Exhibit 6

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1	STATE OF MAINE	
2	JOINT STANDING COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY	
3	Augusta, Maine	
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10	AUDIO TRANSCRIPTION	
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12	CONFIRMATION HEARING OF:	
13	Catherine R. Connors, Esq.	
14	January 30, 2020	
15	3:53:40 - 4:56:40	
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22	Tammy Smith, Court Reporter THE REPORTING GROUP	
23	P.O. Box 404 Springvale, Maine 04083	
24	(207) 281-4230 thereportinggroupmaine@gmail.com	
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1	TRANSCRIPT OF AUDIO FILE
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3	THE CHAIR: Welcome. I apologize for the
4	procedural delays. This is a public hearing
5	of the Joint Standing Committee on Judiciary
6	for the purpose of considering the nomination
7	by the governor of Ms. Catherine Connors of
8	Kennebunk for appointment as a Supreme
9	Judicial Court associate justice.
10	Under the law and the joint rules of the
11	Maine Legislature, this committee is required
12	to hold a public hearing to recommend
13	confirmation or denial of the nominee by a
14	majority vote of the committee of the
15	committee members present and voting. As
16	chairs of the committee, we will then send
17	written notice of the committee's
18	recommendations to the senate president.
19	The committee will hear testimony from
20	and have an opportunity to question the
21	governor or her representative, the nominee,
22	and any other persons present who wish to
23	speak for or against the nomination.
24	Pursuant to Title 3 of the Maine Statute,
25	it requires there be an affirmative motion to

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recommend confirmation of the nominee. 1 2 The chair now recognizes the 3 representative from Kennebunk, Representative Babbidge, for the purpose of 4 making such a nom- -- such a motion. 5 REPRESENTATIVE BABBIDGE: Thank you, 6 7 Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Joint Standing Committee on Judiciary 8 9 recommend confirmation of Ms. Catherine R. 10 Connors, Esq., of Kennebunk for appointment as 11 Supreme Judicial Court justice. 12 THE CHAIR: Thank you, 13 Representative Babbidge. A copy of the statutory requirements for 14 the position is available at the roster. 15 The 16 chair now recognizes Derek Langhauser, who 17 represents legal counsel to Governor Mills, 18 for purposes of making a statement regarding this nomination. 19 20 MR. LANGHAUSER: Good afternoon, Mr. Chairman, Madam Chair, and members of the 21 22 committee. I'm here to present the third and 23 final of our three nominees today. 24 I am Derek Langhauser. I'm the chief 25 legal counsel to the governor, and I'm here

1	today to present Attorney Catherine R. Connors
2	as the governor's nominee for appointment as
3	an associate justice of the Maine Supreme
4	Judicial Court.
5	Catherine Connors has practiced law
6	for 34 years. She's an appellate lawyer
7	handling civil and criminal litigation matters
8	in federal and state courts as well as
9	petitions for review of administrative
10	decisions. She has argued more than 100
11	appeals, primarily in the Maine Supreme
12	Judicial Court, to which she is nominated
13	today, and the United States Courts of
14	Appeals. She argues appeals not only for
15	clients at her firm, but for lawyers of
16	clients from other firms, as well, who seek
17	her out for her ability and expertise.
18	Ms. Connors has long been consistently
19	recognized by the bench and bar alike as one
20	of the most capable, if not the most capable,
21	appellate attorneys in Maine.
22	Retired Justice Dan Wathen, who served on
23	our state's Supreme Court for 20 years as both
24	an associate and chief justice, who was an
25	appointee of Democratic, Republican, and

1 Independent governors, is here today to 2 explain why he and so many other experienced judges and lawyers hold Ms. Connors in such 3 high regard. 4 5 Ms. Connors has the highest peer-driven 6 professional rating that a practicing lawyer 7 in the United States can obtain. She's an elected fellow and board member of the 8 9 American Academy of Appellate Lawyers, one of the most prestigious law associations in the 10 11 nation. She has served on the United 12 States -- the United States First Circuit 13 Court of Appeals Advisory Committee on Rules, 14 the Maine Board of Bar Exam Examiners, and she is a fellow of the Maine Justice Foundation. 15 16 Because her reputation extends well 17 beyond Maine, Ms. Connors is admitted to 18 practice law in the United States Supreme 19 Court, the United States District Court, the 20 United States District Court for the District 21 of Columbia, and the United States Courts of 22 Appeals for the First, Second, Third, Fifth, 23 and Sixth Circuits, which is approximately one half of the federal courts -- federal 24 25 appellate courts in the nation.

1 Ms. Connors graduated from Northwestern University School of Law with high academic 2 3 honors, and likewise, she graduated magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa from Northwestern 4 5 University as an undergraduate. Her work as an appellate attorney is in 6 7 nearly every respect that of an appellate judge. Like an appellate judge, she, too, 8 9 takes her cases as they come to her after other lawyers have accepted the clients, 10 chosen the parties, and framed the dispute. 11 12 She, too, is exposed to and often required to 13 master, in short order, substantially diverse 14 subjects of law that are often complex and 15 frequently not settled. She, too, must have 16 the analytic -- analytical ability to identify 17 quickly the predominate material facts and 18 arguments at issue, and she, too, needs to 19 commit her rationale to clear, concise, and complete writing so that others, parties, 20 judges, and lawyers alike, can understand and 21 22 be persuaded. 23 As Ms. Connors can explain better than I, 24 she has over 30 years of -- 34 years of 25 practice working with an unusually wide array

1 of legal subjects. They include civil, criminal, administrative, corporate, and 2 individual rights law. I randomly selected 3 and read opinions or briefs from 58 reported 4 cases that she worked on in order to assess 5 6 the range, complexity, and quality of her 7 work, and as a former law clerk myself to two justices on the state Supreme Court, a 30-year 8 9 student of the Court's opinion, and one whose own jobs have required me to change subjects 10 11 both quickly and broadly, even I was struck by 12 the breadth of her subject matter, exposure, 13 and experience. 14 Her clients have been equally diverse. 15 For entities, they've included corporations, 16 non-profits, civil liberties groups, state 17 agencies, and usually complex organizations, 18 such as the American Bar Association's Central 19 European and Eurasian Law Initiative, the 20 United States Aid to International 21 Development, and the World Bank. 22 For individuals, her clients have 23 included guardians ad litem, a prisoner in need of mental health treatment, an elementary 24 25 school student in need of air-quality

protection, criminal defendants, an indigent applicant for DHHS benefits, and service workers in need of protection from harassment at work. Similarly, when she is not practicing law, Ms. Connors tends to the needs of her extended family and donates her time and efforts to support the local Animal Welfare Society.

