and preferential treatment allowable under the United States Constitution in the areas of public employment, public contracting, and public education.

The title set by the Board fails to meet this standard. Because the proposed initiative will not prohibit any discrimination or preferential treatment, the title set by the Board should not refer to such a prohibition. Rather than tracking the deceptive language of the proposed

initiative, the title set by the Board should be clear that the purpose and true subject matter of the initiative is to preserve discrimination and preferential treatment programs in Colorado to the full extent allowed by the United States Constitution.

As presently drafted, the only reference in the title to the fact that the proposed initiative would place no new limits on the power of the state to engage in discrimination or preferential treatment is the clause which notes that the proposed initiative preserves "the state's authority to take actions regarding public employment, public education, and public contracting that are consistent with the United States constitution as interpreted by the United States [S]upreme [C]ourt." While the import of this clause might be apparent to a careful lawyer, lay voters should not be expected to understand and consider the interplay between the Federal and State constitutions or the equal protection jurisprudence of the United States Supreme Court in order to make an informed choice regarding the proposed initiative. *See Dye v. Baker*, 354 P.2d 498, 500 (Colo.1960) (holding that a submission clause employing "legalistic language" had the potential to mislead voters).

In addition, it is impossible to consider the proposed initiative without also considering initiative 2007-2008 #31, which contains very similar language barring discrimination and preferential treatment, but without the "exception" contained in the second sentence of proposed initiative #61. The Board must select a title that allows voters to clearly distinguish between the two very different initiatives. C.R.S. § 1-40-106(3)(b) ("ballot titles shall not conflict with those selected for any petition previously filed for the same election...."); *In re Proposed Initiated Constitutional Amendment Concerning Fair Treatment II* 877 P.2d 329, 332 (Colo. 1994) ("What is prohibited are conflicting ballot titles **which fail to distinguish** between overlapping

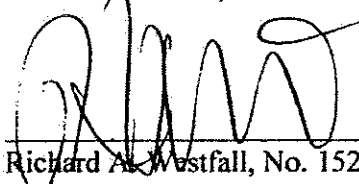
or conflicting proposals"; emphasis added). Initiative 31 is dramatically different in purpose from proposed initiative 61, yet both initiatives contain identical opening sentences. Thus, the title presently set by the Board is fatally flawed; it should omit any reference to the opening sentence of the proposed initiative, not only because it is of no effect, but because such a reference will cause voter confusion.

CONCLUSION

The proposed initiative is designed and intended to "ensur[e] that modest equal opportunity programs remain possible in Colorado." However, the measure appears to have been intentionally crafted to obscure this purpose behind misleading prohibitory language. The Board should either refuse to set a title for this proposed initiative or ensure that the title clearly discloses the purpose and effect of the proposed initiative.

Respectfully submitted February 27, 2008

HALE FRIESEN, LLP



Richard A. Westfall, No. 15295

Aaron Solomon, No. 38659

Ballot Title Setting Board

Proposed Initiative 2007-2008 #61¹

Hearing February 20, 2008:

Single subject approved; staff draft amended; titles set.

Hearing adjourned 2:43 p.m.

Hearing March 5, 2008:

Motion for Rehearing granted; title setting denied on the basis that the measure does not constitute a single subject.

Hearing adjourned 10:57 a.m.

¹ Unofficially captioned “Federal Standards for Discrimination/Preferential Treatment by Colorado Governments” by legislative staff for tracking purposes. Such caption is not part of the titles set by the Board.

1 Initiative Title Setting Review Board

2 Wednesday, March 5, 2008, 9:00 a.m.

3 Secretary of State's Blue Spruce Conference Room

4 1700 Broadway, Suite 270

5 Denver, Colorado

6 Proposed Initiative 2007-2008#61

7 Rehearing

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9

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11 REPORTER'S TRANSCRIPT

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15 Board Members:

16 William Hobbs

Dan Domenico

17 Sharon Eubanks

18 Also Present:

19 Cesi Gomez

20

21

22

23

24 Diane M. Overstreet

Registered Professional Reporter

Certified Realtime Reporter

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A P P E A R A N C E S

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P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. HOBBS: Good morning. Let's go ahead and get started.

This is a meeting of the title setting board in accordance with Article 40 of Title I, Colorado Revised Statutes. The date is March 5, 2008. The time is 9:00 a.m. We're meeting in the Secretary of State's Blue Spruce conference room, 1700 Broadway, Suite 270, Denver, Colorado.

The title setting board today consists of the following: My name is Bill Hobbs, I'm deputy Secretary of State, and I'm here on behalf of Secretary of State Mike Coffman. To my right is Dan Domenico, Solicitor General, who is here on behalf of Attorney General John Suthers. And to my left is Sharon Eubanks, deputy director of the Office of Legislative Legal Services, who is the designee of the director of the Office of Legislative Legal Services Charlie Pike.

Ms. Eubanks will be sitting as the director's designee for the first agenda item, and then for the remaining two agenda items the director's designee will be Dan Cartin, who is also deputy director of the Office of Legislative Legal

1 Services.

2 To my far right is Cesi Gomez from
3 the Secretary of State's office.

4 There are sign-up sheets on the
5 table by the door in the back for anybody who
6 wishes to testify. When you testify, please
7 identify yourself and who you represent, if anyone.
8 The hearing is broadcast over the Internet from the
9 Secretary of State's web site. All of the agenda
10 items today are before us on motions for rehearing
11 for measures that we have heard previously. And
12 I'll go ahead and begin with the first agenda item,
13 which is 2007-2008 No. 61, Federal Standards for
14 Discrimination/Preferential Treatment by Colorado
15 Governments.

16 The motion for rehearing was
17 submitted by Richard Westfall on behalf of Jessica
18 Peck Corey. So I think we should hear from
19 Mr. Westfall first, I believe.

20 If you'd like to come forward and
21 identify yourself, and if you have any -- we have
22 the benefit of your written brief, which we very
23 much appreciate, but if you'd like to highlight
24 that, we'll give you a few minutes to do that as
25 well.

1 MR. WESTFALL: Thank you very much,
2 Mr. Hobbs, and thank you very much, members of the
3 title setting board.

4 I don't want to go back over the
5 ground of the brief. I think we covered that. I
6 think what I would like to do is I would like to
7 stress just how fundamental this violates -- the
8 particular measure that's before you violates
9 single subject under the plain standards as
10 articulated by the general assembly in 106.5 and
11 also, then, how fundamentally unfair and confusing
12 the title is, if we get that far.

13 Again, under the plain language
14 that's set forth in the statute that -- the
15 direction from the general assembly to this title
16 setting board as to how you're to do your job in
17 both determining whether something satisfies single
18 subject in setting a fair and accurate title.

19 Turning to 106.5. In 106.5(e) --
20 I'll start with (2). (e) says, "The practices
21 intended by the general assembly to be inhibited by
22 the single-subject amendment to the Colorado
23 Constitution are to -- are as follows." And I'll
24 go to No. (2) first because that essentially tracks
25 the organization that we did in our brief.

1 This board is -- in making its
2 determination on single subject, this board will
3 look to determine -- to, one, prevent surreptitious
4 measures and apprise the people of the subject of
5 each measure by the title that is to prevent
6 surprise and fraud from being practiced upon the
7 voters.

8 I respectfully submit to all of you
9 that this is the quintessential surprise-and-fraud
10 measure that comes foursquare within this
11 prohibition that the general assembly has laid out
12 for you in making your determination on single
13 subject. What is this designed to do? This is a
14 measure that's specifically intended to swim in the
15 wake of Amendment 31 and to say, guess what, if the
16 voters vote for 31 and prohibit, as a state
17 constitutional matter, discrimination and
18 preferential treatment, then they also approve 61,
19 which is couched in exactly the same language in
20 the first sentence, then we're going to go back and
21 we're going to -- what you're going to do is you're
22 going to protect certain kinds of discrimination
23 and certain kinds of preferential treatment. And
24 it's designed to sort of swim in the wake. It's
25 designed to very much elicit -- to constitute that

1 very surprising fraud.

2 I call the Court's attention to -- I
3 think the one that, really, the case may be the
4 most apposite is the 2001-2002 No. 43 measure,
5 because there -- that's where the proponents, in
6 the guise of, you know, petitions, generally, and
7 petition procedures, specifically, would allow a
8 single -- a single subject to be determined by this
9 board so long as you put it all in one section.
10 And there was a colloquy that was discussed by the
11 Colorado Supreme Court between Charlie Pike,
12 Director Pike, and the proponents of that measure.
13 He said, "Is that what you're really trying to do,
14 is you're trying to say so long as something is in
15 one measure you can satisfy single subject?" And
16 that's what the proponents agreed to.

17 And then the Colorado Supreme Court
18 goes on to say, "But there's other provisions in
19 that measure that were specifically designed to
20 exempt TABOR."

21 So for all of same measure folks --
22 and at least two of you were around at the time
23 that the folks that hated TABOR during the mid
24 1990s were trying to come up with a measure that
25 would globally repeal TABOR -- for those folks that

1 tried and failed because it necessarily violated
2 single subject under that whole line of cases
3 during the 1990s, for those folks, they could say,
4 "Aha, here's is our provision. This is the one
5 that finally allows us to say as long as we have
6 the repeal section in Article 10, Section 20.1,
7 then we're good to go, we can repeal TABOR." And
8 they said, "Aha, not so fast. There's a trick
9 here." Because buried in the folds was an
10 exemption for TABOR. So that you could think that
11 you were voting to repeal a measure that would
12 allow another measure to repeal TABOR globally, but
13 guess what, TABOR was exempted. And that, the
14 Colorado Supreme Court found in No. 43, to be
15 violative of single subject because it practiced a
16 fraud and surprise on the voters.

17 The measure that we're talking about
18 here does virtually the exact same thing. In the
19 guise of saying, "Look, we're going to have the
20 same prohibition of discrimination and preferential
21 treatment, and that's what this measure is all
22 about." But what you're really going to be voting
23 for is to preserve the very preferential treatment
24 and discrimination that 31 is specifically designed
25 to prevent. So under Article -- excuse me --

1 140 -- 106.5(e)(2), this clearly -- this particular
2 measure clearly violates single subject because it
3 purports (sic) on the people of the state of
4 Colorado surprise and fraud. And for that reason
5 it should be stricken on single subject.

6 Let's turn to (e)(1). (e)(1) talks
7 about forbidding the treatment of incongruous
8 subjects in the same measure and thus securing the
9 enactment of measures that could not be carried
10 upon their merits. And that's something that this
11 title board is also to prevent from happening.

12 What does incongruous mean? As I'm
13 preparing for this, I went back and actually looked
14 up incongruous. I thought I knew what it meant.
15 But it means, among other things, inconsistent.
16 That's one of the principal definitions.

17 I respectfully submit to you that a
18 measure that's specifically intended, its very
19 purpose to preserve and protect preferential
20 treatment and discrimination in certain contexts.
21 That is inherently inconsistent, patently
22 inconsistent with the first sentence of the
23 measure, which specifically says it's -- you know,
24 that essentially tracks 31, you know, prohibit
25 discrimination and preferential treatment.

