

# When Justices Go to School:

Lessons from Supreme Court Visits to Public Colleges and Universities

By Tyler Cooper and Dylan Hosmer-Quint Edited by Gabe Roth

Fix the Court

March 24, 2020

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By Tyler Cooper, FTC senior researcher, and Dylan Hosmer-Quint, FTC research associate

Edited by Gabe Roth, FTC executive director

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Read the documents we received from our records requests here!

#### Summary<sub>1</sub>

It is well known that U.S. Supreme Court justices face significantly fewer public disclosure requirements than top officials in the legislative and executive branches. Justices' annual financial disclosures are not posted online, gifts are not reported in a timely manner – to the extent they're reported at all – and official proceedings are shielded from broadcast media. Perhaps most concerning, justices are not bound to a code of ethics, as is the case with all other Article III judges, members of Congress and executive officials.

Though it'd be preferable for the Supreme Court to be more transparent on its own volition, or for Congress to require it to be more open, Fix the Court has found another avenue through which we can apply some oversight: public records requests. Neither the justices nor their staffs are subject to the federal Freedom of Information Act or state equivalents, but they often have contact with individuals who are.

When justices visit public colleges and universities, for example, the details of their travel are often subject to state public records laws.

These laws have allowed us to obtain information on a dozen trips taken by all of the justices, save Justice Brett Kavanaugh<sub>2</sub>. In the report below, we shed some light on these trips, noting costs to taxpayers, justices' policies on media access and, in some cases, ethically questionable practices.

Our project began last October after we were tipped off by a member of the press who had received, via records request, several e-mails between a public university in New York and Supreme Court staff. The reporter's takeaway



*Justice Ginsburg speaks with Shakespeare scholar David Kastan at Montclair State University on Sept.* 23, 2017.

was that court staff seemed to be acting more like travel agents than public servants at times, which may not

- <sup>1</sup> Throughout the report, our "evidence" is hyperlinked to screenshots. We did this for ease of reading but realize this may not suffice for readers who want to see a source with their own eyes. All the documents we received are <a href="here">here</a>; at any time, you may e-mail <a href="Info@FixTheCourt.com">Info@FixTheCourt.com</a>, and we will identify the exact page where the excerpt appears.
- <sup>2</sup> Kavanaugh's only public university-sponsored trip since joining the court was with George Mason University's Scalia Law School to teach in Italy, for which we did not request documents.

be the best use of taxpayer dollars. Soon after we began doing our own research and identified several dozen examples of justices visiting public colleges and universities around the country over the last few years, from which we made 21 records requests, discussed in detail below.

Around the same time, the Berggruen Prize Jury selected Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg as the winner of its 2019 prize, which came with a \$1 million honorarium, far higher than the stated \$2,000 honorarium limit, and the notion that the nine might not be following gift and reimbursement guidelines became more acute. (Ginsburg donated the funds, but that did not allay all concerns.)

Since October, we have received 3,793 pages of documents from 13 public colleges and universities at a cost to us of \$132.85. The documents are available <a href="here">here</a>. Ultimately, three items stand out.

# First, the justices are *generally* following the gift and travel rules, but we do have several questions about the propriety of some practices. For example:

- Why did Justice Sonia Sotomayor's flight to University of Rhode Island in May 2016 she was the school's commencement speaker cost \$1,045.20, and why is it not listed on her 2016 financial disclosure report? (Also, she had a motorcade and up to 11 URI-paid hotel rooms during commencement weekend. Why's that?)
- Why did Justice Stephen Breyer attend a <u>private VIP dinner</u> before his Dec. 2016 lecture at the University of Texas at Arlington with finance, legal and oil <u>executives</u> that cost \$500 per plate? Such a high price would suggest the event was a fundraiser, which federal judges and justices are prohibited from attending.
- Why do the words "100,000 pledge" appear next to the name of a guest at a University of Minnesota Law School pre-lecture VIP event with Chief Justice John Roberts? Was the event with Roberts intended to solicit or reward donations?
- Why were private planes offered to Justice Clarence Thomas by the University of Florida Levin College of Law (he apparently took them up on the offer) and Justice Samuel Alito by the University of South Carolina School of Law (he did not)?
- Why did Thomas include the income he made teaching at the University of Kansas School of Law and the University of Georgia School of Law in his 2018 disclosure report yet not mention in the report's "reimbursement" section (section IV) if either school paid for his food, travel and lodging during his teaching engagements?
- Did an undisclosed "engraved" gift given to Sotomayor, the Wisconsin football gear given to Justice Elena Kagan or the silver julep cups and challenge coins given to Justice Neil Gorsuch cost more than \$390, which is the reporting threshold for gifts?
- Why did Gorsuch <u>refuse</u> to allow his remarks at the University of Louisville's McConnell Center to be livestreamed or video-recorded (which drew <u>complaints from U of L staff</u>, who noted that Roberts and Thomas, as well as Sen. McConnell, did not impose that restriction)?
- Why did Supreme Court staff not permit a UK archivist to record Gorsuch's talk?



With Sen. McConnell looking on, Justice Gorsuch addresses guests at the University of Louisville's McConnell Center on Sept. 21, 2017. It was Gorsuch's second speech at a Kentucky university that day.

- In addition to the security provided to the justices by the U.S. Marshals Service, did schools hire outside security for these events? (At least two did.) We know the Supreme Court reimburses the Marshals for protection, but did the court offer to reimburse the schools?
- Why did some schools (Universities of Kansas and Buffalo) claim no responsive documents, why did others never get back to us or take several months to (Universities of Alaska and Hawaii), and why did others still ask for exorbitant fees to search for and obtain public records (Michigan State, University of Colorado)?

Second, our findings underscore the court's need for ethics reform and increased transparency. Even if nothing we found violated federal law (we hope), the creation of a Supreme Court Code of Conduct or gift and travel guidelines akin to those set out in the bipartisan <u>Judicial Travel Accountability Act</u> could set the record straight and alleviate any appearances of impropriety.

We'd be hard-pressed to find someone who disagrees with the notion that by clarifying the obligations of the justices and requiring rigorous reporting standards, the court would rebuild public trust.

