



CENTER FOR
INVESTIGATIVE
REPORTING

MONEY TRAILS TO THE FEDERAL BENCH:

**State-by-state report on campaign contributions from
federal judges appointed during the Bush Administration**

Released October 31, 2006

[Table of Contents]

Executive Summary	3
Introduction	4
U.S. Circuit Court Judges [by circuit]	6
U.S. District Court Judges [alphabetical by state]	17
Judges' Comments on Campaign Contributions by Judicial Candidates	62
Appendix A: Clinton Appointed Judge	65

Credits: Research and reporting by Will Evans with assistance from
Adam Satariano, Rina Palta and Christa Scharfenberg

Comments and questions about this report should be addressed to:

Will Evans • Center for Investigative Reporting

2927 Newbury Street, Suite A • Berkeley, CA 94703

T: 510.809.3173 **F:** 510.849.1813 **E:** wevans@cironline.org

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report documents how numerous federal judges have given political contributions while they were under consideration for a lifetime appointment to the bench. A four-month investigation of 249 judges appointed by President George W. Bush since 2001 found that at least two dozen gave money to key Republicans while they were under consideration for an appointment. Those six appellate court judges and 18 district court judges gave a total of more than \$44,000, while they were judicial candidates, to politicians who were influential in their appointments. Some gave money to the campaign of the president himself after they were officially nominated.

In all, at least 23 percent of Bush-appointed appellate judges (11 out of 47) and more than 16 percent of Bush-appointed district judges (34 out of 202) gave campaign contributions of some kind while they were under official consideration for a judgeship. Five of the appellate court judges and 15 of the district judges gave political donations after they were nominated.

There are no laws or rules prohibiting campaign contributions by a candidate for the federal bench. But some ethics experts and Bush-appointed judges say that political giving is inappropriate for those seeking a federal judgeship. Creating even an appearance of impropriety, they say, can shake the public's confidence in the impartiality and independence of the judiciary.

INTRODUCTION

This report documents how numerous federal judges have given political contributions while they were under consideration for a lifetime appointment to the bench.

A four-month investigation of judges appointed by President George W. Bush since 2001 found that at least two dozen gave money to key Republicans while they were under consideration for an appointment. Those six appellate court judges and 18 district court judges gave a total of more than \$44,000, while they were judicial candidates, to politicians who were influential in their appointments. Some gave money to the campaign of the president himself after they were officially nominated.

In all, at least 23 percent of Bush-appointed appellate judges (11 out of 47) and more than 16 percent of Bush-appointed district judges (34 out of 202) gave campaign contributions of some kind while they were under official consideration for a judgeship. Five of the appellate court judges and 15 of the district judges gave political donations after they were nominated.

There are no laws or rules prohibiting campaign contributions by a candidate for the federal bench. But some ethics experts and Bush-appointed judges say that political giving is inappropriate for those seeking a federal judgeship. Creating even an appearance of impropriety, they say, can shake the public's confidence in the impartiality and independence of the judiciary.

"We just have so many problems with contributions to judicial campaigns, and so many problems with campaign contributions to members of the legislature," said Jeffrey M. Shaman, a judicial ethics expert at DePaul University College of Law. "If someone wants to be a judge, then they should, in their sound discretion and wisdom, voluntarily decide not to make these contributions anymore."

(A compilation of opinions on the issue from sitting federal judges can be found in the "Judges' Comments" section of this report.)

CIR's investigation analyzed the campaign contributions of 249 judges who were appointed by President Bush to U.S. District and Circuit courts around the country. While some judges did not give contributions at all in the years leading up to their appointments, others continued to make political donations while their nominations were pending in the Senate.

The report provides an overall snapshot of each judge's history of campaign contributions since 1990, while highlighting contributions made when an individual was under consideration for an appointment. The summaries often note other past political activity and political connections that were identified through the research, but the study does not attempt to provide a comprehensive survey of political involvement. Special attention is given to contributions to the president and Republican senators. Home-state senators of the president's party traditionally have some influence in the selection of judicial nominees, especially for district judgeships. In some cases, especially when a state's senators are of the opposite party, a governor or member of the House of Representatives may have added influence.

Though the official [Code of Conduct for United States Judges](#) prohibits political contributions by sitting federal judges, it does not address donations by judicial candidates seeking appointment. The First Amendment protects the right of Americans to make political contributions.

The American Bar Association, however, is [overhauling](#) its own judicial code of conduct, and the current draft of its new guidelines would not allow campaign contributions by judicial candidates. The ABA will vote on whether to adopt the overall revision of its code – which serves as a recommendation to states and the federal judiciary – in February.

“Once you cross into the world of judging or being a candidate for judge you take on a new responsibility to begin living by the rules of your new job,” said William Hodes, a professor emeritus of law at Indiana University who helped draft the proposed ABA code. “Since sitting federal judges can’t donate even a dime anyway, my guess is that it would be very comfortable for the federal system to say once you have had direct talks with the senator with an eye toward [a judgeship], or if the White House has contacted you, then you’re a candidate and you have to back off.”

Though this study focuses on Bush-appointed judges, political giving by judicial candidates is by no means unique to the current administration. In fact, CIR’s research also turned up a Clinton-appointed judge who apparently made campaign contributions while on the bench. (See Appendix A.)

Also, after being alerted to CIR’s investigation, the [Committee for Justice](#) – a conservative Washington D.C.-based advocacy group – looked at a sampling of President Clinton’s judicial nominees, according to Sean Rushton, the group’s executive director. The Committee for Justice found 10 judges confirmed to the bench during the Clinton Administration who gave contributions of some kind after they were nominated, according to [information](#) provided by Rushton.

Methodology

The campaign contributions detailed in CIR’s report came from Federal Election Commission records and state government offices. The report focuses on federal contributions. Though it notes state contributions where appropriate, the study is not intended to be a comprehensive look at state-level political giving.

Federal contributions from 1997 to the present were found through the FEC’s [online database](#). Federal contributions from 1990 to 1996 were found through online databases of FEC records provided by the [Center for Responsive Politics](#) and [Political Money Line](#). CIR checked the original FEC records for contributions where the donor’s identity was not clear. The study used address information on contribution records to help identify the donors. State-level campaign contributions were found through the online database of the [Institute on Money in State Politics](#) and numerous state government online databases. Because of irregularities in the data, some contributions can only be found by entering an individual’s first name in the last name field, or other variations.

To determine when a person was “under consideration” for a judicial appointment, the study used publicly available dates that specified when an individual was involved in the selection process. These dates often came from the questionnaires that nominees submit to the Senate Judiciary Committee. Other details were found in press reports or statements made by members of Congress. CIR used all of these sources of information to cross-reference the details of a judicial candidate’s selection process with the candidate’s campaign contributions.

However, the date that a candidate applies for a judgeship or is recommended to the President is not necessarily publicly disclosed. Thus, in some instances, the precise time period when a candidate was under official consideration was not available. In those cases, this report provides the available information on the timing of the candidate’s selection process, as well as the campaign contributions around that time.

All judges who made campaign contributions while under consideration for their judgeships, or near the time of their nominations, were contacted in writing. CIR detailed the information that would be included in this report and asked for their comments, as well as a correction of any errors. CIR also contacted many judges who gave campaign contributions in the past -- but not while they were judicial candidates -- in order to ascertain their opinions on the issue, and for clarification of their histories of political giving. Many judges did not respond. The responses of those who did are included in the “U.S. Circuit Court Judges” and “U.S. District Court Judges” sections of this report.

U.S. CIRCUIT COURT JUDGES

☑ This symbol denoted judges who contributed to key Republicans while under consideration for a judgeship.

1st CIRCUIT: Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Puerto Rico, Rhode Island

Howard, Jeffrey R.

U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit (NH)

Nominated: August 2, 2001 | **Confirmed:** April 23, 2002

Summary: Howard headed Lawyers for Bush in New Hampshire, serving as legal counsel and a member of the steering and finance committees for the 2000 Bush campaign in New Hampshire. A former state attorney general and U.S. Attorney, Howard also ran an unsuccessful campaign in 2000 for the Republican nomination for governor. Between 1999 and 2000, Howard gave \$1,000 to Bush, \$3,200 to the New Hampshire Republican State Committee, and \$1,000 to national Republican committees. Also, \$3,700 worth of donations in the name of Mr. and Mrs. Jeffrey Howard were made to the New Hampshire Republican State Committee.

2nd CIRCUIT: Connecticut, New York, Vermont

Hall, Peter W.

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (VT)

Nominated: December 9, 2003 | **Confirmed:** June 24, 2004

Summary: Between 1993-1999, Hall gave \$2,000 to Sen. Jim Jeffords, who was then Republican and is now an independent. Hall later was appointed U.S. Attorney by President Bush. He was recommended to Bush for a judgeship by Republican Gov. Jim Douglas, with whom Hall had worked on law enforcement issues. Hall gave \$750 to Douglas' unsuccessful run for Senate in 1992. Hall also gave \$375 to the Republican National Committee in 1993.

Parker, Barrington Daniels Jr.

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (CT)

Nominated: May 9, 2001 | **Confirmed:** October 11, 2001

Summary: Parker was appointed U.S. District Judge of the Southern District of New York by President Clinton in 1994. Between 1989-1992, Parker gave \$7,500 in federal contributions to Democrats, including \$1,500 to Sen. Joe Lieberman and \$1,000 to Sen. Chris Dodd, both of Connecticut.

Wesley, Richard C.

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (NY)

Nominated: March 5, 2003 | **Confirmed:** June 11, 2003

Summary: Wesley is a close friend and former colleague in the state assembly of Gov. George Pataki. Pataki, a Republican, picked Wesley for New York's highest court. Wesley's wife, Kathryn Wesley, contributed \$1,000 to Bush in 1999. She also gave \$1,120 to Pataki in 1997-1998, according to the Institute on Money in State Politics.

> No federal contributions since 1990 were found for the following judge: Reena Raggi

3rd CIRCUIT: Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin Islands

Fisher, D. Michael

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit (PA)

Nominated: May 1, 2003 | **Confirmed:** December 9, 2003

Summary: Pennsylvania's attorney general from 1997-2003 and state senator before that, Fisher was the unsuccessful Republican candidate for governor in 2002. At his confirmation hearing, Sen. Rick Santorum (R-PA) called him "a mentor of mine from the very early days." He was recommended to the President by Santorum and Sen. Arlen Specter (R-PA). Fisher gave \$250 to Specter in 1989 and \$500 to Santorum in 1994.

> No federal contributions since 1990 were found for the following judges: Michael A. Chagares, D. Brooks Smith, Franklin Stuart Van Antwerpen

4th CIRCUIT: Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia

Duncan, Allyson Kay

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit (NC)

Nominated: April 28, 2003 | **Confirmed:** July 17, 2003

Summary: Duncan, a former lawyer in private practice, contributed \$1,000 to Bush in 1999 and \$1,000 to Sen. Elizabeth Dole (R-NC) in 2002, a year before she was nominated. Duncan contributed another \$1,750 to Republican congressional candidates between 1998-2002. She was also a state judge in the past.

Gregory, Roger L.

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit (VA)

Nominated: May 9, 2001 | **Confirmed:** July 20, 2001

Summary: Gregory was directly appointed to the Fourth Circuit in 2000 by President Clinton, using a "recess appointment" that temporarily bypasses the need for Senate confirmation. President Bush then also nominated Gregory and he was confirmed. Gregory was the law partner of L. Douglas Wilder, the former Democratic governor of Virginia and current mayor of Richmond. Gregory gave a few thousand dollars to Wilder's brief bids for president and Senate from 1991-1994.

Shedd, Dennis W.

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit (SC)

Nominated: May 9, 2001 | **Confirmed:** November 19, 2002

Summary: Shedd was appointed to the U.S. District Court in South Carolina by former President Bush in 1990. He was recommended to the 4th Circuit by former Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-SC). Shedd worked on Thurmond's staff out of law school and served as the Senate Judiciary Committee's chief counsel and staff director under Thurmond. He had served as treasurer to Thurmond's reelection campaign from 1988-1990.

5th CIRCUIT: Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas

Clement, Edith Brown

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit (LA)

Nominated: September 9, 2001 | **Confirmed:** November 13, 2001

Summary: Clement was appointed U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of Louisiana by former President Bush in 1991. Her husband, Rutledge C. Clement, Jr., contributed \$2,000 to George W. Bush's 2000 campaign. Between 1999-2001, he also gave \$1,500 to Sen. David Vitter, R-LA, who was then a member of the House of Representatives.

Owen, Priscilla Richman

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit (TX)

Nominated: May 9, 2001 | **Confirmed:** May 25, 2005

Summary: Formerly a justice on the Texas Supreme Court, Owen contributed \$1,000 to Bush in 1999.

> No federal contributions since 1990 were found for the following judge: Edward Charles Prado

6th CIRCUIT: Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee

☒ **Cook, Deborah L.**

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit (OH)

Nominated: May 9, 2001 | **Confirmed:** May 5, 2003

Summary: After initially being nominated by President Bush in 2001, Cook and her husband, Robert Linton, continued to contribute regularly to Senators DeWine and Voinovich and other Republicans. After she was nominated, Cook – an Ohio Supreme Court Justice at the time - gave \$1,000 to Voinovich and \$1,500 to Ohio Gov. Bob Taft, both of whom had urged the President to nominate her. After she took a seat on the federal appeals court, Cook continued to make political contributions, an apparent violation of the Code of Conduct for U.S. Judges. On December 7, 2005, DeWine registered an \$800 contribution from Cook, who is identified on the campaign filing as a *district* court judge named Deborah Linton, her married name. DeWine reimbursed the contribution three weeks later. Brian Seitchik, a spokesperson for DeWine's campaign, confirmed that the donation was returned because it came from a sitting judge, and returning it was "the prudent thing to do." Overall, Cook made more than \$10,000 in federal campaign contributions to Republicans since 1992, including \$2,500 to DeWine and \$1,000 to Bush. Meanwhile, Linton gave Sen. DeWine \$4,000 while his wife's nomination was pending in the Senate. He gave Bush \$2,000 after she was confirmed, as well as \$25,000 to a fundraising committee operated by Sen. Voinovich. Separately, from 1997 to 2002, Cook and her husband combined to give \$12,000 in state contributions to Bob Taft, the governor who recommended her for the appeals court.

Chronology:

- 1999: President Bush receives \$1,000 each from Cook and husband Bob Linton.
- 2000: Cook contributes \$1,000 to DeWine and \$2,700 to the Ohio Republican Party.
- February 6, 2001: Ohio Gov. Taft confirms that he has spoken with Cook about the court vacancy and that he supports her, according to the Dayton Daily News.
- February 14, 2001: Voinovich receives \$1,000 contributions from both Cook and her husband.
- **May 9, 2001: Cook is nominated.**
- June 17, 2001: Linton gives \$1,000 to Gov. Taft.
- **February 20, 2002: Voinovich receives \$1,000 from Cook.**
- February 25, 2002: DeWine receives \$2,000 from Linton.
- May 15, 2002: Taft receives \$1,000 from Linton.
- June 17, 2002: Taft receives \$1,500 from Linton.
- **August 31, 2002: Taft receives a \$1,500 contribution from Cook.**
- January 29, 2003: Confirmation hearing for Cook.
- January 31, 2003: Voinovich registers a \$1,000 contribution from Linton.
- February 19, 2003: DeWine receives \$2,000 from Linton.
- **May 5, 2003: Cook is confirmed.**
- June 26, 2003: President Bush's campaign receives \$2,000 from Linton.
- June 30, 2003: Voinovich registers a \$1,000 contribution from Linton.

- July 2004: Linton contributes \$25,000 to a Voinovich campaign committee.
- **January 6, 2004: Cook contributes \$500 to a Republican Ohio Supreme Court candidate.**
- December 7, 2005: DeWine registers an \$800 contribution from Cook, who is identified on the contribution as Deborah Linton, U.S. District Court Judge. **The check is refunded on Dec. 28.**

Judge Comment (fax): In response to repeated requests for comment, Judge Cook’s chambers faxed an unattributed, one-sentence, handwritten reply. It said, “Campaigns attributed contributions from Robert Linton to Deborah Cook.” Two written requests to Cook seeking further clarification were not answered.

[Click here](#) to see her fax response.

Note: For the [Feb. 20, 2002 donation](#) to Sen. Voinovich, federal records identify the donor as “The Honorable Deborah L. Cook.” For the Aug. 31, 2002 donation to Gov. Taft, state records identify the donor as Deborah Cook, “Ohio Supreme Court Judge.” For the Jan. 6, 2004 contribution to a state candidate, records identify the donor as Deborah Cook, “6th Circuit Court of Appeals.” For the [Dec. 7, 2005 contribution](#) to Sen. DeWine, records identify the donor as “Deborah Linton,” employer “U.S. District Court,” occupation “Judge.” The federal campaign contribution records can be viewed [here](#). The state contribution records can be viewed [here](#).

Gibbons, Julia Smith

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit (TN)

Nominated: October 9, 2001 | **Confirmed:** July 29, 2002

Summary: Gibbons was formerly appointed U.S. District Judge of the Western District of Tennessee by President Reagan. From 1979-1981, she served as deputy counsel and legal advisor to current Sen. Lamar Alexander (R-TN) when he was Governor. Then-Gov. Alexander also appointed Gibbons to a state judgeship in 1981. Her husband, Bill Gibbons, gave \$200 to the Tennessee Republican Party in 2000 and \$1,000 to Alexander in 1995.

McKeague, David William

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit (MI)

Nominated: November 8, 2001 | **Confirmed:** June 9, 2005

Summary: McKeague was appointed U.S. District Judge of the Western District of Michigan by former President Bush in 1992. Before that, he served as general counsel of the State Central Committee of the Michigan Republican Party. He was state co-chairman for the Bush/Quayle Victory 1988 Committee. McKeague gave \$1,000 to the Michigan Republican State Committee in 1990. His wife, Nancy McKeague, gave \$1,000 to President Bush’s 2000 campaign.

☒ **Rogers, John M.**

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit (KY)

Nominated: December 19, 2001 | **Confirmed:** November 14, 2002

Summary: A former law school professor at the University of Kentucky, Rodgers first formally expressed interest in a judicial nomination to Sen. Mitch McConnell in November 2000. In February 2001, he met with McConnell and his staff about a position on the Sixth Circuit. That month, on February 20, McConnell received a \$250 contribution from Rogers. Sen. Bunning also received a \$250 contribution from Rogers in March 2001. Overall, since 1989, Rogers gave \$4,000 in federal campaign contributions, including \$500 to Bunning and \$1,000 each to McConnell, Bush and the Republican Party of Kentucky. Rogers’ wife, Xiong Ying Juan, gave \$250 to McConnell in Aug. 2005.

Chronology:

- November 2000: Rogers writes to Sen. McConnell expressing interest in a judicial appointment, or a position with the State or Justice departments.
- February 2001: McConnell and his staff meet with Rodgers about a potential judicial appointment.
- Feb. 20, 2001: McConnell receives a \$250 contribution from Rogers.
- March 9, 2001: Bunning registers a \$250 contribution from Rogers.

Sutton, Jeffrey S.

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit (OH)

Nominated: May 9, 2001 | **Confirmed:** April 29, 2003

Summary: Sutton, a former lawyer in private practice, contributed \$1,000 to President Bush in September 1999.

> No federal contributions since 1990 were found for the following judge: Richard Allen Griffin

7th CIRCUIT: Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin

> No federal contributions since 1990 were found for the following judge: Diane S. Sykes

8th CIRCUIT: Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota**Benton, William Duane**

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit (MO)

Nominated: February 12, 2004 | **Confirmed:** June 24, 2004

Summary: Benton was appointed to the Missouri Supreme Court in 1991 by then-Gov. John Ashcroft, the former U.S. Attorney General. Ashcroft also appointed him director of the Missouri Department of Revenue. Benton served as an attorney for the Missouri Republican Party and vice-chair of his county Republican committee in the 1980s. Between 1989-1991, Benton gave \$1,500 to Sen. Christopher “Kit” Bond (R-MO) and \$650 to the Missouri Republican State Committee.

Colloton, Steven M.

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit (IA)

Nominated: February 12, 2003 | **Confirmed:** September 4, 2003

Summary: Colloton contributed \$1,000 to Bush in 1999. Bush appointed Colloton U.S. Attorney in 2001. Colloton had served as executive director of Lawyers for Bush-Cheney in Iowa, and helped monitor vote counting in the 2000 election on behalf of the state Republican Party. In the mid 1990s, he worked with Kenneth Starr as associate independent counsel in investigating the Clinton Administration.

Gruender, Raymond W.

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit (MO)

Nominated: September 29, 2003 | **Confirmed:** May 20, 2004

Summary: Gruender contributed \$500 in 1999 to Bush, who appointed him U.S. Attorney in 2001. Gruender served as Missouri legal counsel to Bush’s presidential campaign in 1999. Gruender also gave \$250 each to Sen. Kit Bond and John Ashcroft between 1998-1999, and \$500 to former Texas GOP Sen. Phil Gramm in 1995. Gruender served as officer and director of GOP Sen. Jim Talent’s campaign for governor in 2000 and state executive director of the 1996 Dole-Kemp presidential campaign.

Riley, William J.

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit (NE)

Nominated: May 23, 2001 | **Confirmed:** August 2, 2001

Summary: Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-NE) interviewed Riley, an Omaha attorney, about a district court vacancy in February 2001, according to the Omaha World Herald. The following month, Riley gave \$250 to the National Republican Congressional Committee, which is dedicated to electing Republicans to the House of Representatives.

Riley had given the committee \$750 in 2000. Overall, Riley gave more than \$5,000 in federal contributions to Republicans between 1994-2001, including \$500 to Bush in 2000 and \$250 to Sen. Hagel in 1996. Riley's wife, Norma, gave Bush's reelection campaign \$1,000 in 2003 and \$1,000 in 2004.

Chronology:

February 2001: Sen. Hagel interviews Riley about a district court vacancy, according to the Omaha World Herald.
March 12, 2001: The National Republican Congressional Committee receives \$250 from Riley.

☑ Smith, Lavenski R.

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit (AR)

Nominated: May 22, 2001 | **Confirmed:** July 15, 2002

Summary: After Smith publicly acknowledged he was undergoing an FBI background check for a potential judicial nomination, he gave \$1,000 to then-Sen. Tim Hutchinson (R-AR), who had recommended him to the President for a judgeship. The donation, apparently Smith's first federal contribution since at least 1990, came three weeks before Bush announced his nomination. After the nomination, Smith gave \$250 to Republican Gov. Mike Huckabee, according to state records. Huckabee had recommended Smith to Hutchinson, according to the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette. Before Smith reached the federal bench, Huckabee had appointed him to the Arkansas Supreme Court and the state Public Service Commission. Smith also gave \$2,750 to the Arkansas Republican Party in March 2000, according to the Institute on Money in State Politics. A June 2, 2002 story in the Democrat-Gazette reported that many of the people Hutchinson recommended for presidential appointments, including Smith, had contributed to Hutchinson's campaign. Hutchinson said in the article that he doesn't keep track of who, among those he recommended, gave him money, and that the donations are so small they couldn't influence a senator.

Chronology:

- April 12, 2001: The Arkansas Democrat-Gazette reports that the FBI is conducting a background check on Smith in preparation for a potential judicial appointment. (Sen. Hutchinson had recommended Smith to the President.)
- May 3, 2001: Hutchinson receives \$1,000 from Smith.
- May 22, 2001: Bush announces his nomination of Smith.
- Dec. 1, 2001: GOP Gov. Mike Huckabee, who recommended Smith to Hutchinson, receives \$250 from Smith.