1 And I would respectfully submit
2 further that this measure was very cleverly
3 calculated and designed the way it was to sort of,
4 again, swim in the wake of 31 and the overall
5 general -- if there's an overall voter sentiment
6 for prohibiting preferential treatment and
7 discrimination, that that's -- that's what they
8 want to hook their wagon to. That's what they want
9 to make sure that they can be part of so that when
10 the voters say, "Oh, yeah, this is a variation on
11 the theme, this is just another kind of prohibiting
12 discrimination, preferential treatment, I'll vote
13 for that one too, I want to vote for that one, I'll
14 vote for 31. Great." But that's getting -- that's
15 something that -- that's securing the enactment of
16 61 that could not be carried on its own merits.

17 I respectfully submit that if they
18 want to go ahead and have a competing measure that
19 says, "We want a measure that will specifically
20 protect whatever government programs are out there
21 that the United States Supreme Court would say are
22 constitutional but constitute preferential
23 treatment and discrimination that would otherwise
24 be prohibited by 31," great. Articulate it, submit
25 a measure. One subject. Say, "That's the vote we

1 want," and submit it to the voters up or down on
2 that one. But don't hide it. Don't put it
3 cleverly behind a measure that's designed to track
4 31 but then do something exactly the opposite.

5 And so for that reason, both under
6 just simple (e) (1) and (e) (2), we respectfully
7 submit that this particular measure violates single
8 subject and would request that the board reverse
9 its decision and refuse to set a title on that
10 basis. And I would like to stop on that, maybe get
11 on with whether the title is fair and accurate.

12 MR. HOBBS: Mr. Domenico?

13 MR. DOMENICO: Does your argument,
14 then, depend on the relation of this measure to 31?
15 I mean, if there were no 31, would you think that
16 this measure, as written, satisfies the
17 single-subject requirement, or is your argument
18 dependent on the confusion created by the
19 relationship of the two measures?

20 MR. WESTFALL: The latter. I think
21 it's greatly exacerbated by the fact that it's
22 being done specifically to, you know, deal with 31
23 from the proponents of 61's perspective. But
24 that's an exacerbation. Clearly the way -- this is
25 a trick. 61 is a design trick. It violates 106.5,

1 you know, (e) (1) and (e) (2) on its face
2 irrespective of 31's existence. I just think 31
3 grossly exacerbates the situation.

4 MR. DOMENICO: So your argument that
5 does -- to the extent your argument does depend on
6 31 -- well, maybe -- I guess that answers part of
7 my question. But to the extent that your argument
8 does depend on how this relates to 31, I think you
9 got into this a little bit, but you're not arguing,
10 are you, that simply because 31 got here first,
11 that then, basically, the people who disagree with
12 31 are kind of forbidden from submitting a measure
13 that would counteract it or counteract part of it,
14 are you?

15 MR. WESTFALL: Not at all. It's the
16 fraud-and-surprise aspect. It's the misleading
17 aspect. It's the putting two measures, you know,
18 one sort of -- that mirrors 31 but then one that is
19 directly opposite, which would violate (e) (1), and
20 then hitching its wagon to the same concept. That
21 violates (e) (1) irrespective of 31's existence.

22 MR. DOMENICO: I think that's all I
23 have.

24 MR. HOBBS: Ms. Eubanks?

25 MS. EUBANKS: Mr. Westfall, although

1 you weren't explicit in your motion for rehearing,
2 when I'm looking at the test that the Supreme Court
3 has established in terms of the single-subject
4 requirement, that it says that basically one
5 subject and then not more, you can't have two or
6 more purposes unrelated or unconnected. It seems
7 like both of the arguments that you're making sort
8 of relate more to the second prong of the test.
9 Would you say it's fair to characterize your
10 argument that both the first and the second
11 sentences of the measure before us, No. 61, relate
12 to a single subject, that being -- I don't know how
13 you want to couch it, whether it's discrimination
14 or preferential treatment on the basis of certain
15 characteristics, that the two sentences relate to
16 that general subject, but in terms of your
17 arguments of relating to voter fraud being
18 misleading, that those arguments go primarily to
19 the second prong of the test?

20 MR. WESTFALL: I'm not sure I would
21 agree with you, Ms. Eubanks, and here is the reason
22 why. Because I really do think this is a situation
23 very much analogous to -- I think, in answer to
24 your question, I turn back to the -- in the -- was
25 it '97-'98 -- it was the No. 84 case, I think it

1 was '97-'98, and that was the Douglas Bruce tax
2 cut, you know, let's keep reducing local taxes, and
3 to the point where, in actuality, there's a
4 separate purpose. It's all under the same context.
5 I'm trying to analogize it to where I think your
6 question is coming from, Ms. Eubanks. It's all
7 under the context of tax policy, of reducing local,
8 you know, local tax revenue. But there was a
9 necessary subject in effect or separate purpose, if
10 you will, that the Colorado Supreme Court looked to
11 and struck it down on that basis, because it was
12 also going to end up cutting State programs,
13 because the State had to backfill that and it was
14 going to -- cause less revenues. It was going to
15 cause less revenue by the State, potential cutting
16 of programs by the State.

17 All of that still comes within the
18 general rubric, as I think I'm understanding your
19 question correctly, with sort of the tax policy and
20 revenues generally at the state and local level.
21 And so that's certainly a general subject.

22 But getting back to this particular
23 situation that we're dealing here with, this
24 particular measure, what we have is we have
25 something that's designed to preserve preferences

1 and discrimination and in the same measure that --
2 something that's designed to prohibit. And so the
3 fact that it's under the general rubric of
4 discrimination and preferential treatment doesn't
5 protect two completely separate purposes. And I
6 think the Colorado Supreme Court is clear on that,
7 when one purpose is to preserve certain programs
8 and the second sentence -- and the first sentence
9 is designed to ostensibly -- and I stress that word
10 "ostensibly" -- prohibit those same discrimination
11 and preferential treatment measures.

12 MS. EUBANKS: If I could, I do have
13 a couple of questions relating to the case you
14 cited, the No. 43, dealing with the -- sort of the
15 elimination of the single-subject requirement but
16 still preserving sort of single-subject requirement
17 for certain types of measures, TABOR, as well as
18 anything else that the Court may have found to
19 previously constitute multiple subjects.

20 And although this case was a
21 completely different situation because you had a
22 very lengthy measure that had a lot of different
23 components to it in contrast to this measure, which
24 is much simpler, at least in terms of length --

25 MR. WESTFALL: Complexity is not

1 necessarily defined, Ms. Eubanks, by the number of
2 words.

3 MS. EUBANKS: I understand that.
4 But in terms of this measure, at least on its face,
5 doesn't seem to have as many components as what was
6 at issue in 43.

7 MR. WESTFALL: You may be right on
8 its face but, again, I'm not sure I'm going to buy
9 your assumption. Because I think when you get into
10 what does the deferring to the United States
11 Supreme Court's interpretation of the United States
12 Constitution mean in this context, that's very
13 complex and it's very sophisticated and it has --
14 while it may be -- while that concept may be
15 articulated in a very relatively few number of
16 words in the measure, I would submit that it's
17 equally as complex and equally as comprehen- -- you
18 know, equally as broad and all-encompassing, if you
19 will, as analogous to what was at issue in 43.

20 MS. EUBANKS: And I don't disagree
21 with you in that regard. I think the difference --
22 you know, especially when the Court talks about
23 voter fraud and surprise, they talk about it in the
24 context of something being hidden because of the
25 length or complexity. And I think in 43, part of

1 the issue there was the length, as well as
2 complexity, whereas in 61, perhaps it's more
3 complexity than based on length itself.

4 MR. WESTFALL: I would agree with
5 that.

6 MS. EUBANKS: Okay. But going to
7 the discussion in 43, specifically about the
8 elimination of the single-subject requirement and
9 then the preservation of single-subject requirement
10 for certain types of measures, I found it
11 interesting that what was at issue there in a way
12 is very similar to how -- one manner in which I
13 characterized 61 at our last meeting in terms of a
14 prohibition, in a sense, and an exception, that
15 that's sort of the way 43, that issue, was placed.
16 It basically was eliminating the single-subject
17 requirement but making an exception to the
18 elimination of that requirement in terms of
19 preserving that requirement in terms of certain
20 measures.

21 And I would be interested in, you
22 know, the Court talked about the effect of
23 preserving the single-subject requirement in 43 in
24 the context since the Court had previously held
25 certain types of measures, including TABOR,

1 constituting multiple subjects, and that the
2 language of 43 would preserve that.

3 They talked about it in terms of
4 constitutionalizing that precedent, that judicial
5 -- that although it wasn't changing anything in
6 regard to the rule of law that the Court had
7 previously established through various decisions,
8 that they viewed that that was being --
9 constitutionalizing that judicial interpretation.
10 Would you say that in 61, because of the nature of
11 the second sentence, that it's dependent on the
12 interpretation of the United States Supreme Court's
13 interpretation of the U.S. Constitution, would you
14 say that the second sentence perhaps has that same
15 effect of constitutionalizing whatever has been
16 judicially allowed in terms of equal opportunity,
17 preferential treatment, similar types of programs?

18 MR. WESTFALL: I think, if I
19 understand your question correctly, the answer is
20 yes. And here's why. Because it's
21 constitutionalizing, it's putting in our state
22 constitution, essentially, a delegation to -- it's
23 saying whatever constitutional limitation either
24 we're doing in 61 or, again, coming back to 31,
25 that prohibits discrimination and preferential

1 treatment, then what we're doing is we're going to
2 constitutionalize, we're going to reach out and say
3 whatever the United States Supreme Court interprets
4 with respect to the United States Constitution,
5 that's now going to be a matter of state
6 constitutional law. And that's really what it
7 does. And I -- I think it's -- if I'm
8 understanding your question correctly with regard
9 to No. 43, I think that's exactly analogous.

10 MS. EUBANKS: And then my last
11 question is in regard to how you view that second
12 sentence of 61, that if you have a program or
13 service that's provided that does not meet the
14 standards as established by the U.S. Supreme Court
15 in interpreting the U.S. Constitution, that it's
16 held to violate the Constitution. Tell me what you
17 think happens to that type of program or service if
18 it's found to be invalid.

19 MR. WESTFALL: If the United States
20 Supreme Court interpreted a particular arguably
21 preferential treatment program and said that that
22 was unconstitutional, then I think, if I'm reading
23 this measure correctly, then that would also be,
24 quote, unconstitutional under our state
25 constitution.

1 MS. EUBANKS: So in your opinion --

2 MR. WESTFALL: I think if it's under
3 the Constitution, in the United States
4 Constitution, because of the supremacy clause, it's
5 unconstitutional under our state constitution. So
6 I think it's almost illusory. But...

7 MS. EUBANKS: So would it be fair to
8 say that, in your opinion, that you think that if a
9 program or a service doesn't meet the standards
10 that are referred to in the second sentence of 61,
11 then they don't exist?

12 MR. WESTFALL: If it doesn't meet
13 the standard that's set forth in the United States
14 Constitution equal protection clause or other, you
15 know, similar measures, and as interpreted by the
16 United States Constitution, it doesn't satisfy the
17 second. That's how comprehensive and global the
18 second sentence is. It really is a complete
19 delegation to the United States Constitution as
20 interpreted by the United States Supreme Court.
21 Sort of makes a state constitutional amendment
22 almost illusory.