**Third,** and this is separate from our findings but is worth mentioning, we are pleased the justices are making a concerted effort to visit public colleges and universities, not only Harvard, Yale and Columbia – i.e., where the current justices attended law school.

We found that of the justices' 238 post-secondary education events from the start of OT15 until now listed on SCOTUSmap.com, 77 of those, or 32 percent, were at public schools. Only 21 percent of the top-14 law schools are public, so it is to the justices' credit that they have made an effort to visit more than one type of school.

#### **Process**

We started the project by identifying 21 times justices visited public colleges and universities across the country between Dec. 2015 and Sept. 2019, and we sent a similar request to each school. Here's the template:

Pursuant to **state** freedom of information laws, I request access to and copies of all correspondence sent by university personnel to the **justice and his/her staff** and all correspondence sent by the **justice and his/her staff** to university personnel regarding his/her visit on **this date**.

This should include, but not be limited to correspondence about:

1. The date, time, topic and proposed guests of the main event;

Read the documents we received from our records requests here!

- 2. The date, time, topic and proposed guests of any events associated with the main event;
- 3. Any transportation, food and/or lodging details for the justice, for his/her staff and, if applicable, for the security detail accompanying the justice, and any discussion of reimbursement thereof;
- 4. Any gifts or honoraria offered or discussed related to the event or events; and
- 5. The recording policy for the public event i.e., if the justice permitted audio or video recording.

This should include all memos and all e-mail, print or other correspondence and attachments, including instances where the justice and/or his/her staff were carbon copied (CC'd).

A more detailed accounting of the responses from each institution appears in the appendices. Overall, we received documents from 13 of the 21 requests.

#### **Fundraisers**

The Code of Conduct for U.S. Judges prohibits the participation in fundraising efforts of any kind<sub>3</sub>. Though the code is not binding for Supreme Court justices, as it is for all other federal judges, the nine have at times declared<sub>4</sub> that they do follow it.



Breyer's decision to attend a "private VIP dinner" ahead of his talk at the University of Texas at Arlington in Dec. 2016, comprising finance, real estate and oil executives, raises questions. The meal cost \$500 per plate, according to the flyer at left. UTA staff assured Breyer's assistant that the price would merely recuperate costs of the event. (Readers may recall that similar concerns were raised over a Federalist Society dinner a few years ago that cost just \$175 a head.)

Increased transparency could, of course, alleviate these concerns. If Breyer were required to list the cost of the dinner on his disclosure, instead of the blanket "round-trip airfare, lodging and meals," as he reported at the time, we could better understand his decision to attend<sub>5</sub>.

Kagan's Sept. 2017 event at the University of Wisconsin Law School was part of the "Dean's Summit," or in the words of the dean, the "annual gathering of the Law School's most loyal supporters." UW staff clarified in correspondence with the court that the gathering is for those who pledge at least \$1,000 per year to the school. In the same e-mail from UW staff to the court's PIO, we learn that the events during the Dean's Summit that have a cost associated with them – a dinner and a football game – are ticketed to participants at or below cost. So, though the event itself does not run afoul of the fundraising rules for the justices, per se, it certainly comes close.

Similarly, at an Alito event held the following week, the justice helped dedicate the new University of South Carolina School of Law building. In Dec. 2016, court staff told the USC Law PR director that Alito "is forbidden"

<sup>3</sup> https://www.uscourts.gov/sites/default/files/code\_of\_conduct\_for\_united\_states\_judges\_effective\_march\_12\_2019.pdf, p. 14

<sup>4</sup> https://www.c-span.org/video/?324970-1/supreme-court-budget-fiscal-year-2016, at 53:10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The trip is listed on p. 4 of his disclosure, but justices' disclosures include no dollar amounts or specific information about trip reimbursements, http://fixthecourt.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Breyer-2016-Financial-Disclosure-Report.pdf

by the Canons of Judicial Ethics from participating in any fundraising efforts for even the most worthy charities." Forgetting for a moment that there is no "Canons of Judicial Ethics" – it's the Code of Conduct for U.S. Judges – or that Supreme Court justices are not bound by them, this emphasis that a justice may not attend a fundraiser was a pleasant surprise among our findings. (Botching the name of the inapplicable ethics code? Not so much.) In Jan. 2017 court staff added that "the image or likeness of Justice Alito" sent for event announcement purposes "may not be used in association with fundraising."

It was the <u>same</u> story with a Ginsburg event at Montclair State University: "the video [of her Sept. 23, 2017, roundtable discussion on *The Merchant of Venice*] may not be used for fundraising or promotional purposes."

Beyond the concern on the part of court staff that the UTA, UW and MSU events would be used in association with fundraising, there's the notion that these and other schools are intentionally filling out their guest lists for justice events with high-profile and high-net-worth individuals in hopes of obtaining future donations. In that vein, it was a bit jarring, though not completely surprising, to see among the documents we received from the University of Minnesota the words "100,000 pledge," handwritten, next to the name of one invited guest, Kevin Yi Qian, whose affiliation is described as "graduate." Minnesota Law's 2017-18 Impact of Giving Report, released



Chief Justice Roberts speaks with Prof. Robert Stein at the University of Minnesota on Oct. 16, 2018.

six weeks after Roberts' lecture, notes that Qian and Suya Yang have donated in excess of \$100,000 to the school over their lifetimes. McDermott Will & Emery's Shanghai offices list Kevin Y. Qian, a 1992 University of Minnesota Law School graduate, as a partner.

It's impossible, of course, to draw a direct line between a possible financial pledge and Qian's participation in the exclusive dinner. That said, and despite the admonishments by the court's staff for the other events mentioned above, we have long suspected that organizations, including public colleges and universities, may be fundraising off their ability to snag justices for speaking engagements, and we believe that this practice is something the justices and their staffs should guard against, to the extent they can.

Speaking of fundraising, justices' events at public institutions can raise money for the justices' themselves via book sales. CUNY, for example, <u>ordered</u> 150 books prior to Sotomayor's 2016 visit; URI <u>ordered</u> 125. It's unclear how many of Breyer's books CUNY ordered in 2015 for his visit, but it was <u>mentioned</u> in the documents we received that some of his books were ordered and signed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Speaking of, for the UK Law Gorsuch event, the director of the Heyburn Initiative told her colleagues that "one of our earliest Heyburn Initiative Supporters," a man named David Bradford, who is vice president and general counsel of a Dallas-area electrical distribution company, would be the "very special guest attending the Gorsuch event." It is unclear what she meant by that, though.