Judge Comment (email): "Your facts are mostly accurate. However, as I recall, the \$2,750.00 was a filing fee to run for the state appellate judgeship I campaigned for in 2000. Neither Senator Hutchinson nor Governor Huckabee ever intimated directly or indirectly that some kind of contribution was expected from me in order to be nominated. In each case, I gave to support the re-election of people I trusted to be good public servants. The proximity of the timing between my donations and my nomination was largely coincidental. The selection process began months earlier than May and only the White House knew or controlled when or even if a nomination would be made. Until nominated, potential nominees should retain their full first amendment rights to participate politically as ordinary citizens."

> No federal contributions since 1990 were found for the following judges: Michael Joseph Melloy, Bobby E. Shepherd

9th CIRCUIT: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Guam, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Northern Mariana Islands, Oregon, Washington

Bea, Carlos T.

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit (CA)

Nominated: April 11, 2003 | **Confirmed:** September 29, 2003

Summary: Bea contributed \$500 to President Bush in 1999 as a state judge. He also gave \$500 to a Republican candidate for Congress in 2000. His wife, Louise, gave \$2,000 to Bush in March 2004, as well as \$500 in 1999. She also gave \$2,000 to South Dakota GOP Sen. John Thune's 2004 campaign.

Bybee, Jay S.

Judge, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit (NV)

Nominated: January 7, 2003 | **Confirmed:** March 13, 2003

Summary: Bybee was previously Assistant Attorney General under President Bush and an associate White House counsel to former President Bush. Bybee served as co-chair of Nevada Lawyers for Bush-Cheney during the 2000 campaign.

Callahan, Consuelo Maria

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit (CA)

Nominated: February 12, 2003 | **Confirmed:** May 22, 2003

Summary: Callahan contributed \$500 to the federal account of the California Republican Party in 2000, while she was a state judge. She also gave \$250 to former President Bush in 1992.

Clifton, Richard R.

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit (Hawaii)

Nominated: June 22, 2001 | **Confirmed:** July 18, 2002

Summary: Former counsel to the Hawaii Republican Party, Clifton made about \$25,000 in federal contributions to Republicans from 1990-2001. Among his donations, he gave \$1,000 to the Hawaii GOP in February 2001, after he had expressed interest in a judicial appointment to officials with the Hawaii GOP and the Bush-Cheney campaign. Overall, Clifton gave nearly \$10,000 to Hawaii Republican Party, as well as \$700 to Bush. The Hawaii GOP backed his candidacy, while the state's Democratic Senators, and the governor at the time, initially did not. Clifton also gave thousands in state contributions to Republicans, including \$2,600 to Linda Lingle, who, as chair of the state GOP at the time, endorsed his nomination. Previously, Clifton had served as attorney to Lingle's unsuccessful 1998 gubernatorial campaign. Lingle is now governor. Among his state contributions, Clifton gave \$165 to a Republican political action committee while he was under consideration for the judgeship, according to the Institute on Money in State Politics.

Chronology:

- July 17, 2000: President Bush registers a \$700 contribution from Clifton.
- December 2000 – January 2001: Clifton expresses interest in a judicial appointment to officials affiliated with the Hawaii Republican Party and the Bush-Cheney campaign.
- February 9, 2001: The Hawaii Republican Party receives \$1,000 from Clifton.
- March 2001: Clifton is invited to a White House interview.
- May 25, 2001: A political action committee supporting state Republican candidates called "GOP HOUSE PAC" registers a \$165 donation from Clifton.

Ikuta, Sandra Segal

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit (CA)

Nominated: February 8, 2006 | **Confirmed:** June 19, 2006

Summary: Ikuta contributed \$750 to the Republican National Committee in 2003, while working in private practice. In 2004, Republican Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger appointed her to be deputy secretary and general counsel of the California Resources Agency.

Smith, Milan Dale Jr.

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit (CA)

Nominated: February 14, 2006 | **Confirmed:** May 16, 2006

Summary: In October 2001, the same month Smith was interviewing with the White House Counsel, he gave \$1,000 to Oregon GOP Sen. Gordon Smith, who is his brother. While working in private practice, Milan Smith also gave \$1,000 to Bush in 1999 and \$1,000 to Matt Fong, a Republican candidate for Senate in 1998. Smith's wife, Kathleen Crane, also contributed \$1,000 each to Bush and Sen. Smith, as well as \$250 to Democratic presidential candidate Al Gore in 1999.

Chronology:

April 2001: Smith interviews with White House Counsel Alberto Gonzalez.

October 2001: Smith again meets with the White House Counsel.

Oct. 15, 2001: Sen. Gordon Smith (R-OR) receives \$1,000 from Milan Smith, who is his brother.

10th CIRCUIT: Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, Wyoming**Gorsuch, Neil M.**

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit (CO)

Nominated: May 10, 2006 | **Confirmed:** July 20, 2006

Summary: Gorsuch gave \$2,000 to President Bush in 2003, and \$250 in 2000, while in private practice. He also gave \$250 to the Republican National Committee in 2004; \$250 to Sen. John McCain (R-AZ) in 2000 and \$300 to Sen. Bill Frist (R-TN) in 1999. Gorsuch worked in the Justice Department from 2005 until being nominated to the federal bench. In the past, he was involved with groups such as “Lawyers for Bush-Cheney.”

☑ Hartz, Harris L

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit (New Mexico)

Nominated: June 21, 2001 | **Confirmed:** December 6, 2001

Summary: After the Albuquerque Tribune reported that Hartz had confirmed his interest in a federal judgeship, Hartz gave \$200 to Sen. Domenici. Domenici recommended Hartz to Bush. Hartz was a lawyer in private practice at the time, and before that served as a state judge. Overall, between 1995-2001, Hartz gave \$1,000 to Bush, \$1,500 to the Republican Campaign Committee of New Mexico, \$950 to GOP Rep. Heather Wilson and \$400 to Domenici. His wife, Deborah Hartz, gave \$500 to Bush in 1999, \$200 to the New Mexico Republican committee in 2003, and \$1,000 to Rep. Wilson in 2006.

Chronology:

- Jan. 15, 2001: Albuquerque Tribune reports that Hartz has confirmed his interest in a federal judgeship.
- Feb. 7, 2001: Domenici receives \$200 from Hartz.

Holmes, Jerome A.

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit (OK)

Nominated: May 4, 2006 | **Confirmed:** July 25, 2006

Summary: While a pending nominee to the federal bench, Holmes gave \$400 to Republican Oklahoma Rep. Tom Cole. When he gave the money in March and May of 2006, Holmes had already been nominated to a district judgeship and had discussed with the White House the possibility of an appointment to the appellate bench instead. Overall, Holmes has made more than \$3,000 in federal contributions since 2002, most of it while he was an assistant U.S. attorney. His previous contributions included another \$1,200 to Cole, and \$700 each to a Republican and a Democrat running for Senate. Holmes also gave \$200 to President Bush in 2004. At the state level, Holmes gave \$350 to state candidates after his initial February 2006 nomination, according to the Institute on Money in State Politics.

Chronology:

- February 14, 2006: Bush nominates Holmes to be a federal district court judge.
- March 2006: With his district nomination pending, Holmes talks to the White House about a vacancy on the U.S. Court of Appeals.
- March 31, 2006: Rep. Tom Cole, R-Okla., registers a \$200 contribution from Holmes.
- May 1, 2006: Cole receives another \$200 contribution from Holmes.
- May 4, 2006: Bush nominates Holmes instead to the Tenth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

McConnell, Michael W.

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit (UT)

Nominated: September 4, 2001 | **Confirmed:** November 15, 2002

Summary: McConnell, a former law professor at the University of Utah, contributed \$1,000 to Bush in June 2000. Also in 2000, McConnell contributed \$800 to Sen. Orin Hatch (R-UT), \$300 to Sen. Rick Santorum (R-PA), and \$300 to New York Senate candidate Rick Lazio. McConnell was a member of Law Professors for Bush-Cheney.

☑ Tymkovich, Timothy M.

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit (CO)

Nominated: May 25, 2001 | **Confirmed:** April 1, 2003

Summary: Tymkovich expressed interest in a judicial nomination to the White House in January 2000, while working as a Denver attorney in private practice. A year later, in January 2001, he contributed \$250 to Sen. Wayne Allard (R-CO). After Tymkovich was nominated by Bush in May 2001, he gave an additional \$750 to Allard in June. Those donations appear to be his only federal contributions since at least 1990. Tymkovich also gave \$225 to state-level Republicans, including Gov. Bill Owens, after his nomination. Prior to working in private practice, Tymkovich was Colorado's solicitor general under then-attorney general Gale Ann Norton. When Norton became Pres. Bush's Interior Secretary, Tymkovich turned down an offer for a top spot in the department, according to news accounts. He also served as general counsel to the Colorado Republican Party from 1998 till January 2001.

Chronology:

- January 2000: Tymkovich expressed his interest in the judgeship to the White House Counsel.
- Jan. 8, 2001: Sen. Allard receives \$250 from Tymkovich.
- May 25, 2001: Bush nominates Tymkovich.
- May 31, 2001: Republican Gov. Bill Owens receives \$125 from Tymkovich.
- June 16, 2001: Allard receives \$250 from Tymkovich.
- June 30, 2001: Allard receives \$500 from Tymkovich.
- Sept. 30, 2002: A Republican state legislator running for re-election receives \$100 from Tymkovich.

> No federal contributions since 1990 were found for the following judge: Terrence L. O'Brien

11th CIRCUIT: Alabama, Florida, Georgia**Pryor, William Holcombe Jr.**

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit (AL)

Nominated: April 9, 2003 | **Confirmed:** June 9, 2005

Summary: Pryor was Alabama's attorney general until Bush named him to the appellate court on Feb. 20, 2004 using a "recess appointment," which temporarily bypasses the need for Senate confirmation. Pryor was confirmed by the Senate in 2005. Pryor gave \$1,000 to Bush in 1999 and \$1,000 to Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-AL) in 2001. Pryor was a co-founder and past chair of the Republican Attorneys General Association. He served as state co-chairman of Bush's 2000 campaign and as a Bush delegate to the Republican National Convention. He was also a volunteer "attorney-advisor" to Sen. Session's 1994 campaign for attorney general. His wife, Kristan W. Pryor, contributed \$1,000 to Bush in 2000.

D.C. CIRCUIT**Brown, Janice Rogers**

U.S. Court of Appeals for District of Columbia Circuit (CA)

Nominated: July 25, 2003 | **Confirmed:** June 8, 2005

Summary: In the early 1990s, Brown served as legal affairs secretary to then-Gov. Pete Wilson of California, who appointed her to a state appellate court and later to the California Supreme Court.

Griffith, Thomas Beall

U.S. Court of Appeals for District of Columbia Circuit (UT)

Nominated: May 10, 2004 | **Confirmed:** June 14, 2005

Summary: In the summer of 1999, Griffith discussed with Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT) his interest in an appellate judgeship. The following spring, Griffith hosted a fundraising breakfast for Sen. Hatch's bid for President. Griffith did not interview with the White House concerning a judgeship until 2003, after which he again spoke with Hatch. According to news accounts, Hatch is a good friend of Griffith and tried to push his nomination through the Senate Judiciary Committee while Hatch was chairman. Griffith eventually was approved by the committee under Chairman Arlen Specter (R-PA). Griffith served as counsel to the Senate during the impeachment trial of President Clinton, later working as general counsel for Brigham Young University. In 1992 and 2000, Griffith served as a volunteer for Lawyers for Bush. He gave \$250 to former Vice President Dan Quayle in 1999 and, according to his Senate questionnaire, gave money to the 2000 Bush campaign.

Chronology:

- Summer 1999: Griffith talks to Sen. Hatch about his interest in being a federal appeals court judge.
- Spring 2000: Griffith hosts a fundraising breakfast for Sen. Hatch's campaign for the Republican presidential nomination.

Kavanaugh, Brett M.

U.S. Court of Appeals for District of Columbia Circuit (MD)

Nominated: July 25, 2003 | **Confirmed:** May 26, 2006

Summary: Kavanaugh gave \$2,000 to a Republican candidate for Congress from Georgia in December 2003, after his nomination. Kavanaugh served as associate counsel to the President from 2001-2003 and White House Staff Secretary from 2003 until his judicial appointment. He was also a regional coordinator for the group Lawyers for Bush-Cheney 2000, and traveled to Florida in November 2000 to participate in the election recount. In the 1990s, Kavanaugh served as associate counsel in Kenneth Starr's Office of Independent Counsel and helped draft the report to Congress outlining possible grounds of impeachment. Overall, from 1999-2003, Kavanaugh gave \$5,250 in federal contributions to Republicans, including \$1000 to Bush, \$1,000 to the presidential bid of Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT), and \$500 to the Republican National Committee. He also gave \$1,000 to an unsuccessful Ohio Democrat running for Senate.

Chronology:

- July 25, 2003: Bush nominates Kavanaugh.
- Dec. 24, 2003: A Georgia Republican candidate for Congress, Dylan Glenn, receives \$2,000 from Kavanaugh. Glenn, like Kavanaugh, formerly served on the White House staff.

Federal Circuit

Prost, Sharon

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit (DC)

Nominated: May 21, 2001 | **Confirmed:** September 21, 2001

Summary: Prost served as deputy and chief counsel for Republicans on the Senate Judiciary Committee from 1993 until her judicial appointment. In that role, she worked as the principal legal advisor and legislative strategist to Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT), the committee's former chairman. Before that, Prost served Sen. Hatch as chief Republican labor counsel for the Senate's labor and human resources committee.

☑ Moore, Kimberly Ann

U.S. Circuit Judge for the Federal Circuit (VA)

Nominated: May 18, 2006 | **Confirmed:** September 05, 2006

Summary: Moore, a former law school professor at George Mason University, contributed \$500 to Sen. George Allen (R-VA) in late March 2006, after she had discussions with Bush Administration officials about a potential appointment to the Federal Circuit. Later, in September, Sen. Allen spoke on the Senate floor urging his colleagues to confirm Moore. Moore also contributed \$2,000 to President Bush in 2004. The two donations were apparently Moore's only federal contributions since at least 1990.

Chronology:

- March 2006: Following discussions with the Office of the White House Counsel and the Department of Justice, Moore is informed that Bush intends to nominate her.
- March 31, 2006: Sen. George Allen (R-VA) receives a \$500 contribution from Moore.

U.S. DISTRICT COURT JUDGES

☑ This symbol denoted judges who contributed to key Republicans while under consideration for a judgeship.

ALABAMA: Sen. Jeff Sessions (R), Sen. Richard C. Shelby (R)

Bowdre, Karon O.

U.S. District Court, Northern District of Alabama

Nominated: August 2, 2001 | **Confirmed:** November 6, 2001

Summary: Bowdre, a former law school professor, has known Sen. Shelby since she was a college undergraduate, and has handed out literature for some of his campaigns. In January 2001, Bowdre approached Shelby about her interest in the district court position.

Coogler, L. Scott

U.S. District Court, Northern District of Alabama

Nominated: March 27, 2003 | **Confirmed:** May 22, 2003

Summary: Sen. Shelby has known Coogler for a number of years because Coogler lived in Shelby's hometown. Shelby asked Coogler, a former state judge, to submit a resume for the judgeship, and invited Coogler to come to Washington for an interview with himself and Sen. Sessions. Shortly after Coogler's confirmation in May 2003, Sen. Shelby received \$1,000 from Coogler's wife, Mitzi Coogler, on June 13, 2003. In June 2004, Coogler's wife contributed another \$1,000 to Shelby. Those were the only federal contributions from the Cooglers in at least 10 years.

Chronology:

- May 22, 2003: Confirmed by the Senate
- June 13, 2003: Shelby receives \$1,000 from Coogler's wife

DuBose, Kristi

U.S. District Court, Southern District of Alabama

Nominated: September 28, 2005 | **Confirmed:** December 21, 2005

Summary: A former top aide to Sen. Sessions, DuBose has been called in news accounts a "longtime protégé" of the Senator who backed her bid for the bench. In 1990, Sessions, then a U.S. Attorney in Alabama, hired DuBose to be assistant U.S. Attorney. Later, when Sessions was elected state attorney general, she served as deputy attorney general. When Sessions came to the Senate, she served as his chief counsel.

Fuller, Mark E.

U.S. District Court, Middle District of Alabama

Nominated: August 1, 2002 | **Confirmed:** November 14, 2002

Summary: Prior to joining U.S. District Court, Fuller was a district attorney and active in state Republican politics. Between 1999-2000, he contributed \$3,000 to Sen. Shelby and his political action committee. Sens. Shelby and Sessions recommended him for the bench. Overall, Fuller contributed \$7,000 to Republican candidates between 1997 and 2001. Fuller also was the chairman of a Republican congressman's campaign committee for several years up to his nomination, and was formerly a member of the Alabama Republican Executive Committee.

Granade, Callie V.

U.S. District Court, Southern District of Alabama

Nominated: August 2, 2001 | **Confirmed:** February 4, 2002

Summary: For 11 years, Granade worked under Sen. Sessions, while he was a U.S. Attorney. Her husband, Fred Granade, has contributed \$4,775 to Sessions and Sen. Shelby, including during the period around Granade's nomination and confirmation. Following President Bush's election in 2000, Granade spoke to Sessions and wrote to

Shelby to express interest in a judgeship. In February 2001, Granade was interviewed by Sessions' staff. Around the same time, on February 13, Shelby received a \$1,000 contribution from Granade's husband. On August 2, 2001, Granade was nominated by President Bush, and three months later, on November 9, Sessions received \$750 from her husband. The Senate confirmed Granade on February 4, 2002, and less than three months later, on April 24, Sessions received another \$850 from her husband. Between 1996-1999, Fred Granade contributed \$2,300 to Sessions, though \$125 was returned. Recently, in September 2006, Mr. Granade gave \$500 to the Alabama Republican Party.

Chronology:

- February 2001: Granade interviews with a member of Sessions' staff about potential nomination.
- February 13, 2001: Shelby receives \$1,000 from Granade's husband.
- August 2, 2001: Bush nominates Granade.
- November 9, 2001: Sessions receives \$750 from Granade's husband.
- February 4, 2002: Granade is confirmed by the Senate.
- April 24, 2002: Sessions receives \$850 from Granade's husband.

Hopkins, Virginia Emerson

U.S. District Court, Northern District of Alabama

Nominated: October 14, 2003 | **Confirmed:** June 15, 2004

Summary: In May 2003, five months before her nomination, Hopkins and her husband, attorney Christopher Hopkins, each contributed \$1,000 to Sen. Shelby, who strongly supported her nomination. On Halloween 2003, two weeks after Hopkins was nominated by the White House, President Bush received \$2,000 from Hopkins' husband. Sen. Sessions, also a backer of her nomination, later received \$1,000 from husband Christopher Hopkins several months after her confirmation hearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee, of which Sessions is a member. Overall, Hopkins' husband made nearly \$9,000 in federal contributions between 2000-2004, with all but \$500 going to Republicans. Virginia Hopkins, formerly an attorney in private practice, gave Bush \$250 in 2000.

Chronology:

- May 21, 2003: Shelby receives \$2,000 total from Hopkins and her husband.
- October 14, 2003: Bush nominates Hopkins.
- October 31, 2003: Bush-Cheney campaign receives \$2,000 from Hopkins' husband.
- November 19, 2003: Confirmation hearing in the Senate Judiciary Committee.
- March 2, 2004: Sessions receives \$1,000 from Hopkins' husband.
- June 15, 2004: Hopkins is confirmed by the Senate.

Proctor, R. David

U.S. District Court, Northern District of Alabama

Nominated: May 1, 2003 | **Confirmed:** September 17, 2003

Summary: Proctor, formerly an attorney in private practice, was hired by Sen. Sessions in 1996, to represent him in a case in which he was charged with mishandling evidence as Alabama attorney general, according to the Birmingham News. From 2000 to 2002, Proctor contributed \$1,775 to Sessions, \$1,600 to an unsuccessful GOP congressional candidate, and \$300 to the National Republican Congressional Committee.

Steele, William H.

U.S. District Court, Southern District of Alabama

Nominated: January 7, 2003 | **Confirmed:** March 13, 2003

Summary: Steele, a federal magistrate judge before becoming a district judge, worked from 1987-89 as an assistant U.S. attorney under Sen. Sessions, when he was U.S. Attorney. Steele was originally nominated to the 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in October 2001, but was not confirmed. At the Senate confirmation hearing for Steele's district judgeship, Sessions said: "I enjoy seeing your mother at the Whistle Stop Restaurant every now and then after church on Sunday."

Watkins, William Keith

U.S. District Court, Middle District of Alabama

Nominated: September 28, 2005 | **Confirmed:** December 21, 2005

Summary: Watkins, formerly a lawyer in private practice, contributed \$250 to Sen. Sessions in June 2001.

ALASKA: Sen. Lisa Murkowski (R), Sen. Ted Stevens (R)**Beistline, Ralph R.**

U.S. District Court, District of Alaska

Nominated: November 8, 2001 | **Confirmed:** March 12, 2002

Summary: Beistline, a state judge from 1992 until his federal appointment, gave \$250 to former Sen. Frank Murkowski (R-AK) in 1991.

Burgess, Timothy Mark

U.S. District Court, District of Alaska

Nominated: July 28, 2005 | **Confirmed:** December 21, 2005

Summary: Burgess was appointed U.S. Attorney by Pres. Bush in 2001. He gave \$200 in March 2004 to Sen. Lisa Murkowski and was nominated to a judgeship the following year, in July 2005. Burgess also contributed \$1,498 to Murkowski's father, former Sen. Frank Murkowski, during his successful bid for governor in 2001-02, according to the Institute On Money In State Politics. Burgess once worked as an aide to then-Sen. Frank Murkowski, and he has known Sen. Lisa Murkowski since they were sworn into the Alaska bar at the same time, according to news accounts.

ARIZONA: Sen. Jon Kyl (R), Sen. John McCain (R)**Wake, Neil Vincent**

U.S. District Court, District of Arizona

Nominated: October 22, 2003 | **Confirmed:** March 12, 2004

Summary: Wake, formerly an attorney in private practice, has been a longtime contributor to Arizona Republicans. Between 1990 and 1999, he gave nearly \$5,000 to Sen. Kyl, who recommended him for the judgeship to the White House. In 1999, Wake's wife, Shari Capra, also contributed nearly \$2,000 to Kyl. Wake gave Sen. McCain \$1,000 in 1999 and \$1,300 in 1992. Overall, he has given a about \$20,000 in federal contributions to Republicans from 1990-2002. In 2002, the last year Wake made political contributions, he provided \$2,150 to Republican candidates for House and Senate. He also gave nearly \$4,000 in state contributions to Republicans from 1995-2002, according to the Institute on Money in State Politics.

Bury, David C.

U.S. District Court, District of Arizona

Nominated: September 10, 2001 | **Confirmed:** March 15, 2002

Summary: Bury's wife, Deborah A. Bury, gave \$200 to the Republican National Committee in August 2004.

- > No federal campaign contributions since 1990 were found for the following judges: David G. Campbell, Cindy K. Jorgenson, Frederick J. Martone
-

ARKANSAS: Sen. Blanche Lincoln (D), Sen. Mark Pryor (D)

Holmes, James Leon

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Arkansas

Nominated: January 29, 2003 | **Confirmed:** July 6, 2004

Summary: Holmes gave \$500 to former Sen. Tim Hutchinson, R-Ark., in June 2002. At the time, he was not under official consideration for a judgeship: a court vacancy for which he had been considered was already filled, and the seat that he would eventually take had not yet opened up. Holmes also had given \$250 to Hutchinson in 1998. In November 2002, then-Sen. Hutchinson formally recommended Holmes to the White House for a judgeship.