23 MS. EUBANKS: Thank you.

24 MR. HOBBS: Any other questions for
25 Mr. Westfall? If not, thank you.

1 I'd like to next hear from Melissa
2 Hart on behalf of the proponents.

3 And Ms. Hart, I'm sure you're
4 prepared to respond to the arguments in the motion
5 for rehearing.

6 MS. HART: Well, Mr. Hobbs, I hope
7 I'm prepared to respond to the arguments in the
8 motion for rehearing.

9 I guess I want to start by
10 acknowledging, as I think it will be apparent, that
11 I'm very nervous. And the reason I'm very
12 nervous -- there are two reasons. One is I haven't
13 done a lot of these matters before. The other is
14 because I was struck this morning, thinking about
15 this argument, by the enormous power that this
16 title setting board has at this time. You have the
17 power to end the effort of those proponents of
18 Initiative 61 and the work that they've done
19 effectively for this election cycle. And that's an
20 enormous amount of power. And I think that's why
21 the general assembly and the people of the state of
22 Colorado and the Supreme Court ask you to exercise
23 that power with some respect for the initiative
24 process that exists in our system and with a
25 liberal hand that will permit initiatives to be put

1 to the voters so that voters can consider the
2 issues raised in them, except when they clearly
3 violate provisions of the Constitution or the law.
4 And again, that's supposed to be done with a
5 deference to permitting initiatives on the ballot.

6 Not surprisingly, I take issue with
7 Mr. Westfall's characterization of the goals of the
8 proponents of Initiative 61 and with the effects of
9 the Initiative 61.

10 Framing it, as he did, in terms of
11 106.5 and the requirements of 106.5 first, I just
12 -- I think we obviously don't disagree on what
13 106.5 says. Your job is to be sure that
14 initiatives put forward do not -- do not constitute
15 surprise or fraud, that they are not surreptitious
16 measures, as Mr. Westfall said, and there is not
17 inconsistency or incongruity in the measures. All
18 of that we agree with. That's clearly the law. We
19 disagree pretty strongly on how the Supreme Court
20 has interpreted these terms and on what
21 Initiative 61 does in terms of those requirements.

22 Mr. Westfall mentions the matter of
23 Proposed Initiatives 43 and 45 as being most
24 closely related to this dispute. And I think that
25 it may be the most closely related but it's a very

1 distant parallel. That case dealt with an
2 initiative that was, as Ms. Eubanks just said, four
3 or five paragraphs long, extremely complicated in
4 its wording, had sort of put itself under the
5 global heading of protecting the political rights
6 of citizens of Colorado as its subject but then had
7 provisions that dealt with the single-subject
8 issue, preserving the single-subject issue for
9 other things, how voting would occur. It was so
10 complicated and so difficult to even understand
11 what it was doing in its multifaceted series of
12 subjects that it was really not in any way similar
13 to the two-sentence Initiative 61 that quite
14 clearly states its goals.

15 And that's the same -- the same is
16 true with all of the cases cited by Mr. Westfall in
17 his brief. The standard is only where the language
18 is clearly misleading is this -- is this board --
19 is this board supposed to not set a title. That's
20 -- the cases from the Supreme Court say that
21 repeatedly.

22 In, for example, the matter of
23 parental choice, in that case -- although, again,
24 there was this global parental choice as the idea.
25 It was a very long, very complicated ballot

1 initiative with several different approaches to the
2 same general goal. And that actually was found to
3 be a single subject, because the same general goal
4 of parental choice was what was at issue in that
5 case.

6 In the title for No. 25, which
7 Mr. Westfall referred to, the tax cut scheme at
8 issue that had the \$25 for each of these different
9 tax bills over some number of years and reduction
10 in programming, again, not found to be a single
11 subject. It was a complicated, multipart, economic
12 formula whose effect was very unclear and very
13 different from the initiative at issue here. I
14 just think the case law from the Colorado Supreme
15 Court does not support the notion that there is not
16 a single subject in this bill. The kinds of things
17 that have been found to be fraudulent and
18 surprising are nothing like Initiative 61. So if
19 we were just going on the Colorado Supreme Court's
20 case law, I think it's clear that there's no reason
21 to reverse your decision of two weeks ago and
22 eliminate the title.

23 Moreover, even if there were no case
24 law, even if all we were doing was looking at the
25 language of 106.5 and talking about the need to

1 prevent fraud and surprise, I simply disagree that
2 there is fraud or surprise in this initiative, and
3 certainly -- at all, and certainly nothing that
4 would constitute multiple subjects.

5 What this initiative is designed to
6 do is to present an approach to nondiscrimination
7 by the State. This initiative is designed to
8 present voters with one way of looking at the
9 problem that, it happens, Initiative 31 is also
10 designed to do.

11 And I think one of the things that
12 was hard in Mr. Westfall's conversation and in the
13 questions that were asked is it is hard to talk
14 about Initiative 61 without talking about
15 Initiative 31. It's important to, because
16 Initiative 61 stands on its own. It's its own
17 separate measure. And its approach is simply a
18 different one from Initiative 31's. But it is also
19 -- you know, it would be deceptive of me, at this
20 moment, not to say that Initiative 61 came up in
21 part as a response to the setting of the title for
22 Initiative 31.

23 And I want to talk about that
24 because I want to say something about deception. I
25 think it's important to get it on the record and to

1 be clear about what the proponents of Initiative 61
2 are seeking to do with this initiative and are
3 seeking to offer to Colorado voters.

4 Initiative 31 came to this board
5 last year. You considered, in both the hearing and
6 a motion for rehearing, whether to set a title for
7 that initiative and ultimately decided to. I've
8 read the materials from that process, obviously.
9 And it really was because of that process that
10 proponents of Initiative 61 decided it was
11 important that some alternative be given to the
12 voters of Colorado.

13 Initiative -- the Initiative 31,
14 excuse me, was found not to be deceptive by this
15 board. I submit that Initiative 31 is deceptive.
16 It's deceptively simple. It says the State shall
17 not discriminate or grant preferential treatment.
18 And in the conversation, the colloquy you had with
19 Mr. Westfall, in that process, when he was
20 representing the proponents of that initiative,
21 there was a general -- there was a lot of
22 discussion about what preferential treatment meant.
23 And Mr. Westfall was extremely careful not to
24 define preferential treatment. He was asked
25 repeatedly by Ed Ramey, who was the lawyer for the

1 opponents in that context, whether certain kinds of
2 programs would constitute preferential treatment.
3 He was asked whether posting a job notice in
4 Spanish would constitute preferential treatment,
5 whether women's health clinics would constitute
6 preferential treatment, whether minority outreach
7 would constitute preferential treatment. He
8 refused to answer the question with regard to any
9 of those measures. He said preferential treatment
10 is absolutely clear, the definition of preferential
11 treatment is clear. We all know what preferential
12 treatment means.

13 And the decision was made by this
14 board to set a title for that initiative on that
15 understanding. I'm not here, obviously, to
16 relitigate that question. But what I will say is
17 that Initiative 31 is identical to measures that
18 have been passed in three other states in which
19 that same approach was taken, the idea that
20 preferential treatment is clear, we know what it
21 is, everybody knows what it is. The consequences
22 of the cookie cutter Initiative 31 and what it's
23 called in other states have been very different
24 from what I think the voters of Colorado would
25 understand preferential treatment to be. Among the

1 consequences: Initiatives designed to encourage
2 the number of women to pursue fields where they
3 have traditionally been underrepresented, such as
4 math and science; no longer permitted in
5 California. The California Summer Science and
6 Technology Academy, which targets female and
7 minority high school students who are
8 underrepresented in those fields; no longer
9 permitted. The American Indian Early Childhood
10 Education program, which is directed at school
11 districts where more than 10 percent of students
12 are American Indian -- this is an elementary school
13 program -- no longer permitted. Student
14 Opportunity and Access Program, which is a minority
15 outreach and information network; no longer
16 permitted.

17 In Colorado, we have a number of
18 programs that are like that, retention, training,
19 outreach programs that many people would not think
20 are preferential treatment and that will be
21 challenged and are likely to fall under
22 Initiative 31 because of the failure to be clear
23 about what preferential treatment means. That
24 happened here, and it continued -- it continues
25 today in the signature collection process for

1 Initiative 31 in which deceptive practices are
2 rampant. They are being reported to the Secretary
3 of State's office. People are being deceived by
4 the proponents of Initiative 31 about the meaning
5 of preferential treatment. They think they're
6 voting for something that would eliminate one
7 thing: race preferencing. In fact, they're voting
8 for something that is going to eliminate a host of
9 important programs that offer fairness and
10 opportunity to the citizens of Colorado.

11 Looking at that field, looking at
12 what's happened in other states, looking at what
13 stands to happen in Colorado and what we, as
14 citizens of Colorado, stand to lose because of this
15 initiative being brought into our state, proponents
16 of Initiative 61 said, "We need to offer the voters
17 something else. We need to offer the voters an
18 opportunity to say we don't like preferential
19 treatment. But we don't think preferential
20 treatment includes the equal opportunity programs
21 that the Supreme Court has said are constitutional.
22 We don't think that in the state of Colorado, the
23 summer camp that CU offers to women and minorities
24 and other underrepresented populations considering
25 engineering should be eliminated. We don't think

1 that outreach programs that target minority schools
2 to ensure that they have a full sense of the
3 information of what you need to do to get ready for
4 college, of what you need to do to prepare yourself
5 to succeed in the world should be eliminated. We
6 don't accept that definition of preferential
7 treatment, and for that reason we will come up with
8 an initiative, a different alternative approach to
9 the same problem, which is the problem of
10 discrimination by the State and how to provide
11 equal opportunity and fairness from the State to
12 its citizens. One subject, a single subject.

13 We are not being deceptive, we are
14 offering an alternative that seeks to address
15 deception that we feel is going on, not, we feel,
16 that clearly is going on with Initiative 31. We
17 want the voters of Colorado to have that
18 opportunity to vote for something that represents
19 more what we believe in, that represents more of a
20 support for programs like outreach, retention,
21 recruitment, equal opportunity programs but that
22 will not eliminate those problems -- those programs
23 in the way that they have been eliminated in other
24 states. We don't want this cookie cutter
25 initiative to come in and destroy a lot of what

1 Colorado has done. So yes, this is a response to
2 Initiative 31.

3 On the other hand, to say that you
4 have to think about Initiative 31 only as -- in the
5 context of Initiative 31 -- Initiative 61 in the
6 context of Initiative 31, is simply incorrect.
7 Initiative 61 is internally coherent, it's
8 internally consistent. The only way it's
9 inconsistent is if you accept the definition of the
10 proponents of 31 of preferential treatment, which
11 is a broadly global definition that eliminates
12 everything. That is not what 61 is trying to do.
13 We are saying -- we constitutionally want to say in
14 our state's constitution no preferential treatment,
15 but yes to the limited programs that have been
16 found constitutional by the United States Supreme
17 Court and that do not constitute preferential
18 treatment, they constitute equal opportunity
19 programs, and we do not want them destroyed in this
20 state.

21 I feel strongly about this.

22 MR. HOBBS: Thank you.

23 Questions for Ms. Hart?

24 MS. EUBANKS: If I could, Ms. Hart,
25 I'd like to ask you the same question that I asked

1 Mr. Westfall. In terms of sort of what I perceive
2 perhaps as a similarity between 61 and what was
3 presented in 43, at least in regard to the
4 single-subject requirement being eliminated but yet
5 preserved for certain measures that previously had
6 been held to constitute multiple subjects and
7 whether or not you think it's a fair
8 characterization of the second sentence of 61, that
9 it would -- could be viewed as constitutionalizing
10 the U.S. Supreme Court's interpretation under the
11 U.S. Constitution in regard to these types of
12 programs.