## **Transportation**

Perhaps unsurprisingly, we found significant travel costs incurred by public universities hosting the justices – some that came with a receipt indicating the dollar amounts and others that did not.

Thomas' weeklong visit to Gainesville, Fla., in Jan. 2016 to co-teach a class on property law with Prof. Michael Wolf started off with a bang – or at least with a flight on the University of Florida's private plane, it seems. In



*Justice Thomas co-taught a weeklong class on property rights and the U.S. Constitution at UF's Levin College of Law in Jan. 2016.* 

a document titled, "Visit Schedule," two lines appear from an unknown author: "Professor Wolf will be on the University airplane. [...] I will be joining Professor Wolf on the departure flight from Washington, D.C." This and other e-mails we obtained make it appear as if the school used the plane to pick up Thomas and return him to D.C.

According to the Associated Press, UF athletics purchased a private plane for \$8.4 million in 2011, though it is unknown if this was the plane that Thomas used. According to the same story, annual fuel and maintenance costs for private aircraft run about \$1.6 million. More to the point, each

flight averages more than \$1,000 an hour. Flight time between Gainesville and Dulles – where private planes in the D.C. area land and where Thomas' itinerary indicated he landed on his return flight on Jan. 29, 2015 – is one hour, 54 minutes, which at that rate would be a \$3,800 roundtrip. There's no indication that Thomas' wife Ginni accompanied him on either flight.

All this said, it's not as if commercial travel is always low cost, as many public colleges and universities are in cities with small airports that have few, if any, direct flights to and from Washington. Kagan's roundtrip airfare from D.C. to Madison, Wisc., in Sept. 2017, for example, cost UW Law \$975.44 – and that was for a coach flight with a layover in Detroit on the way back to Washington. Sotomayor's roundtrip flight from D.C. to Providence cost the University of Rhode Island \$1,045.20. She was escorted from the airport, for an undisclosed reason, by a five-car motorcade and seemed to have had a smaller motorcade from her hotel to the graduation ceremony. The high costs for flights here could have been because Kagan's ticket was booked just two weeks before her trip (on Aug. 23) and Sotomayor's was booked just two days prior (on May 18).

What's more, Sotomayor appears to have made an error by omitting her URI visit on her 2016 disclosure report. The \$1,045.20 price tag is much higher than the federally mandated \$390 reporting floor and was all but certainly paid by the university to the state travel agent. Her hotel block – which, due to conflicting e-mails, consisted of five, six, 10 or 11 rooms, at a rate of up to \$844.11 per room – was also likely paid for by the university. More on that below.

From the documents we received, it seems as if Thomas wasn't the only justice who was given the opportunity to fly in style. Alito, a Supreme Court employee wrote to University of South Carolina School of Law's staff on May 22, 2017, "would like to take you up on your offer for use of the University plane for his travel to Columbia," for his Sept. 2017 visit. The university owns two nine-seat Beechcraft King Air 350s, which, according to press reports, cost the school more than \$2,000 per hour to operate. The private plane option was eventually abandoned in favor of commercial travel due to concerns over an approaching storm, Hurricane

Irma. (September is near-peak Atlantic hurricane season.) Alito ended up flying business class from Philadelphia to Columbia, the cost of which was not included in the documents we received, though based on our research runs about \$700 for the roundtrip.

Gorsuch's roundtrip flight from D.C. to Louisville in Sept. 2017 was picked up by the University of Louisville's McConnell Center, and it seems as the U.S. Marshals Service drove him back and forth to Lexington, about 90 minutes away on the same day as his flight. Gorsuch spoke at U of L in the morning and at the University of Kentucky College of Law that afternoon.

Though less extravagant, Ginsburg requested an Acela train ticket for her trip to Montclair State the same

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA School of Law

Justice Alito speaks at a new building dedication and 150th anniversary celebration for the University of South Carolina School of Law on Sept. 14, 2017.

week. No word on whether that happened, but a late-September roundtrip from D.C. to Newark on an Acela train runs about \$350. The Minnesota Law booked the Chief Justice's Oct. 2018 roundtrip flights, first class, from D.C. to Minneapolis, which cost the school \$694.39.

We didn't receive data on the other justices' transportation to and from the schools at which they spoke.

## Lodging

We found that for the justices' we tracked, most stayed in hotels on or near campus. Thomas, for example, stayed at a hotel near UF, though we did not learn which one or how much it cost per night.

We received conflicting information about the number of rooms that URI booked in Sotomayor's name at the Break Hotel in Narragansett, R.I., in May 2016, which sits on the Atlantic coast about nine miles south of the school. At one point, there were 11 – one for the justice, two for family friends and eight for security. All of the rooms were paid for, it seems, by the school. For graduation weekend – we chose May 21-23, 2021, for this exercise – rooms cost between \$199 and \$249 per night. For three nights (what the university indicated), plus taxes, that'd be \$674.61 to \$844.11 per room, or \$7,420.71 to \$9,285.21 if 11 rooms were indeed booked, or \$2,023.83 to \$2,532.33 if we're only counting the three rooms – one for the justice and two for her family friends in tow. It is likely, of course, that the university has a discount with the hotel, but even so, this is not a negligible expense – and is not one that the justice should have left off her disclosure report.



*Justice Breyer poses for a photo with UTA President Vistasp Karbhari (l) ahead of his talk at the school on Dec.* 13, 2016.

Breyer's hotel bill for his one night at the Hilton Arlington in Dec. 2016 was a modest \$141.99. Kagan, though, stayed at what's arguably the nicest hotel in Madison in Sept. 2017, the Edgewater, which is the same hotel Sotomayor had stayed at the year before. That Kagan wanted to attend a football game while at the school – which we believe she did, from the Chancellor's Box, wearing a Badgers football sweatshirts – likely increased the cost of her hotel bill.