Hutchinson was defeated in 2002 by Sen. Pryor, who also supported Holmes' nomination. Sen. Pryor has known Holmes since 1986, worked with him at a law firm in the past and said he considers Holmes a "friend."

Judge's Comment (phone): "I didn't make any more contributions after I became a candidate. I think that after you've been nominated it's clearly inappropriate, and before that I'm not sure. Tim Hutchinson has been a friend of mine for more than 20 years. That contribution couldn't have played any part whatsoever in whether I was nominated by him. In that situation, when Sen. Hutchinson was defeated, he didn't submit names until after the election, and he lost. The White House did the selection process. Tim did not do the selection process. He was a lame duck at that point." On whether his friendship with Hutchinson helped him attain the judgeship: "I'm sure that it did. It wouldn't make any sense for it not to. If the senator knows you, that's how you get on the list. He's got to select people he knows in some way. I'm sure there could be some better process but I don't know what it is.

Arkansas is a small state – I had Bill Clinton as a teacher in law school, I practiced law with Mark Pryor, I've known Tim Hutchinson for over 20 years. Most people who've been involved in public life - they know each other."

CALIFORNIA: Sen. Barbara Boxer (D), Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D)

Guilford, Andrew J.

U.S. District Court, Central District of California

Nominated: January 25, 2006 | **Confirmed:** June 22, 2006

Summary: Between 1997-2000, Guilford, a former lawyer in private practice, gave \$2,000 to federal candidates, including \$650 to Republican Matt Fong, who lost to incumbent Sen. Boxer in 1998. His most recent contributions were \$350 given between 2002 and 2004 to a Democrat running for state positions, according to the Institute on Money in State Politics.

Judge's Comment (phone): "I did give the \$650 to Matt Fong, who was an attorney at my law firm." On whether judicial candidates should give political contributions: "It's a tough issue. The cynical assumption is that people are giving for political favors. If you really believe in a cause, though, do you lose your right to participate in a cause? On the other hand, I do believe the appearance of impropriety is very, very important and the integrity of the courts is very, very important, and I think in most situations that would be the principal factor. The principal factor in evaluating whether a contribution should be made is the impact it would have on the integrity of our third branch of government."

Larson, Stephen G.

District Court, Central District of California

Nominated: December 15, 2005 | **Confirmed:** March 16, 2006

Summary: Larson served as a magistrate judge from 2000 until his appointment as district judge. Before he became a magistrate judge, Larson gave to a Republican candidate for governor in 1998, according to the Institute on Money in State Politics. In 1996, he gave \$250 to then-Gov. Pete Wilson, a Republican, according to the Center for Responsive Politics.

Otero, S. James

U.S. District Court, Central District of California

Nominated: July 18, 2002 | **Confirmed:** February 10, 2003

Summary: Otero, a former California superior court judge, gave \$250 to Republican Matt Fong, who challenged Sen. Boxer in 1998.

Sabraw, Dana Makoto

U.S. District Court, Southern District of California

Nominated: May 1, 2003 | **Confirmed:** September 25, 2003

Summary: Sabraw gave former Republican Gov. Pete Wilson \$1,000 in 1995, the year Wilson appointed Sabraw to a municipal court judgeship. Sabraw gave Wilson \$250 in 1998, the year Wilson elevated Sabraw to a Superior Court judgeship, according to the Institute on Money in State Politics.

Schiavelli, George P.

U.S. District Court, Central District of California

Nominated: January 20, 2004 | **Confirmed:** June 24, 2004

Summary: A former attorney in private practice and state judge, Schiavelli wrote in his Senate Judiciary Committee questionnaire that he decided to seek a federal judgeship following the death of his mother in March 2003. Three months later, on June 30, Schiavelli contributed \$2,000 to President Bush. It was his first federal contribution since he gave \$850 to Republican Matt Fong's 1998 challenge to Sen. Boxer. After he was nominated to the bench in January 2004, Schiavelli's wife, Holli Schiavelli, contributed \$1,000 to the Bush campaign in March. Schiavelli was confirmed three months later. Earlier, in 1995, Schiavelli and his wife gave a combined \$1,500 to then-Gov. Pete Wilson, who had appointed him to a Superior Court judgeship the year before. Schiavelli also gave \$1,000 to George H.W. Bush in 1992, \$1,425 to the Republican who lost to Sen. Feinstein in 1992 and \$1,000 to the California Republican Party in 1990.

Chronology:

- June 30, 2003: Bush receives \$2,000 from Schiavelli.
- Nov. 26, 2003: Schiavelli files application with selection committee.
- January 20, 2004: Bush nominates Schiavelli.
- March 10, 2004: Bush receives \$1,000 from Schiavelli's wife.
- June 24, 2004: Schiavelli is confirmed by the Senate.

Selna, James V.

U.S. District Court, Central District of California

Nominated: January 29, 2003 | **Confirmed:** March 27, 2003

Summary: Selna, a former superior court judge, contributed \$800 to Republicans from January to June 2001. In August 2001, he first met with California's judicial selection commission. Selna and his wife, Harriet Selna, contributed a combined \$4,000 to Republican Matt Fong's campaign for Senate in 1998. From 1990 to 1997, Judge Selna and his wife gave an additional \$2,500 to Republicans.

Chronology:

- Jan. 10, 2001: Rep. Christopher Cox, R-Calif., receives \$500 from Selna.
- June 11, 2001: The Republican Central Committee of Orange County receives \$300 from Selna.
- Aug. 30, 2001: Selna meets with California judicial screening panel.

Walter, John F.

U.S. District Court, Central District of California

Nominated: January 23, 2002 | **Confirmed:** April 25, 2002

Summary: Walter, a former attorney in private practice, was recommended to be nominated by California's judicial screening panel in 2001, according to a news account. In June 2001, he gave \$500 to the Republican National Committee. On Jan. 18, 2002, the RNC received \$250 more from Walter. Five days later, the President nominated Walter. Walter had been originally nominated by Pres. George H.W. Bush in 1992, but was not confirmed.

Chronology:

- 2001: Walter is recommended for a judgeship by California's judicial screening panel.
 - June 18, 2001: Republican National Committee receives \$500 from Walter.
 - January 18, 2002: Republican National Committee receives \$250 from Walter.
 - January 23, 2002: Bush nominates Walter.
- > No federal campaign contributions since 1990 were found for the following judges: Percy Anderson, Roger T. Benitez, Larry Alan Burns, Cormac J. Carney, Morrison C. England, Jr., Dale S. Fischer, William Q. Hayes, John A. Houston, Robert G. Klausner, Jeffrey Steven White
-

COLORADO: Sen. Wayne Allard (R), Sen. Ken Salazar (D)**☑ Figa, Phillip S.**

U.S. District Court, District of Colorado

Nominated: June 9, 2003 | **Confirmed:** October 2, 2003

Summary: Figa, a former attorney in private practice, was originally recommended for a judgeship by Sen. Allard and then-Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R-CO) in May 2001. Then, between June 2001 and March 2002, Figa and his wife, Candace Figa, contributed \$6,000 to Allard, to whom they had never previously given. In fact, Figa – who has given to candidates of both parties over the years – contributed \$1,000 in 1996 to Allard's Democrat opponent, Tom Strickland. Figa was not nominated by Bush for the original court positions, but Allard and Campbell resubmitted his name on January 9, 2003, for another court vacancy. Later that month, on January 27, Figa's wife contributed \$1,000 to Campbell, who retired in 2004.

Chronology:

- May 8, 2001: Figa is recommended to the White House by Colorado's Senators, according to news accounts.
- June 2001: Figa interviews with White House.
- June 10, 2001: Allard receives \$2,000 from Figa's wife.
- August 31, 2001: Allard Victory Committee receives \$2,000 from Figa.
- March 29, 2002: Allard Leadership Committee receives \$2,000 from Figa.
- January 9, 2003: Allard and Campbell resubmit Figa's name to the White House.
- January 27, 2003: Campbell receives \$1,000 from Figa's wife.
- February 2003: Figa again interviews with the White House.

- > No federal campaign contributions since 1990 were found for the following judges: Robert E. Blackburn, Marcia S. Krieger
-

CONNECTICUT: Sen. Christopher J. Dodd (D), Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman (D)**Kravitz, Mark R.**

U.S. District Court, District of Connecticut

Nominated: March 27, 2003 | **Confirmed:** June 11, 2003

Summary: Kravitz, formerly a lawyer in private practice, contributed \$576 in 2000 to a political action committee operated by his law firm that supports mostly Connecticut Democrats, including Sens. Lieberman and Dodd. In December 2002, Kravitz was informed that the White House intended to nominate him, pending consultation with Connecticut's Senators.

DELAWARE: Sen. Joseph R. Biden, Jr. (D), Sen. Thomas R. Carper (D)

Jordan, Kent A.

U.S. District Court, District of Delaware

Nominated: July 25, 2002 | **Confirmed:** November 14, 2002

Summary: Jordan, formerly a corporate general counsel, volunteered for the Bush campaign in 2000 and the Republican Senate campaigns of William V. Roth Jr. in 1994 and 2000. He contributed \$300 to former-Sen. Roth's failed reelection campaign in 2000. Jordan also served as the state chair for Indiana GOP Sen. Richard Lugar's brief White House bid in 1996. Jordan was recommended to the White House for a district judgeship by Delaware's Republican Congressman, Mike Castle. In June 2006, Jordan was nominated to the Third U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. He has yet to be confirmed.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Bates, John D.

U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia

Nominated: June 20, 2001 | **Confirmed:** December 11, 2001

Summary: Bates, formerly an attorney in private practice, contributed \$1,000 to Bush in June 1999. Earlier, Bates served as deputy independent counsel for the Whitewater investigation.

Collyer, Rosemary M.

U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia

Nominated: August 1, 2002 | **Confirmed:** November 14, 2002

Summary: In the 1980s, Collyer was appointed by President Reagan to the National Labor Relations Board and the Federal Mine Safety and Health Review Commission.

Leon, Richard J.

U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia

Nominated: September 10, 2001 | **Confirmed:** February 14, 2002

Summary: Leon, a former special counsel to the Whitewater investigation and Republican counsel on the Congressional committee investigating the Iran-Contra affair, contributed \$500 to the Republican National Committee in November 2000. Between 1990-1996, Leon contributed an additional \$5,750 to Republicans, including \$1,250 to former President Bush and \$2,000 to the RNC.

Walton, Reggie B.

U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia

Nominated: June 20, 2001 | **Confirmed:** September 21, 2001

Summary: Walton was formerly appointed superior court judge for the District of Columbia by both former Presidents Reagan and Bush. He also served as former President Bush's associate director of National Drug Control Policy and senior White House advisor on crime. In the past, he has made campaign appearances for various Republican candidates.

FLORIDA: Sen. Mel Martinez (R), Sen. Bill Nelson (D)

Altonaga, Cecilia M.

U.S. District Court, Southern District of Florida

Nominated: January 15, 2003 | **Confirmed:** May 6, 2003

Summary: Following the disputed 2000 presidential election, Altonaga was appointed by Florida GOP Gov. Jeb Bush to a special task force on election procedures. She was also appointed a state judge by Gov. Jeb Bush. Altonaga's husband, George Mencia Jr., has been a steady donor, mostly giving to Republicans, including \$1,000 to President Bush in March 2004.

Cohn, James I.

U.S. District Court, Southern District of Florida

Nominated: May 1, 2003 | **Confirmed:** July 31, 2003

Summary: While in private practice, Cohn gave \$250 to a Democratic candidate for Congress in 1992. He later became a state judge.

Cooke, Marcia G.

U.S. District Court, Southern District of Florida

Nominated: November 25, 2003 | **Confirmed:** May 18, 2004

Summary: Cooke, a former assistant county attorney, once worked as Republican Gov. Jeb Bush's chief inspector general. Cooke gave Gov. Jeb Bush \$250 in October 2002.

Martinez, Jose E.

U.S. District Court, Southern District of Florida

Nominated: January 23, 2002 | **Confirmed:** September 13, 2002

Summary: Martinez, a former attorney in private practice, in 2000 gave \$1,000 to Spencer Abraham, the former Republican Michigan Senator and President Bush's first Energy Secretary.

- > No federal campaign contributions since 1990 were found for the following judges: Timothy J. Corrigan, Virginia Maria Hernandez Covington, Kenneth A. Marra, Margaret Catharine Rodgers, John Richard Smoak, Jr.

GEORGIA: Sen. Saxby Chambliss (R), Sen. Johnny Isakson (R)

Batten, Timothy C. Sr.

U.S. District Court, Northern District of Georgia

Nominated: September 28, 2005 | **Confirmed:** March 6, 2006

Summary: Batten and his wife together gave \$500 in 2001 and \$500 in 2002 to Republican Sonny Perdue's successful campaign for Governor. Prior to his judicial appointment, Batten was an attorney in private practice.

Judge's Comment (email): "My thoughts are that it would probably be inappropriate for a lawyer who is a candidate for a federal judgeship to make a significant campaign contribution to a person having influence over the selection process, especially if the candidate had no prior history of making such contributions. On the other hand, a candidate who has a history of regularly contributing to a politician or party should not be prohibited from continuing to do so during his or her candidacy for the judgeship. Of course, that candidate should realize that public disclosure of the contributions might subject him or her to scrutiny or at least raise unpleasant questions as to the purpose of the contributions."

Duffey, William S. Jr.

U.S. District Court, Northern District of Georgia

Nominated: November 5, 2003 | **Confirmed:** June 16, 2004

Summary: Duffey contributed over \$10,000 to Republicans between 1997 and 2001, a period when he was working in private practice and before he was tapped by President Bush to be a U.S. Attorney. During that period, Duffey contributed \$1,000 to the initial presidential bid of President Bush, for whose 2000 campaign he worked as Georgia co-chair and finance committee member. Additionally, between 1990 and 1996, Duffey contributed \$14,500 in federal contributions to Republicans. In state contributions, Duffey gave \$9,900 to Republicans between 1998 and 2001, according to the Institute on Money in State Politics. Among his donations, in April 2001, Duffey gave \$500 to Sen. Chambliss, who supported Duffey's nomination, calling him a "long-time good friend" at his Senate confirmation hearing. Duffey also is close to former Georgia GOP Sen. Paul Coverdell. Duffey's wife, Betsy Duffey, has been a steady contributor to the GOP as well. She provided \$7,500 in federal contributions between 1997 and 2002, including \$4,000 to President Bush and \$1,000 to Chambliss. Judge Duffey also once served as deputy and associate independent counsel for the Whitewater investigation.

Judge's Comment (letter): "The process for selecting judges in Georgia is bipartisan and designed to recommend candidates with broad legal experience and qualifications. In 2004, the committee that considered candidates for district court positions consisted of three senior litigation lawyers and one state court judge appointed by both of our senators, one a Republican and the other a Democrat. The committee was bipartisan. Candidates were requested to submit information concerning their professional legal experience. They were not requested to provide information about political contributions or activities, and apparently this information was not considered."

Land, Clay D.

U.S. District Court, Middle District of Georgia

Nominated: September 21, 2001 | **Confirmed:** December 13, 2001

Summary: Land, a former lawyer in private practice, was his county's chairman for the Bush presidential campaign in 2000. Land gave \$1,600 in federal contributions to Republicans between 1996 and 1998, including \$900 to then-candidate Johnny Isakson. Land was a Republican state senator from 1995-2000.

Royal, C. Ashley

U.S. District Court, Middle District of Georgia

Nominated: October 9, 2001 | **Confirmed:** December 20, 2001

Summary: Royal, a former lawyer in private practice, gave \$250 to former Sen. Paul Coverdell (R-GA) in 1998. Royal worked on Coverdell's campaigns and served as his local representative until 2000. Royal worked on the Bush-Quayle campaigns in 1987 and 1991 as well, and volunteered for President Bush during the 2000 campaign season. Royal applied for the judgeship with a panel of state Republicans and on the Bush transition team website.

HAWAII: Sen. Daniel K. Akaka (D), Sen. Daniel K. Inouye (D)**Seabright, J. Michael**

U.S. District Court, District of Hawaii

Nominated: September 15, 2004 | **Confirmed:** April 27, 2005

Summary: Seabright, a former assistant U.S. Attorney, gave \$500 to the Hawaii Republican Party in August 2001, when current Republican Gov. Linda Lingle served as state party chair. Seabright gave \$100 to Lingle's gubernatorial bid in October 2002, according to the Institute on Money in State Politics. Gov. Lingle recommended Seabright to the White House in June 2004, according to news reports.

ILLINOIS: Sen. Richard J. Durbin (D), Sen. Barack Obama (D)

☑ Filip, Mark R.

U.S. District Court, Northern District of Illinois

Nominated: April 28, 2003 | **Confirmed:** February 4, 2004

Summary: Filip, formerly a lawyer in private practice, contributed \$2,000 to President Bush in November 2003, months after being nominated to the bench and less than a month after his Senate confirmation hearing. Earlier, in 1999, he and his wife each contributed \$500 to Bush. Overall, Filip gave \$4,250 in federal contributions to Republicans from 1999 to 2003. Also, during the disputed 2000 presidential election, Filip volunteered as a Republican election monitor in Florida, participating in the recount effort.

Chronology:

- April 28, 2003: Bush nominates Filip.
- Oct. 28, 2003: Filip's Senate confirmation hearing.
- Nov. 5, 2003: Bush receives \$1,000 from Filip.
- Nov. 18, 2003: Bush receives \$1,000 from Filip.

Kendall, Virginia Mary

U.S. District Court, Northern District of Illinois

Nominated: September 28, 2005 | **Confirmed:** December 21, 2005

Summary: Kendall, a former assistant U.S. Attorney, gave \$200 to a Democrat's bid for governor in 1998 and \$200 to a Democrat running for a state judgeship in 2002.

St. Eve, Amy J.

U.S. District Court, Northern District of Illinois

Nominated: March 21, 2002 | **Confirmed:** August 1, 2002

Summary: St. Eve, a senior counsel at Abbott Laboratories before she became a judge, once served as an associate independent counsel for the Whitewater investigation.

> No federal campaign contributions since 1990 were found for the following judge: Samuel Der-Yeghiayan

INDIANA: Sen. Evan Bayh (D), Sen. Richard Lugar (R)

> No federal campaign contributions since 1990 were found for the following judges: Philip P. Simon, Theresa Lazar Springmann

IOWA: Sen. Charles E. Grassley (R), Sen. Tom Harkin (D)

Gritzner, James E.

U.S. District Court, Southern District of Iowa

Nominated: July 10, 2001 | **Confirmed:** February 14, 2002

Summary: Gritzner, a former lawyer in private practice, has helped manage the campaigns of Sen. Grassley, a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, who was the chief backer of his nomination. Gritzner was a member of the campaign committee for Grassley's 1986 campaign; was co-chair of Grassley's 1992 campaign, and was later the campaign's chairman from 1998 to 2001. From 1997-2000, Gritzner contributed \$970 to Grassley. By January

2001, Gritzner had been publicly named as a candidate, and Grassley announced his recommendation of Gritzner in April 2001, according to news accounts.

Judge's Comment (email):

On selecting federal judges: “Any judicial appointment is a process of selecting persons with good temperament, sound judgment, strong work ethic, fairness in approach, and a reasonable level of intelligence. These are not characteristics easily mined from a resume. These are determinations that come from familiarity and observation. Thus, it is not at all surprising that judicial appointments may frequently involve persons known to the political officers in a position to make or influence the appointment. On this level it does not strike me as a troubling process.”

On the politics of those who become judges: “The process anticipates the appointment of persons who have been involved in different political perspectives prior to appointment. Once on the bench an individual's political view may impact to some extent the manner in which a person views issues and problems, but ultimately it is our hope, and the design of the system, that the decisions will be made with loyalty to the law and not on the basis of any political agenda. ...I do believe it is unfortunate when prior political involvement is portrayed in a negative light for judicial nominees. We need more good people to be involved in the political process, and we should be cautious about creating a negative image that such involvement somehow taints an individual and disqualifies them from future public service. This strikes me as fundamentally counter-productive in our quest for better government.”

On whether Gritzner's political work on behalf of Sen. Grassley helped him attain the judgeship: “You would need a greater familiarity with Sen. Grassley. A fair argument could be made that it was an impediment, since he would be concerned about this very type of question in regard to someone who has been a longtime friend and advisor.

Certainly Sen. Grassley was very familiar with my work and personal abilities and qualities, and hopefully that would have increased his level of confidence. ...I certainly would not deny that my work on behalf of Sen. Grassley made me more visible to him and provided him with a level of confidence about my ability to do the job. ...It would simply be wrong to conclude he would be involved in making the federal bench some reward to an old friend. In the absence of my having satisfactory credentials and abilities, bipartisan support, and a well-qualified rating from the ABA, I believe Sen. Grassley's enthusiasm for my appointment would have waned quickly.”

On judicial candidates giving contributions: “From a technical perspective, a rational, and legal, argument can be made that until a judge is actually sitting the judge is under no obligation to cease political activity. Thus, one could argue that prior to confirmation, or perhaps even prior to the President's signing of the Commission, political activity would not be prohibited. From a more practical perspective, however, I would think it unwise to be involved politically certainly after nomination by the President, and perhaps even after the selection process commences. Our courts gain most of their power from the public perception of their integrity. Therefore, I think it is always wise to avoid activities that contribute to undermining that perception. This concern is likely even more of an issue with campaign contributions made after a person is being considered for judicial appointment. Again, I would offer that it would be more a matter of personal judgment than legal requirement.”

On the federal judiciary: “The vast majority of federal judges, all of whom were seated through a political process, are people of good will who have made substantial personal sacrifices in order to be involved in public service, and who day in and day out faithfully follow the law, fairly treat the people in the judicial system, and are making a great contribution. They should not be lost in the process of criticizing a few.”

[Click here](#) to read the full response.

- > No federal campaign contributions since 1990 were found for the following judge: Linda R. Reade

KANSAS: Sen. Sam Brownback (R), Sen. Pat Roberts (R)

Robinson, Julie A.

U.S. District Court, District of Kansas

Nominated: September 10, 2001 | **Confirmed:** December 11, 2001

Summary: Robinson went to law school with Sen. Brownback, who recommended her nomination.

KENTUCKY: Sen. Jim Bunning (R), Sen. Mitch McConnell (R)

Bunning, David L.

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Kentucky

Nominated: August 2, 2001 | **Confirmed:** February 14, 2002

Summary: Bunning, a former assistant U.S. attorney, is the son of Kentucky GOP Sen. Jim Bunning. He campaigned for his father in the 1980s and 90s, and for George W. Bush in 2000.

Caldwell, Karen K.

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Kentucky

Nominated: August 2, 2001 | **Confirmed:** October 23, 2001

Summary: Caldwell, a former U.S. Attorney and lawyer in private practice, contributed more than \$15,000 in federal contributions to Republicans from 1997-2000. The total includes \$1,500 for Bush; \$2,666 for Sen. Bunning; \$500 for Sen. McConnell; \$6,000 for the Kentucky Republican Party; and \$4,000 to former Congressman Ernie Fletcher, whom Caldwell called a “friend” at her confirmation hearing and who is now Kentucky’s Republican governor. Caldwell also has hosted or co-hosted fundraisers for Bush, Bunning, McConnell and Fletcher. Her relationship with Sen. McConnell drew scrutiny in the early 1990s, when she was appointed U.S. Attorney by President George H.W. Bush on the recommendation of McConnell, who she was dating at the time. Caldwell’s husband, Lloyd Cress, also has been a GOP donor. He was named commissioner of the state Environmental Protection Department by Gov. Fletcher, to whose gubernatorial campaign Cress gave \$2,000. In January 2001, Caldwell wrote to Bunning and McConnell about her interest in being a federal judge. The following month, her husband contributed \$1,000 to McConnell. The senators recommended Caldwell to Bush and she interviewed with the White House in March 2001. Overall, Cress contributed over \$8,000 to Republicans in federal contributions from 1998-2003, including \$500 to Bush.