13 MS. HART: I guess -- I quickly
14 tried to look through the case on 43. My
15 recollection is that the part where the Court
16 talked about constitutionalizing was when it
17 discussed the issue of putting at the state
18 constitutional level matters that have
19 traditionally been local. That is the property
20 rights and zoning? Is that correct?

21 MS. EUBANKS: No, it was specific on
22 -- and I don't know if you have the case in front
23 of you.

24 MS. HART: I do. Yes, I do.

25 MS. EUBANKS: Let's see. Of course,

1 mine is printed out on Lexis-Nexis so we'll see if
2 I can get the page right.

3 MS. HART: Mine is Westlaw.
4 Incompatible printer formats.

5 MS. EUBANKS: That's right.

6 MS. HART: So one of the things I
7 guess I would say about the difference between 43
8 and what we're dealing with here is that 43 was an
9 initiative that was designed to fundamentally
10 change the process for voting on initiatives, and
11 so partly that makes it -- it puts it well outside
12 of most people's experience and I think makes it
13 inherently more confusing. People -- as a teacher
14 of civil procedure, I can say that people don't
15 have intuitions about procedural things. And so
16 when you put in front of them procedural measures,
17 the potential for confusion is, sadly, much higher
18 than when you put in front of them substantive
19 measures. And I think this issue of
20 constitutionalizing procedural modifications is
21 more what the Court was concerned about in that
22 regard in this case. Again, my memory had been
23 with the property thing.

24 MS. EUBANKS: I refer you to
25 footnote 11, which I believe appears on page 447.

1 MS. HART: I see. Okay. Again, I
2 think the issue here is that constitutionalizing
3 these procedure rules is a significant change from
4 what the state law was at that time. To the extent
5 that -- and I think I understand -- so I don't
6 think it's the same as what's going on here. I do
7 think that -- again, what Initiative 31 seeks to do
8 is to enact, as a matter of state constitutional
9 law, a lower bar across the board on preferential
10 treatment, equal opportunity, et cetera, than is
11 set by the federal Supreme Court. And what
12 Initiative 61 seeks to do is to say no preferential
13 treatment.

14 But we accept the Supreme Court's
15 bar with regard to equal opportunity programs. We
16 think that the kinds of modest equal opportunity
17 programs that the Supreme Court has allowed -- and
18 it's a very limited set of programs -- is fine
19 under our state constitution. And I don't think
20 that's a delegation of authority, as Mr. Westfall
21 said, to the federal constitution -- or the Federal
22 Supreme Court at all, the U.S. Supreme Court at
23 all. In fact, it's a statement of affirmation by
24 the Colorado voters that we accept that limited
25 approach, again, defining preferential treatment,

1 not to eliminate those limited programs.

2 So it is constitutionalizing,
3 saying, obviously, it would be a constitutional
4 amendment. But I don't think it's -- I think the
5 parallel with 43 is not quite there because, again,
6 just as Mr. Westfall's -- or Mr. Connerly's
7 initiative would constitutionalize a particular
8 approach to nondiscrimination, ours would also
9 constitutionalize a particular approach to
10 nondiscrimination. That's what a constitutional
11 amendment is supposed to do.

12 MS. EUBANKS: But it would
13 constitutionalize it based on judicial
14 interpretation?

15 MS. HART: Of the U.S. Constitution.
16 And just to be really clear, the
17 reason that the proponents for Initiative 61 put it
18 that way was we wanted to be clear that this was --
19 that what we were endorsing was that modest
20 interpretation of U.S. Constitutional law, the very
21 limited amount of equal opportunity programming
22 that the U.S. Supreme Court's interpretation
23 permits, that it says is not illegal, preferential
24 treatment. So we were -- we were seeking to
25 constitutionalize that limited set of programs,

1 yes.

2 MS. EUBANKS: And then in terms of
3 your response and getting into what the U.S.
4 Supreme Court has allowed in terms of equal
5 opportunity-type programs and services, that takes
6 me to the other question I that asked Mr. Westfall,
7 and that's in regard to if a particular program or
8 service that is based on race, based on national
9 origin, one of those bases, and it's found not to
10 meet the standards of the U.S. Constitution by the
11 U.S. Supreme Court, is that program permissible?

12 MS. HART: No, not under this
13 initiative. This initiative says --

14 MS. EUBANKS: Now, I'm just
15 saying --

16 MS. HART: Oh, is it currently
17 permissible?

18 MS. EUBANKS: Yes. Would such a
19 program that doesn't currently meet the standards,
20 whatever they may be, as established by the
21 U.S. Supreme Court be permissible?

22 MS. HART: No. And so -- let me say
23 something about that, because one of the criticisms
24 that has come out, at least in the newspaper, of
25 both the proponents of Initiative 61 and me myself,

1 is that somehow the deceit that we're seeking to
2 engage in -- and I'm tired of being called
3 deceitful -- but the deceit that we're seeking to
4 engage in is something about not first saying we're
5 going to eliminate preferential treatment but then
6 saying we're going to keep it, and also not
7 admitting that somehow this is all about the status
8 quo. What I would say about that is that it is
9 often the case that laws will be passed that
10 largely parallel the status quo.

11 A constitutional amendment in our
12 state constitution does a number of other things,
13 though. First, it is an affirmative statement of
14 commitment. Second, it creates a Constitutional
15 standard that has the benefit of making a firm and
16 committed statement by the people of Colorado about
17 where we stand on this, which means that we don't
18 -- we don't debate this anymore, right? We're not
19 going to come back and argue again about whether
20 we're going to eliminate equal opportunity
21 programs. We've made a commitment to it.

22 And third -- and I think this is
23 really important and is, again, related to the
24 deceit that's being practiced by the proponents of
25 No. 31. Third, it makes an affirmative statement

1 of commitment to -- of commitment to end a
2 confusion that a lot of people have, a lot of
3 people have, and that is, people in this state and
4 people all over the country misunderstand what is
5 allowed and misunderstand what happens. People
6 continue to believe, contrary to all information,
7 that quota systems are in place in universities,
8 that -- someone asked me recently, "Oh, well, so
9 would this end the thing where African-American
10 applicants can have a way lower SAT score than
11 white applicants? There's a lower cut-off for
12 them?" CU doesn't do that. People don't do that.
13 But there is this misunderstanding out there which
14 is being manipulated to encourage voting for
15 Initiative 31 that needs to be clarified, that
16 needs to be affirmed by the voters of Colorado. We
17 do not accept that, even if it's not happening now.
18 Or to the extent that it is happening -- and again,
19 I don't think it is happening, but to the extent
20 that it is, we want to make clear that it is not
21 okay. It is not okay under the federal
22 constitution, it is not okay under the state
23 constitution.

24 And the proponents of 61 -- it's not
25 -- again, this comes back to, I think,

1 Mr. Westfall's incorrect arguments about our goals.
2 Our goal is not all-encompassed in the second
3 sentence of Initiative 61. One of -- we have two
4 -- two goals with regard to nondiscrimination here.
5 They are consistent and congruent goals. But there
6 are two goals. And one is expressed in the first
7 sentence of Initiative 61, which is to say
8 preferential treatment's not okay, discrimination
9 is not okay. And the second is to say this is not
10 -- when we are talking about preferential
11 treatment, we will define what they will not
12 define. When we are talking about preferential
13 treatment, what we mean does not encompass these
14 programs.

15 MS. EUBANKS: One last question,
16 which actually relates to the language of your
17 measure. And I'm just curious, in terms of the
18 language that you used in the first sentence of
19 subsection 1, where you make reference to race,
20 sex, color, national origin, those types of
21 descriptors, you don't have those types of
22 descriptors in your second sentence. And --
23 although you relate it to the public employment,
24 public education, and public contracting. And so
25 I'm just curious, and this is basically because I'm

1 no expert on the U.S. Constitution or this
2 particular area of law, as to whether or not the
3 second sentence is relating to the standards that
4 may exist. Do those relate only to those
5 descriptors in the first sentence, or are we
6 talking about other types of standards?

7 MS. HART: For purposes of this
8 amendment -- this initiative is only referring to
9 those descriptors. So we only intend to be
10 referring to the standards set under the U.S.
11 Supreme Court with regard to those descriptors.
12 And so, for example, you'll notice that age is not
13 included in the first sentence. This initiative
14 doesn't address discrimination on the basis of age
15 and the standards that exist with regard to age
16 discrimination. It's just not encompassed in this
17 initiative.

18 MS. EUBANKS: Okay. Thank you.

19 MR. HOBBS: Mr. Domenico?
20 Questions?

21 MR. DOMENICO: I don't think so. I
22 think Ms. Hart and I had our discussion last time.

23 MR. HOBBS: I would like to ask some
24 questions. And I am still struggling with this.
25 And my questions may be somewhat repetitious, and

1 I'm sorry. I'm really struggling to understand the
2 measure. You know, I do agree with something you
3 said, I think, at the very beginning, that I think
4 the board, you know, needs to be careful about
5 blocking the door, basically. And that's why last
6 time I voted in favor of setting a title for the
7 measure, although I expressed concerns about it.
8 But I wanted to err on the side of Petitioner's
9 rights, basically. But I'm still really struggling
10 with this.

11 And part of it is although we've
12 talked about this a lot and I may be the only one
13 who's still having trouble understanding the
14 measure, I really don't think I understand it. And
15 I do know that the Supreme Court has said that the
16 board has a duty to understand the measure.

17 And I see that the measure prohibits
18 preferential treatment programs, and then -- in the
19 first sentence, and then in the second sentence, I
20 think I understand that the second sentence permits
21 some preferential treatment programs, but I'm
22 really not clear on the difference.

23 MS. HART: So again, I think --
24 here's what -- I want to be accorded the same
25 permission that Mr. Westfall was accorded with

1 Initiative 31. Not to say here's a Colorado
2 program I think is this or that. I am the attorney
3 representing the proponents of Initiative 61 at
4 this initial stage. I don't -- I have not sat down
5 and said, "Here's a list of programs I think pass
6 muster, here is a list of programs I don't." And I
7 don't want to have to do that. And again,
8 Mr. Westfall didn't do that with Initiative 31.

9 What I will say is I think that the
10 kinds of things that I mentioned that were -- that
11 have been found -- that have been found to fall
12 under what was Prop 209 in California and what I
13 think would fall -- or I fear would fall under
14 Initiative 31 in Colorado, if it passes, are things
15 like recruiting programs designed to encourage the
16 number of women pursuing fields in -- pursuing math
17 and science studies. I don't think recruiting
18 programs are preferential treatment. So you're
19 saying your understanding of our initiative is that
20 it eliminates preferential treatment but then
21 allows some preferential treatment.

22 And I think that's part of what's
23 hard about -- part of what's hard about the
24 definition in Initiative 31 as well is that there
25 is dispute about what preferential treatment is.

1 And that's a huge political question, definitely.

2 MR. HOBBS: If you don't mind, I'm
3 sorry for interrupting.

4 MS. HART: No, that's fine.

5 MR. HOBBS: I do want to be fair
6 about it --

7 MS. HART: No, I know.

8 MR. HOBBS: -- but it seems like
9 with No. 31 we didn't have to figure out what
10 preferential treatment programs meant because
11 it simply prohibited them. Here what I'm
12 struggling with is that it prohibits them and then
13 it allows them. So it calls into question, does
14 the second sentence take away everything in the
15 first sentence or nothing from the first sentence?