For comparison's sake, rooms during a home football (non-Big Ten) weekend at the

Edgewater in Sept. 2021 run between \$593.10 and \$804 per night. The three rooms the school booked for her – one for the justice; two for security – at those prices could have cost the school between \$1,411.64 and \$1,898.82 per room for two nights, or between \$4,234.92 and \$5,696.46 for all three rooms. Like URI, it is possible UW received a discount; either way, Kagan's weekend was not cheap for the school.

Another interesting tidbit from this trip is that the marshals did a security <u>walkthrough</u> of the hotel and seven other locations on campus in the days before the justice arrived on campus, and that though there are marshals stationed in Madison, Kagan's security was coordinated out of the USMS Chicago office.

In the Ginsburg MSU documents, it was noted that the school would "coordinate travel and hotel" for her visit, which implies payment, though no hotel name or receipt was included in the documents we received. We didn't receive information on the other justices' lodging arrangements in or around the schools at which they spoke.

# **Culinary - and Redacting - Preferences**

The guidelines of financial disclosure reports state that if you're a federal judge or justice and a private entity or school pays a combined \$390 for your transportation, lodging and/or meals, you must report it on your disclosure report. It's rare that food costs are what push a trip over the reporting floor, so there's not much to report on here, just two notes of interest.

First, unlike someone in D.C. who's been calling on her to recuse of late, Sotomayor takes her filet mignon rare. Second, more seriously, our records request to Minnesota yielded some details on the Chief Justice's food and flower allergies that we've decided not to share here. Given ongoing concerns over the safety of public figures, the last thing we would want is to inadvertently harm anyone by releasing that information.

So, we asked that the university resend us their 405-page document with any e-mails that mentioned allergies redacted. We also asked that the names of the high school students invited to Roberts' talk be redacted, as well as the cell phone numbers of deputy marshals. Even though the school was not required by state law to withhold this information or send us back a redacted version of the records, staff there complied with our request, and for that we are grateful.

#### **Gifts**

Like with transportation, lodging and meals, gifts over \$390 must be reported on annual disclosures<sub>7</sub>. Sometimes, all you're given for appearing at a school are some thank-you notes, as Breyer was following his Dec. 2015 talk at CUNY Law. Those you do not have to report. Thomas received a "photo gift" from UF before he headed back to D.C., though we do not know what it was or how much it cost.

Sotomayor was given a robe by URI for her 2016 commencement talk. Two members of her security detail also received robes, though it's unclear if any of them were keepers and not rentals. The justice received an honorary doctorate, which came with a hood (see photo at right). She was also given something that needed "engraving," possibly the degree itself or some other unknown gift.

Kagan appears to have been given University of Wisconsin football paraphernalia that, according to the school's alumni magazine, she wore to a Madison farmer's market and a Badgers football game. She also received an



Justice Sotomayor is given an honorary doctorate during University of Rhode Island commencement exercises on May 21, 2016.

undisclosed gift that was apparently sent to the court after her visit.

Gorsuch received a personalized Louisville Slugger bat from the University of Louisville, which cost between \$59.99 and \$99.99, according to the company's online gift shop, as well as a challenge coin from the U.S. Army's Strategic Broadening Seminar, which happened to be running a program on campus at the time of the justice's visit and whose participants sat in on the justice's lecture. The coin is likely to have been produced by the school and not the military branch, based on a press release from the previous year, and these coins typically have more sentimental than monetary value. Gorsuch received silver julep cups from the University of Kentucky, the price of which was not included in our request, and depending on the quality can run anywhere from \$10 to \$1,000.

The records we received from Minnesota indicate that the Chief Justice "did not accept" the standard \$5,000 honorarium for UM Law's Stein Lecture. That was likely due to a judiciary-wide rule against accepting honoraria, except those up to \$2,000, which may be donated to charity. Roberts did accept a \$200 Betsy Ross flag blanket and a gift basket worth about \$20. Gifts were not mentioned in any of the documents we received from the other justices' visits.

<sup>7</sup> Here is the statute that requires reporting, the minimum has been adjusted for inflation <a href="https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/5a/compiledact-95-521/title-I/section-102">https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/5a/compiledact-95-521/title-I/section-102</a>

Here is the judiciary's explanation of the policy:  $\frac{https://www.uscourts.gov/judges-judgeships/privately-funded-seminars-disclosure/faqs-privately-funded-seminars-disclosure#fn2$ 

#### Security

At the time we conducted this research, we were engaged in a FOIA lawsuit with the U.S. Marshals Service over details on the cost of security provided to Supreme Court justices when they traveled outside of Washington during FY16 and FY 17.

The upshot of the FOIA is we believe there are gaps in security coverage and that the justices should be covered more consistently, akin to what the Speaker of the House or Senate Majority Leader receives. (Currently, justices can opt out of Marshals protection when they travel.) We had asked for similar information in the aftermath of Justice Antonin Scalia's Feb. 2016 death, at which time he was on a ranch outside of Marfa, Tex., without any security detail. It took several hours from the time his body was found until USMS deputies arrived at the ranch.

Though there were extensive redactions to what we received, which we expected, as we do not need to know any private information or security secrets, we were able to piece together some of the costs to taxpayers – again, not to quibble with but to state for the record. The documentation from our FOIA is available here. Though the names of the justices have been redacted, it's not difficult to match the trips with press reports of the justices' travels, done in the box at right.

What's more interesting to us is that we learned from several schools that they, too, had to incur security costs to host the justices, either to control crowds, check IDs or provide support to the federal agents in tow.

Breyer's visit to UT-Arlington incurred a \$2,147.50 invoice from the police department. Twelve officers, whose hourly rates ranged from \$25 to

#### **USMS Costs to Cover the Justices**

Breyer visited CUNY School of Law on Dec. 17, 2015. Our USMS FOIA revealed a line item that indicated \$11,868 was spent from Dec. 15-19, 2015, in the Southern District of New York. In addition to Breyer's CUNY visit, according to SCOTUSmap, we found that justices held at least three other events in the region during this timeframe that may also have contributed to the USMS expenditure.

Thomas taught at the University of Florida Levin College of Law the week of Jan. 25, 2016. Our USMS FOIA revealed a line item that indicated \$9,767 was spent from Jan. 23-30, 2016 in the Northern District of Florida.

