

117TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

**S.** \_\_\_\_\_

To amend title 28, United States Code, to provide for the establishment of a code of conduct for the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, and for other purposes.

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

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Mr. WHITEHOUSE introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on \_\_\_\_\_

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**A BILL**

To amend title 28, United States Code, to provide for the establishment of a code of conduct for the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “21st Century Courts  
5 Act of 2022”.

1 **SEC. 2. CODE OF CONDUCT FOR THE SUPREME COURT OF**  
2 **THE UNITED STATES.**

3 (a) **IN GENERAL.**—Chapter 16 of title 28, United  
4 States Code, is amended by adding at the end the fol-  
5 lowing:

6 **“§ 365. Codes of conduct**

7 “(a) Not later than 180 days after the date of the  
8 enactment of this section—

9 “(1) the Supreme Court of the United States  
10 shall, after appropriate public notice and opportunity  
11 for comment, issue a code of conduct for the justices  
12 of the Supreme Court; and

13 “(2) the Judicial Conference of the United  
14 States shall issue a code of conduct for the judges  
15 of the courts of appeals, the district courts (includ-  
16 ing bankruptcy judges and magistrate judges), and  
17 the Court of International Trade.

18 “(b) The Supreme Court and the Judicial Conference  
19 may modify the applicable codes of conduct under this sec-  
20 tion after giving appropriate public notice and opportunity  
21 for comment.”.

22 (b) **TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENT.**—  
23 The table of sections for chapter 16 of title 28, United  
24 States Code, is amended by adding at the end the fol-  
25 lowing:

“365. Codes of conduct.”.

1 **SEC. 3. DISQUALIFICATION OF FEDERAL JUDGES.**

2 Section 455 of title 28, United States Code, is  
3 amended—

4 (1) in subsection (a), by inserting “bankruptcy  
5 judge,” after “judge,”;

6 (2) in subsection (b), by adding at the end the  
7 following:

8 “(6) Where the justice, judge bankruptcy judge,  
9 or magistrate judge of the United States received,  
10 during the 6-year period ending on the date on  
11 which the judge was assigned to the proceeding, in-  
12 come, a gift, or reimbursement required to be re-  
13 ported under section 102 of the Ethics in Govern-  
14 ment Act of 1978 (5 U.S.C. App.) from a party to  
15 the proceeding, a lawyer in the proceeding, an indi-  
16 vidual employed in a supervisory capacity by a party  
17 or law firm in the proceeding, or an affiliate of a  
18 party or law firm in the proceeding.

19 “(7) Where a party to the proceeding, a lawyer  
20 in the proceeding, an individual employed in a super-  
21 visory capacity by a party or law firm in the pro-  
22 ceeding, or an affiliate of a party or law firm in the  
23 proceeding made any lobbying contact or spent sub-  
24 stantial funds in support of the nomination, con-  
25 firmation, or appointment of the justice, judge,

1 bankruptcy judge, or magistrate judge of the United  
2 States.

3 “(8) Where the justice, judge, bankruptcy  
4 judge, or magistrate judge of the United States,  
5 their spouse, child, or spouse of their child has, dur-  
6 ing the 6-year period ending on the date on which  
7 the justice, judge, bankruptcy judge, or magistrate  
8 judge of the United States was assigned to the pro-  
9 ceeding—

10 “(A) received income, a gift, or reimburse-  
11 ment required to be reported under section 102  
12 of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 (5  
13 U.S.C. App.) from, or been employed or volun-  
14 teered for more than 6 consecutive months in  
15 an official supervisory or advisory capacity for  
16 a party to the proceeding, a lawyer in the pro-  
17 ceeding, or an affiliate of a party or law firm  
18 in the proceeding; or

19 “(B) been employed or volunteered for  
20 more than 6 consecutive months in an official  
21 supervisory or advisory capacity alongside a  
22 lawyer in the proceeding.”;

23 (3) by striking subsection (c) and inserting the  
24 following:

1           “(c) A justice, judge, bankruptcy judge, or magistrate  
2 judge of the United States shall be informed about—