16 MS. HART: Again, I guess I don't
17 think it prohibits them or allows them. I think it
18 prohibits discrimination and preferential treatment
19 and then provides, in the second sentence, to
20 define certain things as not preferential
21 treatment. And those are the programs that have
22 passed muster on the U.S. Supreme Court.

23 So I didn't bring, unfortunately,
24 the Court's cases with me. But for example, in
25 Parents Involved, the Supreme Court's case from

1 last term, Justice Kennedy talks about programs
2 like recruiting and training, building schools in
3 certain neighborhoods in order to encourage
4 participation by minority communities. So it's --
5 there's an understanding that the State has an
6 obligation to its minority citizens who are being
7 underserved but not through quotas or race
8 preferencing; instead, through other measures,
9 again, recruiting and training and outreach,
10 education. Those are the kinds of programs that
11 can be very effectively used to reach underserved
12 populations but that are not race preferencing,
13 they are not preferential treatment in the way that
14 we have defined preferential treatment in
15 Initiative 61. That is what we are trying to do is
16 to provide the definition that will not see those
17 programs fall in the way that they will under
18 Initiative 31, that will not see minority outreach
19 programs fall but that will say, yes, we do not
20 think quotas are okay.

21 We are constitutionalizing, in the
22 state constitution, an affirmation that quotas,
23 race preferencing, that preferential treatment is
24 not okay, but we are ensuring that preferential
25 treatment is not defined so broadly that the kinds

1 of programs that no one out there actually thinks
2 are preferential treatment, when they vote for
3 Initiative 31, they don't think they're voting.
4 Some people do. But lots of people don't think
5 they're voting for what they turn out to be voting
6 for. And we are trying to provide an alternative,
7 to say that you can vote for something different.
8 You can vote to eliminate preferential treatment
9 but still to preserve the programs we know you want
10 to preserve.

11 And those programs, again, we are --
12 we define -- the initiative defines them as not
13 being preferential treatment. It's not an
14 inconsistency, it's a definition.

15 MR. HOBBS: But if they're not
16 preferential treatment, then they're not prohibited
17 by the first sentence.

18 MS. HART: And this is where it's
19 hard to talk about 61 without talking about 31.

20 Experience teaches us that in other
21 states where Initiative 31's equivalent has passed,
22 those programs are falling. And it is because we
23 want an alternative to that wholesale wasting of
24 the fairness and equal opportunity measures that
25 other states had passed and are now losing that the

1 proponents felt Initiative 61 is important.

2 MR. HOBBS: One possibility that I
3 think I might be hearing you say is that the
4 measure would prohibit preferential treatment
5 programs in the form of quotas but allow
6 preferential treatment programs in the form of
7 targeted recruitment.

8 MS. HART: Again, I'm resistant to
9 the notion that targeted recruitment is
10 preferential treatment, but yes, I think that is
11 correct.

12 MR. HOBBS: Okay. And I think --
13 you know, for me to try to understand what the
14 measure does, I mean, that's helpful. I'm also
15 trying to weigh in my mind the discussion that
16 you've had with Ms. Eubanks, that even if it
17 doesn't actually change anything, perhaps it's
18 constitutionalizing something. And I think you
19 were agreeing with that. I mean,
20 constitutionalizing the status quo.

21 MS. HART: A commitment, yes.

22 MR. HOBBS: Well, as currently
23 interpreted by the U.S. Supreme Court or as may be
24 interpreted in the future.

25 MS. HART: Yes.

1 MR. HOBBS: Okay. Let me shift
2 gears just a little bit. One of the things -- if
3 we find that the measure has a single subject, then
4 we're required to clearly express that single
5 subject in the title. And I don't think our title
6 does that. It says, "concerning a prohibition
7 against discrimination in the state." That's the
8 current -- that's the title that we set. That's
9 the expression of the single subject. It doesn't
10 seem like that is a fair or accurate expression of
11 the single subject based on the discussion that I
12 think I'm hearing. I mean, what I think the
13 measure is about is preferential treatment
14 programs, first of all. And I'm not sure how to
15 express the single subject. But would you have --
16 are you happy with that expression of single
17 subject, or would you suggest another one?

18 MS. HART: I guess I think that it
19 does concern a prohibition against discrimination
20 by the State. Again, this is -- the single subject
21 of Initiative 31 and the single subject of
22 Initiative 61, as you decided it two weeks ago,
23 start in the same way, an amendment to the Colorado
24 Constitution concerning a prohibition against
25 discrimination by the State. And I actually think,

1 as I started by saying, that pretty accurately
2 reflects what's going on here. These are two
3 different approaches to a prohibition against
4 discrimination by the State.

5 The voters will have to decide which
6 they prefer. And it will be the job of the
7 proponents of the two initiatives to educate the
8 voters about the two approaches. But, in fact,
9 they both are addressing discrimination by the
10 State.

11 You know, so I think that is a fair
12 statement of what Initiative 61 is seeking to do.
13 It is to address prohibition against discrimination
14 by the state.

15 And connected to that, just, again,
16 to be clear about the second sentence, what the
17 second sentence is seeking to make clear, is
18 seeking to do, is to say these things aren't
19 discrimination. The proponents of 61 look at
20 recruiting and training and outreach programs as
21 not being discrimination. That's not -- the kinds
22 of preferential treatment that constitute
23 discriminatory preferential treatment are outlawed
24 by Initiative 61. That's clear in the first
25 sentence.

1 And then in the second sentence it's
2 made clear that that does not include this broad --
3 a broad reach to these other programs that are
4 being struck down in other states. We don't want
5 that imported here. We want a different model of
6 equality.

7 MR. HOBBS: Well, I'm still just
8 having trouble seeing this measure as being about
9 prohibition against discrimination.

10 And with respect to No. 31, I could.
11 Now, to me, the discussion there that we struggled
12 with, and it was a struggle, was that there were
13 different points of view about what discrimination
14 is, what the term means. And there was a point of
15 view that discrimination means discrimination
16 against as opposed to discrimination in favor.

17 And from the proponents' point of
18 view, I think discrimination meant included,
19 discrimination in favor. But it all -- but clearly
20 to me the measure was about discrimination.

21 Here I'm not so sure that that's the
22 case directly, that it's quite so clear that it's
23 just about prohibiting discrimination, depending on
24 how you define it.

25 Well, one thing -- let me just

1 say -- I think one thing that is fairly persuasive
2 to me in the brief for the motion for rehearing at
3 the bottom of page 3, partially quoting a Supreme
4 Court decision, Mr. Westfall says, "A voter of
5 average intelligence would be surprised to find out
6 that a ballot initiative that purported to prohibit
7 discrimination and preferential treatment was" --
8 and I'll skip some of the hyperbole, perhaps, but
9 -- "was instead allowing the State to engage in
10 discrimination and preferential treatment to the
11 full extent allowed under the United States
12 Constitution."

13 And that seems like that's a fair
14 statement of the measure.

15 MS. HART: Well, again, I guess I
16 think that there is -- even taking "craftily" out,
17 there's is rhetoric there. There is an assumption
18 that what the Supreme Court permits is
19 discrimination. That's an area of disagreement
20 between us. And I think it is an area of
21 disagreement that is used to cause voters to
22 believe that what they're voting for is an
23 anti-quota bill when, in fact, that's not what
24 they're voting for for Initiative 31.

25 So part of the goal in Initiative 61

1 is to provide an alternative that forces a fair and
2 open discussion about what the differences are.
3 They're both against quotas. We're all against
4 quotas. So we're all against the discriminatory
5 preferential treatment. This is a different issue.

6 But let me say -- I don't want to
7 really fight with you about the title. Because the
8 most important thing, obviously, to the proponents
9 of Initiative 61 is that they not be shut down when
10 they have here an initiative that clearly has a
11 single subject. That subject is how to deal with
12 equal treatment of citizens by the State and what
13 the best approach to that is. This is a single
14 subject. We want the opportunity to collect
15 signatures, to have this on the ballot, to present
16 this alternative to the people of the state of
17 Colorado. And if I afforded that by bickering
18 about the language of the title, then I would have
19 disserved my clients.

20 So the most important thing to the
21 proponents of Initiative 61, obviously, is to have
22 the chance to present this alternative to the
23 people of the state, not what the specific wording
24 of the title is.

25 At the same time, I do think the

1 title, as currently set, is accurate. But again,
2 do what you will, just don't kick us out.

3 MR. HOBBS: Well, let me ask, I
4 think, maybe just one more question.

5 It kind of goes to the discussion
6 about whether the measure is misleading or not.
7 Although maybe we could approach this by expressing
8 a different single subject. We're dealing with a
9 measure that starts out by saying discrimination is
10 prohibited. And that -- I mean, that's -- that
11 seems to lend itself to the argument that this is
12 -- it's not really about prohibiting
13 discrimination, it's really about -- as I said,
14 it's more about continuing to allow certain forms
15 of preferential treatment programs allowed by the
16 Supreme Court, depending on what they are. That's
17 more what it's about.

18 But I guess my question is why not
19 -- normally I don't ask about why the proponents
20 draft the measures the way they do. But here it
21 seems like there is a more direct path that the
22 drafting could have taken. And I don't know the
23 exact words, and maybe that's why it's not done
24 that way, but if the idea is to constitutionalize
25 preferential treatment programs that are permitted

1 by the U.S. Supreme Court, it could have been
2 drafted that way. And by starting out as an
3 anti-discrimination measure, that's what makes it
4 seem like it's a little misleading.

5 MS. HART: Right. And again, I
6 think that -- I can't agree with what you're saying
7 because I disagree with your characterization of
8 the programs allowed by the Supreme Court as being
9 preferential treatment programs. And I think that
10 what this is is an expression and affirmation of a
11 particular vision of discrimination,
12 nondiscrimination, and the goal of
13 nondiscrimination, that clearly prohibits
14 discriminatory preferential treatment but preserves
15 what I don't think are preferential treatment
16 programs permit by the Supreme Court. So we're
17 talking across each other because we see them
18 differently. And so I'm not trying to be
19 obstreperous.

20 I'm trying to think about -- I guess
21 I'm now going back to two weeks ago and thinking
22 about the staff draft of the title which says a
23 program -- and Ms. Eubanks and I had a discussion
24 about whether it should say "concerning the
25 preservation of equal opportunity" or "concerning a

1 prohibition against the denial of equal
2 opportunity." That may have been a better
3 characterization of the goals of the proponent.

4 I think Mr. Domenico pointed out
5 that "equal opportunity" was then a debatable
6 phrase. And I think, again, one of the things
7 that's very hard in this area -- and this was true
8 with 31 and it's true with 61, I acknowledge the
9 difficulty of this -- is the language in this area
10 of discussing discrimination and preferential
11 treatment and equal opportunity and all of these
12 kinds of programs, the language is so fraught. And
13 coming up with the best way to characterize these
14 things that fully explores what the proponents are
15 trying to do is hard. And the proponents of
16 Initiative 61 really struggled in coming up with
17 the best way to draft their language, with what
18 would be the best way to meet their -- their total
19 goal with regard to nondiscrimination -- their
20 total goal with regard to nondiscrimination was
21 both to make a strong statement against
22 preferential treatment and to be clear that the
23 definition of preferential treatment didn't include
24 what was already there.