Chronology:

- 2000: Caldwell worked as the state co-chair for Lawyers for Bush and gave more than \$6,000 to Republicans.
- January 2001: Caldwell wrote to Kentucky senators expressing interest in a judgeship.
- February 13, 2001: McConnell receives \$1,000 from Caldwell’s husband, Lloyd Cress.

Van Tatenhove, Gregory Frederick

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Kentucky

Nominated: September 13, 2005 | **Confirmed:** December 21, 2005

Summary: Van Tatenhove, a former staffer to Sen. McConnell, worked for McConnell’s reelection campaign in 1990 and went on to become chief of staff and legal counsel to Republican Congressman Ron Lewis from 1994 to 2001. Bush appointed him U.S. Attorney in 2001. Since then, Van Tatenhove contributed \$500 to Sen. McConnell in 2002 and his wife, Jane Van Tatenhove, contributed \$250 to Sen. Bunning in Oct. 2004.

> No federal campaign contributions since 1990 were found for the following judge: Danny C. Reeves

LOUISIANA: Sen. Mary Landrieu (D), Sen. David Vitter (R)

Africk, Lance M.

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Louisiana

Nominated: January 23, 2002 | **Confirmed:** April 17, 2002

Summary: A former U.S. magistrate judge, Africk was the subject of some controversy during his confirmation process because of intimations that he switched parties to help secure a judgeship. Africk changed from Republican

to Democrat when former President Clinton was elected, and then reregistered as a Republican the day after former Vice President Al Gore conceded the 2000 election to President Bush, according to the New Orleans Times-Picayune. At the time of his nomination, Africk told the paper, "I would like to think that the choice was made on quality, temperament and integrity." Africk's wife, Diane, gave \$250 to the Democratic National Committee in 1992 and \$500 to Democrat Sen. Joe Lieberman in 1993.

Drell, Dee D.

U.S. District Court, Western District of Louisiana

Nominated: January 15, 2003 | **Confirmed:** April 9, 2003

Summary: A former lawyer in private practice, Drell gave \$300 to the unsuccessful campaign of former GOP Rep. Clyde Holloway in April 2002, after submitting an application for the judgeship in February 2002. Drell also worked as a local coordinator on a Republican campaign in 1990 and 1991.

Judge's Comment (email): "Briefly, former Congressman Holloway is from this area, and had decided to run again in 2002 for a seat being vacated by Congressman Cooksey, who ran for, but was defeated for, the Senate, that same year. There were seven candidates in the Congressional race. Congressman Holloway ran third and did not make the run-off. In no way could he have influenced the nomination process for this position. I say that because the pre-nomination process of meeting local congressmen and senators would be clearly complete (one way or the other) well before the November election. Indeed, if I remember correctly, the White House already had the list of those applying well before August 2002. Congressman Cooksey finished third as well, with 14% of the vote. I would not have given any contribution to Holloway if I had even the slightest inkling of a possible appearance of influence. In addition, both of our senators (the ones who would be voting on my successful nomination) were Democrats. By the way, no one ever even suggested that, in such an early stage of the nomination process, it would be inappropriate to give small campaign contributions. Your letter was the first I had ever heard of this notion. Now also, I don't want to be glib in any way, but do you suppose a \$300 contribution would REALLY result in swaying a candidate to support a nomination, even if one could argue that the contribution was inappropriate? The stuff that you and I see in the press on influence buying is usually thousands of dollars or more."

☒ **Engelhardt, Kurt D.**

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Louisiana

Nominated: August 2, 2001 | **Confirmed:** December 11, 2001

Summary: Engelhardt, a former lawyer in private practice, has deep ties to Sen. Vitter and was his campaign treasurer when Vitter began pushing for him to be receive a judgeship. Vitter was a member of the House of Representatives at the time, and both of the state's senators were Democrats. Engelhardt, who also represented Vitter in litigation and chaired his campaign for state representative in the 1990s, gave Vitter \$2,000 in 1999. He contributed another \$1,000 in 2001, after Vitter pushed forward his candidacy for a judgeship by coordinating meetings with members of the Louisiana congressional delegation. Engelhardt also gave \$2,000 to the Louisiana Republican Party in 2000. Engelhardt and his wife, Ann Engelhardt, each contributed \$1,000 to President Bush in 1999. His wife contributed an additional \$4,250 to Vitter between 1999-2005.

Chronology:

- January-February 2001: Engelhardt meets with Louisiana delegation about a potential nomination, discussions organized through Sen. Vitter, then a member of the House.
- March 26, 2001: Vitter receives \$1,000 each from Engelhardt and his wife.
- April 2001: With the Louisiana delegation's backing, Engelhardt was interviewed by the White House.

Hicks, S. Maurice Jr.

U.S. District Court, Western District of Louisiana

Nominated: September 12, 2002 | **Confirmed:** May 19, 2003

Summary: A former lawyer in private practice, Hicks actively campaigned for GOP Rep. Jim McCrery from 1987 till the time of his nomination. Hicks served as a close advisor to McCrery and as a member of the McCrery campaign's steering and finance committees. He gave McCrery \$3,500 from 1990 to 1994, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. McCrery initiated Hicks' judicial nomination by submitting his name to Louisiana's Republican congressional delegation, which later recommended Hicks to President Bush. Hicks contributed \$2,000

to the Louisiana Republican Party and \$250 to the national Republican National Committee between 2001-2002. His wife, Glynda Hicks, gave \$1,000 to Sen. Vitter's campaign in 2004.

Minaldi, Patricia Head

U.S. District Court, Western District of Louisiana

Nominated: January 15, 2003 | **Confirmed:** May 6, 2003

Summary: A former state judge, Minaldi gave the Louisiana Republican Party \$500 from her state judicial campaign fund in 2001, according to the Institute on Money in State Politics. Her husband, Thad Minaldi, gave more than \$5,000 in federal contributions to Democrats and Republicans from 2000-2006, including \$1,000 to Bush in 2000 and \$3,050 to the Republican National Committee. One of her husband's numerous \$500 contributions to the RNC came on Jan. 16, 2003, the day after Judge Minaldi was nominated by Bush.

☒ **Zainey, Jay C.**

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Louisiana

Nominated: October 10, 2001 | **Confirmed:** February 11, 2002

Summary: Just after his nomination, Zainey gave \$1,000 to Republican Billy Tauzin, who was then a member of the Louisiana congressional delegation that backed his nomination. At Zainey's confirmation hearing, Tauzin strongly recommended him, calling Zainey "a long-time friend of mine." Overall, Zainey, a former lawyer in private practice, provided \$10,500 in federal contributions from 1999-2001, including \$1,000 to President Bush, \$2,000 to the Louisiana Republican Party, \$3,000 to then-Representative Vitter and \$2,000 to Tauzin. In the past, Zainey helped manage the campaign of a Democrat Senate candidate and also the 1999 congressional campaign of a former Republican governor. Meanwhile, Zainey's wife, Joy Zainey, contributed an additional \$3,000 to Republican candidates from 1999-2000, including \$1,000 to Bush and \$1,000 to Tauzin.

Chronology:

- Dec. 17, 2000: The New Orleans Times-Picayune reports that Zainey is among "names circulating for federal judgeships."
- May 3, 2001: GOP Rep. David Vitter receives \$1,000 from Zainey.
- Aug. 29, 2001: Democrat Rep. William Jefferson receives \$500 from Zainey.
- Oct. 10, 2001: With the backing of Louisiana's congressional delegation, Bush nominates Zainey.
- Oct. 22, 2001: GOP Rep. Billy Tauzin receives \$1,000 from Zainey.

MAINE: Sen. Susan Collins (R), Sen. Olympia J. Snowe (R)

Woodcock, John A. Jr.

U.S. District Court, District of Maine

Nominated: March 27, 2003 | **Confirmed:** June 12, 2003

Summary: A former lawyer in private practice, Woodcock contributed \$1,000 to the unsuccessful 2002 campaign of his brother, Timothy Woodcock, who ran for Congress in the Republican primary. Woodcock also contributed \$250 to a Republican candidate for governor in 2002, according to state records. He contributed \$500 to Sen. Collins in 1996, and \$750 to her Republican predecessor.

MARYLAND: Sen. Barbara A. Mikulski (D), Sen. Paul Sarbanes (D)

Bennett, Richard D.

U.S. District Court, District of Maryland

Nominated: January 29, 2003 | **Confirmed:** April 9, 2003

Summary: Bennett, formerly an attorney in private practice, was chair of the Maryland Republican Party from 1998-2000 and contributed \$1,000 to Bush in 1999. As state party chair and delegate to the 2000 Republican National Convention, Bennett worked on behalf of Bush's presidential campaign. After interviewing at the White House in April 2002 for an earlier judicial vacancy, Bennett gave \$250 to the gubernatorial campaign of Bob Ehrlich, \$250 to a county executive candidate and \$60 to a county Republican Party. "I did not view these contributions on state matters to have any effect on my application to be a federal judge. Now Governor Ehrlich and I have been long-time personal friends," Judge Bennett explained in a letter. The county executive "was another long-time friend. These three contributions were certainly not to curry favor with anyone and related to long-time personal friendships." Bennett was informed by the White House Counsel's office in May 2002 that he was not selected for the judgeship. "From that date until July 22, 2002, I considered the matter of my application to be a federal judge closed, as there were no other vacancies on the Court," he wrote. During that period, Bennett gave \$1,000 to Ehrlich, \$250 to Sen. John Sununu (R-NH), and \$1,000 each to the unsuccessful campaigns of two former Republican Maryland Congresswomen, Connie Morella and Helen D. Bentley. Bentley and Morella had backed Bennett's appointment as U.S. Attorney by former President Bush. (Bennett returned to private practice after President Clinton was elected.) On July 22, 2002, Bennett learned that there would be another court vacancy and began to consider reapplying for a judgeship. In August 2002, Bennett gave \$500 to Ehrlich, "based on prior commitments," he wrote. In September 2002, the White House informed Bennett that he had been selected for a nomination and would have to undergo a background check. "Neither I nor any member of my family made any political contributions after that notification," Bennett wrote. Earlier in his career, Bennett was an unsuccessful candidate for state attorney general in 1994 and lieutenant governor in 1998. In 1997, Bennett worked as the Republican chief counsel to a House of Representatives committee investigating campaign contributions from the 1996 election. Bennett resigned from the investigation.

Judge Comment (letter): "I do not believe that anyone in the legal or political community in Maryland would believe that any monetary contributions made by me played any role in my selection as a federal judge. Having said that, I certainly think that my political background did assist my selection, which was still largely based on my active career as a trial lawyer in this Court. This is due to the fact that I had attained a prominent role in the trial bar of this Court, as well as a prominent role in the Maryland Republican Party. Thus, my nomination by President George W. Bush received broad bipartisan support including the strong endorsements of United States Senators Paul S. Sarbanes and Barbara A. Mikulski."

On giving contributions after applying for a judgeship: "I have chosen to respond to you in this detail as I was certainly sensitive to the appearance of impropriety during these two different periods during which I was under consideration for District Court vacancies...It would be inaccurate to suggest that all my contributions in 2002 were made when I was under consideration for a judgeship. Any contributions made to state campaigns were the result of long-time associations in light of my prominent position in the Maryland Republican Party and were totally unrelated to the selection process in Washington."

On the role of politics in the selection of federal judges: "I think that there will always be some political considerations for Democratic and Republican applicants. However, it is balanced by the advice and consent role of the United States Senate. In my case, as an active federal trial lawyer and prominent Republican, I benefited from the strong support of Senators Sarbanes and Mikulski, who supported me with enthusiasm."

On Bennett's non-partisan credentials: "My non-partisan and measured approach in my legal and political careers was probably best reflected in my successful defense of Democratic State Legislator Tony E. Fulton on political corruption charges in June and July of 2000...Thus, on the day of my confirmation hearing, David Paulson, a spokesman for the Maryland Democratic Party called me 'a lawyer of great integrity.'...In conclusion, it would be hard to separate my active role as a high profile lawyer and a Republican leader prior to my selection as a federal judge. I certainly did not need to make political contributions to curry favor with anyone."

[Click here](#) to view the full letter.

Quarles, William D. Jr.

U.S. District Court, District of Maryland

Nominated: September 12, 2002 | **Confirmed:** March 12, 2003

Summary: While in private practice, Quarles gave \$450 to Republican congressional candidates in the mid 1990s. He later became a state judge. In 1988, he supported former President George H.W. Bush as a board member of Maryland Lawyers for Bush. He was previously nominated to the federal bench by former President Bush in 1992, but was not confirmed.

Titus, Roger W.

U.S. District Court, District of Maryland

Nominated: June 18, 2003 | **Confirmed:** November 5, 2003

Summary: A former lawyer in private practice, Titus contributed \$1,500 in 2002 to Republican congressional candidates, including Connie Morella and Helen Delich Bentley. Titus previously gave \$1,500 to then-Rep. Morella in 1997-2000. Titus also gave \$3,000 in state-level political donations from 2000-2003, including \$250 to the Republican State Central Committee of Maryland in January 2003, according to state records. In April 2003, Titus was invited to interview with the White House Counsel's Office. His wife, Catherine Titus, has contributed \$1,500 to President Bush, including \$500 in November 2004.

Judge Comment (letter): "I have never engaged in any level of significant political activity, and prior to the time that I was notified that I was being considered for a judgeship, my political activities were simply limited to small contributions to persons with whom I am familiar, including candidates of both major parties. All political contributions by me ceased once I was requested to appear for an interview, and no contributions have been made by me subsequent to that date through the present time. From a personal standpoint, I do not believe that political contributions should be made to an appointing authority while under active consideration, and I have made no such contributions."

[Click here](#) for the full letter.

MASSACHUSETTS: Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D), Sen. John Kerry (D)**Saylor, F. Dennis IV**

U.S. District Court, District of Massachusetts

Nominated: July 30, 2003 | **Confirmed:** June 1, 2004

Summary: A former lawyer in private practice, Saylor gave \$500 to Republican Gov. Mitt Romney's 2002 campaign – the maximum contribution allowed under state law. He also gave \$250 to Romney's running mate. Romney recommended Saylor to the President for the judgeship in April 2003. Saylor also gave \$500 to the Republican National Committee in 2000.

MICHIGAN: Sen. Carl Levin (D), Sen. Debbie Stabenow (D)**Cox, Sean F.**

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Michigan

Nominated: September 10, 2004 | **Confirmed:** June 8, 2006

Summary: Cox contributed \$2,000 to Bush in December 2003 while he was a state judge. Cox gave \$790 in state campaign contributions after his nomination, including \$500 to the campaign of his brother, Michigan Attorney General Mike Cox, according to state records. He also gave nearly \$5,500 in federal contributions to Republicans between 1993-2002, including \$3,000 to former Sen. Spencer Abraham.

Chronology:

- Sept. 10, 2004: Bush nominates Cox.
- Oct. 25, 2004: Local Republican committee receives \$200 from Cox.
- Feb. 14, 2005: Bush re-nominates Cox.
- April 4, 2005: Local Republican committee receives \$90 from Cox.
- Dec. 1, 2005: Cox's brother, Michigan's attorney general, receives \$500 from Cox.

☑ Ludington, Thomas

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Michigan

Nominated: September 12, 2002 | **Confirmed:** June 8, 2006

Summary: Ludington, a former state judge, gave \$2,400 in federal campaign contributions after his nomination to the federal bench, including \$1,000 to President Bush, \$500 to Republican Congressman Dave Camp and \$900 to a county Republican committee that helps support Camp. Ludington also gave about \$500 to Republicans at the state level after his nomination. Ludington later thanked Rep. Camp, who he has known since childhood, for seeing his nomination “through to confirmation,” according to the Associated Press. Ludington has given Camp \$3,350 since 1989. Overall, Ludington gave nearly \$6,000 in federal contributions to Republicans from 1997 to 2006. Ludington’s wife, Katrina, also gave \$250 to Bush in 1999.

Chronology:

- Sept. 5, 2002: Rep. Camp receives \$250 from Ludington
 - Sept. 12, 2002: Bush nominates Ludington.
 - Jan. 07, 2003: Bush re-nominates Ludington.
 - March 13, 2003: Midland County Republican Committee receives \$300 from Ludington.
 - Nov. 28, 2003: Bush receives \$1,000 from Ludington
 - Dec. 8, 2003: Camp receives \$500 from Ludington
 - Feb. 14, 2005: Bush renominates Ludington again.
 - March 9, 2005: Midland County Republican Committee receives \$300 from Ludington.
 - March 23, 2006: Midland County Republican Committee receives \$300 from Ludington.
 - June 8, 2006: Ludington confirmed by the Senate.
-

MINNESOTA: Sen. Norm Coleman (R), Sen. Mark Dayton (D)

Ericksen, Joan N.

U.S. District Court, District of Minnesota

Nominated: January 23, 2002 | **Confirmed:** April 25, 2002

Summary: As an attorney in private practice, Ericksen gave \$250 in 1994 to Ann Wynia, the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party’s candidate for Senate that year. Ericksen later served on the Minnesota Supreme Court.

Schiltz, Patrick Joseph

U.S. District Court, District of Minnesota

Nominated: December 14, 2005 | **Confirmed:** April 26, 2006

Summary: A professor and founding dean of the University of St. Thomas School of Law, Schiltz contributed \$1,000 to Sen. Coleman between 2001 and 2004. Schiltz submitted his judgeship application to Coleman on July 25, 2005 and, according to news accounts, Coleman recommended him to the President. Schiltz also contributed \$250 to President Bush in July 2004, and \$250 to the current Republican candidate for Senate, Rep. Mark Kennedy, in June 2005. According to state records, Schiltz gave \$200 to the Republican candidate for governor in 2002. Schiltz was a member of Law Professors for Bush-Cheney in 2000 and 2004, and once served as an aide to a Republican Senator in the 1980s.

Judge Comment (letter): “I think my nomination and confirmation provide pretty good evidence that politics do not always play a role in the selection process for federal judges. The main support for my nomination came from federal judges – both Democratic appointees and Republican appointees...Politics had almost nothing to do with my nomination, as far as I can tell. Prior to the time I was interviewed, I had never met Senator Coleman, never raised any money for him, never attended any of his campaign events – never even wore one of his buttons or put one of his bumper stickers on my car. The same is true of President Bush. If they were looking to reward political supporters, they could have done a lot better.” On belonging to Law Professors for Bush-Cheney: “That was basically an e-mail address list over which the Bush-Cheney campaign could solicit assistance...from moderate to conservative law professors. I never responded to any such solicitation, though, so I never engaged in any political activity for which I might later be ‘rewarded.’” On campaign contributions by judicial candidates: “I do not know whether it is ‘ethical or appropriate’ to make campaign contributions while one is under consideration for a judgeship. I can only tell you that I was uncomfortable with the idea. I knew that federal judges were forbidden from making political contributions, and I thought that, as someone recommended or nominated for a federal judgeship, I should follow the same practice.”

MISSISSIPPI: Sen. Thad Cochran (R), Sen. Trent Lott (R)

Jordan, Daniel Porter III

U.S. District Court, Southern District of Mississippi

Nominated: April 24, 2006 | **Confirmed:** July 20, 2006

Summary: Jordan, a former lawyer in private practice, campaigned and worked for Sen. Lott in the late 1980s. When he was interested in a judgeship, Jordan contacted Lott, who later recommended Jordan to the President, along with Sen. Cochran. Jordan served as chair of his county Republican Party from 2001-2004 and county chair of Bush's 2000 campaign. Jordan gave nearly \$1,400 to his former law firm's political action committee 2003-2006. His last contribution was registered February 1, 2006. The PAC gives to Democrats and Republicans, including Lott. Jordan also gave \$200 to GOP Rep. Chip Pickering in 1996, and served as the county chair of Pickering's campaign that year. Jordan's wife, Teri, gave \$250 to the Mississippi Republican Party in 2002.

Judge's Comment (email): "I'm not sure about the dates, but they sound about right. As for my former firm's PAC, I would note that my level of contribution was not discretionary. All equity members paid the same amount, and there was a committee that decided how the money was spent. Although I could not tell you who received the contributions, I'm confident that you are correct in noting that the funds were distributed to both of the major parties."

Mills, Michael P.

U.S. District Court, Northern District of Mississippi

Nominated: July 10, 2001 | **Confirmed:** October 11, 2001

Summary: A former member of the Mississippi House of Representatives, Mills eventually switched from the Democratic Party to the GOP, according to news accounts. Mills gave \$650 to Republican congressional candidates in 1994. He later became a justice on the Mississippi Supreme Court. Both Sens. Lott and Cochran said they had known Mills for years before his nomination.

Starrett, Keith

U.S. District Court, Southern District of Mississippi

Nominated: July 6, 2004 | **Confirmed:** November 21, 2004

Summary: Starrett's wife, Barbara Starrett, contributed \$500 to the Republican National Committee on August 16, 2004, just over a month after Starrett was nominated by President Bush.

Judge's Comment (letter): "Political contributions by a judge, irrespective of status, are improper. Prior to my nomination I had been a state court judge for twelve years and during that time I tried to abide by my belief that it is improper for judges to be involved in politics. The Canons of Judicial Ethics, both state and federal, are specific on that point. My wife's actions are in no way related to my nomination. I do not exercise control over her actions and the contribution was an independent act of Barbara. Further, the contribution was not to a specific candidate and it was nominal in amount. I have discussed contributions with her since my confirmation and requested that she not participate in any way in politics. She has agreed and, as far as I know, has made no additional contributions. Judicial ethics are very important to me and avoiding even the appearance of impropriety is crucial to the public perception that our system of justice is fair. The most important pillar of any democracy is its system of justice and, while mistakes may be made along the way, I will continue to endeavor to honor each word of my oath of office."

> No federal campaign contributions since 1990 were found for the following judge: Louis Guirola, Jr.

MISSOURI: Sen. Christopher S. Bond (R), Sen. Jim Talent (R)

Dorr, Richard Everett

U.S. District Court, Western District of Missouri

Nominated: March 21, 2002 | **Confirmed:** August 1, 2002

Summary: A former attorney in private practice, Dorr first expressed interest in the federal judgeship to Sen. Bond in January 2001. Shortly thereafter, Dorr gave current House Majority Whip Roy Blunt, who has close ties to the Bush administration, \$500 in March. Dorr's wife, Barbara Dorr, gave Sen. Bond \$1,000 in April 2001, a contribution that was returned in May. Barbara Dorr also gave \$1,000 to Bush in 1999 and \$2,000 to former Attorney General John Ashcroft when he was a Missouri Senator. Overall, Richard Dorr contributed about \$7,000 in federal contributions to Republicans since 1997, including \$1,000 to President Bush, \$1,500 to Ashcroft, and \$3,000 to Rep. Blunt, who has called Dorr a longtime friend. Dorr gave more than \$2,000 to Bond from 1990 to 1997. Additionally, Dorr contributed over \$2,000 to Sen. Talent for his failed 2000 bid for governor. (Dorr was confirmed before Talent was elected to the Senate.)

Chronology:

- January 2001: Dorr expresses interest to Sen. Bond about federal judgeship.
- March 2, 2001: Rep. Blunt receives \$500 from Dorr.
- April 19, 2001: Sen. Bond receives \$1,000 from Dorr's wife
- May 31, 2001: Bond reimburses the \$1,000 contribution from Mrs. Dorr.
- June 6, 2001: Bond announces his recommendation of Dorr to President Bush.