3           “(1) the personal and fiduciary financial inter-  
4 ests of the justice, judge, bankruptcy judge, or mag-  
5 istrate judge of the United States;

6           “(2) the personal financial interests of the  
7 spouse and minor children residing in the household  
8 of the justice, judge, bankruptcy judge, or mag-  
9 istrate judge of the United States; and

10           “(3) any interest that could be substantially af-  
11 fected by the outcome of the proceeding.”;

12           (4) in subsection (d)—

13           (A) in paragraph (4)—

14           (i) in clause (iii), by inserting “and”  
15 at the end;

16           (ii) in clause (iv), by striking the pe-  
17 riod at the end and inserting a semicolon;  
18 and

19           (B) by adding at the end the following:

20           “(5) ‘official supervisory or advisory capacity’  
21 includes acting as a director, officer, trustee, or any  
22 other equivalent position;

23           “(6) ‘affiliate’ means an entity that effectively  
24 controls or is controlled by another entity or is asso-  
25 ciated with another entity under common ownership

1 or control, regardless of tax status or corporate  
2 form. Whether an entity is an affiliate of another  
3 shall be determined under the totality of the cir-  
4 cumstances, including—

5 “(A) whether the entities share employees,  
6 board members, or officers;

7 “(B) whether the entities share facilities or  
8 mailing addresses;

9 “(C) whether the entities are related orga-  
10 nizations, as defined by the Internal Revenue  
11 Service; and

12 “(D) any indicia that the 2 entities are  
13 alter egos or otherwise effectively the same or-  
14 ganization regardless of tax status or corporate  
15 form;

16 “(7) ‘substantial funds’ means an amount of  
17 money that a reasonable person would consider to be  
18 significant based on the totality of circumstances, in-  
19 cluding—

20 “(A) the proportion of funds spent relative  
21 to the revenues or expenditures of the indi-  
22 vidual or entity;

23 “(B) the proportion of funds spent relative  
24 to other known spending in support of the nom-  
25 ination, confirmation, or appointment of the

1 justice, judge, bankruptcy judge, or magistrate  
2 judge of the United States; and

3 “(C) any other objective indicia of the sig-  
4 nificance of the financial support of the indi-  
5 vidual or entity for the nomination, confirma-  
6 tion, or appointment of the justice, judge, bank-  
7 ruptcy judge, or magistrate judge of the United  
8 States.”;

9 (5) in subsection (e)—

10 (A) by adding “bankruptcy judge,” after  
11 “judge,”;

12 (B) in the first sentence, by inserting “,  
13 unless the ground for disqualification arises  
14 under paragraph (7) of that subsection” before  
15 the period at the end;

16 (C) after the second sentence, by adding  
17 “Where the ground for disqualification arises  
18 only under subsection (b)(7), waiver may be ac-  
19 cepted only if offered by all parties to the pro-  
20 ceeding.”;

21 (6) in subsection (f), by inserting “under sub-  
22 section (b)(4)” after “disqualified”; and

23 (7) by adding at the end the following:

24 “(g) If a justice, judge, bankruptcy judge, or mag-  
25 istrate judge learns that a condition requiring disqualifica-

1 tion under this section is present, the justice, judge, bank-  
2 ruptcy judge, or magistrate judge shall—

3 “(1) immediately notify all parties to the pro-  
4 ceeding; and

5 “(2) include the notification required under  
6 paragraph (1) in the official record of the pro-  
7 ceeding.

8 “(h)(1) A justice, judge, bankruptcy judge, or mag-  
9 istrate judge shall grant or certify to a reviewing panel  
10 a timely motion filed by a party to the proceeding that  
11 is accompanied by a certificate of good faith and an affi-  
12 davit alleging facts sufficient to show that disqualification  
13 of the justice, judge, bankruptcy judge, or magistrate  
14 judge is required under this section or any other Federal  
15 law.