25 So it was not a question of, you

1 know, oh, let's just get rid of the first sentence.
2 The first sentence does something important and the
3 second sentence, too, does something important.
4 They are both very important to the vision of the
5 proponents of Initiative 61 and the vision that
6 they would like to offer as an alternative to the
7 people of Colorado.

8 MR. DOMENICO: I do have to ask a
9 question now about that. What does the first
10 sentence do, then? If there's something very
11 important about it, what types of things is the
12 State doing that the first sentence is intended to
13 change? I mean, because that's what these are -- I
14 mean, that's what we're supposed to be able to
15 understand.

16 MS. HART: Right. I don't -- again,
17 I am not going to get into specific programs and
18 say this is a thing the State is doing -- that is
19 in fact doing that it can no longer do. What I
20 will say is it seems very clear to me that there
21 are lots of things that people in Colorado believe
22 the state is doing, they don't want the State to do
23 it. So many people believe that quota hiring is
24 happening or that quota admissions to educational
25 opportunities are happening. And it was in order

1 to address that belief, not because we think that
2 that's happening all over the state, but because
3 people do seem to think it's happening all over the
4 state. And so we understand, and we agree that
5 there should be a clear statement by the people of
6 Colorado that we don't want -- I don't want quota
7 hiring. I don't want quota admissions. It is not
8 acceptable, under our constitution, to do that.

9 So I don't need to say, "Here's the
10 thing that's happening that will change." I can
11 say, "Here's the thing that people don't want to
12 have happening and we don't either. And we want to
13 make it clear that it's not allowed." And I think
14 it's important to do that, because I think it's
15 important to clear up a huge misunderstanding
16 that's out there to make -- to allow people to say,
17 "If this is happening" -- to the extent it's
18 happening anywhere, and I don't actually think it
19 is, but people think it is -- "to the extent this
20 is happening anywhere, no, this is not okay."

21 But again, we are not defining this
22 to eliminate the kinds of things that are being
23 eliminated in other states, the kinds of outreach
24 and recruiting and training programs that have been
25 successful in providing equal opportunity in

1 Colorado.

2 MR. DOMENICO: Well, then, the
3 question I have about that is a lot of your
4 argument about -- about what 31 would do and how
5 you think it would be -- it's deceptive, really, to
6 me, suggests that if you're right about that,
7 you'll have a very strong argument when 31 is
8 challenged in front of the Supreme Court that it
9 should be interpreted in the way you argue it
10 should, that it shouldn't apply to these because,
11 of course, the Court is supposed to interpret
12 measures in a way that the -- that it thinks the
13 average voter intended it to be interpreted. And
14 so if you're right about that, if you're right
15 about what people generally interpret these phrases
16 to mean, then you don't really have anything to
17 worry about. As long as you can convince a court
18 of that, right? Or the Supreme Court.

19 MS. HART: Right. And I have two
20 things to say about that. First of all, I'll
21 return the favor and say that Mr. Westfall has
22 quite craftily refused to respond to questions
23 about what preferential treatment includes. And so
24 the legislative history on Amendment 31 gives
25 nothing for argument. That was nicely done. But

1 there's nothing there for argument to the Supreme
2 Court or to any court about what it means, A.

3 B, the chilling effect of -- and
4 understanding of what's happening in other
5 jurisdictions and what's likely to be challenged in
6 Colorado under a program that eliminates
7 preferential treatment but doesn't -- doesn't
8 define it and then appears to be being interpreted
9 very broadly in other jurisdictions will be
10 significant in terms of its impact on programs in
11 Colorado and whether there's still funding
12 available for them or support for them. So totally
13 independent of what's directly prohibited, the
14 impact will be huge.

15 And that is all -- I think you quite
16 rightly say that is all part of what I'm sure will
17 be -- this is sort of not my bailiwick, but I'm
18 sure there are going to be people out there who are
19 doing, you know, a "No on 31" campaign or whatever
20 the yard signs will read. That's one thing I'm
21 sure will happen.

22 The proponents of 61 wanted to do
23 something different from that and are entitled to
24 do something different from that, which is to offer
25 a different alternative to the citizens of

1 Colorado, not just "No on 31," but let's make a
2 statement about what we believe nondiscrimination
3 in the state of Colorado means. Let's make a
4 statement about what we will tolerate and what we
5 will accept and what we stand for in the state of
6 Colorado. And that's a different thing from a "No
7 on 31" campaign. And I think that's what the
8 proponents of 61 are trying to do. So you may
9 disagree with their approach, but you may think,
10 we'll just do a "No on 31" campaign. But they
11 wanted the opportunity to participate in the
12 initiative process that our state permits to offer
13 this alternative to the citizens of Colorado.

14 MR. DOMENICO: Well, and I certainly
15 think they're entitled to do that, and I think the
16 debate you suggest the people of Colorado should
17 have would be terrific. I really do think that a
18 debate on what sorts of -- what preferential
19 treatment on the basis of race and sex and these
20 things is and what should be allowed and what
21 shouldn't would be valuable. But this measure
22 doesn't do that, is the problem I have. I mean --
23 and you may be right that 31 doesn't do it either,
24 but I'm not sure that two wrongs make a right is
25 the sort of thing to base our decision on. I mean,

1 the problem I have here is that this makes one
2 blanket statement using terms that I certainly
3 agree are debatable about their definition.

4 But the second sentence, there's no
5 doubt to me that the second sentence makes the
6 first sentence essentially irrelevant, because the
7 State already can do what -- whatever is allowed
8 under the standards set by the U.S. Constitution.
9 And I don't have a problem with, as you say,
10 constitutionalizing the status quo, especially when
11 there's a threat to the status quo from this other
12 measure. And so I don't have a problem with your
13 attempt to do that.

14 But when you essentially, in the
15 first sentence, say, "We are making a change to the
16 status quo" and then the second sentence completely
17 eviscerates the first sentence, which I don't think
18 there's much doubt, at least, it eviscerates it in
19 many, many important ways that would appear
20 important to the average reader. And obviously,
21 you know, we -- we're in a tough spot. You and I
22 probably disagree about what the average person
23 interpreting these terms understands, and I don't
24 know that there's a way for us to come to an
25 agreement on that. I mean, that's just one of the

1 difficulties of the role we're put in here.

2 But I really -- it seems to me that
3 -- I do wish that the proponents had taken another
4 angle at this, because I think this simply -- and I
5 don't -- not because you or the proponents are
6 intentionally set out to deceive people. My
7 understanding of this doesn't turn at all on your
8 subjective motivations. I just think that the
9 average voter would be, at best, confused by this
10 and, at worst, misled. So that's not really a
11 question, obviously. But feel free to respond.

12 MS. HART: Again, I mean, as you
13 said, you and I disagree about this. And I guess I
14 just, obviously, feel strongly about it. So saying
15 I feel strongly is sort of irrelevant, but this a
16 two-sentence initiative that presents to the
17 citizens a prohibition on discrimination. And I
18 appreciate your saying that you don't mind our
19 constitutionalizing the status quo.

20 I guess when I think about this, I
21 think, you know, if we didn't have a due process
22 clause and then people said, you know, "We should
23 have a due process clause, not because we
24 specifically -- not because there is actually a
25 rampant problem with violation of due process but

1 because it's worth expressing that we stand for due
2 process," I think that that would be something that
3 would be a good thing to do. And particularly good
4 to the extent that there are people in the world
5 who believe that there is not due process.

6 And so I think this is the same kind
7 of thing. I don't think that -- as I've said
8 before, I don't think that there's quota hiring
9 going on or that there's quota admissions at CU's
10 educational system or CSU's or any of the
11 educational systems. I don't think that the K-12
12 programs in Denver -- and again, one of the things
13 to keep in mind is that this is all education. I
14 don't think that the K-12 programs in Colorado are
15 engaged in quota hiring, but some people do. And I
16 think it's important for us to be able to say we
17 don't want that. But I think -- to say that the
18 definition provided in the second sentence, the
19 definition of preferential treatment is
20 inconsistent with preferential treatment is because
21 you have accepted a definition of preferential
22 treatment. It's because you think preferential
23 treatment means a particular thing.

24 This is an interpretive question.
25 It's a question for debate and dialogue and

1 education by the proponents of the initiative to
2 the people, but it's not multiple subjects. It's a
3 single subject, and that single subject is
4 discrimination and preferential treatment, how we
5 define it and our desire to prohibit it. And I
6 guess this truly -- again, I would hope that the
7 alternative you would consider, if you feel that
8 you have to change what I think is a perfectly
9 clear, again, short and clear title that you set
10 two weeks ago, I hope that what you would consider
11 is rewording it in some way and not simply
12 eliminating these proponents' right to get on the
13 ballot and to have this discussion with the
14 citizens of this state.

15 MR. HOBBS: Any further questions
16 for Ms. Hart? Thank you.

17 I do have one other person signed up
18 to testify. Lou Ellingson?

19 MR. CORRADA: I'm not Lou Ellingson.
20 I would like to testify, even though I put I
21 wouldn't on the sheet.

22 MR. HOBBS: Would you come forward
23 and identify yourself, if you will, please.

24 MR. CORRADA: My name is Roberto
25 Corrada. I rise in support of Proposition 61 or

1 Initiative 61.

2 I just really want to preserve one
3 argument for appeal, and that is the argument
4 wasn't made -- Proposition 31, I do think it's
5 unfortunate that a lot of this discussion has been
6 one viewed against the other, because I do think
7 that those in favor of Initiative 61 should be able
8 to come in and argue 61 on its own merits. And I
9 think a lot of the argumentation, really, even
10 though it's tried not to center around 31, exists
11 because 31 is in the picture. And I think that's
12 unfortunate.

13 In terms of the language here, I
14 think, Mr. Hobbs, that if it said "an amendment to
15 the Colorado Constitution concerning a blanket
16 prohibition against discrimination," you might
17 rightfully have a concern. But it doesn't say
18 that.

19 Initiative 31 also has number of
20 exceptions to the general statement that there
21 shall be no preferential treatment. One huge one
22 is allowing federal programs that allow
23 preferential treatment to continue to exist.

24 Now, under the Constitution in
25 supremacy, those would be allowed to exist anyway.

1 But the truth is, when this type of proposition
2 came up in various state legislatures without that
3 exception, people voted against it because they
4 feared that not having the prohibition would cause
5 those federal programs to go away. So that was put
6 in for very strategic reasons.

7 That exception is an exception that
8 people could drive a truck through. It includes
9 not only Title VII but, arguably, programs under
10 Title VI, which could include a variety -- I mean
11 almost all preferential treatment programs that you
12 could think of. Huge exception. I don't -- I was
13 here for the hearing on 31, I don't recall a lot of
14 questioning about the exceptions and the nature of
15 exception to 31.

16 Another huge exception to 31 that
17 was made in oral argument by Ed Ramey at the time
18 was that 31 has an exception for bona fide
19 qualifications. People don't understand bona fide
20 occupational qualification. I teach the subject,
21 and it's hard enough for very sophisticated law
22 students to understand it. But the BFOQ allows
23 express discrimination, express preferential
24 treatment. What a BFOQ does, if you prove a BFOQ,
25 is that you can have an ad in the paper that says

1 "Men only need apply for this job." The 31 creates
2 not just a BFOQ but a bona fide qualification that
3 applies to public contracting as well as education.
4 That sort of preferential treatment exists in no
5 law. It's a preferential treatment category that's
6 expressed, that's created by 31 and no other law.
7 61 doesn't create it. So arguably, there's a
8 preferential treatment that's created that doesn't
9 exist by 31 even though it starts out saying there
10 shall be no preferential treatment.