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9 All appellate courts are purposefully 10 designed to have more than one judge, from 11 panels of three in the federal appeals courts 12 to seven in the Maine Supreme Court to nine in 13 the United States Supreme Court. The reason 14 for this is clear, to have professional and personal diversity that brings different 15 viewpoints from those different experiences. 16 17 This is what a lawyer coming from private 18 practice can bring to the current court, 19 which, before the vacancies that we are 20 addressing here today, had seven former trial judges comprising the bench. 21 22 In the 44 years since law school Dean Ed 23 Godfrey's appointment to the law court in 24 1978, 7 attorneys had been directly appointed

by governors to the law court. These

1 appointments -- these appointments, as I said, came at the hand of four different governor's 2 over that time. If confirmed, Ms. Connors 3 would be the eighth such appointee, and she 4 will bring the valuable perspective of her 5 6 private practice to the collective 7 deliberative process of the trial judges who she will join on that court. 8 9 Retired Associate Justice Warren Silver, the last such appointee, who was selected by 10 11 Governor Baldacci in 2005, has written a 12 statement supporting Ms. Connor's nomination that, as with Justice Horton, Chief 13 Justice Wathen will read on Justice Silver's 14 behalf. 15 16 Finally, it bears noting that if 17 confirmed, Ms. Connors would be only the fifth 18 woman to ever serve on the Maine Supreme Court 19 in its 200-year history. She would be the 20 first woman appointed to the Court in over 21 12 years, and she would be the first woman 22 appointed directly from the bar in over 23 36 years. 24 Like Chief Justice Wathen and Associate 25 Justice Silver, Governor Mills has a great

1 respect for the intellectual ability, careful writing skills, and the analytical experience 2 Ms. Connors would bring to the Court. 3 Mr. Hobson is with me today to speak with --4 from his perspective on our committee as well. 5 And with that, I will simply close by 6 7 saying, on behalf of the governor, I thank Ms. Connors for her willingness to serve, and 8 9 I respectfully request your consideration of and support for this nomination. I would be 10 11 pleased to answer any questions that the 12 committee may have of me, and if not, I will 13 yield to my colleague, Mr. Hobson. Thank you, Mr. and Madam Chair. 14 15 THE CHAIR: Thank you, Mr. Langhauser. Are there questions of Mr. Langhauser? 16 17 Thank you. 18 Next, represent -- I recognize 19 Mr. Hobson, the chair of the governor's 20 judicial selection committee. 21 Thank you very much, MR. HOBSON: 22 Senator Carpenter and Representative Bailey 23 and Members of the Joint Standing Committee on 24 the Judiciary. My name is John Hobson. I'm 25 chair of Governor Mills' judicial selection

committee.

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2	On behalf of the judicial selection
3	committee, I asked you to recommend favorably
4	the nomination of Catherine Connors on a as
5	a position on the Maine Supreme Court.
6	Ms. Connors is an appellate's lawyer
7	appellate lawyer. She has the breadth and
8	experience that the governor's counsel has
9	laid out for you. She has represented a broad
10	range of clients on a broad range of issues.
11	She brings the intellectual rigger and the
12	writing ability that will contribute to what
13	has been a long history of intellectual rigger
14	and high standards of the Maine Supreme Court.
15	In addition, as Mr. Langhauser noted, she
16	has an important position as a direct
17	appointee from the bar. There is a tradition
18	of this state having a member of the Maine
19	Supreme Court being a direct appointee to the
20	bar, and that's important from the private
21	bar's perspective because, not to denigrate at
22	all, it's very important to have judicial
23	experience at times, but it's important on a
24	collective body of seven to bring to bear the
25	perspective of the private practitioner in

1 terms of the impact of the rulemaking and just the general administration of the courts. 2 3 Ms. Connors can bring both that experience and perspective to bear as a 4 position on the Maine Supreme Court, as Maine 5 6 has a tradition of having, and can bring the 7 intellectual and skills and abilities that she clearly has, as the state will greatly benefit 8 9 from having Catherine Connors as a member of 10 the Maine Supreme Court. 11 And on behalf of the committee, I 12 respectfully request that this committee 13 support the recommendation of Ms. Connors to the Maine Supreme Court to the full senate. 14 15 THE CHAIR: Thank you, Mr. Hobson. 16 Are there questions of Mr. Hobson? 17 Representative Evangelos. 18 REPRESENTATIVE EVANGELOS: Thank you, 19 Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Hobson. 20 Mr. Hobson, just a particular concern I 21 have regarding the judicial selection process 22 regarding the one area. The nominee has 23 represented the banking industry in a variety 24 of areas, including foreclosures, and I know 25 that Justice Saufley recuses herself at times

1 from those type of cases because of the involvement of her spouse in that industry. 2 In the event that the nominee, if she's 3 confirmed, has to recuse herself from these 4 cases, you're going to be down to five 5 Supreme Court justices. Did you take that 6 7 into consideration? MR. HOBSON: Well, any justice on any 8 9 issue, if they have had prior involvement, and obviously, something coming from the private 10 11 sector has that issue, will have to recuse 12 themselves. And so there may be a time that the Court is down from its seven members to 13 14 less than, but as we -- today, earlier, this 15 committee affirmatively recommended to the full senate Justice Hjelm. There is a basis. 16 17 I also think Justice Clifford is --18 active retired -- and he is -- has been a 19 sitting Superior Court justice as well as an 20 experienced Superior Court justice, Justice Clifford's (indiscernible). 21 So those are resources available to the 22 23 chief in the event there is a case at which 24 Ms. Connors is required to recuse herself. 25 THE CHAIR: Thank you, Mr. Hobson.