16 “(2) A reviewing panel described in paragraph (1)  
17 shall be selected at random from judges of the United  
18 States who do not sit on the same court as the judge,  
19 bankruptcy judge, or magistrate judge who is the subject  
20 of the motion or as the other members of the reviewing  
21 panel. No more than 1 member of the reviewing panel may  
22 be a judge of the same judicial circuit as the judge, bank-  
23 ruptcy judge, or magistrate judge who is the subject of  
24 the motion.



1       “(3) The Supreme Court of the United States shall  
2 be the reviewing panel for a motion seeking to disqualify  
3 a justice.

4       “(i) The clerk of the applicable court shall publish  
5 timely notice on the website of the court of—

6               “(1) any matter in which a justice, judge, bank-  
7 ruptcy judge, or magistrate judge of the United  
8 States disqualifies is disqualified under this section;

9               “(2) in the case of any matter in which the re-  
10 viewing panel under subsection (h) rules on a motion  
11 to disqualify; and

12               “(3) an explanation of each reason for the dis-  
13 qualification or ruling, which shall include a specific  
14 identification of each circumstance that resulted in  
15 disqualification.”.

16 **SEC. 4. CONFLICTS RELATED TO AMICI CURIAE.**

17       (a) **IN GENERAL.**—Exception as provided in sub-  
18 section (b), the Supreme Court of the United States and  
19 the Judicial Conference of the United States shall pre-  
20 scribe rules of procedure in accordance with sections 2072  
21 through 2074 of title 28, United States Code, for prohib-  
22 iting the filing of or striking an amicus brief that would  
23 result in the disqualification of a justice, judge, or mag-  
24 istrate judge.

1 (b) INITIAL TRANSMITTAL.—The Supreme Court of  
2 the United States shall transmit to Congress—

3 (1) the proposed rules required under sub-  
4 section (a) not later than 180 days after the date of  
5 enactment of this Act; and

6 (2) any rules in addition to those transmitted  
7 under paragraph (1) pursuant to section 2074 of  
8 title 28, United States Code.

9 **SEC. 5. AMICUS DISCLOSURE.**

10 (a) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 111 of title 28, United  
11 States Code, is amended by adding at the end the fol-  
12 lowing:

13 **“§ 1660. Disclosures related to amicus activities**

14 “(a) DEFINITION.—In this section, the term ‘covered  
15 amicus’ means any person, including any affiliate of the  
16 person, that files an amicus brief in a calendar year in  
17 the Supreme Court of the United States or a court of ap-  
18 peals of the United States.

19 “(b) DISCLOSURE.—

20 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Any covered amicus that  
21 files an amicus brief in the Supreme Court of the  
22 United States or a court of appeals of the United  
23 States shall list in the amicus brief the name of any  
24 person who—

1           “(A) contributed to the preparation or sub-  
2 mission of the amicus brief;

3           “(B) contributed not less than 3 percent of  
4 the gross annual revenue of the covered amicus  
5 for the previous calendar year if the covered  
6 amicus is not an individual; or

7           “(C) contributed more than \$100,000 to  
8 the covered amicus in the previous calendar  
9 year.

10          “(2) EXCEPTIONS.—The requirements of this  
11 subsection shall not apply to amounts received by a  
12 covered amicus described in paragraph (1) in com-  
13 mercial transactions in the ordinary course of any  
14 trade or business conducted by the covered amicus  
15 or in the form of investments (other than invest-  
16 ments by the principal shareholder in a limited li-  
17 ability corporation) in an organization if the  
18 amounts are unrelated to the amicus filing activities  
19 of the covered amicus.

20          “(c) AUDIT.—The Comptroller General of the United  
21 States shall conduct an annual audit to ensure compliance  
22 with this section.

23          “(d) PROHIBITION ON PROVISION OF GIFTS OR  
24 TRAVEL BY COVERED AMICI TO JUDGES AND JUS-  
25 TICES.—

1           “(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in para-  
2           graph (2), no covered amicus may make a gift or  
3           provide travel to a judge of a court of appeals of the  
4           United States, the Chief Justice of the United  
5           States, or an associate justice of the Supreme Court  
6           of the United States.