Sotomayor visited CUNY School of Law on Apr. 8, 2016, and the USMS FOIA revealed a line item that indicated \$21,439 was spent from Apr. 6-12, 2016, in the Southern District of New York. In addition to Sotomayor's CUNY visit, according to SCOTUSmap, we found that Supreme Court justices held at least four other events in the region during this timeframe that may also have contributed to the USMS expenditure.

Sotomayor spoke at the University of Rhode Island on May 22, 2016, and our USMS FOIA revealed a line item that indicated \$10,673 was spent from May 19-22, 2016 in the District of Rhode Island.

Sotomayor visited the University of Colorado Boulder Law School on Sep. 2, 2016. Our USMS FOIA revealed a line item that indicated \$15,466 was spent from Aug. 29 to Sept. 3 and \$4,625 was spent from Aug. 31 to Sept. 3 in the District of Colorado. There was another justice in Colorado at the time, and two events with multiple judges that may also have contributed to the USMS expenditures.

Breyer visited the University of Texas at Arlington on Dec. 13, 2016, and our USMS FOIA revealed a line item that indicated \$2,377 was spent from Dec. 11-15, 2016 in the Northern District of Texas.

Kagan spoke at the University of Wisconsin Law School on Sept. 8, 2017, and our USMS FOIA revealed a line item that indicated \$7,911 was spent from Sept. 6-9, 2016 in the Western District of Wisconsin.

Alito spoke at the University of South Carolina School of Law on Sept. 14, 2017, and the USMS FOIA revealed a line item that indicated \$9,052 was spent from Sept. 11-15, 2017 in the District of South Carolina. We found that another justice was in South Carolina at the time, which may have contributed to the USMS expenditure.

Gorsuch visited the University of Louisville and the University of Kentucky on September 21, 2017, and the USMS FOIA revealed a line item that indicated \$3,302 was spent from Sept. 19-22, 2017 in the Western District of Kentucky.

Ginsburg spoke at Montclair State University on Sept. 23, 2017, and our USMS FOIA revealed a line item that indicated \$6,834 was spent from Sept. 23-24, 2017 in the District of New Jersey.

Kagan visited UCLA School of Law on Sept. 27, 2018, which is beyond the scope of our USMS FOIA.

Roberts visited the University of Minnesota Law School on Oct. 16, 2018, which is beyond the scope of our USMS FOIA.

\$60, were deployed. That, of course, does not include the cost for federal marshals, which from the redacted sheet seems to have been \$2,377.



University of Wisconsin Law School Dean Margaret Raymond hosts a Q&A with Justice Kagan on Sept. 8, 2017.

Kagan's security detail in Madison, which we noted did a walkthrough of the eight locations she was scheduled to visit, included a deputy marshal who attended her in Detroit during a 48-minute layover on Sept. 9, 2017. We could not identify a cost associated with this.

The Supreme Court seemed to have reimbursed the Marshals \$3,302 for Gorsuch's Sept. 2017 visit to the University of Louisville and the

University of Kentucky. UK spent an additional \$739.35 on police, including both uniformed and plainclothes officers for the event. A dog handler was also included in Gorsuch's UK security detail but not included in the invoice.

We do not have the USMS cost of Roberts' 2018 visit to Minnesota as it falls outside the scope of our FOIA, but we do know this: Roberts was not only accompanied by deputy marshals for his talk; he was also escorted by members of the Supreme Court Police Department, the University of Minnesota Police Department and a private security firm. Unlike at UTA, an invoice for the latter was not included in the documents we received.

As we've written, we believe in the value of justices speaking at public colleges and universities. Each year more than \$640 million of the federal budget is used to guard the buildings in which judges and justices work and the men and women who work in them. That's an important and proper appropriation – and the third branch should consider using a small part of it to reimburse public schools when they host judicial events that necessitate security resources beyond what the Marshals provide.

In addition, we'd like to be sure that that funding covers the deputies' meals. After all, it was <u>noted</u> in the Breyer documents that for his Dec. 2015 talk to the CUNY School of Law, a deputy marshal "will accompany the Justice but will not eat lunch."

#### **Media Access**

The Supreme Court has long resisted broadcast media access to court proceedings. Audio of oral arguments is released at the end of the week. Video recording and photography are prohibited. The consequence of these policies is that much of the public is closed off from the nation's highest court as it engages in the people's work. Given the limited access granted to official proceedings, we had hoped to find more media-friendly policies in place when the justices left the courtroom. That was true for some of the justices, but others chose to continue curtailing broadcast access.

Breyer permitted CUNY staff to film his visit to the school, which comprised a conversation with legal analyst Jeff Toobin. A video of the event was posted online six days after it occurred. Breyer permitted a still photographer for the event, as well. The chambers of Sotomayor, known to have one of the more permissive broadcast policies, allowed CUNY to "videotape the event for posting on the school's website consistent with [its] usual practice." That video was posted online six days after the event's conclusion. She also allowed press and a school photographer to attend.

<u>Kagan's</u> remarks at the University of Wisconsin Law School, <u>Sotomayor's</u> speech at the University of Rhode Island, and <u>Ginsburg's</u> talk at Montclair State University were all streamed live.

Gorsuch, though, refused to allow his remarks at the University of Louisville to be broadcast. His strict policy drew complaints from the university staff, who noted that Roberts and Thomas, as well as Sen. Mitch McConnell, did not limit media access in the same way when they spoke at the school. Gorsuch's staff also did not allow group photos with more than eight students. Gorsuch followed the same policy at the University of Kentucky; students were instructed not to take "personal photos" unless invited to by the justice.

Though Gorsuch was invited to UK by the Heyburn Initiative, which bills itself as the nation's only center devoted to the preservation of federal judicial history, Supreme Court press staff did not permit a university archivist to record his talk there to preserve it for posterity. A tweet of the talk was posted a couple hours after its conclusion. Also unusual: the justice and Sen. McConnell dined together, perhaps joined by the university president, before Gorsuch gave his talk<sub>8</sub>. Alito followed a similar policy to Gorsuch during his Sept. 2017 visit to the University of South Carolina School of Law – no audio or video taping for broadcast purposes. Alito even went so far as to request that the university not livetweet during his remarks, again reducing access.

