UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF WISCONSIN

UNITED STATES O	F AMERICA,)	
)	Case No. 23-CR-78
	Plaintiff,)	Milwaukee, Wisconsin
)	
VS.)	December 15, 2023
)	8:30 a.m.
JACK DALY,)	
)	
	Defendant.)	
)	

TRANSCRIPT OF SENTENCING HEARING

BEFORE THE HONORABLE JP STADTMUELLER UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

APPEARANCES:

For the Plaintiff UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: United States Department of Justice By: Kevin C Knight & Benjamin P Taibleson 517 E Wisconsin Ave - Rm 530 Milwaukee, WI 53202 Ph: 414-297-1700 Kevin.knight@usdoj.gov For the Defendant JACK DALY: Foley & Lardner By: Matthew Dean Krueger (Present) 777 E Wisconsin Ave Milwaukee, WI 53202 Ph: 414-297-4987

Mkrueger@foley.com

1 CONTINUED APPEARANCES: McGuire Woods LLP 2 By: Jason Cowley & Roy Dixon, III 201 N Tryon St - Ste 3000 3 Charlotte, NC 28202 Ph: 704-343-2030 4 Jcowley@mcguirewoods.com 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 U.S. Probation Office: James Fetherston 23 U.S. Official Reporter: SUSAN ARMBRUSTER, RPR, RMR, Transcript Orders: Susan Armbruster@wied.uscourts.gov 24 Proceedings recorded by computerized stenography, 25 transcript produced by computer aided transcription.

PROCEEDINGS

THE CLERK: The Court calls United States of America v. Jack Daly, Case No. 23-CR-78, for sentencing hearing. May I have the appearances beginning with the Government.

MR. KNIGHT: Good morning, Your Honor. Kevin Knight appears on behalf of the United States.

MR. TAIBLESON: Good morning, Your Honor. Benjamin Taibleson appears on behalf of the United States. With us is FBI Special Agent Eric Burns.

PROBATION AGENT: Good morning, Your Honor. Jennifer Garstka on behalf of the probation office.

MR. KRUEGER: Good morning, Your Honor. Matt Krueger on behalf of the defendant, Jack Daly. With me at counsel table are Jason Cowley and Roy Dixon of McGuire Woods.

Also in the courtroom today is Kay Daly, Mr. Daly's wife; his three children, Patrick, JR and Reagan Daly, who have come from Texas, Washington DC, New Jersey and North Carolina.

Also in the courtroom is Arianne Apperson and her fiance Javoin, who have come from Georgia, as well as Rick and Nell Erhardt, Jack's cousin, who have come from Georgia. Each of them also submitted a letter as well. Thank you.

THE COURT: Thank you. Good morning, counsel. And good morning to the FBI agent. Good morning to you,

Ms. Garstka. And good morning to you, Mr. Daly.

Jack Daly back on June 8th of this year, you entered a

plea of guilty and were later formally adjudicated guilty of the conduct charged in a single-count information, namely conspiracy to commit offenses against the United States in violation of Title 18 of the U.S.C. § 371.

We have now reached that stage in these proceedings where it becomes the duty of the Court to address several questions to both you and counsel.

First of all, Mr. Daly, have you had sufficient opportunity to review the Revised Presentence Report as well as the addendum to that report, both of which are dated December 1st of this year?

DEFENDANT: Yes, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Thank you. Mr. Krueger, do you or your client or your colleagues have any objection as to any of the facts detailed in the numbered paragraphs of the Revised Presentence Report?

MR. KRUEGER: Your Honor, we have logged a number of objections that don't need resolution in advance of the 3553(a) arguments, and we intend to address differences that we have with the Government as to the nature of the offense or the individual circumstances of the defendant in that portion of our argument.

THE COURT: All right. Thank you. Likewise

Mr. Knight, Mr. Taibleson, have you had an opportunity to review
the December 1st Revised Presentence Report?

MR. KNIGHT: Yes, Your Honor.

THE COURT: And do either of you have any objection as to any of the facts detailed in the numbered paragraphs of the Revised Presentence Report?

MR. KNIGHT: Your Honor, similar to defense counsel, we've logged some factual objections, none of which by our likes require resolution by the Court in advance of imposing sentence.

THE COURT: All right. Thank you. That being the case and the Court having no independent basis to challenge or otherwise seek clarification of any of the facts detailed in the numbered paragraphs of the Revised Presentence Report, I do herewith adopt all of the facts.

I appreciate there have been objections, and I understand the nature of the objections for the most part. Both sides have made their positions very well known not only to the presentence writer but to the Court in the abundance of information that has come to the Court by way of reports, letters of support and the like, much of which the Court will later address at the appropriate time.