7           “(2) REIMBURSEMENT FOR TRAVEL FOR AP-  
8           PEARANCES AT ACCREDITED LAW SCHOOLS.—Para-  
9           graph (1) shall not apply to reimbursement for trav-  
10          el for an appearance at an accredited law school.

11          “(e) CIVIL FINES.—Whoever knowingly fails to com-  
12          ply with any provision of this section shall, upon proof of  
13          such knowing violation by a preponderance of the evi-  
14          dence, be subject to a civil fine of not more than \$200,000,  
15          depending on the extent and gravity of the violation.

16          “(f) RULES OF CONSTRUCTION.—

17                 “(1) CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS.—Nothing in  
18                 this section shall be construed to prohibit or inter-  
19                 fere with—

20                         “(A) the right to petition the Government  
21                         for the redress of grievances;

22                         “(B) the right to express a personal opin-  
23                         ion; or

1           “(C) the right of association, protected by  
2           the First Amendment to the Constitution of the  
3           United States.

4           “(2) PROHIBITION OF ACTIVITIES.—Nothing in  
5           this section shall be construed to prohibit, or to au-  
6           thorize any court to prohibit, amicus activities by  
7           any person or entity, regardless of whether such per-  
8           son or entity is in compliance with the requirements  
9           of this section.

10          “(g) SEVERABILITY.—If any provision of this section,  
11          or the application thereof, is held invalid, the validity of  
12          the remainder of this section and the application of such  
13          provision to other persons and circumstances shall not be  
14          affected thereby.”.

15          (b) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—  
16          The table of sections for chapter 111 of title 28, United  
17          States Code, is amended by adding at the end the fol-  
18          lowing:

          “1660. Disclosures related to amicus activities.”.

19          **SEC. 6. JUDICIAL TRAVEL.**

20          (a) DISCLOSURES REGARDING TRAVEL-RELATED  
21          REIMBURSEMENTS.—

22                  (1) IN GENERAL.—Section 102(a)(2)(B) of the  
23          Ethics in Government Act of 1978 (5 U.S.C. App.)  
24          is amended—

1 (A) by striking “source and a brief” and  
2 inserting “source, and a brief”;

3 (B) by inserting “, including the value,”  
4 before “of reimbursements”; and

5 (C) by striking “greater and received” and  
6 inserting “greater, received”.

7 (2) PERIODIC REPORTS.—Section 103 of the  
8 Ethics in Government Act of 1978 (5 U.S.C. App.)  
9 is amended by adding at the end the following:

10 “(m)(1) Not later than 30 days after completing trav-  
11 el in connection with which a judicial officer receives, or  
12 will receive, a reimbursement required to be reported  
13 under section 102(a)(2)(B), the judicial officer shall file  
14 a report regarding the reimbursement.

15 “(2) The Administrative Office of the United States  
16 Courts shall publish on a website of the Federal judiciary  
17 each report filed under paragraph (1).”.

18 (b) DEFINITION OF PERSONAL HOSPITALITY OF AN  
19 INDIVIDUAL.—

20 (1) IN GENERAL.—Section 109(14) of the Eth-  
21 ics in Government Act of 1978 (5 U.S.C. App.) is  
22 amended—

23 (A) by striking “any individual’ means”  
24 and inserting the following: “an individual’—

25 “(A) means”;

1 (B) in subparagraph (A) (as so des-  
2 ignated)—

3 (i) by striking “his family” each place  
4 it appears and inserting “the family of the  
5 individual”; and

6 (ii) by adding “and” after the semi-  
7 colon; and

8 (C) by adding at the end the following:

9 “(B) with respect to a judicial officer, does  
10 not include—

11 “(i) private travel on a boat or air-  
12 plane owned by an individual if that travel  
13 is substituting for commercial transpor-  
14 tation;

15 “(ii) any food, lodging, or entertain-  
16 ment provided by an individual who has  
17 (or owns or controls an entity that has) a  
18 matter pending before the court on which  
19 the judicial officer serves or before a court  
20 the decisions of which may be appealed to  
21 the court on which the judicial officer  
22 serves;

23 “(iii) lodging at a residence or other  
24 property that is rented to others by the in-  
25 dividual providing the hospitality;