The Chief Justice took a different, though well-worn, tack when he gave the 2018 Stein Lecture at the University of Minnesota Law School: his talk was videotaped and made available online following the event but only simulcast to an overflow room nearby. Sotomayor seemingly offered the same access when she gave the 2016 Stein Lecture; video was posted the day after the talk. The video for Kagan's 2019 Stein Lecture was posted three days later. We were unable to locate any video for Scalia's 2015 Stein Lecture, though it's well-known that the late justice's common practice for public lectures was to prohibit broadcast.

Even as we applaud the justices for taking the time to visit public universities around the country, we'd be remiss if we did not point out that policies limiting broadcast access place burdensome restrictions on access to newsworthy events – that are, no doubt, often held in rooms that cannot physically hold the number of people interested in hearing from the nation's top jurists.

#### **Content Restrictions**

The justices are under no obligation to travel the country and speak to the public, yet they all do. At the same time, the extent to which these "public" events have become highly choreographed, often restrictive events in terms of content comes as a little bit of a surprise. The free-flowing affect that many justices take during oral

<sup>8</sup> At the time, a *Politico* story described Gorsuch's trip to Kentucky thus: "It's unusual for a Supreme Court justice to hit the road for a speaking tour with a senator, particularly so soon after a highly partisan confirmation battle in which that lawmaker played a leading role."

argument or media interviews belies the extent to which they and their staff seek to run a tight ship from chambers to podiums across the country.

The chamber of Sotomayor – the justice best known for her free-flowing style at public events – offered a different picture to CUNY Law staff in preparation for a 2016 event at the law school. "[P]lease make certain your students know that the Justice appreciates that audiences would like her to comment on current issues," the justice's staff wrote, "but, however, she believes that the public will lose confidence in the judiciary if Justices opine on cases or issues before they are heard at the Court. Moreover, the Justice does not answer questions on issues that may come before the Court, pending cases, statutes, or proposed legislation. Furthermore, she does not express her views on the conduct and opinions of others and she will not pick among people as her role models or 'favorites'. Lastly, the Justice will not explain or define her 'opinions' in any way."

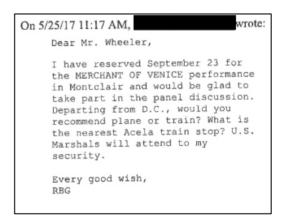
UCLA School of Law staff preemptively offered to submit questions to Kagan ahead of time for feedback, and Kagan's team confirmed they'd be interested in them. Kagan subsequently asked that 11 of the 40 questions provided be withheld from the event, including ones on whether Gorsuch's "arrival change[d] anything about the Court's dynamics," whether high court nominations will always be partisan from now on, how she goes about hiring law clerks, her experience not being confirmed to the D.C. Circuit in 1999 and her views on the movie "Black Panther."

It appears Roberts' talk in Minnesota was <u>changed</u> by his staff from "the recent term with only eight Justices, the diversity (or lack thereof) in the Justices on the Court, and the collegiality of the Justices" (the suggestion of Minnesota staff) to "particularly the role of the Chief Justice of the United States" (the edit made by his staff).

## **Some Quirks**

There were a handful of details that we found odd or interesting that didn't fit into the above categories. For example:

- Ginsburg does sign some of her e-mails "RBG" (at right).
- The Gorsuch talk at UK Law took place about six weeks after the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, and public universities in the south, especially those based in towns with Confederate statutes, like Lexington, Ky., were under greater scrutiny at the time. It was no surprise, then, that in preparing a music introduction for the event, UK staff advised those planning it to "steer clear" of "My Old Kentucky Home," a song whose original lyrics were racist and still has racist associations.



• Kagan's chambers promised they'd send UW staff a gift to thank them for organizing such a successful visit to Madison. They came up with the idea of 16 signed photos of the justice. Yet nearly six months and several escalating e-mails after the fact, it does not seem like the photos were sent.

- Sometimes it takes several years to book a justice. Thomas and the then-UF Law dean <u>wrote</u> letters to one another more than two-and-a-half years prior to his 2016 teaching stint there. Kagan and the UW Law dean began <u>e-mailing</u> about a visit more than three years before she went to Madison in 2017.
- The staffs of Alito and Gorsuch were both particular in ensuring that their middle initial was included in all materials, though it's not like there are other justices out there named Sam Alito or Neil Gorsuch.
- We asked for documents related to a Sotomayor visit of CU Law in Sept. 2016. After the school's records office quoted us a price quote of \$600 "to retrieve, review, and produce records responsive to your request" too rich for us we asked for the names of the individuals who had sent the most e-mails back and forth to the Supreme Court in the lead-up to the event. The name at the top of the list: Lise Menn, CU professor emerita of linguistics. Menn wrote a book on grief in 2014 that included essays on how to cope when a spouse one passes away. Justice Ginsburg wrote a forward to that book Marty Ginsburg died in 2010 and it was heartening to see, inadvertently, that the two, or at least their staffs, remained in touch.

# **Some Oversights**

As we mentioned, Sotomayor left her URI trip in 2016 off her disclosure. We've asked the Supreme Court about that and will report back when we get a response. We will also be asking the court about why Thomas included the income he made teaching at the University of Kansas and the University of Georgia Schools of Law – \$10,000 and \$8,000, respectively – in his 2018 disclosure yet failed to mention in the report's "reimbursement" section if either paid for his food, travel and lodging during his visit. That also seems like an oversight.

One thing we can't ask the court about is why some schools – e.g., the University of Kansas School of Law and the University at Buffalo School of Law – claimed there were no responsive documents to our requests or why some, like the University of Hawai'i Richardson School of Law and University of Alaska at Fairbanks, are slow-walking the their responses. There's a broader discussion of these requests in the appendices.

Finally, we could not figure out why some schools asked for astronomical fees to search for and obtain public documents, like Michigan State and University of Colorado. If their \$600 and \$460 quotes, respectively, were meant to deter us from obtaining supposedly public information, guess what: it worked.