Having considered the Revised Presentence Report, we're going to address a couple of preliminary matters. First of all, Mr. Krueger submitted some additional letters together with a motion under ECF filing 42. That motion will be granted.

Then yesterday a joint motion for a preliminary order of forfeiture was filed together with a proposed order. And

likewise, that motion will also be granted. At the appropriate time, Mr. Knight and Mr. Taibleson or Mr. Krueger, Mr. Cowley or Mr. Dixon if you thought of the need to include the forfeiture aspect of the case in the criminal judgment as opposed to a separate order, I'll be happy to hear you further. The Court has no position on the matter, and I leave it to the parties to address as you see fit.

Moving forward to the Advisory Sentencing Guidelines, the probation department has submitted the following metric to the Court. It includes a Total Offense Level of 10, Criminal History Category I, which in combination with the offense level carries a guideline term of imprisonment of six to 12 months, any term of imprisonment to be followed by a term of at least one but not more than three years of supervised release, a fine of not less than \$4,000 nor no more than \$40,000, restitution in the amount of \$69,978.37.

As the Revised Presentence Report indicates at paragraph 222, that amount has been paid. There is the further matter of the \$100 special assessment and the forfeiture which the Court just averted to which is also addressed in paragraph 28 of the original underlying plea agreement.

As our beginning point this morning, Mr. Krueger, do you and your colleagues and your client accept that guideline metric as the probation department has submitted?

MR. KRUEGER: We do, Your Honor. The main issue of

dispute before the parties was the loss amount, and we believe the PSR correctly determines it. So if you need further comments on that point, we're happy to be heard; otherwise, we agree with that guidelines range.

THE COURT: All right. Thank you. Mr. Knight, Mr. Taibleson.

MR. KNIGHT: Yes, Your Honor. The Government objects to the calculation of the loss amount here. As the Court knows from the parties briefing submitted in advance of today's hearing, the Government believes that the best way to calculate the intended loss here is by virtue of a metric using the solicitations the defendant sent during the charged conspiracy and the amount of money that they asked for.

And I know the Court has had an opportunity to review our pretty extensive briefing on the score, but I'm happy to advance more argument if the Court has questions. But at bottom, Judge, the concern that the Government has is that we need to advance a loss amount figure that incorporates the guidelines admonition that intended loss includes that loss which is impossible or unlikely to occur.

That is the clear admonition from the Sentencing

Commission. And the defense's approach and the probation

officer's approach simply does not incorporate that principle in

any way that we can divine.

I think it is telling that the guidelines define

actual loss as the reasonably foreseeable pecuniary harm that is at issue here. That sounds to my ear to be much more like the defendant's approach, which as the Court knows takes a retrospective look at the Draft PAC operations prior to the charged conspiracy and says that based on that performance, the Court should surmise what the intended loss here was. Not only does that sound like actual loss not intended loss as those terms are defined in the guidelines, it also is just not consistent with common sense.

As we pointed out in our sentencing submissions,

Judge, the defense's position is this PAC was legitimate up

until July 22nd of 2017. I can think of no where else in the

law where we would look at a prior course of lawful conduct to

determine the intended loss during a fraudulent conspiracy.

Finally one last point, Judge. It belies common sense to suggest that two lawyers with de minimis criminal history decided to commit their first federal felony for the sake of \$60,000. That is just not consistent with the evidence. It is not consistent with the pecuniary gains Mr. Daly went on to accrue, and it is inconsistent with the guidelines admonitions about unlikely or impossible loss. Subject to Your Honor's questions.

THE COURT: All right. Thank you. Mr. Krueger, anything more you'd like to add on that subject?

MR. KRUEGER: Yes, Your Honor. The Government may be

disappointed that it wasn't able to provide evidence of a larger loss amount after investing multiple years to charge a crime nearly half a decade after it occurred, but that's what the law requires here.

The case law from the Seventh Circuit is very clear that intended loss is hinged off of how much a defendant actually intended to impose for loss. That comes from Yihao, Seventh Circuit case from 2016. And so it is the Government's burden to adduce some sort of evidence of the defendant's actual intent.

The Government approach is the very essence of arbitrary. The Government's approach first resulted in a request for \$8 million of intended loss. And then after seeing Mr. Daly's submission changed its methodology to just over \$1 million. And its methodology is based off of the Government's arbitrary selection of amounts asked for in particular donations that bear no actual resemblance to what the defendant's subjective intent or reasonable expectation would have been with regard to what donations would have come back from that.

Then, the Government applies an absolutely arbitrary notion of click rate not only to emails but also to direct mail solicitations that have no hyperlink to click on at all. Clicks are for an email which would take you to something that has no bearing to necessarily whether somebody would, in fact, donate.