1                   “(iv) hospitality provided by an indi-  
2                   vidual at—

3                   “(I) a restaurant, nightclub, re-  
4                   sort, hotel, or other commercial estab-  
5                   lishment; or

6                   “(II) a private club of which the  
7                   individual is a paying member;

8                   “(v) hospitality extended by an indi-  
9                   vidual, the cost of which is paid for by a  
10                  corporation or organization, including a  
11                  corporation or organization that is not less  
12                  than 10-percent owned by the individual;  
13                  or

14                  “(vi) hospitality extended by an indi-  
15                  vidual, the cost of which is reimbursed to  
16                  the individual by any third party.”.

17                  (2) CERTIFICATION REGARDING LACK OF REIM-  
18                  BURSEMENT.—Section 102(a)(2) of the Ethics in  
19                  Government Act of 1978 (5 U.S.C. App.) is amend-  
20                  ed—

21                  (A) in subparagraph (A), by striking “The  
22                  identity” and inserting “Subject to subpara-  
23                  graphs (C) and (D), the identity”; and

24                  (B) by adding at the end the following:



1           “(D) A judicial officer who receives food,  
2           lodging, or entertainment that is exempted  
3           under subparagraph (A) from being reported as  
4           being food, lodging, or entertainment received  
5           as personal hospitality of an individual shall in-  
6           clude in the report covering the period during  
7           which the food, lodging, or entertainment was  
8           received a certification that the cost of the food,  
9           lodging, or entertainment was not reimbursed  
10          by any third party.”.

11 **SEC. 7. FINANCIAL CONFLICTS OF INTEREST.**

12          Section 208 of title 18, United States Code, is  
13          amended by inserting after “Government employee,” “or  
14          an officer or employee of the judicial branch of the United  
15          States Government,”.

16 **SEC. 8. VIDEO RECORDING OF COURT PROCEEDINGS.**

17          (a) COURTS OF APPEALS.—

18                 (1) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 3 of title 28, United  
19          States Code, is amended by adding at the end the  
20          following:

21 **“§ 50. Internet publication of certain video record-**  
22                                 **ings**

23                 “(a) IN GENERAL.—The open proceedings of each  
24          hearing of a court of appeals shall be made available by  
25          video for public transmission over the internet—

1           “(1) to the extent practicable, in real time dur-  
2           ing such hearing; and

3           “(2) for not fewer than 5 years after the date  
4           on which the hearing concludes.

5           “(b) COPYRIGHT PROTECTION NOT AVAILABLE.—An  
6           audio or video recording created pursuant to the require-  
7           ment under this section shall be considered a work of the  
8           United States Government for purposes of section 105 of  
9           title 17.”.

10           (2) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMEND-  
11           MENT.—The table of sections for chapter 3 of title  
12           28, United States Code, is amended by adding at  
13           the end the following:

“50. Internet publication of certain video recordings.”.

14           (b) SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.—

15           (1) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 1 of title 28, United  
16           States Code, is amended by adding at the end the  
17           following:

18           **“§ 7. Internet publication of certain video recordings**

19           “(a) IN GENERAL.—Each oral argument and reading  
20           of an opinion before the Supreme Court of the United  
21           States shall be made available by video for public trans-  
22           mission over the internet—

23           “(1) on the day of such oral argument and  
24           reading; and

1           “(2) in real time during such oral argument  
2           and opinion reading.

3           “(b) COPYRIGHT PROTECTION NOT AVAILABLE.—An  
4           recording created pursuant to the requirement under this  
5           section shall be considered a work of the United States  
6           Government for purposes of section 105 of title 17.”.

7           (2) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMEND-  
8           MENT.—The table of sections for chapter 1 of title  
9           28, United States Code, is amended by adding at  
10          the end the following:

“7. Internet publication of certain video recordings.”.