#### Conclusion

Our goal with this project was not to dig up dirt or expose sensitive information about the justices, their staff or the colleges and universities that host them. Rather, we wanted to learn more about how the court and its members operate beyond the rarified air of One First Street. The information we learned is similar to the kinds of material made available by the executive branch via the Freedom of Information Act or by the legislative branch via various oversight statutes.

The only way to maintain public confidence in the operations of the court, to say nothing of its legitimacy when handing down decisions, is to demand of the third branch the same sorts of transparency measures that are standard in the rest of government. That so many questions remain – on the costs of the justices' travel, whom they're meeting with, what type of gifts they're receiving – suggests that this is an area into which we should keep digging.

#### Appendix A: What We Asked For

Below we have detailed our process for requesting and receiving information from the public universities.

We submitted two requests to CUNY School of Law; one regarding a visit by Justice Breyer on December 17, 2015, was submitted on December 4, 2019, and the other regarding a visit by Justice Sotomayor on April 8, 2016, was submitted on December 3, 2019. Although these requests sought discrete documents, at the request of the institution, we agreed to allow them to be processed together as one request consisting of two parts. The requests were acknowledged on December 4, 2019, and on January 12, 2020, we received 10 PDFs, each containing one email chain. Based on the content of the Sotomayor results, we requested a renewed search for responsive documents related to Justice Breyer's visit. The school claimed it could find no additional documents. We were not charged by the university for processing these requests.

There is no mention of a reimbursement from CUNY Law in either Justice Sotomayor's 2016\_financial disclosure report, nor Justice Breyer's 2015 financial disclosure report. These may oversights (the justices have been known to make mistakes on occasion), or the justices may have relied on other sources to cover their costs. Sotomayor has lived in New York for most of her life prior to her appointment to the Supreme Court, and Breyer does list a reimbursement from the Council on Foreign Relations for "train fare" on the same day as his CUNY Law event.

Justice Thomas visited the University of Florida Levin College of Law the week of January 25, 2016, to co-teach a class on property rights and the U.S. Constitution. Our request was submitted on October 18, 2019, and on January 29, 2020, we received five PDFs and one PowerPoint presentation. The university did not charge us for processing our request. Thomas was reimbursed for transportation, meals and accommodations for this trip, according to his 2016 financial disclosure report.

Justice Thomas attended the University of Georgia School of Law's 50th anniversary law review gala in Atlanta on February 5, 2016. Our records request was sent on December 4, 2019. On December 9, 2019, the university acknowledged the request and stated that they had reached out to units that may have responsive documents, but suggested that since the event occurred nearly four years ago, they may no longer possess any responsive documents. No further communications, nor responsive documents, have yet been received. The trip is listed on his financial disclosure report.

Justice Sotomayor visited the University of Rhode Island for its May 22, 2016, commencement. Six weeks after our October 18, 2019 request, the university sent 61 pages of responsive documents six weeks after our request. The trip does not show up on Sotomayor's financial disclosure for the year, indicating that she either made an error on the report or paid for the trip herself. It's also possible a family member paid since a relative of the justice's was graduating from the school that weekend. Our records request revealed that at least \$1,000 of her trip – i.e., her flight – was paid for by the university, not to mention the well-appointed hotel, suggesting that the omission from the report is an error.

Justice Sotomayor visited the University of Alaska Fairbanks on August 14, 2016. Our FOIA was sent on October 21, 2019. It was acknowledged by the Office of the General Counsel on November 12, 2019. No further

communications, nor responsive documents, have yet been received. The trip is listed on her 2016 financial disclosure report.

Justice Sotomayor visited the University of Colorado Law School on September 2, 2016. Our initial request was dated October 22, 2019. After a dialogue with the university records office and being quoted an exorbitant fee for search time and documents (\$600), we narrowed our request to, first, the total number of emails sent from CU staff to Supreme Court staff; second, the total number of emails sent from Supreme Court staff to CU staff; and third, a list of email addresses of CU staff who either sent or received the aforementioned emails. The fee for completing this request was \$50.37, which we paid. We received these documents on November 20, 2019.

Justice Kagan visited the University of Louisville on September 15, 2016. Our December 3, 2019, records request to the school is still pending. Kagan was reimbursed for the trip, and it appears on her financial disclosure report for the year.

Justice Alito visited the University of Buffalo Law School on October 20, 2016. Our records request was sent on December 3, 2019. The university requested an additional 20 days to fulfill our request then asked that we narrow the request. We responded by identifying university personnel who were likely to have interacted with Alito's staff. On December 24, 2019, the university claimed no responsive documents. The trip is listed on his 2016 financial disclosure report.

Justice Breyer visited the University of Texas at Arlington on December 13, 2016. The university also asked us to limit our request dated October 18, 2019, and we provided a list of staff likely to have interacted with the justice, as well as a date range. We were also asked which Supreme Court staff we wanted as custodians, but the university agreed to proceed with searching for the "@supremecourt.gov" handle, as we do not have the email address for most of the court's employees. Lastly, the university required a fee of \$15.73. Upon receipt of the fee, we were sent nine emails and three documents pertaining to Breyer's visit. Breyer was reimbursed for his travel, and the trip shows up on his financial disclosure report for 2016.

Justice Ginsburg visited the William S. Richardson School of Law at University of Hawai'i-Manoa February 8-12, 2017. Our FOIA was sent on December 4, 2019. The university has not responded to our records request or our follow-up e-mails, and the trip is listed on the justice's 2017 financial disclosure report.

Justice Kagan visited the University of Wisconsin Law School on September 7-9, 2017. In response to our request dated October 18, 2019, the university told us they were experiencing a high number of requests, which delayed their response. After three months, they produced nearly 400 pages of responsive documents at no cost. Kagan was reimbursed for the trip, and it appears on her <u>financial disclosure report</u> for the year.

Justice Alito visited the University of South Carolina School of Law on September 14, 2017. After our records request dated October 18, 2019, the university charged us \$63.75 for searching and retrieving the documents. After paying the fee, we received 88 pages on December 19, 2019. Alito was reimbursed for this trip, and it shows up on his 2017 financial disclosure report.