That's again the Government's burden to put forward

some sort of evidence that ties to subjective intent to the defense. They haven't done so other than what my esteemed colleagues have put forward of their views. And instead, we have put forward an expert declaration from somebody who actually works in political fundraising to explain that you would not -- No person, let alone Mr. Daly, would expect that every person who clicks through would donate \$500 or \$1,000 when they work in the industry, and they know what they would reasonably expect.

The point that the intended loss is even less than the actual loss here is an indication that this is a very limited offense. It involved just two solicitations in August and September of 2017 after an otherwise lawful Draft PAC.

And so it's appropriate and would be an injustice to take over a million dollars of loss to what is actually a very discreet offense here. To the extent the Court believes that an intended loss methodology would yield a larger amount, this is exactly the sort of case in which there should be a downward departure to use actual loss, which is an agreed-upon, known reliable number to indicate what was the actual economic reality of this offense. Thank you.

MR. KNIGHT: Your Honor, may I make a few very brief points?

THE COURT: Sure.

MR. KNIGHT: I think first, it is worth noting that

even today we have not heard the defense reconcile their position to the application note that says unlikely or impossible loss is to be included in intended loss.

Second, we didn't change our methodology. We changed the inputs into the methodology. It is still a function of the amount of solicitations that were sent, the amount of money that was asked for and the amount of people whose money was put at risk.

And I use that last phrase the amount of money put at risk advisably, Judge. As we cited in our brief, Seventh Circuit *United States v. Tartareanu*, 884 F.3 741. "An intended loss calculation requires a determination of the amount of money the defendants intended to place at risk."

As we cite in our memo, *United States v. Blake*, 965 F.3d 554, Seventh Circuit case, the Court determined that the amount of money the defendants intended to put at risk corresponded to the amount of money they asked for. That has been our methodology from the beginning. It's been consistent, and we think it is consistent with the guidelines application note. Thank you, Your Honor.

THE COURT: All right. Thank you. Well, I certainly appreciate the reality that the parties have put forth on this issue. But at the end of the day, I believe the wiser exercise of any sentencing judge is discretion, is to exercise discretion consistent with Judge Gorsuch's analysis in the Manatau case,

647 F.3d 1048 at page 1055. And there are a lot of complications that are brought to the floor in any analysis of either parties' positions because the way the sentencing guideline, including the application note, have been constructed leave an awful lot of problems with what in the vernacular might be best described as trying to put a square peg in a round hole.

And when judges are confronted with this sort of phenomenon, it is not the first of Judge Gorsuch's analyses, but it's the seventh and; that is, the matter of lenity. In other words, to the extent that this defendant's liberty interests are at stake, the rule of lenity more than suggests indeed it compels the judge to take the wiser course.

This case is not like others. For example, had Mr. Daly's Draft PAC included a pledge card, no money changing hands but created a contractual obligation or the use of a credit card allowing the PAC to deduct \$15 a month for a period of a year, that presents an entirely different set of circumstances.

The Government suggests that the defendants put each of these prospective donors at risk. No, it is the other way around. It's the donor that put themselves at risk by subscribing or submitting a contribution. And accordingly, the Court finds, particularly against the backdrop of the series of cases that found their way into the parties' submissions with respect to how these issues have been handled in other

jurisdictions, in particular the footnote found in a submission, Document 16, footnote 7, from the defendant's memo. There's a series of six cases cited, none of which appear to this Court to have adopted the analysis that the Government is suggesting that the Court follow here.

And I am not going to take the time this morning to go through the rubric of each of those six cases. But if the Government feels strongly about the probation department's position, Judge Stadtmueller's position, the office of general counsel at the probation department, the case should go to the Seventh Circuit. That's why we have a circuit case law. Until somebody appeals, we're left to do the best we can against the authorities that we have.

And so on the basis of all of the submissions and they can be dissected, sliced and diced many different ways, but it does not avoid the harsh reality that the Government's analysis is footed on trying to put a square peg in a round hole. And against my 36 years as a sentencing Judge, I'm not going to venture into a wickey thicket that will only lead to further confusion as opposed to finite determination.

So the guideline construct that the probation department has worked mightily hard to put together will be the guidepost for any ultimate sentencing determination this morning; that is, Total Offense Level 10; Criminal History Category I; which calls for a guideline term of imprisonment of

six to 12 months; any term of imprisonment to be followed by a term of at least one but not more than three years of supervised release; a fine of not less than \$4,000 nor no more than \$40,000; restitution in the amount of \$69,978.37, which the Court has already noted has been paid; a special assessment of \$100; and forfeiture of like amount namely \$69,978.37, which is the subject of the order the Court earlier granted.