11 **SEC. 9. RESTRICTIONS ON SEALED COURT FILINGS.**

12          (a) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 111 of title 28, United  
13          States Code, as amended by section 5 of this Act, is  
14          amended by adding at the end the following:

15 **“§ 1661. Restrictions on sealing judicial records**

16          “(a) IN GENERAL.—Unless otherwise provided by  
17          law, no court may seal any judicial record or any part of  
18          a judicial record unless—

19                 “(1) the court finds that a compelling interest  
20                 justifies abridging the right of public access to the  
21                 judicial record or the part of the judicial record;

22                 “(2) the findings and conclusions of the court  
23                 are specific to each judicial record or each part of  
24                 a judicial record;

1           “(3) the seal is narrowly tailored and lasts no  
2 longer than necessary; and

3           “(4) the public has been given notice and op-  
4 portunity to challenge the seal.

5           “(b) RULES.—

6           “(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in para-  
7 graph (2), the Supreme Court of the United States  
8 and the Judicial Conference of the United States  
9 shall prescribe rules of procedure in accordance with  
10 sections 2072 through 2074 to ensure that disin-  
11 terested members of the public have a simplified and  
12 inexpensive process to contest a motion to seal a ju-  
13 dicial record, to appeal an order sealing a judicial  
14 record, and to request that a judicial record be un-  
15 sealed. No local rule of procedure may be less pro-  
16 tective of the right of public access to judicial  
17 records than the rules prescribed under this sub-  
18 section. Such rules shall be prescribed and submitted  
19 to the Congress pursuant to sections.

20           “(2) INITIAL TRANSMITTAL.—The Supreme  
21 Court of the United States shall transmit to Con-  
22 gress—

23           “(A) the proposed rules required under  
24 paragraph (1) not later than 1 year after the  
25 date of enactment of this section; and

1           “(B) any rules in addition to those trans-  
2           mitted under paragraph (1) pursuant to section  
3           2074 of title 28, United States Code.

4           “(c) RULES OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this  
5 section may be construed to—

6           “(1) abolish, diminish, or infringe upon any  
7           right, responsibility, or remedy provided by the Con-  
8           stitution of the United States or any other law;

9           “(2) relieve a court of any part of the inde-  
10          pendent duty of the court to enforce the right of  
11          public access to judicial records;

12          “(3) abrogate any rule of law that is more or  
13          additionally protective of the right of public access  
14          to judicial records.”.

15          (b) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—  
16 The table of sections for chapter 111 of title 28, United  
17 States Code, as amended by section 5 of this Act, is  
18 amended by adding at the end the following:

“1661. Restrictions on sealing judicial records.”.

19 **SEC. 10. STUDIES BY THE FEDERAL JUDICIAL CENTER.**

20          (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than December 31,  
21 2022, and every other year thereafter, the Federal Judi-  
22 cial Center shall conduct a study of the extent of compli-  
23 ance or noncompliance with the requirements of sections  
24 144 and 455 of title 28, United States Code, as amended  
25 by section 3 of this Act.

1 (b) REPORTS TO CONGRESS.—Not later than April  
2 1 of each year following the completion of the study re-  
3 quired under subsection (a)—

4 (1) the Federal Judicial Center—

5 (A) shall submit to Congress a report con-  
6 taining the findings of the study; and

7 (B) may submit to Congress recommenda-  
8 tions to improve the compliance by the Federal  
9 judiciary with the requirements of sections 144  
10 and 455 of title 28, United States Code, as  
11 amended by section 3 of this Act; and

12 (2) the Comptroller General of the United  
13 States shall submit to Congress a report containing  
14 an evaluation of the methodology and findings of the  
15 study.

16 (c) FACILITATION OF STUDIES.—In order to facili-  
17 tate the studies required under subsection (a)—

18 (1) the Judicial Conference of the United  
19 States shall maintain a record of each instance in  
20 which a justice, judge, bankruptcy judge, or mag-  
21 istrate judge was not assigned to a case due to po-  
22 tential or actual conflicts indicated on a conflicts  
23 sheet; and

24 (2) the clerk of each court shall maintain and  
25 include in the relevant case docket a record of each

1 instance in which a justice, judge, bankruptcy judge,  
2 or magistrate judge disqualifies after a case assign-  
3 ment is made.