1 Representative Babbidge. REPRESENTATIVE BABBIDGE: For Mr. Hobson. 2 Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 3 Could you review for me the guidelines 4 for recusal? 5 MR. HOBSON: I can't. Honestly, it would 6 be -- the answer is I can't, but --7 8 THE CHAIR: Thank you, Mr. Hobson. I'm 9 sure we'll get that thought from somebody else 10 shortly. 11 Other questions by members of the 12 committee of Mr. Hobson? Thank you, sir. 13 MR. HOBSON: Thank you. THE CHAIR: The chair would now recognize 14 Catherine Connors for the purpose of making 15 16 such statement, as she wishes, about her 17 nomination. Welcome. 18 MS. CONNORS: Thank you. 19 Mr. Chair, Madam Chair, and distinguished members of the committee, my name is Catherine 20 Connors from Kennebunk. I want to thank 21 22 Governor Mills for nominating me and this 23 committee for recording me the courtesy of 24 this hearing. I'm humbled by this nomination, 25 and I very much appreciate your consideration.

1 I've lived and practiced law here in Maine for the last 34 years. My husband, 2 3 Mike, is here with me today. Mike works for the Kennebunk Public Works Department, and 4 knowing him as I do, it is hard for him to 5 leave his plow truck and his fellow drivers 6 7 this time of year. So I much appreciate, as always, his support for me. 8 9 After moving from New Jersey to Ohio to Illinois as a young child, I grew up outside 10 11 of Chicago in a middle-class family, the 12 daughter of a civil engineer and a homemaker. School was always a priority for my family, 13 14 but I had to work; so I kept a variety of jobs from the age of 15. I quickly found that you 15 16 can learn about the real lives, burdens, and 17 dreams of people, and the justices and 18 injustices, from working in places like a dry 19 cleaner, a department store, and an amusement 20 park. 21 After graduating from my local high 22 school, I enrolled at nearby Northwestern 23 University because I was fortunate enough to 24 get a significant scholarship. I wanted to be 25 a history teacher, but when I could not afford

1 to accept Princeton's offer for graduate school, I turned instead to continue at 2 Northwestern with its law school. Looking 3 back, I'm happy I did. 4 5 After working through law school, my 6 first job was to clerk for the chief judge of 7 the federal district court, the trial court in Illinois. Because he had a national 8 9 reputation, I was fortunate to have a prized opportunity to work with him and more 10 11 fortunate, yet, when he asked me to stay 12 longer than initially planned. Like all court 13 clerkships, it's a front-row seat to seeing 14 how judging, and in this case, really excellent judging, is done. 15 16 After that clerkship, I moved to Maine 17 with Mike, whom I had met in college and who 18 patiently waited until we could return to his 19 home state. After starting in Portland and 20 then Freeport to follow his career, we settled 21 in Kennebunk next to his home town of 22 Kennebunkport. I started straightaway at 23 Pierce Atwood, where I have remained 24 for 34 years. 25 I was first assigned by senior partners

1 to conduct research and briefing memos on a variety of complex subjects. 2 These 3 assignments soon morphed into what has now long been my practice as an appellate lawyer. 4 And it might be helpful for me to explain how 5 6 my practice works. 7 Our firm has 33 subject matter departments or practice groups: Litigation, 8 9 immigration, real estate, employment, and the The lawyers in these groups are 10 like. 11 subject-matter experts in their area, and they 12 develop and manage the client relations. 13 When those lawyers have a matter that has 14 become contested, gone through the trial or 15 regulatory stage and an appeal is being 16 considered, they come to me. I'm essentially 17 the appellate department for the firm. My job 18 is to advise on the opportunities, strengths 19 and weaknesses, and potential strategies for 20 appeal, regardless of what the legal subject 21 is, regardless of whether the matter is in 22 state or federal court, and regardless of 23 whether the case is in Maine or federal court 24 elsewhere in the country. 25 Because of this structure, I have, over

1	my 34 years, handled thousands of issues and
2	hundreds of cases in many different courts.
3	As Mr. Langhauser, I think, noted, I've
4	participated in over 100 oral arguments before
5	state and federal appeals courts. My cases
6	have primarily been on civil dockets, but
7	there have been criminal cases as well. The
8	clients have included plaintiffs, defendants,
9	and amici. They've included individuals who
10	are minors and adults, businesses that are
11	small and large, state agencies and
12	international regulators, and a variety of
13	non-profits.
14	I am also often asked to help lawyers at
15	other firms who seek my counsel on appellate
16	rules, precedent, and strategy. I have many
17	times provided my counsel for a reduced or
18	waived fee. I have even managed to counsel a
19	few political officials from all
20	three Independent, Democratic, and
21	Republican parties when asked.
22	The subject of law that I've had to learn
23	run literally from A to Z. They would start
24	with antitrust and then run to include
25	bankruptcy, contracts, elections, equal

1 protection, free speech, harassment, labor, 2 employment, property taxes, and end with 3 zoning. My work product is, I think, as close as 4 5 one gets in practice to the work product of an appellate judge. I'm asked to learn a 6 7 distinct, often complex, subject of law quickly and absorb a large record containing a 8 9 volume of facts, procedures, and arguments. Then all of that gets condensed by disciplined 10 11 analysis to its essential prioritized 12 components. 13 Like an appellate judge, there is much 14 research to be done to make sure that all of 15 the arguments are both correct and complete, 16 and like an appellate judge, I must write a 17 clear, succinct, but complete summary from 18 that work. The difference, of course, is that 19 if confirmed, I would have to marshal all of 20 those skills, not into a brief advocating my 21 client's position, but working collaboratively 22 with colleagues on the bench into an opinion 23 that is fair and just for the parities, clear 24 to the trial courts and bar, and stable for 25 its position relative to other relating

existing laws.

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2	From my experience doing this type of
3	work, I've, as Mr. Langhauser noted, been
4	admitted to practice in three states, six
5	federal appeals, and three federal trial
6	courts, and in the United States Supreme
7	Court. I am fortunate to have the opportunity
8	to become a member of the American Academy of
9	Appellate Lawyers, a national invitation
10	only Organization of Appellate
11	Practitioners. I'm one of four members from
12	the Maine, and one of approximately 150
13	members nationally. Our most famous member,
14	United States Supreme Court Chief Justice John
15	Roberts, is good enough to host us in
16	Washington when his schedule allows.
17	I have also been fortunate to have the
18	unique experience providing counsel to USAID
19	and the World Bank as they sought to help
20	eastern European countries who are opening to
21	the west in the 1990s to establish the rule of
22	law through transparent regulatory frameworks.
23	That work called on me to teach, design, and
24	help implement multi, cross-nation regulatory
25	structures. The overarching lesson from that