> No federal campaign contributions since 1990 were found for the following judge: Henry Edward Autrey

MONTANA: Sen. Max Baucus (D), Sen. Conrad Burns (R)

Cebull, Richard F.

U.S. District Court, District of Montana

Nominated: May 17, 2001 | **Confirmed:** July 20, 2001

Summary: A former federal magistrate judge from 1998 till his district bench appointment, Cebull was in private practice when he made his last federal campaign contribution, giving \$500 to the unsuccessful 1996 Senate campaign of now-Rep. Dennis Rehberg, a Montana Republican.

Judge Comment (phone): "I have never been a big contributor." On the appearance of impropriety: "You have to be extremely careful. It should be a real important focus. Because judges are deciding cases where ultimately there's a winner and a loser, and who wins and who loses shouldn't be based in any way on political beliefs or anything that's not relevant to the case. And that's why it's so important. It's about credibility."

☒ **Haddon, Sam E.**

U.S. District Court, District of Montana

Nominated: May 17, 2001 | **Confirmed:** July 20, 2001

Summary: On February 12, 2001, a day before Montana's senators recommended Haddon to the White House for the federal bench, Sen. Burns registered \$1,000 contributions from both Haddon and his wife, Betty Haddon. Sam Haddon, who was a member of the Bush for President Montana Steering Committee in 2000, submitted a request to be considered for the judgeship to Sen. Burns after Bush won the presidency. Burns, who had recently been reelected to a six-year term when he received the 2001 contributions, also received \$2,000 each from both Haddon and his wife during his 2000 campaign. Overall, Haddon gave Burns \$5,000 from 1989-2001, about half of the nearly \$10,000 he gave to Republicans during that period. Meanwhile, Betty Haddon has contributed \$6,000 to the

Senator since 1998, half of which she gave after Judge Haddon was confirmed to the federal bench. Overall, Betty Haddon gave about \$23,000 to Republicans since 1997, including \$2,500 to President Bush.

Chronology:

- February 12, 2001: Sen. Burns registers \$1,000 each from Sam and Betty Haddon.
 - February 13, 2001: Sens. Burns and Baucus submit their recommendation of Haddon to the White House.
-

NEBRASKA: Sen. Chuck Hagel (R), Sen. Ben Nelson (D)

Camp, Laurie Smith

U.S. District Court, District of Nebraska

Nominated: June 19, 2001 | **Confirmed:** October 23, 2001

Summary: A former Nebraska deputy attorney general, Camp contributed \$250 in 2000 to the unsuccessful Republican opponent of Sen. Nelson. Still, Nelson supported Camp's nomination.

Judge Comment (email): "I did not submit any formal "application" to Senator Hagel, but I did send him a letter expressing my interest in the U.S. District Court judgeship in 2000, after U.S. District Judge Thomas Shanahan announced his transition to senior status. Once it was determined that George W. Bush would serve as President, I again wrote to Senator Hagel, confirming my interest in the judgeship and enclosing a resume. I believe you are correct that in 2000 I contributed \$250 to Senator Nelson's opponent, Don Stenberg. Mr. Stenberg was the Nebraska Attorney General and I served as his Chief Deputy for Criminal Matters. I walked a precinct in 1982 for then-Governor Charles Thone, when he ran for re-election. In 1999, I walked a precinct for then-husband, Jon Camp, when he ran for Lincoln City Council. My husband and I owned premises in Lincoln's Haymarket District which we occasionally provided free-of-charge for fund-raising events in the 1980s and 1990s. I recall a warehouse loft area being used by Don Stenberg for a fund-raising reception when he ran for the United States Senate and/or Attorney General, and by Congressman Doug Bereuter for two fund-raising events, when he ran for re-election to the House of Representatives."

NEW MEXICO: Sen. Jeff Bingaman (D), Sen. Pete V. Domenici (R)

Armijo, M. Christina

U.S. District Court, District of New Mexico

Nominated: August 2, 2001 | **Confirmed:** November 6, 2001

Summary: After being publicly mentioned as a potential candidate – and three weeks prior to being recommended by Sen. Domenici – Armijo contributed \$600 to a New Mexico Republican campaign committee. In 2000, the former state judge also contributed \$250 to President Bush and \$250 to the state Republican committee. Armijo apparently did not make any other contributions since at least 1990.

Chronology:

- Jan. 15, 2001: The Albuquerque Tribune reports that Armijo is being mentioned as a possible candidate for a district judgeship.
- April 5, 2001: The Republican Campaign Committee of New Mexico, which supports federal candidates, registers a \$600 contribution from Armijo.
- April 28, 2001: The Albuquerque Journal reports Sen. Domenici has recommended Armijo to the President.

Brack, Robert C.

U.S. District Court, District of New Mexico

Nominated: April 28, 2003 | **Confirmed:** July 14, 2003

Summary: In seeking a federal judgeship, Brack called on the support of attorney Pete Domenici Jr., the senator's son, with whom he had litigated a case. Brack was formerly a state judge, since 1997. Brack and his wife gave several hundred dollars in joint contributions to candidates of both parties at the state level from 1994 to 2001, according to the Institute on Money in State Politics.

☑ Browning, James O.

U.S. District Court, District of New Mexico

Nominated: April 28, 2003 | **Confirmed:** July 31, 2003

Summary: Browning, a former Albuquerque attorney, made \$3,000 in campaign contributions during the period from when he expressed interest in a federal judgeship in January 2001 to when the White House decided in May to select another candidate. Of those contributions, \$750 went to Sen. Domenici, who recommended Browning for the position to the White House, and \$2,000 went to a state Republican campaign committee that supports Senate and House candidates. Then, during Domenici's 2002 reelection bid, Browning served on the campaign's executive finance committee and co-hosted a fundraiser for Domenici. He personally contributed another \$700 to the senator. Domenici again recommended Browning to the White House in February 2003 and he was nominated later that year. Overall, Browning has given \$7,200 in federal contributions to Republicans since 1997, including \$1,450 to Domenici and \$2,750 to Rep. Heather Wilson, a New Mexico Republican. Browning was also the co-chairman of New Mexico Lawyers for Bush-Cheney in 2000, gave money to state-level Republicans and hosted other campaign fundraisers in the past.

Chronology:

- January 15, 2001: The Albuquerque Tribune reports Browning has confirmed interest in being recommended by Sen. Domenici to a federal court position.
- February 7, 2001: Domenici receives \$250 from Browning.
- February 14, 2001: Rep. Wilson receives \$250 from Browning.
- February 20, 2001: Domenici receives \$250 from Browning.
- March 27, 2001: Republican Campaign Committee of New Mexico, which supported Senate and House candidates, receives \$2,000 from Browning.
- April 30, 2001: Domenici receives \$250 from Browning.
- May 9, 2001: Bush fills the judicial vacancy, declining to nominate Browning
- Aug. 20, 2001: Domenici receives \$450 from Browning.
- May 22, 2002: Domenici receives \$250 from Browning.
- July 1, 2002: Browning co-hosts fundraiser for Sen. Domenici.
- Feb. 10, 2003: Sen. Domenici announces that he has again recommended Browning to the White House for a judgeship.

Herrera, Judith C.

U.S. District Court, District of New Mexico

Nominated: September 23, 2003 | **Confirmed:** June 3, 2004

Summary: A former attorney in private practice, Herrera contributed \$2,000 to the Republican Campaign Committee of New Mexico in 2001. Using her married name, Judy Baird, she gave \$300 more to the federal Republican committee on September 23, 2003, the day of her nomination. Herrera also gave \$500 to a Democrat's congressional campaign in 1999-2000.

Chronology:

- Jan. 15, 2001: The Albuquerque Tribune reports that Herrera is being mentioned as a possible candidate for a district judgeship.
- April 5, 2001: The Republican Campaign Committee of New Mexico receives \$2,000 from Herrera.
- May 30, 2003: Herrera is asked to submit a resume to Sen. Domenici to be considered for a judgeship.
- Sept. 23, 2003: Bush nominates Herrera
- The Republican Campaign Committee of New Mexico, which supports federal candidates, receives \$300 from Herrera, under her married name, Judy Baird.

☑ Johnson, William Paul

U. S. District Court, District of New Mexico

Nominated: Aug. 2, 2001 | **Confirmed:** December 13, 2001

Summary: A former state judge, Johnson formally applied for a position with Bush's transition team "after January 1, 2001," according to his Senate questionnaire. He also wrote to Sen. Domenici about a potential recommendation from the senator. Johnson contributed \$500 to Domenici in February 2001. In March he met with Domenici for an interview, and late in the month gave the state Republican Party \$600. By late April, the Senator recommended him to President Bush, who nominated Johnson in August. After the nomination and his confirmation hearing, Johnson gave Sen. Domenici \$500 in November 2001. Johnson also gave \$2,000 to Republicans from 1993 to 2000. Prior to becoming a state judge, Johnson served as chairman of his county Republican Party and First Vice-Chairman of the state Republican Party. He also ran an unsuccessful campaign for state senate as a Republican in 1992.

Chronology:

- "After January 1, 2001": Johnson expresses interest in a federal judgeship by applying with the Bush transition team, then writing to Sen. Domenici.
 - Feb. 14, 2001: Domenici registers a \$500 contribution from Johnson
 - March 2001: Domenici interviews Johnson and other applicants.
 - March 30, 2001: The Republican Campaign Committee of New Mexico receives \$600 from Johnson.
 - April 28, 2001: The Albuquerque Journal reports Domenici has recommended Johnson to Bush.
 - Aug. 2, 2001: President Bush nominates Johnson.
 - Oct. 25, 2001: Johnson's Senate confirmation hearing, where Domenici spoke on his behalf.
 - Nov. 27, 2001: Domenici registers a \$500 contribution from Johnson.
-

NEVADA: Sen. John Ensign (R), Sen. Harry Reid (D)**Hicks, Larry R.**

U. S. District Court, District of Nevada

Nominated: August 2, 2001 | **Confirmed:** November 5, 2001

Summary: A former lawyer in private practice, Hicks gave \$250 in 1996 to a Democrat who was his law partner and \$400 to a Republican in 1992. He and his wife jointly gave \$450 in state contributions to a Republican from 1998-2000, according to state records.

Jones, Robert Clive

U. S. District Court, District of Nevada

Nominated: June 9, 2003 | **Confirmed:** October 2, 2003

Summary: A former U.S. bankruptcy judge, Jones has made no known campaign contributions. After his confirmation, his wife, Anita Michele Jones, contributed \$500 to President Bush and \$500 to the Republican National Committee in March 2004. Later that year she gave \$300 to the Republican opponent of Sen. Reid.

Mahan, James C.

U.S. District Court, District of Nevada

Nominated: September 10, 2001 | **Confirmed:** January 25, 2002

Summary: A former state court judge, Mahan has made no known campaign contributions since 1994, when, as a Las Vegas attorney, he contributed \$1,500 to an unsuccessful Republican Senate candidate. He also has ties to Sig Rogich, the Nevada finance chairman for Bush's 2000 campaign.

Sandoval, Brian Edward

U.S. District Court, District of Nevada

Nominated: March 1, 2005 | **Confirmed:** October 24, 2005

Summary: Sandoval, formerly Nevada's attorney general, served as co-chairman of President Bush's 2004 campaign in Nevada, and spoke at the 2004 Republican National Convention. In November 2004, Sen. Reid talked to Sandoval about recommending him to the President for a judgeship, and Sandoval accepted. Though a Republican, Sandoval was Reid's choice for judge in an agreement he worked out with Sen. Ensign. Reid wanted to recommend Sandoval in 2001, but Sandoval declined. Sandoval earlier served in the Nevada state assembly.

NEW JERSEY: Sen. Frank R. Lautenberg (D), Sen. Robert Menendez (D)

Bumb, Renee Marie

U. S. District Court, District of New Jersey

Nominated: January 25, 2006 | **Confirmed:** June 6, 2006

Summary: No federal contributions since 1990 were found for Bumb. Bumb's husband, Kevin Smith, gave \$500 to an unsuccessful Republican candidate for Senate in 2002.

Kugler, Robert B.

District Court, District of New Jersey

Nominated: August 1, 2002 | **Confirmed:** November 14, 2002

Summary: A former U.S. magistrate judge, Kugler has made no known campaign contributions since the early 1990s when, as an attorney in private practice, he contributed a combined \$1,150 to the Republican National Committee.

Linares, Jose L.

U. S. District Court, District of New Jersey

Nominated: August 1, 2002 | **Confirmed:** November 14, 2002

Summary: Linares was a state judge prior to his federal appointment. While in private practice, from 1995-2000, he made \$5,300 in federal contributions to Republicans, including \$500 to Bush in May 2000. Linares gave a couple thousand dollars to Republican and Democratic state candidates. A year after his 2002 confirmation, Linares' wife, Gail Linares, contributed \$2,000 to Bush in December 2003.

Martini, William J.

U. S. District Court, District of New Jersey

Nominated: January 23, 2002 | **Confirmed:** November 14, 2002

Summary: Martini, a former Republican member of Congress, was one of Bush's elite "pioneers" in 2000, having raised at least \$100,000 for the campaign. In February 2001, as an attorney in private practice, Martini contributed \$2,600 to then-Gov. Donald DiFrancesco, a Republican who recommended Martini to the White House for the judgeship. It was one piece of over \$24,000 in state and federal contributions that Martini gave to Republicans in 2001, including \$15,000 to the Republican National Committee in May 2001. Overall, Martini made nearly \$30,000 in federal contributions to Republican candidates and campaign committees from 1998-2001. Martini was on the Bush campaign's finance committee in 2000, and his donations included \$2,000 to the campaign. Martini's wife, Gloria, also gave Bush \$1,000 in 2000.

Judge Comment (fax): "I was not under consideration for a federal judgeship until late summer/early fall 2001. Nor had the subject of a judgeship ever been raised prior to this time period. Upon that occurrence, I ceased all of my political activities including donations."

[Click here](#) to view Martini's fax.

Sheridan, Peter G.

U. S. District Court, District of New Jersey

Nominated: November 5, 2003 | **Confirmed:** June 8, 2006

Summary: After his nomination by President Bush, Sheridan, a former attorney in private practice, contributed \$500 to the Republican National Committee, \$500 to a Republican political action committee and \$300 to GOP Rep. Mike Ferguson. Before his nomination, Sheridan gave roughly \$35,000 in federal contributions, nearly all to Republicans, from 1998 to 2003. Among those contributions, in 2003, Sheridan gave \$1,000 to Rep. Ferguson, and \$1,000 to Sen. Menendez, who was then a member of the House of Representatives. Sheridan also gave more than \$13,000 from 1990-1996. Overall, both Sheridan and his wife, Barbara Sheridan, gave a combined \$3,500 to Bush's campaigns. Sheridan has also given thousands in state contributions, including \$3,000 to the state Republican Party in 2002, \$2,500 to a county Democratic Party in 2003 and \$500 to a Democrat for state senate in 2004, after Sheridan's nomination, according to state records. Sheridan was once executive director of the New Jersey Republican State Committee, and was its general counsel for years. He was trustee of the Republican Leadership Council from 1995-2002 and also served in the administration of former Republican Gov. Thomas Kean. As chief counsel for the Republican State Committee in various lawsuits, Sheridan tried a high-profile case to keep Sen. Lautenberg off the ballot in 2002.

Chronology:

- July 8, 2003: Bush receives \$1,500 from Sheridan's wife.
- Nov. 5, 2003: Bush nominates Sheridan.
- May 19, 2004: Rep. Mike Ferguson receives \$300 from Sheridan.
- Sept. 29, 2004: A Democrat for state senate receives \$500 from Sheridan.
- Oct. 22, 2004: The Republican National Committee receives \$500 from Sheridan.
- Feb. 14, 2005: Bush re-nominates Sheridan.
- June 25, 2005: A Republican political action committee called "It's My Party Too" – created by former N.J. Gov. Christine Todd Whitman - receives \$500 from Sheridan.

Judge Comment (letter): "Thank you for your letter dated October 10, 2006. The material presented is not newsworthy. It is widely known that I have participated in republican politics for at least 20 years prior to my appointment. It is my view that most citizens (except for certain public officials) should participate in the political process; because such participation strengthens our democracy and secures our liberties. Kindly print my response in its entirety. Thank you for your attention to this matter."

[Click here](#) to view the full letter.

- > No federal campaign contributions since 1990 were found for the following judge: Stanley R. Chesler, Noel Hillman, Susan Davis Wigenton, Freda L. Wolfson

NEW YORK: Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D), Sen. Charles E. Schumer (D)

☒ **Castel, P. Kevin**

U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York

Nominated: March 5, 2003 | **Confirmed:** September 17, 2003

Summary: On June 23, 2003, three and a half months after President Bush nominated Castel to the federal bench, Bush received a \$2,000 contribution from Castel. Castel, a former attorney in private practice, had previously given Bush \$1,000 in 1999. Before his nomination, between 2001-2002, Castel gave \$4,500 to Gov. Pataki, whose federal judicial screening committee interviewed him for the judgeship. Also in 2002, Castel gave \$3,000 to the Republican National Committee and \$1,000 to the New York Republican Federal Campaign Committee. Overall, Castel gave more than \$15,000 in federal contributions to Republicans since 1998. Besides donations to Pataki, his state contributions included \$250 to a Republican state senator in July 2003, after Castel's nomination. Castel's wife, Patricia, has given to Republicans and Democrats, including Sen. Schumer and former presidential candidate Al Gore.

Chronology:

- March 5, 2003: Castel is nominated by President Bush.
- June 23, 2003: Bush receives a \$2,000 contribution from Castel.

Cogan, Brian Mark

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of New York

Nominated: January 25, 2006 | **Confirmed:** May 4, 2006

Summary: Cogan made a \$255 federal contribution in 2002 to the political action committee of his law firm, which has given to Democrats and Republicans. He has also given hundreds more in state contributions to the PAC.

☑ Crotty, Paul Austin

U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York

Nominated: September 7, 2004 | **Confirmed:** April 11, 2005

Summary: Crotty, a former telecommunications executive and registered lobbyist with the state of New York, has given \$20,000 in federal contributions since 1997 to Democrats and Republicans, including donations while he was under consideration for a judicial appointment and after his nomination. His contributions included \$1,000 to President Bush on June 23, 2003, the same month he met with administration officials about a potential judgeship. He also gave Sen. John Kerry's presidential campaign \$500 in 2004. In addition, Crotty gave \$1,000 to Gov. Pataki shortly after he interviewed with Sen. Schumer's selection committee. On July 22, 2003, not long after Crotty's 2003 contributions to Bush and Pataki, Sen. Schumer announced a deal with the White House and Pataki that included Crotty receiving a federal judicial nomination. Overall, Crotty gave Pataki \$3,000 from 2002-2003, and \$1,000 to Pataki's Democratic opponent. Crotty had also previously contributed to Schumer - \$1,000 in 1999 and \$500 in 2002. After Crotty's nomination by Bush in September 2004, Crotty continued to contribute, giving \$2,500 to the political action committee of former NY Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who had appointed him the city's corporation counsel in the mid-1990s. Crotty also gave \$500 to Alaska GOP Sen. Ted Stevens, as well as a few state contributions, after his nomination. He has also given tens of thousands to his former company's political fundraising committee. Crotty's wife, Jane, has given to Republicans and Democrats, including Sen. Hillary Clinton.

Chronology:

- 2002: Crotty contributed \$2,000 to Gov. Pataki and \$500 to Sen. Schumer.
- Feb. 2003: Crotty is interviewed by Sen. Schumer's judicial screening committee.
- April 11, 2003: Pataki receives \$1,000 from Crotty.
- June 2003: Crotty meets with Bush Administration officials.
- June 23, 2003: Bush receives \$1,000 from Crotty.
- July 22, 2003: Sen. Schumer announces a deal with the White House and Pataki that included nominating Crotty for a federal judgeship.
- Dec. 3, 2003: Former Sen. Tom Daschle, D-SD, receives \$500 from Crotty.
- May 2004: Crotty again meets with Bush Administration officials.
- June 2004: Crotty submits his credentials to Pataki's judicial screening panel.
- June 22, 2004: Sen. John Kerry's presidential campaign receives \$500 from Crotty.
- Sept. 7, 2004: Crotty is nominated by Bush.
- Sept. 23, 2004: Giuliani's "Solutions America" political action committee receives \$1,000 from Crotty.
- Oct. 4, 2004: Sen. Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, receives \$500 from Crotty.
- Jan. 31, 2005: Giuliani's PAC receives \$1,500 from Crotty.
- Feb. 14, 2005: Bush re-nominates Crotty.

Feuerstein, Sandra J.

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of New York

Nominated: July 25, 2002 | **Confirmed:** September 17, 2003

Summary: Feuerstein was formerly appointed to a state appellate court judgeship by Gov. Pataki. For the federal judgeship, Feuerstein interviewed with Pataki's federal judicial selection committee in February 2002. Less than two months after the interview, her husband, Albert I. Feuerstein, contributed \$1,000 to the governor, a portion of the \$4,500 he gave to Pataki from 2000-2003. Mr. Feuerstein, who has worked part-time on the staff of a Republican state senator, gave thousands of dollars in other state and federal contributions, but apparently did not donate to anyone as much as Pataki. From 1998-2006, Mr. Feuerstein gave \$2,800 to the Republican National Committee; \$2,000 to Rep. Pete King, R-NY, and about \$1,300 to former Sen. Al D'Amato, R-NY. Judge Feuerstein was an unsuccessful Republican candidate for the New York state assembly in 1980.

Chronology:

- 2000-2001: Pataki receives \$2,500 from Mr. Feuerstein.
- Feb. 28 2002: Judge Feuerstein is interviewed by Pataki's judicial selection committee.
- March 2002: Feuerstein is contacted by the White House to set up an appointment for an interview.
- April 19, 2002: Pataki receives \$1,000 from Mr. Feuerstein.
- May 2, 2002: Judge Feuerstein is interviewed by the White House Counsel's Office.
- July 25, 2002: Bush nominates Feuerstein.
- April 14, 2003: Pataki receives \$1,000 from Mr. Feuerstein.

☑ Holwell, Richard J.

U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York

Nominated: August 1, 2002 | **Confirmed:** September 17, 2003

Summary: On April 30, 2001, nearly two months after learning he was being recommended by Gov. Pataki's judicial selection committee to the White House for a federal judgeship, Holwell made a \$10,000 contribution to the governor, according to state records. Howell was a law school classmate of the governor and also has represented him in court. The last time Howell gave to Pataki was in 1998 when he contributed \$6,000, according to the Institute on Money in State Politics. As for federal contributions, Holwell gave Republican Senate candidate Rick Lazio \$1,000 in 2000. Previously, between 1995-1996, Howell made \$3,500 in federal contributions, including \$1,000 to former President Clinton and \$2,000 to Sen. Joseph R. Biden (D-DE).

Chronology:

- March 1, 2001: Holwell interviews with Gov. Pataki's federal judicial selection committee.
- March 4, 2001: Holwell is informed that he is being recommended to the President.
- April 23, 2001: Holwell is interviewed by the Office of the White House Counsel.
- April 30, 2001: Pataki receives a \$10,000 contribution from Holwell, according to state records.

Irizarry, Dora L.

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of New York

Nominated: April 28, 2003 | **Confirmed:** June 24, 2004

Summary: Irizarry, a former state judge appointed by Gov. Pataki, was appointed by Bush to the federal bench on Pataki's recommendation. In 2002, she had lost her race as the Republican candidate for New York attorney general. Her nomination to the federal bench was criticized as being a political reward for running on Pataki's ticket against a heavily favored opponent, Democrat Eliot Spitzer.