Justice Gorsuch visited the University of Louisville's McConnell Center on September 21, 2017. Our records request was sent October 23, 2019, and we received 32 pages of responsive documents on November 30, 2019, at no cost.

Justice Gorsuch visited the University of Kentucky at Lexington on September 21, 2017. After our October 18, 2019 records request, the university asked for a more narrow request, and we responded by identifying university personnel who were likely to have interacted with Gorsuch's staff. They also required a \$3.00 fee for the documents – 2,217 pages worth – to be delivered by CD through the mail, which we received on March 10, 2020. Gorsuch's trip to both Kentucky universities show up on his financial disclosure report for 2017 on the same line.

Justice Ginsburg visited Montclair State University on September 23, 2017. In response to our records request dated December 3, 2019, the university initially sent four pages of documents, but after consulting with Information Technology professionals, were able to produce an additional 37 pages. Ginsburg was reimbursed for the trip, and it shows up on her financial disclosure report for the year.

Justice Sotomayor visited Michigan State University on August 26-27, 2018. We submitted our records request on October 18, 2019, and on November 11, 2019, MSU responded that they had identified hundreds of pages of responsive records but planned to <u>charge \$460 for retrieval</u>. We have not chosen to pursue this request further due to the high cost, and it's mentioned, oddly, in the appendix to her 2018 <u>financial disclosure report</u>.

Justice Thomas visited the University of Kansas School of Law on January 22-25, 2018. Our records request was sent on October 18, 2019, and on November 7, 2019, the university replied by claiming that they were unable to locate any responsive documents, even after we attempted to provide them with additional details that could have aided in their search. Thomas' trip was noted on his financial disclosure report under outside income but not under reimbursements.

Justice Kagan visited UCLA School of Law on September 27, 2018. Our records request was sent on December 4, 2019, and on January 10, 2020, the university produced one PDF: an email chain which included a list of prospective questions for the event, of which Kagan's staff asked that 11 of the 40 be withheld. The university did not charge us for processing our request. Kagan was reimbursed for transportation, meals and lodging for this trip, according to her 2018 financial disclosure report.

Chief Justice Roberts visited the University of Minnesota regarding a visit from on October 16, 2018. Our request was sent on October 21, 2019, and on November 25, 2019, the university produced a 405-page PDF of responsive documents. The university did not charge us for processing our request. Roberts was reimbursed for transportation, meals and lodging for this trip, according to his 2018 financial disclosure report.

Justice Ginsburg visited the University of California, Berkeley, School of Law on October 21, 2019. Our FOIA was sent on January 31, 2020. It was acknowledged by the university's public records office on February 7, 2020, noting that the request had been forwarded to the appropriate offices and that a search for responsive documents was underway. No further communications, nor responsive documents, have yet been received.

# Appendix B: What We Got Back in Return

Date(s) of trips	Justice	College or university visited	Cost of airline/train ticket (*=estimate)	Cost of lodging (*=estimate)	Cost of USMS**	Cost of records
12/15/2015 - 12/19/2015	Breyer	Sorensen Center for Int'l Peace & Justice at CUNY School of Law	Transportation not indicated on disclosure or in records we received	Disclosure indicates no third party paid for N.Y. lodging	\$11,868	\$0.00
1/23/2016 - 1/29/2016	Thomas	University of Florida Levin College of Law	\$3,800*	Stayed at hotel near campus; name/cost not in records	\$9,767	\$0.00
2/5/2016	Thomas	University of Georgia School of Law - Georgia Law Review	No records received	No records received	\$6,163	N/A
4/8/2016	Sotomayor	Sorensen Center for Int'l Peace & Justice at CUNY School of Law	Transportation not indicated on disclosure or in records we received	Likely stayed in New York City residence	\$21,439	\$0.00
5/20-22/2016	Sotomayor	Univ. of Rhode Island	\$1,045.21	\$2,023.82-\$2,532.33*	\$10,673	\$0.00
Week of 8/14/2016	Sotomayor	Univ. of Alaska Fairbanks	No records received	No records received	\$37,637	N/A
9/2/2016	Sotomayor	University of Colorado Law School	No records received	No records received	\$20,091	\$50.37
9/15/2016	Kagan	University of Louisville Brandeis School of Law	No records received	No records received	\$4,596	N/A
10/20/2016	Alito	University at Buffalo School of Law	No records received	No records received	\$7,464	N/A
12/13-14/2016	Breyer	Univ. of Texas-Arlington	Flight details not included	\$141.99	\$2,377	\$15.73
2/8-12/2017	Ginsburg	University of Hawai'i Richardson School of Law	No records received	No records received	\$47,362	N/A
9/7/2017 - 9/9/2017	Kagan	Univ. of Wisconsin Law School	\$975.44	\$1,411.64-\$1,898.82*	\$7,911	\$0.00
9/13/2017 - 9/14/2017	Alito	Univ. of South Carolina School of Law	\$700*	Stayed at hotel near campus; name/cost not included	\$9,052	\$63.75
9/21/2017	Gorsuch	Univ. of Kentucky College of Law	U of L paid for flight; cost not included	Left University of Kentucky same day		\$3.00
9/21/2017 - 9/22/2017	Gorsuch	Univ. of Louisville - McConnell Center	See above	Stayed at hotel near campus; name/cost not in records	\$3,302	\$0.00
9/23-24/2017	Ginsburg	Montclair State University	\$350*	Stayed at hotel near campus; name/cost not in records	\$6,834	\$0.00
1/21-25/2018	Thomas	University of Kansas School of Law	No records received	No records received	Beyond FOIA dates	N/A
8/26-27/2018	Sotomayor	Michigan State University	No records received	No records received	Beyond FOIA dates	N/A
9/25-28/2018	Kagan	UCLA School of Law	Flight details not included	No hotel information included	Beyond FOIA dates	\$0.00
10/15-17/2018	Roberts	Univ. of Minnesota Law School	\$694.39	Stayed at hotel near campus; name not included	Beyond FOIA dates	\$0.00
10/21/2019	Ginsburg	Univ. of Calif., Berkeley, School of Law	No records received	No records received	Beyond FOIA dates	N/A

<sup>\*\*</sup>USMS costs are based on our best guesses from this document we received as part of our FOIA lawsuit.