1 very challenging assignment, and other work in Africa and other developing nations, was to 2 appreciate the value of law and its essential 3 importance in providing for an orderly, fair, 4 5 and stable society. 6 That experience, like so many of my 7 experiences, came from what I regard as the extraordinary opportunity to work with and 8 9 learn from colleagues with exceptional ability, including two former Maine Supreme 10 11 Court chief justices, four-time United States 12 Supreme Court special master, a former U.S. ambassador to Chile, and a former partner who 13 14 now serves as a federal appeals court judge. 15 They each helped teach me, at the highest 16 level, about the care and importance it takes 17 to practice law thoughtfully. 18 In addition to my practice, I've been affiliated with the Maine Board of Bar 19 20 Examiners, the Maine Bar Foundation, the First 21 Circuit Advisory Committee on the Rules, the 22 Maine Advisory Committee on Appellate Rules, 23 local non-profits, and a local town committee. 24 If confirmed, I will step away from all 25 affiliations not permitted by the Code of

1 Judicial Conduct, and I will, of course, consistent with those ethical rules, recuse 2 myself from cases related to my practice. 3 It's truly an honor to stand before you 4 today. I pledge to you that if confirmed, I 5 6 will do my very best to serve the people of 7 Maine with respect, thoughtfulness, and 8 justice they deserve. I pledge to faithfully 9 apply in each and every case the laws that 10 you, as legislatures, enact, to uphold all 11 individual rights and liberties that have been 12 established and relied upon here in Maine 13 independent of what the federal government or other states may decide for their own 14 constitutions, and to do so always mindful of 15 the real world impact that my decisions would 16 17 have on our fellow citizens. 18 I thank you for the courtesy of your 19 consideration, and I would be happy to answer, 20 as best I can, any questions you may have. 21 Thank you. 22 THE CHAIR: Thank you, Ms. Connors, for 23 your presentation and for your -- and for your 24 work. 25 I'm going to sort of cut to the chase of

1	one of the issues I think is going to come up
2	here today, and that's the other edge of the
3	sword that comes from your breadth of
4	practice, and that is the issue of recusal.
5	So I'll mimic the question asked by your
6	representative from Kennebunk. Give us your
7	thoughts on recusal. You've represented a lot
8	of clients who well may come before the law
9	court, and so give us your understanding of
10	the recusal rules.
11	MS. CONNORS: Well, my understanding is,
12	first of all, when it comes to anything that
13	I've heard a privileged communication about
14	that may relate to the case, that's it
15	forever. I never have that case in front of
16	me. Then as to client clients of Pierce
17	Atwood, any Pierce Atwood case that comes, I
18	believe it's appropriate to recuse myself for
19	the term, the seven years. Then there's the
20	issue of the even the appearance of
21	impropriety, and that's where I think you have
22	to look at the individual circumstances of
23	each each case. That's my understanding of
24	what the Code of Judicial Conduct requires,
25	and I'd certainly take the advice from my

1 colleagues and the experts in that field in 2 making those individual determinations. 3 THE CHAIR: And you would have no problem recusing yourself from anything that gives the 4 appearance of a conflict? 5 MS. CONNORS: Correct. And when there's 6 7 any doubt, to defer on the side of recusal. 8 THE CHAIR: Thank you. Do other members 9 of the committee have questions? 10 Representative Babbidge. 11 REPRESENTATIVE BABBIDGE: Hello, and welcome and --12 13 MS. CONNORS: Thank you. REPRESENTATIVE BABBIDGE: 14 congratulations on the nomination. 15 16 I served on Utilities & Energy, I don't 17 know, about 14, 16 years ago. That's what it 18 was called back then, Utilities & Energy Committee. And then a decade later, I served 19 20 on the Energy, Utilities & Technology 21 Committee, which is basically the same 22 assignment, but had been -- and we had the 23 responsibility of confirming the commissioners of the Public Utilities Commission. And I 24 25 recall asking a question that I understood the

1 answer to, but I wanted to hear people say it. And we've talked a lot about bias here today. 2 3 And so my questioning at that time, and I'll repeat it now, is more along that same line, 4 is --5 6 And I'll say one other thing. I have 7 been a little concerned over the course of the 8 last decade that the largest number of 9 appointments, although of very competent people, seem to be prosecutors. And so I 10 11 thought there should be more from the 12 private -- from the private side. What I find 13 interesting, of course, is that sometimes the 14 folks from the private side aren't always representing the clients that I'm hoping 15 16 they're representing. 17 So my -- I haven't -- I haven't heard an 18 awful lot about you. I've heard some very 19 good things, but even those that might be of 20 concern, the -- what they're both saying is that you're a very competent -- a highly 21 22 competent attorney in that regard. 23 My question comes to bias. And as we've 24 talked about it with all three nominees today, 25 really, and -- and how do you see your

1 experience of the last three decades and --2 impacting your own objectivity on the Court? 3 MS. CONNORS: Well, in terms of my experience, it's true that I have -- the 4 clients that have come to me through my firm 5 have often been in the civil nature and 6 7 corporate clients, a lot, but that certainly 8 isn't the only type of client that I've had. 9 I have represented civil rights, a 10 quardian of a pretrial detainee who we alleged 11 delivered indifference to his health 12 conditions. I've represented two waitresses 13 who were sexually harassed. I've represented 14 the Department of Marine Resources in arguing that the rockweed belongs to the people of the 15 16 state instead of private property. I have --17 I've done a lot of work in -- even in my 18 paying practice that is a very -- a breadth of 19 many different types of clients. 20 And then when you look at my pro bono, I 21 think we expand the world more broadly to --I've done a lot of work in animal welfare and 22 23 LGBTQ rights and trying to affirm the Maine financial disclosure rules. 24 25 So if I -- there's not a big place I can

1 find a bias because I've done a lot of work for a lot of different types of people. 2 I've done cases for criminal defendants, and that's 3 how I started in Chicago, was in criminal 4 defense. 5 6 And then finally, we're talking about an 7 appellate group and an appellate panel, and I think everybody brings their own unique 8 9 backgrounds to that environment. And it's good to have diversity of different views. 10 11 And so I don't think you want to have everyone 12 who comes from the same background. And maybe if they all have different biases, at least if 13 14 they know and they're conscious of what those biases may be, they can help each other so 15 that the collaborative decision is better than 16 17 would be to some of its individual parts. 18 REPRESENTATIVE BABBIDGE: I appreciate 19 And, you know, just to quote the that answer. 20 chief, as I did on Tuesday, she spoke to us in 21 the chamber, and she talked about -- and it 22 wasn't a highly definitive moment. She 23 mentioned about the responsibility and task of 24 judges to be both skilled and to have skills 25 and humanity. And in the case of somebody who