Karas, Kenneth M.

U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York

Nominated: September 18, 2003 | **Confirmed:** June 3, 2004

Summary: Karas' wife, Frances E. Bivens, gave \$250 to the Democratic National Committee in 1997.

Robinson, Stephen C.

U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York

Nominated: March 5, 2003 | **Confirmed:** September 17, 2003

Summary: Robinson, who had been appointed by President Clinton to be U.S. Attorney for Connecticut in 1998, was recommended to the President by Sen. Schumer. Schumer worked out a deal with the White House and Gov. Pataki whereby he could have some input on the selection of federal judges for New York. In 2001, Robinson gave \$1,000 to the unsuccessful Senate campaign of Tom Strickland, a Colorado Democrat. At his confirmation hearing, Robinson thanked Senator Clinton and Sens. Dodd and Lieberman, then both Connecticut Democrats, "for their long-term friendship and support that I've enjoyed over the years."

Vitaliano, Eric Nicholas

U. S. District Court, Eastern District of New York

Nominated: October 6, 2005 | **Confirmed:** December 21, 2005

Summary: A New York Democratic assemblyman from 1983-2002, Vitaliano was recommended for the federal bench by Sen. Schumer, who said at his confirmation hearing, “I have known Eric Vitaliano for close to two decades.” Between 2002-2004, Vitaliano’s wife, Helen Vitaliano, gave \$825 to New York state assemblyman Michael Cusick. At Judge Vitaliano’s confirmation hearing, Sen. Schumer said he was constantly urged by Cusick to recommend Vitaliano for a judgeship. Judge Vitaliano gave \$500 to a Democratic candidate for Congress in 1996. Helen Vitaliano gave \$250 to Sen. Clinton in August 2006 and \$250 to a Democratic candidate for Congress in 2004. Before he was elected to the state assembly, Judge Vitaliano was chief of staff to former Rep. John Murphy (D-NY). According to his Senate questionnaire, he was “involved in various capacities in literally every Democratic campaign on Staten Island in those 30 years, from President of the United States to the most local public office.” While he was in the state assembly, his campaign committee gave thousands to other state Democratic campaign committees. Vitaliano also ran an unsuccessful campaign for Congress in 1997. From 2002 until his federal appointment, he was a New York City and then state judge.

- > No federal campaign contributions since 1990 were found for the following judges: Joseph Frank Bianco, Gary L. Sharpe, Sandra L. Townes,
-

NORTH CAROLINA: Sen. Richard M. Burr (R), Sen. Elizabeth Dole (R)

☑ Conrad, Robert James Jr.

U.S. District Court, Western District of North Carolina

Nominated: April 28, 2003 | **Confirmed:** April 28, 2005

Summary: After Bush nominated him, Conrad contributed \$2,000 to the Senate campaign of Sen. Burr, whose election in 2004 was key to his confirmation. The donation appears to be Conrad’s first federal campaign contribution since 1996, when he gave \$250 to former Republican Sen. Jesse Helms, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. Conrad’s nomination had been stalled by former North Carolina Democratic Sen. John Edwards, whose Senate seat went to Burr in 2004. After being elected, Burr lobbied for Conrad, a former U.S. Attorney, to be confirmed. In 2004, after his original nomination, Conrad also gave \$1,000 to a Republican candidate for governor and \$1,000 to a Democratic candidate for state attorney general, according to state records.

Chronology:

- April 28, 2003: Bush nominates Conrad.
- October 21, 2004: Sen. Burr receives a \$2,000 contribution from Conrad.
- February 14, 2005: Conrad is re-nominated to the bench.

Dever, James C. III

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of North Carolina

Nominated: May 22, 2002 | **Confirmed:** April 28, 2005

Summary: Dever served as U.S. magistrate judge from 2004 until his appointment. Earlier, while in private practice, he gave \$300 to Bush in 2000. In 1998, he gave \$500 to former Sen. Lauch Faircloth (R-NC), who lost his reelection bid to John Edwards. Dever’s law firm worked as counsel to the Steve Forbes for President campaign in 1996 to get Forbes on the Republican primary ballot.

Flanagan, Louise W.

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of North Carolina

Nominated: January 29, 2003 | **Confirmed:** July 17, 2003

Summary: A former U.S. magistrate judge, Flanagan has made no known campaign contributions since at least 1990. Her husband, Michael, gave \$1,500 to Sen. Dole in 2002 and \$1,225 more after Judge Flanagan’s nomination in 2003. Also in 2003, Mr. Flanagan gave \$1,000 to the Republican National Committee, \$500 to Bush and \$250 to Sen. Burr.

Whitney, Frank DeArmon

U.S. District Court, Western District of North Carolina

Nominated: February 14, 2006 | **Confirmed:** June 22, 2006

Summary: Whitney served as a U.S. Attorney before his judgeship. While in private practice, Whitney gave \$2,000 to Sen. Dole in 2001 and helped host a fundraiser for her that year, according to the Charlotte Observer. Sens. Dole and Burr recommended Whitney for the judgeship. Whitney gave thousands to other Republican candidates over the years, including \$1,300 to Rep. Sue Myrick (R-NC). Whitney was formerly the chair of his county Republican Party.

NORTH DAKOTA: Sen. Kent Conrad (D), Sen. Byron L. Dorgan (D)**Erickson, Ralph R.**

U.S. District Court, District of North Dakota

Nominated: September 12, 2002 | **Confirmed:** March 12, 2003

Summary: Erickson was a state judge from 1995 until his federal appointment. According to his Senate questionnaire, he stopped all political activity since he became a judge. His last federal contributions were several hundred dollars to the North Dakota Republican Party in 1993-1994. Before becoming a judge, Erickson was active in the state Republican Party, as a grassroots campaigner, in various local party positions and as a member of the State Republican Committee from 1992-1994. Erickson was an unsuccessful candidate for the North Dakota legislature in 1992. His wife, Michele Erickson, gave \$250 to Bush in 1999 and \$250 to former senator and presidential candidate Bob Dole in 1995. She also gave \$1,500 to the North Dakota Republican Party from 1995-2001.

> No federal campaign contributions since 1990 were found for the following judge: Daniel L. Hovland

OHIO: Sen. Mike DeWine (R), Sen. George V. Voinovich (R)**☑ Adams, John R.**

U.S. District Court, Northern District of Ohio

Nominated: October 10, 2002 | **Confirmed:** February 10, 2003

Summary: On November 21, 2001, Sens. DeWine and Voinovich recommended Adams to President Bush for an open slot on the federal bench in Ohio. Two days earlier, Voinovich's campaign had registered a \$1,000 contribution from the state judge. After the senators made their recommendation to the White House, Adams gave \$1,500 to DeWine, a check that was later reimbursed. Brian Seitchik, a spokesperson for DeWine's campaign, confirmed that the donation was returned because it came from a judicial candidate, and returning it was "the prudent thing to do." Later, after his nomination, Adams gave \$250 to Voinovich. Adams had previously given DeWine \$250 in 1997. Adams also gave \$1,000 to Bush in 1999. At the time DeWine and Voinovich announced their recommendation, Adams told the Akron Beacon Journal: "I've been supportive of the Republican Party and President Bush. I'm sure that had some bearing on the selection."

Chronology:

- Nov. 19, 2001: Sen. Voinovich received \$1,000 from Adams.
- Nov. 21, 2001: Sens. Voinovich and DeWine recommend Adams to the President.
- Jan. 28, 2002: Sen. DeWine receives \$1,500 from Adams. (It is returned Feb. 17)
- Oct. 10, 2002: Bush nominates Adams.
- Nov. 2, 2002: Voinovich receives \$250 from Adams.
- Nov. 5, 2002: Republican Congressman Steven LaTourette receives \$250 from Adams.

Barrett, Michael Ryan

U.S. District Court, Southern District of Ohio

Nominated: December 16, 2005 | **Confirmed:** May 1, 2006

Summary: Former Cincinnati attorney Michael Barrett has contributed over \$100,000 to Republicans around the country since 1997, according to state and federal records. During the 2003-2004 election cycle, the former chairman of the Hamilton County Republican Party made well over \$50,000 in federal contributions to Republicans, including \$2,000 to President Bush, \$2,000 to Sen. DeWine, and \$4,750 to Sen. Voinovich and Voinovich's political action committee. The largest contribution of the cycle was a \$25,000 check on June 30, 2004, to the 2004 Joint State Victory Committee, a national Republican campaign fund used in battleground states. After applying with DeWine and Voinovich for the judgeship, Barrett gave the Ohio Republican Party a \$15,000 contribution, and continued to contribute to Republicans around the country. Voinovich and DeWine later selected Barrett to recommend to the President. Since 1993, the two Senators and their committees have received over \$16,000 in federal contributions from Barrett. After Barrett was nominated he gave another contribution: the Minnesota Republican Party registered a \$500 contribution on March 9, 2006.

Chronology:

- June 30, 2004: The 2004 Joint State Victory Committee, a Republican campaign fund, registers a \$25,000 contribution from Barrett.
- Oct. 14, 2004: Voinovich's "Buckeye" political action committee receives \$2,500 from Barrett.
- Nov. 29, 2004: DeWine and Voinovich announce they will accept applications for the judgeship. Thereafter, Barrett submits a "Notice of Intent" that he is seeking appointment, according to Barrett's Senate questionnaire.
- Jan. 28, 2005: Application deadline imposed by DeWine and Voinovich.
- Feb. 1, 2005: The Ohio Republican Party State Candidate Fund registers a \$15,000 contribution from Barrett.
- March 8, 2005: Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger receives \$5,000 from Barrett, according to the Institute on Money in State Politics.
- June 22, 2005: The Hamilton County Republican Party registers a \$2,500 contribution from Barrett.
- June 28, 2005: DeWine and Voinovich recommend Barrett to the White House for the judgeship.

☑ Boyko, Christopher A.

U.S. District Court, Northern District of Ohio

Nominated: July 22, 2004 | **Confirmed:** November 21, 2004

Summary: As a state judge in Ohio, Boyko contributed \$2,000 to a Voinovich campaign committee at a fundraiser attended by President Bush, less than a month after being nominated by President Bush. The contribution, which came three months after Voinovich and DeWine recommended Boyko to the White House, was "required to attend President Bush's visit to Kirtland, Ohio in conjunction with Senator Voinovich and Governor Taft," according to a letter from Judge Boyko. It was Boyko's first federal contribution on record since 1996, when he gave \$240 to Voinovich, who, as Ohio's Governor, had appointed Boyko to the common pleas court that year. The \$240 donation "was the result of a general request to everyone from the Voinovich campaign," according to Boyko. Voinovich had earlier appointed Boyko to the municipal bench in 1993. Boyko has given small state contributions, usually under \$100.

Chronology:

- May 6, 2004: Voinovich and Sen. DeWine announce they have recommended Boyko to the White House for the federal judgeship.
- July 22, 2004: President Bush nominates Boyko.
- August 10, 2004: Voinovich's Northern Ohio Victory Committee registers a \$2,000 contribution from Boyko.

Judge's Comment (fax): "I have always expressed thanks for Senator Voinovich's trust in me and have always publicly supported him. If I could ethically donate today, I would. And, because of a long standing mutual respect with Senator Voinovich, I saw no ethical improprieties donating after the recommendation. Absent that prior history, I would not have donated. Your focus on Senator Voinovich displays a naivete of the process. Senator Mike DeWine is the Senior Senator who sits on the Senate Judiciary Committee and who takes the lead in evaluating candidates for the federal bench...Sen. DeWine informed all applicants the following process would take place: (1) a screening committee appointed by both senators would interview a finite number of candidates based upon the strength of their applications; (2) if a candidate made it past the screening committee, Senator DeWine would

personally interview the candidates and, at the end, meet with Senator Voinovich to decide whom to recommend to the President. Senator Voinovich did not conduct any interviews.

“If you believe for a minute that \$240, \$2,000 or \$25,000 ‘buys’ a federal judgeship, as you clearly intimate, again, your naiveté astounds me. Any such insinuations are a blatant insult to both Senators, denigrating their integrity and character. No one ‘buys’ either Senator DeWine or Senator Voinovich – period. I was recommended by the Senators and nominated by the President based upon my application, legal and personal background, ethics, temperament and reputation.

“The White House, Justice Department, the Senators and the American Bar Association did independent extensive background checks and interviewed, not only myself, but approximately 200 people in total, including neighbors, public officials, attorneys and anyone, except family, who could testify about my qualifications to sit as a federal judge.

“I entered this process when Senator DeWine announced the Senators would be accepting applications for a federal judgeship vacancy in the Northern District of Ohio. I believed I had the strongest qualifications and was worthy of both the Senator’s and President’s consideration. After their independent evaluations, they agreed and here I sit.”

[Click here](#) for the full response.

Frost, Gregory L.

U.S. District Court, Southern District of Ohio

Nominated: August 1, 2002 | **Confirmed:** March 10, 2003

Summary: Frost was a state judge for many years before his federal appointment. In the 1990s, he contributed several hundred dollars to state candidates, including \$300 to Gov. Bob Taft between 1997-1998. His wife, Kristina Frost, contributed \$1,000 to the Ohio GOP in 2001 and \$2,000 to Sen. DeWine in April 2006. When Sens. DeWine and Voinovich recommended Frost to the President in 2002, the Columbus Dispatch reported that, “Frost has connections to both senators. He is a friend of DeWine spokesman Mike Dawson and is married to Kristina Dix Frost, a relative of Nancy Chiles Dix, who was director of the Ohio Department of Commerce when Voinovich was governor, Republicans say.”

Rose, Thomas M.

U.S. District Court, Southern District of Ohio

Nominated: January 23, 2002 | **Confirmed:** May 9, 2002

Summary: Rose has close ties with Sen. DeWine dating back to the 1970s, when the two were assistant county prosecutors together. They also worked as law partners, and when DeWine became county prosecutor, Rose worked under him as assistant prosecutor. In 1990, Rose was county chair for the 1990 campaign of Voinovich for governor and DeWine for lieutenant governor, giving Voinovich’s campaign about \$600, according to state records. Rose was a common pleas judge from 1991 until his federal appointment. He gave \$2,275 in federal contributions to DeWine between 1989-1994. Rose also served as campaign treasurer to former county prosecutor William Schenck, who also has longtime ties to DeWine. Both Rose and Schenck have served on the committee that recommends candidates to the senators for federal judgeships. When the senators chose Rose to recommend to the President, however, “no one culled candidates or even took applications. Rose had worked with DeWine in the Greene County Prosecutor’s Office and the two have remained close,” according to the Dayton Daily News.

Watson, Michael H.

U.S. District Court, Southern District of Ohio

Nominated: April 6, 2004 | **Confirmed:** September 7, 2004

Summary: From 1992-1995, Watson worked as deputy and then chief legal advisor to then-Gov. Voinovich. In 1996, Voinovich appointed Watson a common pleas court judge. In 2003, Gov. Bob Taft appointed him to a state appellate court. Watson gave \$250 to Gov. Taft in 2001. In 2000, Watson’s wife, Lori Watson, gave \$500 to the Ohio Right to Life Society political action committee.

Zouhary, Jack

U.S. District Court, Northern District of Ohio

Nominated: December 14, 2005 | **Confirmed:** March 16, 2006

Summary: Since 1994, Zouhary has given more than \$17,000 to Republicans, including \$13,750 to federal election accounts of the Ohio Republican Party, \$1,000 to Voinovich and \$700 to DeWine. His latest contribution was \$250 to the Ohio GOP in November 2004. He applied for the federal judgeship in January 2005 and was recommended by DeWine and Voinovich in June. His wife, Kathleen Maher Zouhary, gave \$250 to Voinovich in 2004 and \$250 to the Ohio GOP in March 2005, the same month Judge Zouhary was interviewing with Sen. DeWine. Zouhary served as county co-chair for Voinovich's Senate campaign and has hosted or co-hosted events for DeWine, Voinovich, Gov. Bob Taft and other Republicans. According to his Senate questionnaire, Zouhary has "worked with each of the Lucas County GOP Chairs dating back to the 1980's." In the 1990s, Zouhary gave \$1,650 in state contributions to Taft and \$350 to Voinovich. Taft appointed Zouhary to a common pleas court in 2005. Before that he had worked in private practice and as general counsel to a highway construction company.

OKLAHOMA: Sen. Tom Coburn (R), Sen. James M. Inhofe, (R)**Friot, Stephen P.**

U.S. District Court, Western District of Oklahoma

Nominated: September 4, 2001 | **Confirmed:** November 6, 2001

Summary: From 1991-1997, Friot contributed \$2,000 to former Sen. Don Nickles (R-OK), who later recommended him for the judgeship to the White House in 2001. In 2000, he contributed \$500 to the Republican National Committee and \$500 to Republican New York candidate for Senate Rick Lazio. Friot also served as Oklahoma co-chair of Lawyers for Bush-Cheney 2000.

Heaton, Joe L.

U.S. District Court, Western District of Oklahoma

Nominated: September 4, 2001 | **Confirmed:** December 6, 2001

Summary: Heaton, a former assistant U.S. Attorney and briefly U.S. Attorney, had known the senators who recommended him, Sen. Inhofe and former Sen. Don Nickles, for many years. Heaton was once a legislative aide in Washington, was president of the Central Oklahoma Young Republicans Club in 1980 and served as an Oklahoma state representative from 1984-1992. In 1994, Heaton gave \$450 to Rep. Frank Lucas, R-OK. His wife, Dee Anne Heaton, gave \$250 to the Republican National Committee in October 2000, a few months after Heaton wrote to Oklahoma's U.S. Senators in June 2000 about his interest in a judgeship. She also gave \$250 to the Republican National Committee in 1996.

Payne, James H.

U.S. District Court, Northern and Eastern Districts of Oklahoma

Nominated: September 4, 2001 | **Confirmed:** October 23, 2001

Summary: A former U.S. magistrate judge, Payne appears to have contributed \$100 to a Republican candidate for Oklahoma governor in 2002. That would be a violation of the provision in the Code of Conduct for U.S. Judges that says judges should not make political contributions. Campaign contribution records filed with the Oklahoma Ethics Commission list the donation with the name "Mr. James H. Payne," a personal Payne residence and the occupation "Homemaker (Wife)." From 1991-2004, Payne's wife, Judith M. Payne, has given \$500 to former Sen. Don Nickles, who recommended Payne for the district judgeship, and \$865 to Sen. Coburn, who pushed Payne's nomination to the 10th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. Payne's nomination to the appellate court was withdrawn.

- > No federal campaign contributions since 1990 were found for the following judges: Claire Eagan, Ronald A. White
-

OREGON: Sen. Gordon H. Smith (R), Sen. Ron Wyden (D)

> No federal campaign contributions since 1990 were found for the following judge: Michael W. Mosman

PENNSYLVANIA: Sen. Rick Santorum (R), Sen. Arlen Specter (R)

Baylson, Michael M.

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Pennsylvania

Nominated: January 23, 2002 | **Confirmed:** April 30, 2002

Summary: Baylson made several campaign contributions after his name was first mentioned in a legal news journal in January 2001 as a likely federal court nominee. Among them was \$2,000 in May 2001 to Sen. Specter, to whom Baylson has longstanding ties. Overall, Baylson gave nearly \$17,000 in federal contributions to Republicans since 1991, including \$6,500 to Specter and his political action committee; \$1,750 to Sen. Santorum, and \$1,000 to Bush. When Specter was a district attorney in the 1960s, he appointed Baylson assistant D.A. Baylson later served as legal counsel to Specter's campaigns in the 1970s, as treasurer to his campaign in the 80s, and as treasurer to Specter's political action committee in the 90s. In 1993, Specter recommended Baylson, who also served for a time as a U.S. Attorney, to former President Clinton for a post on the federal bench. In addition to giving to Specter, Baylson also contributed \$2,500 to state and local candidates and committees after his name was first mentioned for the federal judgeship. He also gave thousands to the political action committee of his former law firm, Duane, Morris and Heckscher, including one \$3,100 contribution that, according to state records, came after Baylson was confirmed by the Senate. The PAC gives to both Democrats and Republicans. Baylson's wife, Frances, donates to candidates of both parties, and has given \$5,000 to Specter, including \$2,000 in 2004.

Chronology:

- Jan. 18, 2001: The Legal Intelligencer names Baylson as a likely candidate for a spot on the federal bench.
- Feb. 2, 2001: The Republican State Committee of Pennsylvania registers a \$500 contribution from Baylson.
- May 3, 2001: The Philadelphia Republican City Committee receives \$500 from Baylson.
- May 24, 2001: Sen. Specter receives \$2,000 from Baylson.
- July 3, 2001: Republican gubernatorial candidate Mike Fisher receives \$1,000 from Baylson.
- Oct. 31, 2001: The Philadelphia Republican City Committee receives \$500 from Baylson.
- Jan. 23, 2002: President Bush nominates Baylson.
- Feb. 13, 2002: The political action committee of Baylson's law firm – Duane, Morris and Heckscher -- registers a \$2,000 contribution from Baylson.
- April 30, 2002: The Senate confirms Baylson.
- June 14, 2002: The political action committee of Duane, Morris and Heckscher, registers a \$3,100 contribution from Baylson.

Conner, Christopher C.

U.S. District Court, Middle District of Pennsylvania

Nominated: February 28, 2002 | **Confirmed:** July 26, 2002

Summary: Formerly a lawyer in private practice, Conner gave over \$10,000 to Republicans from 1996-2000. His donations included \$1,000 to Bush, \$2,000 to Sen. Specter, \$2,250 to Sen. Santorum and \$4,200 to the Pennsylvania GOP. His wife, Katherine Holtzinger Conner, contributed \$1,000 to Specter and \$2,000 to Santorum from 1997-1999.

Conti, Joy Flowers

U.S. District Court, Western District of Pennsylvania

Nominated: January 23, 2002 | **Confirmed:** July 29, 2002

Summary: In February 2001, the same month Conti was interviewed and recommended by the judicial nomination panel set up by Pennsylvania's Senators, Conti contributed \$300 to Sen. Santorum. Conti had also given him \$300

in 2000. In the spring of 2001, she served on a “host committee” for Republican Pennsylvania Rep. Melissa Hart, attending fundraising events and encouraging other lawyers to contribute. Hart later made a special appearance at Conti’s Senate confirmation hearing to speak on her behalf. Other than the \$600 to Santorum, Conti’s only other federal contribution since 1992 appears to be \$250 to a Democratic candidate for Congress in 2000. Conti also gave a few hundred dollars to Democratic state candidates from 1997 to 2000, according to the Institute on Money in State Politics.

Chronology:

- February 2001: Conti is interviewed and recommended by the Pennsylvania federal judicial nominating commission.
- Feb. 20, 2001: Sen. Santorum receives a \$300 contribution from Conti.
- Spring 2001: As a member of a “host committee” for GOP Rep. Melissa Hart, Conti attended fundraisers and encouraged support for Hart, according to Conti’s Senate Judiciary Committee questionnaire.
- July 2001: Conti is interviewed by the White House.

Diamond, Paul Steven

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Pennsylvania

Nominated: January 20, 2004 | **Confirmed:** June 16, 2004

Summary: At Diamond’s Senate confirmation hearing, Sen. Specter said: “I disclose in the interest of full disclosure my long friendship with Mr. Diamond, going back more than two decades, and state that Mr. Diamond has been my lawyer, along with his law firm.” Diamond was also Specter’s treasurer during his failed presidential bid in 1996. In April 2001, the month that Pennsylvania’s nominating commission solicited applications for an open judgeship, Diamond gave \$500 to Sen. Specter. Diamond also served on the federal judicial nominating commission from 1993-2000. Overall, Diamond made nearly \$12,000 in federal contributions to Republicans from 1992-2003, including \$5,500 to Specter and \$2,000 to Santorum. He also has made state contributions to Republicans over the years, including \$500 to Philadelphia’s Republican committee, which Diamond gave after interviewing with the nominating commission.