11 There are a number of other
12 exceptions in 31. I don't think you're saying that
13 initiatives have to be absolute and that they have
14 to be blanket. You can have exceptions. But the
15 only difference between 61 and 31 is where we draw
16 the line on exceptions. We allow more types of
17 programs that 31, arguably, does not allow. I say
18 "arguably" because in the 31 hearing, a lot of time
19 was spent asking the proponents of 31 to identify
20 what preferential treatment was. And they refused
21 to answer it. I even testified then, and I said,
22 "Does it mean you can't put a postage stamp on a
23 recruitment letter aimed at somebody you know is
24 black or a woman?" They refused even to allow
25 that.

1 This is why 61 was crafted, because
2 we thought 31 was deceptive in that preferential
3 treatment was understood by people that to mean
4 certain things. It can mean a number of things.
5 It's not a self-defining term. We wanted to put
6 forward a debate on the issue of what preferential
7 treatment is.

8 Now, Mr. Domenico, you might like
9 that debate to take place, but the truth is the
10 best way for that debate to take place -- and it's
11 already happening -- is for an alternative
12 initiative to be on the ballot that makes somebody
13 say, "Geez, what's this doing that this one is not
14 doing?" And already there have been editorials in
15 the paper that are distinguishing the two and are
16 causing that debate to happen.

17 Those kinds of debates did not
18 happen in California or Washington state or
19 Michigan. They're happening here. And we think
20 that's the best thing for Colorado because it means
21 that the people will be more educated about the
22 choices they have to make on the ballot in
23 November.

24 MR. HOBBS: Questions? Thank you.

25 Is there anybody else who wishes to

1 testify? And I'll give you a chance, Mr. Westfall,
2 in just a moment.

3 I don't see anybody else who wishes
4 to testify. So, Mr. Westfall, final arguments?

5 MR. WESTFALL: Mr. Hobbs, if I could
6 just have three minutes to go out, because
7 Ms. Corey, of the movement, would also like to
8 speak. I think there's over an hour's worth of
9 colloquy. There's a number of things that I could
10 spend time disagreeing on. I don't want to burden
11 the board with a full 30-minute, point-by-point
12 rebuttal of the things that we've heard. And I
13 think if you will just afford me about three
14 minutes, we can go out in the hallway and I can
15 try to be very structured and very focused on
16 closing comments if you would allow me.

17 MR. HOBBS: Okay. We'll take a
18 three-minute recess.

19 MR. WESTFALL: Thank you very much.

20 (A recess was taken from 10:21 a.m.
21 to 10:27 a.m.)

22 MR. HOBBS: Okay. Let's resume
23 after a recess. The time is now 10:28.

24 Mr. Westfall?

25 MR. WESTFALL: I'd like to make a

1 few comments and then Ms. Corey would like to just
2 make a few comments. And I think this will be
3 relatively short. Again, I thank you for the
4 opportunity to go on and sort of go through all my
5 notes as to -- again, to try to avoid the
6 temptation of trying to make a point-by-point
7 rebuttal.

8 I greatly respect Ms. Hart's passion
9 and desire to want to propose some sort of
10 alternative, but the alternative needs to be
11 clearly expressed to the voters. If what they want
12 is something that preserves certain preferences and
13 preferential treatment, then they've got to put
14 that on the ballot. Time and time again, through
15 the hour colloquy, I heard virtually nothing
16 talking about discrimination. I heard talking
17 about the kinds of programs that they want to
18 preserve. It is -- it should be abundantly clear
19 to the three of you that that's the purpose of this
20 measure. And if they want to have it to be a
21 dueling 61 versus 31 and saying, "This is our
22 vision, this is what we're preserving," then
23 articulate it. Don't have it be concerning a
24 prohibition against discrimination. Don't -- put
25 the second sentence out as its own measure.

1 I can't imagine that -- maybe I'm
2 wrong, but we'll see what they come up with. But
3 something that did what she's saying they want to
4 do is easily draftable. We've got plenty of time.
5 We're early March. They've got plenty of time to
6 go back to the drawing board. But I strongly urge
7 the title board to send them back to the drawing
8 board. Make them come up with a title, or excuse
9 me, a measure that you can draw -- you can do an
10 amendment to the Colorado constitution concerning
11 fill in that blank, whatever it is, whether it's
12 maintenance of certain preferential treatment
13 programs or certain -- defining discrimination to
14 mean such-and-such a thing. Make them fill in the
15 blank on the measure itself as to after the word
16 "concerning" so the single subject is clear to the
17 voters and not misleading. That's all we ask. And
18 I won't -- I won't belabor it. Again, did I lose
19 my --

20 MR. HOBBS: I have a question for
21 you.

22 MR. WESTFALL: I should have let her
23 go first. My mistake.

24 MR. HOBBS: Something that
25 Mr. Corrada said struck me. And I'll probably

1 mischaracterize this quite a bit. But it seemed
2 like there's a point of view, maybe, that No. 31
3 and No. 61 are really very similar. They both are
4 prohibiting discrimination. The only thing that's
5 different is the exceptions.

6 MR. WESTFALL: I have to say that's
7 incredibly clever of Mr. Corrada, but I
8 fundamentally disagree with his
9 mischaracterization. One is designed to preserve
10 certain preferential treatment. That is the very
11 purpose. I understand, you know, his argument, and
12 I think it's a very clever argument. I just
13 fundamentally disagree with it. They're not just
14 different in type, they're different in the very
15 structure of what they're trying to accomplish.
16 And the voters need to understand that if they're
17 going to be dueling measures on the ballot. Don't
18 hide behind concerning the prohibition of
19 discrimination. That's not what 61 is about at
20 all. I fundamentally disagree with that.

21 MR. HOBBS: Okay. Any other
22 questions for Mr. Westfall? I don't know whether
23 you're going to take over child care duties now
24 or. . .

25 MR. WESTFALL: I think Ms. Corey has

1 a few remarks.

2 MS. COREY: Very few, to be sure.

3 Thank you so much, members of the
4 board. My name is Jessica Peck Corey, and maybe
5 you didn't know, but it's Take Your Daughter to
6 Work Day. So I have my three-month old, Caroline,
7 here with me. Thank you for being so gracious in
8 allowing her here in the room.

9 I come here today as a citizen and
10 one who is a strong supporter of the initiative
11 process and also a strong supporter of equal
12 opportunity in this country.

13 I decided to seek the guidance of
14 Mr. Westfall on this issue because I believe that
15 the language of 61 is fraudulent. And we don't
16 need to go over the specifics of that. But I
17 strongly believe that if we went out and rounded up
18 ten voters on the street right outside here on
19 Broadway, the vast majority of them would not
20 understand what this initiative is attempting to
21 do.

22 This is a sentiment articulated
23 yesterday in "The Rocky Mountain News" editorial
24 pages, and it's a reasonable one. Like
25 Mr. Westfall said, we aren't here in an effort to

1 kill the active dialogue. We're here to get it
2 started, and we're here to get it started on honest
3 terms. The proponents of 61 have plenty of time to
4 go back and to create language that allows for that
5 genuine debate.

6 The last thing that I want to talk
7 about is that we hear from the proponents of 61
8 continuously that 31 would kill all valid -- or at
9 least a substantial number of valid equal
10 opportunity programs, targeted recruitment, that
11 sort of thing. As a member of The Blue Ribbon
12 Commission on Diversity at the University of
13 Colorado, appointed by Hank Brown, I have to
14 strenuously disagree with that and say that every
15 race-neutral program that is perpetuated by the
16 University of Colorado or any university in the
17 state will be allowed to go forward and flourish.
18 And if that at all -- whether or not those programs
19 are allowed or disallowed factors into your
20 decision, please know that after spending 16 months
21 analyzing these programs, I believe they will not
22 be affected.

23 Thank you so much for your time and
24 consideration. If you have any questions, I'm
25 happy to answer them.

1 MR. HOBBS: Any questions? Okay.

2 Thank you very much.

3 MS. COREY: Thank you.

4 MR. HOBBS: I don't have anybody
5 else signed up to testify. Is there somebody else?
6 Yes, sir?

7 MR. PAREDES: I'm Andrew Paredes,
8 one of the proponents of 61.

9 MR. HOBBS: Come forward. Please
10 identify yourself for the record and who you
11 represent.

12 MR. PAREDES: Okay. My name is
13 Andrew Paredes, and I'm one of the proponents of
14 Proposed Initiative 61. And I'm nervous.

15 MR. HOBBS: Would you spell your
16 last name, please.

17 MR. PAREDES: It is P-a-r-e-d-e-s.

18 Just for the record, I am not an
19 attorney, don't study law. I am a voter, and so I
20 -- and a proponent. And so I think I can maybe
21 speak accurately to what an average voter who is
22 not an expert in the law might think. And it was
23 ours, my proponents' and my intention to file this
24 amendment to give a competing way of looking at the
25 prohibition of discrimination and preferential

1 treatment. So at issue is the fact that there
2 should be no discrimination. And there may be
3 five, two, six, 14 different ways of going about
4 doing that.

5 We have thoughts -- we are trying to
6 articulate a way and put on the ballot a way to go
7 about doing that that we think is the best way to
8 do it. And that is the purpose of the initiative
9 and -- and we may have, in this discussion, spent a
10 lot of time talking about, you know, the particular
11 second sentence, because there is not much
12 discussion needed, you know, about the first
13 sentence. That seems to be hashed out and that
14 seems to be fairly self-evident. So our intention
15 with this is to put on the ballot a way to deal
16 with discrimination but the way that we think would
17 be the best way to go about doing that. And
18 hopefully, it will be set and up to the voters to
19 hash it all out and make their decision. And
20 that's fine.

21 MR. HOBBS: Thank you very much.
22 Questions? Thank you.

23 And Ms. Hart, I'll give you one more
24 minute if you need it. We have got two other
25 measures we want to get to. But if you would like

1 the time, I want to give you a fair chance.

2 MS. HART: No, I feel like I've said
3 what I need to say.

4 MR. HOBBS: Okay. Thank you.

5 Then I'll turn to board discussion.
6 Any discussion by the board.

7 MR. DOMENICO: Well, I'll start.

8 I mean, I think I was pretty clear
9 last time that I had real problems with this. And
10 I'm -- as I say, I appreciate what the proponents
11 are trying to do. I don't -- I don't agree or even
12 really care what -- whether they intend to be
13 misleading or deceptive. I don't want to
14 characterize their efforts that way. I think this
15 is a good-faith effort. I just -- it's clearer to
16 me than ever that this really is the kind of thing
17 that the prohibition against confusing or
18 deceptive, in the sense of not of intentionally
19 deceptive but of measures that contain things that
20 the average voter would not -- would be surprised
21 and confused by.

22 It's quite clear to me that that's
23 what is -- would happen here. And I mean, the
24 Supreme Court has very clearly said that certain at
25 least racial preferences are constitutional. They

1 use that language. So it doesn't require, really,
2 any speculation on our part that the second
3 sentence does something that the first sentence
4 purports to -- the second sentence allows something
5 that the first sentence purports to prohibit.

6 Now, the proponents, I think, would
7 like to -- for State constitutional purposes, what
8 I'm hearing is they would like to say that what the
9 Supreme Court is upholding do not amount to racial
10 preferences. And they could do that and, as I say,
11 I think it's a valuable exercise to have the debate
12 over what are proper forms of preferences because,
13 frankly, I think there's a lot less disagreement
14 about that than there seems to be about these
15 broader terms.