1 hasn't served on the Court, we don't have a 2 chance to assess the intangibles. We don't 3 know, perhaps, what your judgment would be specifically. 4 5 A lot of, you know, cases in the large 6 corporation are going to be assigned. And so 7 I just give you the opportunity to respond about those things that might -- there's no 8 9 way we can judge empathy or sensitivity in that regard, and I'd just like you to comment 10 11 on that. 12 MS. CONNORS: Well, I think my pro bono work shows a little bit more of the kinds of 13 14 concerns that interest me in working on for 15 the ACLU, Common Cause, and entities like that. And then I don't have any children, but 16 17 I have three dogs and two cats, and so I've 18 spent a good, long time working, first, for 19 the Animal Refuge League when I lived in 20 Portland, and then I'm vice president of the 21 Animal Welfare Society. And so my humanity 22 goes towards the little, helpless critters, 23 too, and I spend a lot of time working on those issues. 24 25 And all I can tell you is that I've

1 spent 34 years working for myself and making a good living and working for the firm and my 2 firm's clients, and now I think it's time for 3 me to use those skills and that experience and 4 do something for the people of Maine. 5 THE CHAIR: Senator Bellows. 6 7 SENATOR BELLOWS: Thank you for your work on LGBTQ rights. I saw you in action in 2009, 8 9 and that was -- was meaningful. I think the questions of biases and 10 11 inequities in our justice are really important 12 because the data shows that there are 13 disproportionate impacts in terms of 14 incarceration, in terms of lengths of sentencing on communities of color. And I 15 16 think there have been ongoing challenges 17 between the State of Maine and the sovereign nations, which are recognized --18 19 federally-recognized tribes in our state. 20 And so I want to ask you to expound on 21 the difference between your role as a private 22 attorney in cases that have been in opposition 23 to some of Maine's tribes and some of your 24 writing around -- your article around water 25 tribal claims and Maine's not-so-subtle

1 settlement acts. Do you believe the tribes have sovereign 2 3 authority as separate nations? And maybe share a little bit more about your thinking in 4 that area. 5 MS. CONNORS: Well, it's true that over 6 7 the years that the clients that I've represented with -- for the -- on behalf of 8 9 the firm and with other lawyers have often been in opposition to the positions that have 10 11 been taken by the tribes. They've been in 12 confluence with the position taken by the State of Maine. So -- and that's been the 13 course of the trajectory of the work that I've 14 been asked to do as an advocate. And even 15 16 that article that you mentioned, I consider 17 that as an advocate of the position of my 18 clients. 19 And certainly, I understand the 20 difference between that role and the role that 21 I would have as a judge and particularly the 22 role that the legislature has, because the 23 first -- the first and foremost people who are 24 deciding the issues relating to this subject 25 are the people who write the settlement

1	treaties, or rewrite them, and that's you.
2	And the job of the Court isn't is to
3	interpret your intent and to imply that,
4	whatever it may be. And that's my job, should
5	I have the honor of the confirmation.
6	THE CHAIR: Representative Harnett.
7	REPRESENTATIVE HARNETT: Thank you,
8	Mr. Chair. Thank you very much for applying
9	for this very important position. I've
10	reviewed all of your materials. Your
11	background is remarkable. I do want to follow
12	up on Senator Bellows' question, specifically
13	as it relates to the tribes.
14	When you were talking about recusal, you
15	indicated that you would anybody you
16	represented, any entity you had represented,
17	you're recusing yourself before the Court, but
18	I think you said sort of as a blanket rule and
19	you have different rules when it came to an
20	appearance of conflict.
21	I have heard from representatives of the
22	tribes and some of the advocates for the
23	tribes, that they feel the positions that you
24	took again, I know they were consistent
25	with the State's about tribal sovereignty,

1 rights to water, and sustenance fishing, they viewed as attacks on that sovereignty and 2 3 their rights. Would you recuse yourself from issues 4 concerning tribal rights if they came before 5 6 you on the law court related to the issues 7 that you litigated? 8 MS. CONNORS: Oh, yes. That's the short 9 answer. I think in -- particularly with respect to matters where I've done a lot of 10 11 litigation over a long period of years, and 12 the tribes are one -- one subject and one set 13 of clients, but I would take a queue from 14 Chief Justice McKusick, who, when he was deciding whether to recuse himself from 15 16 similar clients that he spent a long time over 17 many years representing, he -- I think it was 18 a minimum of ten years that he decided he 19 would not hear that, and certainly the seven 20 years of the term. REPRESENTATIVE HARNETT: So what you're 21 22 telling us here today is you would recuse 23 yourself from cases involving those issues if 24 you're appointed and confirmed? 25 MS. CONNORS: Because I think even --

1 we're talking about the appearance of impropriety. So even if the Code of Judicial 2 Conduct didn't say in black and white, Cathy, 3 you can't do this, I think it would make sense 4 as a logical matter for me to stay away from 5 6 that and other clients that I've spent a long 7 period of time over many years dealing with a 8 variety of subjects. 9 REPRESENTATIVE HARNETT: And I realize 10 your subjects run from A to Z. So I respect 11 that, and I appreciate your answer. 12 THE CHAIR: Senator Keim. 13 SENATOR KEIM: Thank you, Mr. Chair. And 14 thank you for your willingness to step in and take on this role. I thank you for being 15 here. 16 17 So again, just going back to your work 18 and the questions that have come up around 19 recusal -- and I think with some of your 20 answers, you've made it clear. Obviously, 21 you've touched on a lot of subject matters. Α 22 lot of them you did for your clients and took 23 on, you know, their perspective, as rightly 24 you should. But then there's also what you do 25 as pro bono work that you do because that's --

1 where your strong feelings lie, apparently. And so then would that mean, also, that when 2 the ACLU or GLAAD came before the Maine 3 Supreme Court that if -- with those -- would 4 5 that also mean that you would need to recuse 6 yourself? And can you help me understand how 7 you would view that? MS. CONNORS: Well, I think -- I think 8 9 it -- that depends on the specific issue, especially when it comes to someone like the 10 11 ACLU, because I haven't done a lot 12 consistently over a long period of time. 13 They've been discrete matters. So I think it would have to -- I'd have to look and see and 14 confer to decide where the Code of Judicial 15 16 Conduct fell on the particular -- and what 17 role they were playing in that particular 18 matter. 19 With GLAAD, I have spearheaded the 20 partnership that my firm has had with that 21 entity for -- since 2008. So because justice 22 with the tribes, I think that would be a 23 matter where, if they were a party, that I 24 would really need to recuse myself for the 25 period of the term.