Chronology:

- April 2003: Pennsylvania’s nominating commission posts a notice that it is accepting applications for a federal judgeship, upon which Diamond asks for an application form and submits it.
- April 16, 2003: A Republican state Supreme Court candidate receives \$1,000 from Diamond.
- April 17, 2003: Sen. Specter receives \$500 from Diamond.
- May 2003: Diamond is interviewed by the nominating commission, which recommends him.
- Sep. 10, 2003: The Philadelphia Republican City Committee receives \$500 from Diamond.

Golden, Thomas M.

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Pennsylvania

Nominated: January 25, 2006 | **Confirmed:** May 4, 2006

Summary: Golden, formerly a lawyer in private practice, gave \$1,000 to a Republican congressman in July 2005, after he had interviewed with the Bush Administration and Sens. Santorum and Specter for the judgeship. Golden also contributed \$2,000 to Specter in October 2004, before he applied for the judgeship. From 1991-1999, Golden gave over \$3,000 in federal contributions to Republicans, including \$500 to Bush, \$700 to Santorum and \$250 to Specter. Golden also has given thousands of dollars in state contributions, including \$100 to the Republican majority leader of the Pennsylvania state senate in August 2005. Golden served on dinner and reception fundraising committees for many candidates, including Bush, Specter and Santorum. He served on the board of governors for the Republican National Lawyers Association from 1994-2005.

Chronology:

- May 24, 2005: Golden interviews with White House Counsel and Justice Department representatives.
- June 22, 2005: Golden interviews with Sens. Specter and Santorum.
- July 11, 2005: Rep. Jim Gerlach, R-PN, receives \$1,000 from Golden.

☒ **Hardiman, Thomas M.**

U.S. District Court, Western District of Pennsylvania

Nominated: April 9, 2003 | **Confirmed:** October 22, 2003

Summary: Hardiman, a former Pittsburgh attorney, made over \$6,000 in federal campaign contributions after first interviewing with the Pennsylvania judicial selection commission, donating almost all of it after the commission recommended him for the judgeship. Among his contributions, Hardiman gave \$2,400 to Sen. Specter and \$2,000 to Sen. Santorum and his political action committee. He also gave \$9,000 in state contributions to Republicans after his original interview with the judicial selection commission. Overall, since 1998, Hardiman gave \$12,850 in federal contributions to Republicans. He and his wife, Lori Hardiman, each gave Bush \$1,000 in 1999. Thomas Hardiman was the treasurer of his county Republican committee until the time of his nomination. Now, Hardiman is a nominee to the Third U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. Bush nominated him to the higher court Sept. 13, 2006.

Chronology:

- March 29, 2001: Hardiman appears before the Pennsylvania judicial nominating commission.
- June 4, 2001: Sen. Specter receives \$500 from Hardiman.
- July 10, 2001: After receiving the judicial panel's recommendation, Hardiman is invited to a White House interview for district court position.
- July 30, 2001: The Republican Federal Committee of Pennsylvania registers a \$500 contribution from Hardiman.
- Feb. 1, 2002: The political action committee operated by Sen. Santorum, "America's Foundation," registers a \$1,000 contribution from Hardiman.
- March 15, 2002: Sen. Specter receives \$500 from Hardiman.
- May 8, 2002: Hardiman is again invited to the White House for an interview – this time for a position on the 3rd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.
- May 14, 2002: Santorum receives \$1,000 each from Hardiman and his wife.
- June 3, 2002: Specter receives \$900 from Hardiman.
- July 16, 2002: Tim Murphy, a Pennsylvania Republican running for Congress, receives \$500 from Hardiman.
- Aug. 8, 2002: Rep. Melissa Hart (R-Pa) receives \$200 from Hardiman.
- Sept. 27, 2002: Murphy receives \$500 more from Hardiman.
- Oct. 24, 2002: Hart receives \$250 more from Hardiman.
- November 2002: Hardiman receives forms to fill out from the Justice Department, which, along with the F.B.I., conducts a background check during December and January.
- Jan. 16, 2003: Hardiman appears before a second nominating commission, which also gives him its recommendation.
- Feb. 24, 2003: Specter registers a \$500 contribution from Hardiman.
- March 6, 2003: Allegheny County Republican Committee receives \$1,600 from Hardiman.
- April 9, 2003: Bush nominates Hardiman.

☒ **Jones, John E. III**

U.S. District Court, Middle District of Pennsylvania

Nominated: February 28, 2002 | **Confirmed:** July 29, 2002

Summary: Jones, a former attorney in private practice, gave \$1,000 to the state GOP and \$1,000 to Sen. Santorum's political action committee after having interviewed for the judgeship. He also gave more than \$1,000 to state and local Republicans after his August 2001 interview process, including \$380 to his county Republican committee. Overall, Jones gave about \$15,000 in federal contributions to Republicans from 1990 to 2001, including more than \$4,000 each to both Sens. Specter and Santorum. Jones had been involved in Republican politics, making an unsuccessful run for Congress in 1992, and serving on the finance committee of the Pennsylvania Republican State Committee from 1999 till his nomination. He also has hosted fundraisers at his house for Sens. Specter and Santorum, as well as other Republicans. In 1999, Jones and his wife, Beth, each contributed \$1,000 to President Bush. After Jones was confirmed, his wife also gave \$250 to Specter in 2003 and \$250 to Santorum in 2004. Jones has given thousands of dollars in state contributions to Republicans over the years as well.

Chronology:

- May 21, 2001: Specter registers a \$500 contribution from Jones.

- August 2001: Jones is interviewed by the Pennsylvania judicial selection commission, which recommended him to Specter and Santorum.
- September 4, 2001: The Republican Federal Committee of Pennsylvania receives \$1,000 from Jones.
- November 16, 2001: Jones interviews with the White House for the judgeship.
- November 26, 2001: Santorum's political action committee receives \$1,000 from Jones.
- Feb. 14, 2002: A county Republican committee receives \$100 from Jones.
- Feb. 28, 2002: Bush nominates Jones.
- April 11, 2002: A Republican candidate for the state legislature receives \$250 from Jones.

Judge's Comments (phone):

On political involvement: "It was well known that I was politically active at the time that I was nominated. That was not a secret. It is what it is. You can infer what you want to about that but I feel no obligation to excuse or further explain that other than that I'll stand on my qualifications to be a district court judge."

On campaign contributions: "You could say that for appearance's sake I shouldn't give a contribution to anybody, but I certainly didn't give any federal contributions after I was nominated...I was recommended around August 2001 - is that the point that I should have stopped making contributions? Maybe I should have. But I didn't...Should there be a time that sort of is customary that you stop giving contributions? I grant you that's probably true...If you know you're being recommended by the screening panel, probably in retrospect it's better to say that's it, and not make any contributions after that. But that's the benefit of hindsight." On the influence of campaign contributions: "We can get noticed by making contributions. But it's a very difficult process to get nominated as a federal judge. All it does is it gets some people on the radar, although I would hope that given my accomplishments in state government that I was on the radar for different reasons. It never gets you a nomination. Because the screening process is so difficult."

On judicial independence: "If the implication is that I am at the service of the people who are my benefactors, I probably gave lie to that in my decision on intelligent design [ruling that Dover, Penn. public schools cannot teach intelligent design alongside evolution]. My guess is that was not a favorite decision of Sen. Santorum. That flew in the face of existing Republican dogma, including President Bush and Sen. Santorum, who had been on record as supporting intelligent design. Bill O'Reilly that night called me a fascist...I'm the guy who's pissed everyone off...I'm disappointed that it's come to the point where it's expected that if you're appointed by a Republican president that you take one for the home team. I'm disappointed and chagrined that people don't really understand how judges work. I've long left politics...In terms of being an independent judge, I would submit that I certainly have been that. In no way would you be able to examine my record in 4 years and claim that I was some lackey for the Republican Party or any party. I take my obligation as a judge very, very seriously. I'm an umpire and I call 'em as I see 'em. You've got to understand, the proof is in the pudding, as they say, and I think the pudding is what I've done in the last 4 years."

McVerry, Terrence F.

U.S. District Court, Western District of Pennsylvania

Nominated: January 23, 2002 | **Confirmed:** September 3, 2002

Summary: McVerry, a former county solicitor, served for years as a Republican member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. His wife, Judith, served as treasurer to Santorum's 1994 and 2000 campaigns. While in private practice, Judge McVerry contributed \$1,450 to Santorum from 1992 to 1995. At McVerry's confirmation hearing, Santorum said, "Terry McVerry is someone whom I have known for better than 15 years. At one time, he was a neighbor and lived a couple of streets away from me...His wife is a very dear friend and someone who has been very close to Karen and our family."

☑ Pratter, Gene E.K.

U. S. District Court, Eastern District of Pennsylvania

Nominated: November 3, 2003 | **Confirmed:** June 15, 2004

Summary: Pratter, a former attorney in private practice, made over \$16,000 in federal contributions to Republicans from 1997-2003. Pratter gave Sen. Specter a combined \$1,500 in February and March 2003, around the time she interviewed with a judicial selection committee set up by Specter and Santorum. Later, after her July 2003 interview with the White House, she gave \$500 to Santorum, and another \$500 to his political action committee two months after being nominated. Pratter was also interviewed by the White House Counsel in September 2003, the same

month she and her husband each gave \$2,000 to Bush. Pratter had previously interviewed with the Pennsylvania selection committee and the Bush Administration in 2001. Overall, Pratter has given \$4,000 to Santorum and his political action committee and \$3,500 to Specter. Her husband, Robert, has given over \$45,000 to Republicans since 1990, including a combined \$16,000 to Sens. Specter and Santorum, and Santorum's political action committee. Also among Mr. Pratter's contributions was \$10,000 given to the Republican Federal Committee of Pennsylvania in 2005. The Pratters have also given thousands of dollars in state contributions.

Chronology:

- Spring 2003: Pratter interviews with the Pennsylvania judicial nominating commission, which recommends her, according to her Senate questionnaire.
- February-March 2003: Specter receives \$1,500 from Pratter.
- July 2003: Pratter is interviewed by the White House Counsel.
- July 9, 2003: The Republican National Committee registers a \$355 contribution from Pratter.
- Aug. 5, 2003: Santorum receives a \$500 contribution from Pratter.
- September 2003: Pratter is again interviewed by the White House Counsel.
- Sept. 15, 2003: Bush receives \$2,000 each from Pratter and her husband, Robert.
- Nov. 3, 2003: Bush nominates Pratter.
- Jan. 5, 2004: Santorum's political action committee registers a \$500 contribution from Pratter.*

*The Jan. 5, 2004 donation was noted in contribution records with the name "Mr. Gene E.K. Pratter" and the name of Mrs. Gene Pratter's law firm.

Rufe, Cynthia M.

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Pennsylvania

Nominated: January 23, 2002 | **Confirmed:** April 30, 2002

Summary: Rufe gave \$750 to Specter in 1992, using her maiden name of Weaver. During that year, she was a county spokesperson for Specter's reelection campaign, participating in debates and other events on his behalf. Later, she became a state judge. Previous to her 2001 selection process, she was also recommended by the Pennsylvania federal judicial nominating commission in 1992 and 1999.

Sanchez, Juan Ramon

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Pennsylvania

Nominated: November 25, 2003 | **Confirmed:** June 23, 2004

Summary: Sanchez served as a Republican Party precinct committeeman from 1990-1997, after which he became a state judge. Also in the 1990s, he was assistant general counsel to the county GOP, and served as a member and subcommittee chairman of the Republican Campaign Committee. Sanchez also worked on various campaigns, including those of Jim Gerlach, who is now a Congressman, and the former Gov. Tom Ridge. The Chester County Republican Party pushed for Sanchez' nomination, and its chairman attended Sanchez' confirmation hearing.

Savage, Timothy J.

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Pennsylvania

Nominated: March 21, 2002 | **Confirmed:** August 1, 2002

Summary: Savage, a former Pennsylvania attorney, has made no known campaign contributions since 1998 when he gave \$1,500 to Democrat Congressman Bob Brady. He also served as a Democratic committeeman for a county party committee.

Schwab, Arthur J.

U.S. District Court, Western District of Pennsylvania

Nominated: January 23, 2002 | **Confirmed:** September 13, 2002

Summary: Schwab, a former Pittsburgh attorney, made \$14,000 in federal contributions to Republicans between 1994-2001, including \$3,000 each to Sens. Santorum and Specter. He also has served on the finance and host committees of both senators. His last contribution was \$1,000 to Specter in June 2001, after his name was mentioned in the press as a potential nominee. The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette later reported that Schwab was believed to have been

recommended to the President by the Pennsylvania judicial selection commission in spring 2001. From March to May 2001, Schwab also gave \$450 to state and local Republican candidates and committees, according to state records. According to press accounts, Specter and Santorum backed Schwab for a judgeship as far back as the Reagan Administration. Later, Santorum blocked some Clinton nominees because the Democratic President wouldn't nominate Schwab. Schwab's wife, Karen, also gave \$3,000 each to Santorum and Specter between 1994-1999.

Chronology:

- Jan. 18, 2001: The Legal Intelligencer reports that Schwab's name has been mentioned as a possible nominee for a judicial vacancy.
- Feb. 20, 2001: Rep. Melissa Hart, R-Penn., receives \$500 from Schwab.
- Spring 2001: Schwab's name is believed to have been on the recommendation list prepared for the President in spring 2001 by Pennsylvania's selection committee, according to a later report by the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.
- June 5, 2001: Specter receives \$1,000 from Schwab.

Stengel, Lawrence F.

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Pennsylvania

Nominated: November 6, 2003 | **Confirmed:** June 16, 2004

Summary: Stengel, a former state judge, has made no known federal campaign contributions since 1990. His wife, Theresa Berger Stengel, contributed \$500 to Specter in 2002.

- > No federal contributions since 1990 were found for the following judge: David S. Cercone, Legrome D. Davis, James Knoll Gardner, Kim R. Gibson

PUERTO RICO

Besosa, Francisco Augusto

U.S. District Judge for the District of Puerto Rico

Nominated: May 16, 2006 | **Confirmed:** September 25, 2006

Summary: Three months before his nomination, Besosa contributed \$500 to Luis Fortuño, Puerto Rico's Resident Commissioner, a nonvoting member of Congress. Fortuño, a Republican, recommended Besosa to Bush for the judgeship. Besosa previously gave \$1,000 to Fortuño in 2004. That was apparently his first federal contribution since 1994, when he gave \$750 to the Democratic National Committee.

Chronology:

- Feb. 8, 2006: Fortuño receives \$500 from Besosa.
- May 16, 2006: Bush nominates Besosa.

- > No federal contributions since 1990 were found for the following judge: Aida M. Delgado-Colon, Gustavo Antonio Gelpi

RHODE ISLAND: Sen. Lincoln Chafee (R), Sen. Jack Reed (D)

Smith, William E.

U.S. District Court, District of Rhode Island

Nominated: July 18, 2002 | **Confirmed:** November 14, 2002

Summary: Smith, a former lawyer in private practice, gave \$1,500 to Sen. Chafee from 1999 to May 2001. Smith also worked as staff director of Chafee's Rhode Island office for a year, ending in January 2001. During that time, Smith served as chief aide to the Senator, overseeing his 2000 campaign. Chafee recommended Smith to the President in January 2002. Previously, in 1993, then-Mayor Chafee had appointed Smith to be solicitor of the city of

Warwick. Smith gave Chafee \$200 in 1994. Smith also served as general counsel to the Rhode Island GOP in the late 1980s. He has been an advisor to various Republican candidates.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Sen. Jim DeMint (R), Sen. Lindsey Graham (R)

Harwell, Robert Bryan

U.S. District Court, District of South Carolina

Nominated: January 20, 2004 | **Confirmed:** June 24, 2004

Summary: Harwell, a former attorney in private practice, made \$7,750 in federal campaign contributions since 1995. Among his donations, Harwell gave President Bush \$1,000 in August 2003, five months before his nomination. Harwell also had given \$500 to Bush in 1999. Sen. Graham, who recommended Harwell to the President, received \$2,750 from Harwell over the years. Harwell also gave \$1,000 to the federal account of the South Carolina Republican Party in 2003. Sen. Graham knew Harwell from when both were judge advocates in the military. Graham said at his confirmation hearing, “One of the reasons that we recommended together Bryan Harwell is that I have known Bryan for many years.”

Chronology:

- August 22, 2003: President Bush receives a \$1,000 contribution from Harwell.
- January 20, 2004: Harwell is nominated by Bush.

Wooten, Terry L.

U.S. District Court, District of South Carolina

Nominated: September 4, 2001 | **Confirmed:** November 8, 2001

Summary: Wooten was chief counsel to Republicans on the Senate Judiciary Committee under former South Carolina Sen. Strom Thurmond. Wooten later became an assistant U.S. Attorney and a U.S. magistrate judge. Sen. Thurmond recommended him to the President and pushed for his confirmation.

> No federal contributions since 1990 were found for the following judge: Henry Franklin Floyd

TENNESSEE: Sen. Lamar Alexander (R), Sen. Bill Frist (R)

Breen, J. Daniel

U.S. District Court, Western District of Tennessee

Nominated: October 10, 2002 | **Confirmed:** March 13, 2003

Summary: Breen worked for Sen. Alexander’s re-election campaign for governor in 1982. He also served as county finance chair for former President Bush’s 1988 campaign. He was treasurer of his county Republican Party from 1990-1991 and became a magistrate judge in 1991. From 2002-2006, Breen’s wife, Linda Breen, gave \$1,750 to the unsuccessful Senate campaigns of former Republican Tennessee Congressman Ed Bryant.

Greer, J. Ronnie

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Tennessee

Nominated: April 9, 2003 | **Confirmed:** June 11, 2003

Summary: Greer, a former attorney in private practice, contributed \$1,000 in May 2002 to Alexander’s Senate campaign. Greer also volunteered for the campaign. Senator-elect Alexander and Sen. Frist recommended Greer to the White House, and by December 2002, Greer had been informed that the President intended to nominate him. Greer had served as political director of Alexander’s 1978 campaign for governor, and, after Alexander won, worked as his special assistant. Greer was organizational director of the Tennessee Republican Party in 1977 and later was a state senator for several years. At Greer’s confirmation hearing, Frist called him “a personal friend for the past 6 years.”

Mattice, Harry Sandlin Jr.

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Tennessee

Nominated: July 28, 2005 | **Confirmed:** October 24, 2005

Summary: Mattice, a former U.S. Attorney, contributed \$1,000 to President Bush in April 2004, and \$1,000 in 2000 when he was in private practice. Overall, Mattice gave about \$15,000 in federal contributions to Republicans since 1992. His donations included \$3,000 to Sen. Frist, \$2,000 to former Sen. Fred Thompson and \$2,000 to Sen. Alexander's past presidential bids. Mattice served as a regional chairman for Alexander's presidential campaigns in 1995-1996 and 1999, as well as Frist's Senate campaign in 2000. In 1997, Thompson chose Mattice to be senior counsel of a special Senate committee investigation of campaign contributions in the 1996 election. Mattice also was treasurer and chairman of the Hamilton County Republican Party in the 1990s. In an August 2005 Chattanooga Times Free Press article, a spokesman for Sen. Frist said campaign contributions played no role in the selection of Tennessee federal judges.

Mays, Samuel H. Jr.

U. S. District Court, Western District of Tennessee

Nominated: January 23, 2002 | **Confirmed:** May 9, 2002

Summary: Mays, a former attorney in private practice, gave \$1,000 to the federal election account of the Tennessee Republican Party and \$1,000 to a Republican congressman after it was reported publicly that he had been recommended to the President. Overall, Mays gave more than \$20,000 to Republicans since 1990, including \$1,000 to Bush. He was recommended to the President by Sen. Frist, former Sen. Fred Thompson and former GOP Gov. Don Sundquist. Mays' contributions over the years included \$3,000 to Frist, \$1,000 to Thompson and \$3,000 to Sundquist's congressional campaigns. Mays served as legal counsel and chief of staff to former Gov. Sundquist. He served on the executive committee of the Tennessee Republican Party from 1986 to 1990 and was a delegate to the 2000 Republican National Convention. He was also heavily involved in numerous campaigns, including those for Bush, Frist, Thompson and Sundquist.

Chronology:

- July 14, 2001: The Memphis Commercial Appeal reports that Sen. Frist and then-Sen. Fred Thompson had recommended Mays to Bush for a judgeship.
- Aug. 24, 2001: Then-Rep. Ed Bryant (R-TN) receives \$1,000 from Mays.
- Sept. 11, 2001: The federal account of the Tennessee Republican Party receives \$1,200 from Mays.

Phillips, Thomas W.

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Tennessee

Nominated: June 26, 2002 | **Confirmed:** November 14, 2002

Summary: Phillips served as "Secretary/Treasurer" of his county Republican Party from 1976 until 1991, when he became a magistrate judge. During his involvement in politics, Phillips worked on various campaigns, including the gubernatorial campaign of Sen. Alexander. His wife, Dorothy M. Phillips, has given \$4,000 to Republicans since 1994. Among her contributions, she gave \$1,000 to former Sen. Fred Thompson in December 2001, a month before her husband interviewed with the staff of Sens. Thompson and Frist for a potential federal judgeship. Both senators recommended Judge Phillips to the President. Mrs. Phillips also gave \$500 to President Bush and \$500 to the Republican National Committee in 2004.

> No federal contributions since 1990 were found for the following judge: Thomas A. Varlan

TEXAS: Sen. John Cornyn (R), Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison (R)

Boyle, Jane J.

U.S. District Court, Northern District of Texas

Nominated: November 24, 2003 | **Confirmed:** June 17, 2004

Summary: Among other campaigns she assisted, Boyle worked on former Sen. Phil Gramm's 1984 campaign. She later became a magistrate judge, and was appointed U.S. Attorney by President Bush in 2002.

Cardone, Kathleen

U.S. District Court, Western District of Texas

Nominated: May 1, 2003 | **Confirmed:** July 28, 2003

Summary: In October 2002, Cardone contributed \$200 to Cornyn's campaign. In January 2003, Sens. Coryn and Hutchison recommended Cardone for a federal judgeship. Cardone, a state judge and mediator, also contributed \$500 to President Bush in 1999.

Clark, Ron

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Texas

Nominated: January 23, 2002 | **Confirmed:** October 2, 2002

Summary: Clark, a former Republican state legislator, gave Sen. Cornyn \$1,000 after Clark was recommended to the President by Texas' Senators and \$1,000 more three months after Bush nominated him. At the time, Cornyn was a candidate for the seat of retiring Sen. Phil Gramm, who had recommended Clark with Sen. Hutchison. Overall, Clark gave more than \$17,000 in federal contributions since 1989, including \$3,750 to Gramm and his political action committee; \$2,600 to Hutchison; \$1,000 to Bush, and \$4,250 to the National Republican Senatorial Committee while Gramm was committee chair. Following his confirmation as judge, Clark was criticized for continuing to campaign for state office. Clark told the New York Times at the time that he was stuck because his confirmation came after the deadline for withdrawing from the race. Throughout the 1990s, Clark was a county coordinator of Bush's gubernatorial campaigns, as well as the Senate bids of Gramm and Hutchison. He also was a "Bush Strike Force Volunteer" in Michigan during the 2000 election. Clark's wife, Joanna, gave \$10,000 to Republicans between 1991 and 2004, including \$2,600 to Gramm. After her husband's confirmation to the federal bench, her contributions included \$2,000 to President Bush, \$2,000 to Cornyn, and \$1,000 to Hutchison.