16 And so I encourage them, if the
17 board agrees with me and we vote down this measure,
18 to come back with something that more clearly
19 defines -- seeks to define those terms.

20 But this doesn't do that. And I
21 think it is just exactly the type of measure that
22 the deceptive or surreptitious language that the
23 Supreme Court has given us.

24 And I know Ms. Eubanks said that
25 there was a standard that the Supreme Court has

1 given for single subject, which if she's been able
2 to find one standard, I'd like to hear it. There
3 seem to be many standards. But part of the
4 analysis is definitely that a measure can't contain
5 things that typical voters would be misled by. And
6 I think that including a blanket prohibition and
7 then essentially a blanket unprohibition in the
8 second sentence, which is what this seems to do, is
9 misleading and will be confusing.

10 And I don't think the second
11 sentence really can be properly viewed as just
12 exceptions the way that Amendment 31 contained
13 exceptions. It really is kind of a complete flip
14 of the first sentence.

15 And I certainly hope that the
16 proponents don't think that this should prevent
17 them from coming back with something else. I agree
18 with Mr. Corrada, as I think I said, that this is a
19 valuable debate, and it may be the best -- that the
20 best way to have the debate is to have competing
21 propositions. I just think that this particular
22 measure is misleading in a way that we can't set a
23 title for it, as I think the efforts to set a title
24 so far show that it's essentially impossible to set
25 a clear title. And the reason for that is because

1 the measure itself is essentially self-
2 contradictory and confusing.

3 MR. HOBBS: Ms. Eubanks?

4 MS. EUBANKS: So many things, so
5 little time.

6 I think where I want to start is the
7 discussion that we had at our last meeting. And at
8 least the position that I advocated at that point
9 in time in terms of, one, the title board not
10 getting into the business of trying to determine
11 the effect of the measure. And I think the Court
12 has generally been clear that that is not our role
13 and something that we should not do.

14 But in terms of the arguments that
15 have been made both by Mr. Westfall as well as
16 other members of this board, I had to go back to
17 the case law to try to get a little bit more
18 guidance or see if we could find any guidance in
19 terms of where do we draw the line between trying
20 to -- being able to determine what a measure does
21 in a manner sufficient to determine whether it
22 constitutes a single subject without crossing that
23 line of the determination of what its impact or
24 effect may be.

25 And I did find some very helpful

1 language in a fairly recent decision of the Supreme
2 Court, and that is the decision on No. 55. And
3 that measure was the one that involved the
4 restrictions on nonemergency services in which the
5 Court struck down the measures containing more than
6 one subject.

7 And it was very helpful because they
8 had a very detailed discussion, again emphasizing
9 the fact that we should not be, as the title board,
10 making a determination as to the effect of a
11 measure but that we definitely have to analyze a
12 measure to fulfill our duty to determine whether a
13 single subject exists.

14 And so in light of that, in trying
15 to balance what the Court has told us in that
16 regard, that gets me to some of the issues that
17 I've been asking questions about. Things like the
18 language of the second sentence in subsection 1 of
19 No. 61, what it may or may not apply to, what it is
20 effective in terms of at least is it
21 constitutionalizing, perhaps, current as well as
22 future Supreme Court decisions in this area.

23 And perhaps one way of
24 characterizing this measure is where I started out
25 at the last meeting, which is a prohibition with an

1 exception, whether, as Mr. Westfall would
2 characterize it, the exception swallows the
3 prohibition, whether, as Ms. Hart explains it in
4 terms of ensuring that certain types of programs
5 which she characterizes as equal opportunity
6 programs are preserved, whether it's characterized,
7 perhaps, as -- more appropriately as preserving the
8 status quo. And I base that on some of the
9 responses to my questions about if you have a
10 program or service that, for example, is based on
11 race and it doesn't meet the standards that have
12 been set forth by the U.S. Supreme Court, what
13 happens? It doesn't continue to exist.

14 That perhaps this measure is
15 constitutionalizing the status quo in terms of what
16 currently isn't allowed as well as those types of
17 programs, however you may characterize them, that
18 are allowed under the U.S. Constitution.

19 And that's -- in terms of that
20 constitutionalizing that case law, both supporting
21 certain types of programs and striking down certain
22 programs.

23 So I think that there's different
24 ways of characterizing and trying to understand
25 this measure for purposes of single subject

1 analysis.

2 Now, in terms of those different
3 options, I don't know that I'm in the same place
4 that I was two weeks ago. And it's interesting,
5 because in my discussion with Ms. Hart we talked
6 about the fact that other cases dealing with voter
7 surprise, voter fraud, were -- tended to be
8 lengthy. Things were very hidden. Those were the
9 concerns that the Court had.

10 As Mr. Westfall said, you know, this
11 measure obviously is not lengthy but is complex.
12 And I think that the fact that even what was at
13 issue in No. 55 was a very short initiative. It
14 contained three sentences. And yet the Court found
15 that because it was vague on its face, that it
16 included purposes that would surprise the voters if
17 they voted on that measure and then found out that
18 it had this purpose and application.

19 And so I don't know that --
20 obviously, 61 is different than most of the cases
21 dealing with voter surprise and fraud, but I do
22 think that 55 is very helpful in understanding that
23 even a short measure can be complex and may be
24 worded in a way that does not allow voters from
25 knowing what they're voting on.

1 It's a very tough call. I don't
2 know if, for folks that aren't attorneys, whether
3 or not they will know what the language in that
4 second sentence of subsection 1 will mean and
5 whether or not you have sort of the log-rolling
6 threat because they think they understand the first
7 sentence and perhaps don't understand the -- what
8 the second sentence may mean in terms of an
9 exception or preservation of certain types of
10 programs, they may vote for this and then find out,
11 just like in 43, the Court's discussion of they
12 think they're getting rid of the single-subject
13 requirements and yet they find out that for certain
14 measures they weren't getting rid of the
15 single-subject requirement. I think there is that
16 potential with this measure.

17 I think in terms of voters knowing
18 from the language of the measure the effect of a
19 yes or no vote may be questionable based on the
20 language of the measure itself.

21 I agree, I think, with Mr. Hobbs'
22 comment that if we were to find that this measure
23 constitutes a single subject, I'm not sure that the
24 title that we set at the meeting two weeks ago
25 contains a statement of that single subject. I

1 think that that would have to be revisited if we
2 get that far.

3 But for the -- for the time being,
4 in terms of the single-subject issue, I think that
5 the vagueness of the measure -- I mean, looking at
6 the difficulty that this board has had in trying to
7 ascertain and understand the meaning of that
8 language I think is indicative of the problems that
9 it may cause to the voters in terms of being
10 misleading or being fraudulent in terms of them not
11 understanding what it is that they're voting on.

12 I don't make these comments lightly.
13 I think that this board has always been very aware
14 of the importance of our decisions, and we take
15 that responsibility very seriously. I just feel,
16 especially in light of the guidance that the Court
17 has given us, especially in No. 43 and No. 55, that
18 at this point, that the measure doesn't meet the
19 single-subject requirements, multiple as they may
20 be. And I think I was referring specifically to
21 the test that the Court has set forth. And I agree
22 that the Court has -- has given us very many
23 differing concepts to take into consideration when
24 determining whether a measure has a single subject.

25 And I think primarily because of the

1 vagueness of the language of the second sentence,
2 that the measure does not constitute a single
3 subject.

4 MR. DOMENICO: Just to highlight
5 your difficulty with that second sentence, and it
6 does seem simple, but I've got in front of me --
7 but the second sentence pulls within it, basically,
8 all of the Supreme Court's jurisprudence on this
9 point. And I've got two of the more recent cases
10 in front of me, the Parents Involved case, which
11 Ms. Hart cited, and Grutter, which I cited. And
12 Parents Involved is 104 pages long and Grutter is
13 89 pages in the report. So it's -- I think that
14 highlights the sort of, I hesitate to say,
15 deceptive simplicity of the length of the measure.
16 It's really quite complex and difficult to
17 understand.

18 MR. HOBBS: Well, I agree with the
19 comments made by Mr. Domenico and Ms. Eubanks and
20 reluctantly agree with their conclusions. I said
21 reluctantly because I do think it's important that
22 the board be very cautious about being an obstacle
23 to petitioners, except that here we really do have
24 some obligations under the statute in the
25 constitution and the -- what the Court has told us.

1 And, you know, I'm going to try to avoid repeating
2 the comments of Mr. Domenico and Ms. Eubanks. But
3 I really think this is a very difficult measure for
4 the board to understand. And the Supreme Court has
5 said that if we cannot understand it well enough to
6 set a title, then we cannot set a title. And I
7 don't know how to set a title for this measure, a
8 fair title that expresses a single subject.

9 I think it really is different than
10 No. 31. And No. 31 was a struggle. And I think it
11 was a struggle for me personally and, I think, for
12 the board and, I think, for the Court. But to me
13 it was at least a struggle that was understandable.
14 And it had to do with, you know, what is
15 discrimination. And at least I think it was
16 understandable. Here I think because of the
17 uncertainty about the meaning of the second
18 sentence, it's a different situation. And I don't
19 -- again, I don't know how to express in the titles
20 what the measure is doing. You know, we could go
21 with what the titles we set, but I don't think a
22 voter can understand what the measure does reading
23 the titles that we set. And I think that the
24 reason is because of the uncertainties about what
25 the second sentence means.

1 I really did try to look at this as
2 maybe -- as just a question of two measures, No. 31
3 and No. 61, that each prohibit discrimination and
4 each have their own approach to what exceptions
5 there should be. But No. 31, I think the
6 exceptions were actually clear in that case, and I
7 think we expressed them in the title, and I don't
8 think that was the struggle that we had. Here we
9 really are struggling with what is permitted in
10 light of the first sentence's prohibition on
11 discrimination.

12 And I go back to -- well, really, a
13 question that I raised earlier in this discussion,
14 and that is, that it still seems to me that voters
15 would, you know, seeing a measure that says it
16 prohibits discrimination, would be surprised to
17 find that, in fact, it permits preferential
18 treatment to the extent permitted by the U.S.
19 Supreme Court. And that's the way I understand the
20 measure. And I think that kind of goes back to --
21 well, supports the discussions about the measure
22 being misleading. And again, I agree with
23 Mr. Domenico. I don't want to characterize
24 people's motives. I don't think that's relevant
25 here. But I think the measure is inherently

1 misleading because of the way it's drafted. And so
2 I think I would also be a no vote on finding that
3 the measure is a single subject.

4 If there is no other discussion, I
5 think a motion would be in order.

6 I think -- I'm not sure what the
7 proper motion is, but I'll take a stab at it. I
8 think I'll move that the board grant the motion for
9 rehearing and find that the measure does not
10 comprise a single subject and strike the titles
11 that were set at the last hearing.

12 MR. DOMENICO: I'll second that
13 motion.

14 MR. HOBBS: Is there any further
15 discussion? If not, all those in favor say "Aye."

16 MR. DOMENICO: Aye.

17 MS. EUBANKS: Aye.

18 MR. HOBBS: Aye.

19 All those opposed, say "No."

20 That motion carries three to zero.

21 That concludes No. 61. The time is

22 10:57 a.m. Thank you.

23 (The proceedings adjourned at

24 10:57 a.m.)

25