1 THE CHAIR: (Indiscernible). 2 Representative Evangelos. REPRESENTATIVE EVANGELOS: Thank you, 3 Mr. Chair, and thank you Mrs. Connors. 4 Even some of the folks that have contacted us have 5 6 said you're a very good attorney. So I wanted 7 you to know that. I do want to follow up a little bit on 8 9 the line of questioning with the recusals. You identified that the ones you'd recuse 10 11 yourself for life and then seven years, but 12 what is the shelf life of the appearance of a conflict in those cases? I mean, has it been 13 14 in the last one year or five years? I mean --MS. CONNORS: Well, I mean, that's a --15 16 you ask a very good question, and if it's --17 if it's somebody who's represented by Pierce 18 Atwood, I'm recused, whoever the client may 19 be, whether I've represented them, ever, 20 myself or not. If it's somebody I was -- who 21 was once my client, and then I believe that 22 it's -- it's going to be a significant period 23 of time for recusal, no matter what the issue 24 was, is certainly if it was something that I 25 ever worked on, recused forever. If it has to

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1 do with something else, it's a tangential relationship, it's been many years, then I 2 3 think that's where we're talking about where it becomes very important to look at the 4 specifics. 5 REPRESENTATIVE EVANGELOS: And so in 6 7 relationship, for instance, to banks and foreclosures --8 9 MS. CONNORS: Well --10 REPRESENTATIVE EVANGELOS: -- have you 11 had a lot of those cases? 12 MS. CONNORS: I think I've appeared --13 I've appeared on a number of foreclosure 14 appeals on behalf of banks, not -- and a couple of amici briefs. So I'd probably be 15 16 recused from -- well, certainly from those 17 particular clients, those particular banks. 18 And I'd have to go back and look at the cases, 19 but I think we're talking about significant 20 recusals. REPRESENTATIVE EVANGELOS: And in 21 22 follow-up, I think you've also represented Central Maine Power. 23 MS. CONNORS: And that would be another 24 25 one of those clients that I've done a -- a

1 significant amount of time -- work over a long 2 period of time. So I think I'm recused for 3 the seven years of the term. REPRESENTATIVE EVANGELOS: 4 Because 5 there's going to be some cases coming up, I'm 6 pretty sure. 7 MS. CONNORS: I'm recused. REPRESENTATIVE EVANGELOS: In reference 8 9 to the issue of the native nations and just, like, a case like Lincoln Pulp and Paper, I 10 11 mean, there's a -- I know you have a job to 12 do, but I mean, all of us have to make daily 13 decisions about what we're willing to do and 14 what we're not willing to do as a matter of our life and our conscious. I mean, there are 15 16 some things I'm just not willing to do, you 17 know, and I would just tell my boss I'm not 18 doing it. 19 So I mean, have you had these kind of 20 internal conflicts where, you know, you're --21 you're hired to represent a certain side of a 22 case, but the internal dynamics of your person 23 may be in conflict with that? How do you 24 reconcile that? 25 MS. CONNORS: Well, I think under our

1	adversarial system, we need to step up and be
2	zealous advocates for a wide variety of
3	clients. Like, I've represented I
4	represented a murderer. She was convicted
5	after I got her a new trial. Now, I don't
6	like murderers, but I think that that they
7	have a right under our adversarial system
8	that to be heard and to do the best case
9	you can for, them because what you are
10	defending in that instance, even if the person
11	may have done it, is you are defending the
12	system and the rule of law, and you're trying
13	to bring the questions in front of the
14	decisionmaker. And I think that was my role,
15	and I've tried.
16	There's a there's there's a duty, I
17	think, to be an advocate and to take difficult
18	cases that you may not have a personal belief
19	in, but I can't really talk about, which I
20	believed in and which I didn't believe in
21	because I don't think the ethical rules allow
22	for me to vouch or denigrate any of the
23	clients I might have had over the years.
24	THE CHAIR: Representative
25	(indiscernible), do you have a question?

UNIDENTIFIED REPRESENTATIVE: Thank you, 1 2 Mr. Chair. Thank you, Mrs. Connors for being Thank you for your years of service and 3 here. your commitment to continue this service for 4 5 the people of Maine. 6 In the past number of years, I've had the 7 opportunity to work with your husband on a number of different public works issues. As I 8 9 begin to understand who he was and what made him tick, I understood that when he made a 10 11 commitment on an issue, he stood firm. I 12 won't hold that against you today. 13 But my question is: Do you have that 14 same commitment when you understand the issues that you have before you to stand firm on the 15 laws and the Constitution of the State of 16 17 Maine? 18 MS. CONNORS: If he isn't laughing right 19 now at that, he knows the answer to that is, 20 yes, Cathy's as stubborn as he is, but we 21 still manage to stay married for all these 22 many years. But the answer is absolutely yes. 23 THE CHAIR: Senator Keim, do you have 24 another question? 25 Thank you, SENATOR KEIM: Yes.

1 Mr. Chair. So, you know, I think -- I just 2 Yeah. kind of wanted to follow up on that because I 3 appreciate what you wrote, that the law 4 provides an orderly, fair, and stable society; 5 and I don't think the same can be said about 6 7 politics. So I just wanted your opinion. 8 When you think of the Constitution, do you see 9 it as a living document? Or are you more what would be called an originalist? 10 11 MS. CONNORS: Well, I appreciate the 12 question, and I know that Justice Horton, I 13 think, gave a response that I was not into, 14 and I agree with a lot of that. I do believe that we should go back and -- as a starting 15 16 point, we need to understand what the intent 17 of the framers were, just like the job usually 18 in interpreting and applying what the 19 legislature has enacted is divining your 20 intent. Then the problem is we have 200 years 21 and different technology and different 22 situations. So even people who call 23 themselves originalists versus people who say 24 it's a living document, when it comes down to 25 actually applying the -- and trying to divine