Chronology:

- July 12, 2001: Senators Phil Gramm and Kay Bailey Hutchison recommended Clark for the federal judgeship.
- November 16, 2001: Cornyn, who was campaigning at the time to replace a retiring Gramm, receives a \$1,000 contribution from Clark.
- January 23, 2002: Clark is nominated by President Bush.
- April 26, 2002: Cornyn receives \$1,000 each from Clark and his wife.
- October 2, 2002: Clark is confirmed by the Senate.

Crone, Marcia A.

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Texas

Nominated: May 1, 2003 | **Confirmed:** September 30, 2003

Summary: Crone's husband, Walter Seth Crone, Jr., contributed \$2,100 to Sen. Hutchison in June 2006. Sens. Hutchison and Cornyn had recommended Crone, a former magistrate judge, for the district court judgeship.

Davis, Leonard E.

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Texas

Nominated: January 23, 2002 | **Confirmed:** May 9, 2002

Summary: Davis, a state judge from 2000 until his federal appointment, made \$13,500 in federal contributions to Republicans from 1989-2000. His donations included \$6,500 to former Sen. Gramm and his political action committee, \$3,250 to Sen. Hutchison, and \$1,000 to Bush. Davis was recommended to the President by Sens. Gramm and Hutchison. He also gave \$750 to a Democratic Congressman who later switched to the Republican

Party. Davis worked on Bush's gubernatorial campaigns as well as his 2000 presidential campaign, serving on various committees. Davis also worked on the campaigns of former President Bush, who nominated him for a judgeship in 1992, though he was not confirmed. Davis has also helped fundraise for Gramm and Hutchison, as well as Cornyn, formerly the state attorney general. Davis served as general counsel to the Texas Republican Party in the 1980s. His wife, Dana Davis, has given \$3,500 to Gramm, \$1,000 to Hutchinson, and \$1,000 to Bush.

Godbey, David C.

U.S. District Court, Northern District of Texas

Nominated: January 23, 2002 | **Confirmed:** August 1, 2002

Summary: Shortly after Sens. Gramm and Hutchison recommended Godbey, a former Texas state judge, to President Bush for the judgeship, he contributed \$1,000 to the federal account of the Dallas County Republican Party, which supports Sen. Hutchison. He had earlier given the organization \$1,100 in 1999. Godbey's other federal campaign contributions consisted of \$1,000 to Texas GOP Rep. Pete Sessions in 2000 and \$250 to Kay Bailey Hutchison in 1993. He also gave \$250 to Sen. John Cornyn's state campaign for attorney general in 2000. His wife, Beverly, contributed \$500 to Bush from 1999-2000. Godbey volunteered on the local level for the former President Bush's 1988 campaign.

Chronology:

- Aug. 1, 2001: Sens. Gramm and Hutchison recommend Godbey to President Bush.
- Aug. 9, 2001: The Dallas County Republican Party's federal account receives \$1,000 from Godbey.

Judge Comment (letter from assistant Donna Z. Hocker): "He has asked me to advise you that, to the best of his recollection, his wife made the contributions you list to now-Senator Cornyn and Representative Sessions. Beyond that, Judge Godbey has no comment."

Note: For the 2000 contribution to Rep. Sessions, federal records identify the donor as David Godbey, occupation "Judge." For the 2000 contribution to Cornyn, state records identify the donor as "Godbey, David C."

Hanen, Andrew S.

U.S. District Court, Southern District of Texas

Nominated: January 23, 2002 | **Confirmed:** May 9, 2002

Summary: Hanen, a former lawyer in private practice, contributed \$1,000 to Bush in 1999. He also gave \$1,700 to former Sen. Gramm from 1990-1996. Hanen was recommended to the President by Gramm and Hutchison. From 1995-1998, Hanen also gave \$225 to then-Gov. George W. Bush and \$350 to John Cornyn's attorney general campaign, according to the Institute on Money in State Politics.

Junell, Robert A.

U. S. District Court, Western District of Texas

Nominated: July 18, 2002 (re-nominated on January 7, 2003) | **Confirmed:** February 10, 2003

Summary: A Democratic member of the Texas House of Representatives for many years, Junell supported Bush and campaigned for him around the country in 2000. He contributed \$1,000 to Bush in 1999. After interviewing with the Texas judicial selection commission for a potential judgeship, Junell met with Sens. Gramm and Hutchison in May 2001. Later that year, he gave \$250 each to a Democratic and a Republican congressman. After he was nominated by Bush, Junell gave \$1,000 to a Democratic state representative. From 1993-1996, Junell gave a combined \$2,000 to Democratic Rep. Charlie Stenholm and \$1,000 to an unsuccessful Democratic Senate candidate.

Chronology:

- April-May 2001: Junell appears before the Texas judicial selection committee.
- May 2001: Junell travels to Washington D.C. to be interviewed by Sens. Gramm and Hutchison.
- Sept. 2, 2001: Rep. Charlie Stenholm (D-TX) receives \$250 from Junell.
- Dec. 11, 2001: Rep. Henry Bonilla (R-TX) receives \$250 from Junell.
- July 18, 2002: Bush nominates Junell.
- Sept. 30, 2002: Current Rep. Henry Cuellar (D-TX) receives \$500 from Junell for his unsuccessful 2002 congressional campaign.
- Oct. 16, 2002: Democratic state representative Steven Wolens receives \$1,000 from Junell.

Judge Comment (phone): Junell said the candidates to whom he contributed while under consideration for a judgeship were personal friends and “didn’t have anything to do with me getting nominated or anything like that.” Junell said the donation to Cuellar was not from him; it was from a law firm that asked Junell to send in the money. On making contributions while under consideration for a judgeship: “Whatever the rules are, I’ll follow the rules...If they want to make the rules that [judicial candidates] can’t give contributions, that’s fine.”

Ludlum, Alia M.

U.S. District Court, Western District of Texas

Nominated: July 11, 2002 | **Confirmed:** November 14, 2002

Summary: Ludlum, a former U.S. magistrate judge, has made no known federal contributions since at least 1990. Her husband, John Ludlum, has given nearly \$35,000 in federal contributions to Republicans since 1994. His donations included \$3,000 to Bush, \$2,900 to Sen. Hutchison, \$1,500 to former Sen. Gramm, and about \$12,000 to the National Republican Senatorial Committee. Also among his overall donations, Mr. Ludlum gave \$14,000 to Rep. Henry Bonilla (R-TX).

Martinez, Philip Ray

U.S. District Court, Western District of Texas

Nominated: October 9, 2001 | **Confirmed:** February 5, 2002

Summary: Martinez, a former state judge, gave \$500 to the campaign of Rep. Silvestre Reyes (D-TX) in 1997. He also gave \$1,000 to former Sen. Bob Krueger (D-TX) in 1993.

Miller, Gray Hampton

U.S. District Court, Southern District of Texas

Nominated: January 25, 2006 | **Confirmed:** April 25, 2006

Summary: Miller, a former lawyer in private practice, contributed \$1,000 to President Bush in March 2004, and \$500 more in September 2004. Miller applied for the judgeship in 2005. He was recommended by Sens. Cornyn and Hutchison in August 2005. His wife, Joanne Miller, gave \$500 to Sen. Cornyn in February 2004 and \$1,000 to Bush in March 2004. In 1995, Miller gave \$250 to former Sen. Gramm’s bid for the Republican Party presidential nomination.

Montalvo, Frank

U.S. District Court, Western District of Texas

Nominated: May 1, 2003 | **Confirmed:** July 31, 2003

Summary: Montalvo, a former state judge, gave \$250 to Bush’s presidential campaign in 1999.

Rodriguez, Xavier

U.S. District Court, Western District of Texas

Nominated: May 1, 2003 | **Confirmed:** July 31, 2003

Summary: Rodriguez was appointed to the Texas Supreme Court from 2001-2002. Earlier, while working in private practice, Rodriguez contributed \$500 to Bush between 1999-2000. Rodriguez was precinct chair of his county Republican Party from 1999-2001.

Schneider, Michael H. Sr.

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Texas

Nominated: May 17, 2004 | **Confirmed:** September 7, 2004

Summary: A judge for decades, Schneider was elevated to chief judge of a state appellate court in 1996 by then-Gov. George W. Bush, according to news accounts. In 1996, Schneider gave \$1,000 to then Sen. Phil Gramm (R-TX). In 1998, Schneider contributed \$500 to the Texas Republican Party. He was later appointed to the state Supreme Court in 2002 by Republican Gov. Rick Perry.

Yeakel, Earl Leroy III

U.S. District Court, Western District of Texas

Nominated: May 1, 2003 | **Confirmed:** July 28, 2003

Summary: From 1990-1995, Yeakel gave \$2,600 to former Sen. Gramm, \$1,000 to Sen. Hutchison and \$2,000 to the Texas GOP. Yeakel also was the chairman of his county Republican Party from 1990-1992. In 1998, then-Gov. George Bush appointed Yeakel to a seat on a state appellate court. When Yeakel lost the election to retain his seat, Bush appointed him to the court again. Yeakel later was elected to a full term on the court. Yeakel served as a “surrogate speaker” for George H. W. Bush in his 1988 and 1992 presidential campaigns, as well as for George W. Bush’s 1994 gubernatorial campaign.

- > No federal contributions since 1990 were found for the following judges: Micaela Alvarez, Randy Crane, James E. Kinkeade

UTAH: Sen. Robert Bennett (R), Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R)**Cassell, Paul G.**

U.S. District Court, District of Utah

Nominated: June 19, 2001 | **Confirmed:** May 13, 2002

Summary: Cassell, a former University of Utah law professor, served for years as special counsel on various projects for Hatch, James & Dodge, the law firm of Sen. Hatch’s son. Cassell also provided legal advice for the 2000 Bush campaign, as a member of the campaign’s Criminal Justice Issues Advisory Committee. He also was a member of Law Professors for Bush in 2000, Law Professors for Dole in 1996 and Law Professors for Bush in 1992.

VIRGINIA: Sen. George Allen (R), Sen. John W. Warner (R)**Conrad, Glen Edward**

U.S. District Court, Western District of Virginia

Nominated: April 28, 2003 | **Confirmed:** September 22, 2003

Summary: A long-time U.S. magistrate judge, Conrad has known Sen. Allen since 1977, when the Senator was a law clerk. As governor, Allen later appointed Conrad’s wife, Mary Ann Conrad, to the board of the Virginia community college system. Between 1999-2005, Mrs. Conrad gave \$3,250 to Sen. Allen and about \$2,000 to the Virginia Republican Party.

Hudson, Henry E.

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Virginia

Nominated: January 23, 2002 | **Confirmed:** August 1, 2002

Summary: Hudson, who later became a state judge, gave \$250 to Rep. Frank Wolf (R-VA) in 1998, while he was in private practice. Hudson was appointed U.S. Attorney by President Reagan in 1986. He was appointed director of the U.S. Marshals Service by former President Bush in 1992. When Sen. Allen was governor, he appointed Hudson to various boards and commissions. Hudson served as the Arlington coordinator for Sen. Warner’s 1983 campaign and advised the Senator on criminal justice issues in 1995. He also served as regional coordinator for former Sen. Bob Dole’s presidential campaign in 1995.

☑ Kelley, Walter DeKalb Jr.

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Virginia

Nominated: October 31, 2003 | **Confirmed:** June 23, 2004

Summary: Kelley, a former attorney in private practice, made more than \$9,000 in federal campaign contributions

to Republicans from 1994-2003, including a donation to President Bush while he was seeking a judgeship. Kelley was recommended for the federal bench by the Virginia Bar Association in late May 2003. (Sens. Allen and Warner solicit the input of different bar associations as part of the selection process.) A month later, after he had garnered the endorsements of other bar associations as well, Kelley gave \$1,000 to President Bush, apparently his first ever contribution to Bush. Also, a month before the state bar association gave its recommendation, Kelley gave \$500 to Sen. Allen, who later recommended Kelley to the President. Kelley also gave thousands in state contributions to Republicans over the years, including donations while he was under consideration for a judgeship, according to the Institute on Money in State Politics. State records show Kelley gave \$500 to a candidate for lieutenant governor after he was nominated by the President. In the past, Kelley has volunteered for numerous campaigns, including those of Allen and Warner. Overall he has contributed \$2,000 to Allen and \$3,000 to Warner. His wife, Jennifer, also contributed \$1,000 to Allen in 2000.

Chronology:

- April 24, 2003: Sen. Allen receives a \$500 contribution from Kelley.
 - May 29, 2003: The Virginia Bar Association recommends Kelley for the federal bench.
 - June 3-11, 2003: Kelley receives several more endorsements of his candidacy from various bar associations.
 - June 25, 2003: President Bush's reelection campaign registers a \$1,000 contribution from Kelley.
 - July 30, 2003: Sens. Warner and Allen recommend Kelley to the President.
 - Oct. 31, 2003: Bush nominates Kelley.
 - April 5, 2004: A Republican candidate for lieutenant governor receives \$500 from Kelley.
-

WASHINGTON: Sen. Maria Cantwell (D), Sen. Patty Murray (D)

Leighton, Ronald B.

U.S. District Court, Western District of Washington

Nominated: January 23, 2002 | **Confirmed:** November 14, 2002

Summary: Leighton, a former attorney in private practice, was recommended to President Bush for the federal bench in fall 2001 by the state's senior Republican in Congress. Washington's two Democratic Senators initially opposed his nomination because they felt left out of the selection process. Leighton had given money in the past to Republican opponents of both Senators. Leighton, however, received support from the state's senior Democrat in the House, Norm Dicks, who received a \$250 contribution from Leighton a week before the nomination. Leighton also gave Dicks \$250 in 2000 and in 1993. Dicks said at the time of the nomination, "He's from my district, and I think he would be fine," according to the Seattle Times. From 1991-2000, Leighton and his wife, Sally, gave about \$5,000 to former GOP Sen. Slade Gorton, who eventually lost to Cantwell. Leighton also served on the finance committee of Gorton's campaigns.

Chronology:

- November 2001: Leighton is recommended to the White House by a Republican panel, according to the Associated Press.
- January 16, 2002: Rep. Norm Dicks (D-WA) receives a \$250 contribution from Leighton. Dicks backs Leighton's candidacy.
- January 23, 2002: President Bush nominates Leighton.

Robart, James L.

U.S. District Court, Western District of Washington

Nominated: December 9, 2003 | **Confirmed:** June 17, 2004

Summary: Robart, formerly a lawyer in private practice, contributed \$1,000 to President Bush in 1999. During the 1999-2000 election cycle, Robart also gave \$2,000 to former Sen. Slade Gorton (R-WA), who lost to Sen. Cantwell. Robart contributed several hundred dollars to Gorton from 1991-1994. Robart also gave \$1,000 to the federal account of the state Republican Party in 2000.

- > No federal contributions since 1990 have been found for the following judge: Ricardo S. Martinez, Lonny R. Suko
-

WEST VIRGINIA: Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D), Sen. John D. Rockefeller IV (D)

Johnston, Thomas E.

U.S. District Court, Southern District of West Virginia

Nominated: September 28, 2005 | **Confirmed:** March 6, 2006

Summary: Johnston was appointed U.S. Attorney by President Bush in 2001. From 1999-2001, Johnston gave \$700 to the West Virginia GOP and \$750 to Rep. Shelley Moore Capito (R-WV).

WISCONSIN: Sen. Russ Feingold (D), Sen. Herb Kohl (D)

- > No federal contributions since 1990 have been found for the following judge: William C. Griesbach

Judges' Comments on Campaign Contributions by Judicial Candidates

Batten, Timothy C. Sr.

U. S. District Court, Northern District of Georgia

"My thoughts are that it would probably be inappropriate for a lawyer who is a candidate for a federal judgeship to make a significant campaign contribution to a person having influence over the selection process, especially if the candidate had no prior history of making such contributions. On the other hand, a candidate who has a history of regularly contributing to a politician or party should not be prohibited from continuing to do so during his or her candidacy for the judgeship. Of course, that candidate should realize that public disclosure of the contributions might subject him or her to scrutiny or at least raise unpleasant questions as to the purpose of the contributions."

Boyko, Christopher A.

U. S. District Court, Northern District of Ohio

"If you believe for a minute that \$240, \$2,000 or \$25,000 'buys' a federal judgeship, as you clearly intimate, again, your naiveté astounds me. Any such insinuations are a blatant insult to both Senators, denigrating their integrity and character. No one 'buys' either Senator DeWine or Senator Voinovich – period."

Drell, Dee D.

U.S. District Court, Western District of Louisiana

"No one ever even suggested that, in such an early stage of the nomination process, it would be inappropriate to give small campaign contributions. Your letter was the first I had ever heard of this notion. Now also, I don't want to be glib in any way, but do you suppose a \$300 contribution would REALLY result in swaying a candidate to support a nomination, even if one could argue that the contribution was inappropriate? The stuff that you and I see in the press on influence buying is usually thousands of dollars or more."

Gritzner, James E.

U.S. District Court, Southern District of Iowa

"From a technical perspective, a rational, and legal, argument can be made that until a judge is actually sitting the judge is under no obligation to cease political activity. Thus, one could argue that prior to confirmation, or perhaps even prior to the President's signing of the Commission, political activity would not be prohibited. From a more practical perspective, however, I would think it unwise to be involved politically certainly after nomination by the President, and perhaps even after the selection process commences. Our courts gain most of their power from the public perception of their integrity. Therefore, I think it is always wise to avoid activities that contribute to undermining that perception. This concern is likely even more of an issue with campaign contributions made after a person is being considered for judicial appointment. Again, I would offer that it would be more a matter of personal judgment than legal requirement."

Guilford, Andrew J.

U.S. District Court, Central District of California

"It's a tough issue. The cynical assumption is that people are giving for political favors. If you really believe in a cause, though, do you lose your right to participate in a cause? On the other hand, I do believe the appearance of impropriety is very, very important and the integrity of the courts is very, very important, and I think in most situations that would be the principal factor. The principal factor in evaluating whether a contribution should be made is the impact it would have on the integrity of our third branch of government."

Holmes, James Leon

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Arkansas

"I didn't make any more contributions after I became a candidate. I think that after you've been nominated it's clearly inappropriate, and before that I'm not sure."

Jones, John E. III

U.S. District Court, Middle District of Pennsylvania

“I was recommended around August 2001 - is that the point that I should have stopped making contributions? Maybe I should have...Should there be a time that sort of is customary that you stop giving contributions? I grant you that’s probably true...If you know you’re being recommended by the screening panel, probably in retrospect it’s better to say that’s it, and not make any contributions after that. But that’s the benefit of hindsight.”

Junell, Robert A.

U.S. District Court, Western District of Texas

“Whatever the rules are, I’ll follow the rules...If they want to make the rules that [judicial candidates] can’t give contributions, that’s fine.”

Schiltz, Patrick Joseph

U.S. District Court, District of Minnesota

“I do not know whether it is ‘ethical or appropriate’ to make campaign contributions while one is under consideration for a judgeship. I can only tell you that I was uncomfortable with the idea. I knew that federal judges were forbidden from making political contributions, and I thought that, as someone recommended or nominated for a federal judgeship, I should follow the same practice.”

Selna, James V.

U.S. District Court, Central District of California

“I don’t know of anything illegal about that. If someone made a contribution after a senator sent their name to the White House, there might be an appearance issue, but certainly not a substantive issue. Assuming there isn’t a quid pro quo that is a bribe. The contributions would be legal and an exercise of your First Amendment rights to participate in politics. But if [you contribute] after somebody sent your name up, especially the way it used to work where it was the Senator’s prerogative [to make recommendations to the President], people might ask questions, there might be an appearance issue.”

Sheridan, Peter G.

U.S. District Court, District of New Jersey

“The material presented is not newsworthy. It is widely known that I have participated in republican politics for at least 20 years prior to my appointment. It is my view that most citizens (except for certain public officials) should participate in the political process; because such participation strengthens our democracy and secures our liberties.

Smith, Lavenski R.

U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit (AR)

“Until nominated, potential nominees should retain their full first amendment rights to participate politically as ordinary citizens.”

Starrett, Keith

U.S. District Court, Southern District of Mississippi

“Political contributions by a judge, irrespective of status, are improper. Prior to my nomination I had been a state court judge for twelve years and during that time I tried to abide by my belief that it is improper for judges to be involved in politics. The Canons of Judicial Ethics, both state and federal, are specific on that point...I have discussed contributions with [my wife] since my confirmation and requested that she not participate in any way in politics. She has agreed and, as far as I know, has made no additional contributions. Judicial ethics are very important to me and avoiding even the appearance of impropriety is crucial to the public perception that our system of justice is fair. The most important pillar of any democracy is its system of justice and, while mistakes may be made along the way, I will continue to endeavor to honor each word of my oath of office.”

Titus, Roger W.

U.S. District Court, District of Maryland

“From a personal standpoint, I do not believe that political contributions should be made to an appointing authority while under active consideration, and I have made no such contributions.”

APPENDIX A: Clinton Appointed Judge

CIR's investigation of Bush-appointed judges also turned up campaign contributions in the name of a Clinton-appointed judge while he was sitting on the federal bench. [Canon 7](#) of the official Code of Conduct for United States Judges says that: "A Judge Should Refrain From Political Activity." Specifically, it says, "A judge should not...solicit funds for or pay an assessment or make a contribution to a political organization or candidate, attend political gatherings, or purchase tickets for political party dinners, or other functions."

Pregerson, Dean D.

U. S. District Court, Central District of California

Nominated: January 26, 1996 **Confirmed:** July 24, 1996

Summary: On the recommendation of Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-CA), President Clinton nominated Pregerson in 1996. His father, Harry Pregerson, was appointed to the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals by President Carter. The following are contributions in Dean Pregerson's name while he was sitting on the federal bench:

- March 15, 1999: Nick Walters, a Republican candidate for Mississippi Secretary of State, [receives \\$500](#) from Dean Pregerson of Pacific Palisades, CA. State records list the donor's occupation as "Federal Judge, US District Court, Los Angeles"
- May 19, 2000: Brian Schweitzer, a Montana Democrat who was then running for Senate and is currently Governor, [receives \\$250](#) from Dean Pregerson of Pacific Palisades, CA. Federal records list the donor's occupation as "Federal Judge."
- February 25, 2002: Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-DE) receives a [\\$1,000 donation](#) from Dean D. Pregerson of Pacific Palisades, CA. Federal records list the donor's occupation as an attorney with Bergman & Wedner. Pregerson worked for Bergman & Wedner from 1986 to 1988, according to the employment history he provided the Senate at the time of his nomination. Pregerson had previously contributed to Sen. Biden when Pregerson was employed by Bergman & Wedner. The Biden campaign used the old employer information from its files, according to Pregerson's office.

Judge's Comment (phone calls from judge's assistant, Eugenia Paquet):

Regarding all contributions: "He just wanted to let you know that any contributions that are made, they are made through his wife and by his wife and through a joint checking account. He just wanted to thank you for getting this information to him and looking into this information. In his eyes this is a closed matter and he doesn't want to have any more communication with you."

Regarding contributions listing donor as federal judge: "From his wife's recollection, I guess they ask you your employer information. Some of these contributions were made when she was unemployed, so in that situation, rather than listing unemployed she would just list Judge Pregerson."

Note: Pregerson's wife, Sharon D. Pregerson, has made numerous contributions in her name over the years, listing herself as "homemaker" or "not employed." Examples are [here](#) and [here](#).