1 what makes sense, it's got to be done on a case-by-case basis, as it's easier said than 2 3 done. One thing I would like to emphasize, and 4 I like the opportunity that you're giving me 5 to do this, is that we have two constitutions, 6 7 and one of them is the Maine Constitution, and that's the one we start with under the privacy 8 9 doctrine that the law court has talked about before, and it's endorsed this. Before we go 10 11 looking to see what the federal protections 12 are, we need to first look at the Maine 13 Constitution because that is what embodies the concerns and the values of this state. 14 And if they are more protective of constitutional 15 16 rights, then that's what we adhere to. And we 17 need to look at both documents as we go 18 forward. 19 SENATOR KEIM: Thank you. 20 THE CHAIR: Senator Bellows and then 21 (indiscernible). 22 SENATOR BELLOWS: So I'm going to ask 23 you -- thank you for answering my first 24 question. But when you look at the history of 25 the law court and that responsibility to -- of

1	all three branches of government to try to
2	make people's lives better, and when you look
3	to some of their significant decisions, can
4	you point to a decision where you can say the
5	law court got it right, that made Mainers'
6	lives better?
7	MS. CONNORS: I'm going to you have
8	given me the opportunity to talk about my
9	favorite case in Maine law. It's an oldie but
10	a goody, and it's an opinion of the justices
11	in 1857.
12	The worst case, I think people would
13	agree, that ever came out of the United States
14	Supreme Court is the Dred Scott decision where
15	they upheld the Fugitive Slave Acts and they
16	treated people of color like property. And a
17	similar issue came up in Maine at the same
18	time shortly after the Dred Scott decision,
19	and in the opinion of the justices each of
20	them back then wrote their own opinions the
21	question was whether people of color should be
22	able men, people of color, should be able
23	to vote and were they citizens of the United
24	States. And they were all contrary to the
25	Dred Scott decision, and they said of course

1	they can, they're people, just like anybody
2	else. And it we're all equal here. And it
3	really if you want to feel good about being
4	a Mainer, go back and read the opinion of the
5	justices from 1857. And that made things
6	better for a constituency at that time. In
7	1857, they were certainly treated better than
8	in other places.
9	THE CHAIR: Representative Reckitt.
10	REPRESENTATIVE RECKITT: I have a
11	reputation of being kind of contrary in these
12	hearings.
13	THE CHAIR: (Indiscernible.)
14	REPRESENTATIVE RECKITT: You never did?
15	Oh. Give me another chance. No.
16	Anyway and I I don't feel contrary
17	today, in part, because I did a lot of digging
18	about you, and nothing I dug was smelled at
19	all. And to me, I want to know whether or not
20	this description that was given to me of you
21	is, in your mind, accurate.
22	The person with whom I spoke not only
23	said that Maine would be your client if you
24	were the you were to be confirmed, but that
25	you were not an ideologue of any sort. And so

1 my question is: Does that phrase describe 2 you, in your view? 3 MS. CONNORS: Yes. Well, I'm -- I am an ideologue about the rule of law. I believe in 4 the rule of law. I believe in equal justice 5 under the law. That's -- I believe in the 6 7 oath I took as an officer of the court. But 8 in terms of substantive or politics, as I 9 mentioned, I have done work for Independents, Republicans, and Democrats, because each of 10 11 those instances, I was advancing what I considered was a rule of law for the benefit 12 13 of the people of Maine. THE CHAIR: Other questions by members of 14 the committee? Senator Keim. 15 16 SENATOR KEIM: So I would like to also 17 hear your response to administrative 18 deference. So I --19 MS. CONNORS: When you asked that 20 question, I said, Ooh, that's really good. 21 SENATOR KEIM: So, you know -- and to 22 preface this a little, we get a lot of bills 23 that come through the legislature where the 24 different government entities want to have --25 expand their ability to change laws basically

1 through routine technical rather that major substantive, because then if it's major 2 substantive, they have to come to us, the 3 lawmakers, to approve these things. 4 So I see that, you know, as taking away 5 6 the legislature's role in creating law, but 7 then this idea also then of giving deference to those same agencies, if there is a conflict 8 9 and that comes up in court, I'd like your opinion on how that plays out in the 10 11 courtroom. 12 MS. CONNORS: Well, you might be aware of 13 this, but there's -- that is an issue that the 14 United States Supreme Court is looking at 15 right now, because I think, as you've 16 suggested, one concern about if you give too 17 much deference to the administrators, are 18 they -- are they creating the law, because 19 you're deferring to them. And so they're 20 wrestling with that issue. 21 In terms of whether -- however they come 22 out this term on that issue, whether they're 23 going to adjust what they call their Chevron deference -- and then there are different 24 25 levels of deference -- whether they decide to

1 do that or not, in the past, the law court has 2 sometimes, infrequently, cited Chevron, and then some -- usually, it doesn't. And I would 3 expect that they would take a look and see 4 what the results were from the United States 5 6 Supreme Court and then make up their own minds 7 about what makes sense best for the people of Maine because there's many different facets to 8 9 the whole issue of administrative law. 10 I co-wrote an article on an agency 11 administrative law issue that's called agency 12 capture, and this happens more in the federal 13 system in Washington. But, you know, on the 14 one hand, you have people who are in agencies 15 for a long time, and you think they develop a 16 certain way of looking at things not going out 17 into the private world; and is that good or 18 bad? But then you have what they call agency 19 capture, which is the phenomenon of they are 20 coming out of the agency and they're going to go work for the big company; and are they 21

feeling beholden for doing that while they're in an agency because they know once they get out of the FCC, they're going to make a zillion dollars working for the telephone

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1 So how does that come into your company? factoring what level of deference you should 2 3 give to the agency decision-makers? So that's a very kind of long response 4 There are a lot of different factors. 5 for: Ι 6 think you have to look at it case by case. 7 You can't -- you have to have precedents that you don't radically change, but everything, I 8 9 think, needs to deserve a fresh look. SENATOR KEIM: Thank you. I appreciate 10 11 that lengthy answer. I think that's great 12 because, yes, I mean, part of my concern is 13 that we are letting the agencies create the 14 law and then giving them deference when they 15 get to the court. I think the people need to 16 be viewed equally -- right -- and the law 17 needs to be applied equally. 18 MS. CONNORS: Well, the ultimate 19 deference should be given to the legislature. 20 I mean, you're -- of the co -- of the three 21 branches, you're the first among equals 22 because it's representatives of the people, 23 and it's not the job of the Court to make the 24 law or the executive body. The job of the 25 Court is to apply the law that you make.

1 SENATOR KEIM: Except when we happen to pass unconstitutional laws. 2 3 MS. CONNORS: Within the parameters of the Constitution. 4 5 THE CHAIR: Senator Bellows. 6 SENATOR BELLOWS: To that point, when you 7 look at the law court, can you share some 8 examples of where you think the law court has 9 been an appropriate check on executive abuse of power or legislative overreach? 10 11 MS. CONNORS: Well, I know that that was 12 a difficult one for Justice Horton, too. Wе 13 do have -- in Maine, we have separation of 14 powers provisions in our constitution that are explicit, unlike the Federal Constitution. 15 So 16 over the years, the law court has cited this 17 upon occasion to say that therefore, the 18 separation of powers analysis that should be 19 applied by law court is stricter than it is 20 under the federal counterpart. 21 And I just can't remember off the top of 22 my head when they've applied that doctrine to 23 curb executive power or power. And they have upon some occasions, whether it had to do 24 25 with pardons, maybe, or as being separate from

1 what the legislature was doing or what the -there have been a series of cases, but I can't 2 3 remember them. THE CHAIR: Other questions by members of 4 the committee? If not -- I'm sorry. 5 6 Representative Babbidge. 7 REPRESENTATIVE BABBIDGE: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. 8 9 I mentioned about humanity earlier, and asking this question is probably -- it may be 10 11 unfair because I've not asked it of all the 12 nominees we've had, but it goes down to basic 13 judicial philosophy. We've been talking about original intent, 14 a living constitution, and all that. 15 I'm 16 recalled of something that must probably be in 17 the first year of law school, a meeting 18 between Judge Hand and Judge Holmes, and 19 Judge Hand, you know, said, My friend, do 20 justice. And Holmes stopped his carriage and 21 backed up and said, Our job is not to do 22 justice, it's to do the law. 23 I found that somewhat troubling. Ι understand that the legislature makes the law, 24 25 but I have also seen us make bad law, not

1	necessarily by substance, but by a lack of
2	clarification. So my take and I just want
3	to ask you if you can agree with this or
4	not is that the humanity element or the
5	sensitivity element that a judge is required
6	to have to be effective, in my opinion,
7	requires them to pursue justice, and in
8	capital letters, within the law. That seems
9	to be where I think a judge should be. Do you
10	disagree with that?
11	MS. CONNORS: No, I do not. And I think
12	it's important to for all judges to
13	remember that when a case comes in front of
14	us, that means human beings, that they're
15	people. That is probably the most one of
16	the most important moments in their life. And
17	I've done cases that involve billions of
18	dollars, but those cases aren't any more
19	important than when I've got insurance
20	benefits for a pregnant couple. And that's
21	the humanity that we have to keep in mind,
22	that every time somebody comes in front of us,
23	there are people that are involved.
24	THE CHAIR: Senator Bellows and then
25	Senator Keim.

1	SENATOR BELLOWS: So I think that one of
2	the challenges that we see in our justice
3	system is access to justice, and the access to
4	justice for those with the ability to pay to
5	retain counsel, to retain, you know, some of
6	the best counsel in the state result in
7	different outcomes than access to justice for
8	people from vulnerable communities, from
9	marginalized communities, for people without
10	the ability to pay. And as a result, I do
11	think we see some tensions arising in terms of
12	interpretation, certainly at the federal level
13	of the interpretation of constitutional rights
14	for corporations or associations of people
15	vis-à-vis the constitutional rights for the
16	individual, particularly in areas of commerce
17	or in areas of worker versus employer law.
18	Can you speak to your testimony speaks
19	to the need to protect individual liberties.
20	Can you speak to your philosophy around how we
21	ensure the rights of individuals. You know,
22	the Constitution puts checks and balances on
23	government power, but not so much on corporate
24	power and how we establish or preserve freedom
25	of speech or freedom of privacy or freedom of

1 due process or equal protection for the 2 individual who may have less power or money than a group of individuals or corporate 3 power? 4 MS. CONNORS: Well, I think your --5 6 that's a question that starts, like many 7 questions, with public policy. And so I think going back to the judicial philosophy, in that 8 9 it's not the job of the judiciary to enact public policy. That is the legislature's job. 10 11 And I would hope that our legislature, who is 12 closest to the people and understands these 13 issues, that will enact the statutory 14 framework that helps alleviate some of the issues that you've raised. And then it would 15 16 be my job in the judiciary to interpret and 17 apply that in a way that you meant it to be 18 applied. That's what I think my role would be 19 as a part of the judiciary and that it would 20 be your role to determine what's best for the 21 people of Maine. 22 THE CHAIR: Senator Keim, you had another 23 question? 24 SENATOR KEIM: More of a comment, which 25 isn't quite allowed, but I --

1 The role of being a Supreme Court justice is the highest, and we've all asked a lot of 2 3 questions of everyone, and more of you because you come, you know, straight out with a lot of 4 real-life experience that is messy and gives 5 6 everybody, you know, a little bit of 7 heartburn, which is good because that means we're, you know, doing our job to ask you the 8 9 questions. But I just want to thank you for all of your really solid answers and just how 10 11 thoughtfully you answered everything and 12 thoroughly. I really appreciate it. MS. CONNORS: 13 Thank you. 14 THE CHAIR: Representative Reckitt. 15 REPRESENTATIVE RECKITT: In the spirit of 16 bipartisanship, I will also make a small 17 comment. 18 What I had -- the most common thing that 19 was said to me was that you were rigorous, 20 analytical, hard -- a rigorous, analytical, 21 hardworking human being. And I want to 22 emphasize the last two words because I think 23 that's the issues that we need to feel, is 24 that all of your work has come from your basic 25 character as a human being who cares about

1 people and cares about the law, as well as the 2 law. 3 So I thank you for the comments that 4 others have made about you because that's the 5 only way I got to know you as opposed to today. 6 7 MS. CONNORS: Well, I appreciate that and 8 all those people who talked to you. THE CHAIR: 9 Thank you. Are there 10 other -- Representative Reckitt -- are there 11 other questions of the committee? If not, 12 thank you very much. 13 MS. CONNORS: Thank you. THE CHAIR: And please note that when you 14 15 get on the law court, if you get on the law 16 court, that we didn't interrupt you once. 17 MS. CONNORS: Thank you. 18 (End of requested material to be 19 transcribed.) 20 21 22 23 24 25

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