Having made that determination, Mr. Krueger, are there any other objections to the sentencing guideline metric that is before the Court?

MR. KRUEGER: No, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Thank you. Mr. Knight, Mr. Taibleson, anything further on the guidelines?

MR. KNIGHT: No, Your Honor. Thank you.

THE COURT: Very well. Having made that series of determinations, Mr. Krueger, do you or your colleagues, Mr. Cowley or Mr. Dixon, or your client have any reason to advance this morning as to why the Court ought not proceed today with the imposition of sentence in this case?

MR. KRUEGER: No, Your Honor.

THE COURT: The Court has reviewed the extensive filings in this case, including the professional reports from the psychiatric social worker, the submissions from the psychologist, the prison consultant, the retired assistant director of the Bureau of Prisons and some 21 or 22 letters,

five of which came from the Daly family and another 16 from others including several lawyers.

I must say at the outset, Mr. Daly, in dead seriousness, whether it is your wife or your three kids or the lawyers or others with whom you have worked so tirelessly over the years, had you consulted with any one of them, we would not be here in this courtroom today before those solicitations went out in August and September of 2017. Mr. Krueger.

MR. KRUEGER: Thank you, Your Honor. Would you like me to proceed in addressing the 3553(a) factors?

THE COURT: However you would like. It is you and your client and your colleagues' hour. I've reviewed everything that's been filed in writing, most of which I understand and appreciate. When it comes to the Bureau of Prisons and the comments from Janet Purdue and Philip Wise, I can tell you these are matters best left for the Bureau of Prisons to address.

And since they have been filed as part of the public record in this case, should the Court find itself constrained to impose any term of incarceration, I will direct Ms. Garstka's office to send those materials as well as Ms. Geller and Ms. Zachary's reports to the Bureau of Prisons for their benefit as part of the classification designation process. And the judges are not in the business of dealing with medical issues. I appreciate they are in the background in this case just as they were in the background of this case during the relevant

time period that is 2015, 2016, 2017 through today. So I just — I appreciate your pulling all this together, but it is more appropriate for those that will be overseeing Mr. Daly, whether in the context of something other than a term of incarceration, whether supervised release or the Bureau of Prisons. So keep all of that in mind.

MR. KRUEGER: Thank you, Your Honor. I appreciate that context. We appreciate the time that you've put into reviewing materials. I certainly won't repeat it all and would ask to use this time to put certain points in context.

Let me say at the outset that Mr. Daly does not submit all those materials asking for sympathy or making excuses but rather to put into context who Mr. Daly really is.

We're respectfully submitting to the Court that each of the Section 3553(a) factors indicate that a sentence of 24 months of probation is sufficient but not greater than necessary to serve the purposes of sentencing.

Your Honor, I want to frame my remarks by saying that this case is about truth versus fiction. You admonished the defendant already that his conduct in August and September of 2017 did involve twisting the truth in sending two solicitations, the truth about Sheriff Clark's willingness to run, and he has accepted responsibility for that by pleading to a pre-indictment charge, to an information, to having already paid restitution. And part of the submissions that we made to

you were to demonstrate that Mr. Daly's also taken seriously the need to engage in rehabilitation, and he's doing that.

The sad irony of us being here today is that the Government has now twisted the truth in trying to present a picture of Mr. Daly that is a fiction, of the Draft PAC before July is a fiction, about his business success, and even about the victims in this case, and so I want to walk through those to be clear on those points.

First, as to the nature of the Draft PAC. I think from Your Honor's comments that you appreciate that before July 22nd of 2017, that Mr. Daly operated the Draft PAC in an entirely lawful, good faith, legitimate manner, and it is not the scam PAC that the Government asks you to believe that it was.

This is evident in the submissions. He reached out to Sheriff Clark at the start and even before the Draft PAC was started to ensure that Sheriff Clark was comfortable with their intentions. He registered the Draft PAC with the FEC. He used reputable third parties to assist with filings, even organized the event at the 2017 CPAC that Clark himself attended, coordinated to put forth billboards, commissioned a poll. And so it's critical to understand that all the way until the charged offense actually began, this was lawful conduct.

The Government's focus on conduct and solicitations before July 22, 2017 are not a basis to impose a greater

sentence here. It doesn't qualify as relevant conduct. The offense began on the day that Sheriff Clark announced he would not run for Senate. That's the date in the information when the conspiracy began. That's when the overt acts go forward. The loss, the restitution forfeiture are all based on that post-July 22nd period, which as you noted, Your Honor, is only two solicitations, August 2nd and September 2nd, and he takes responsibility for those.

We provided a lot of context about the nature of those, including the fact that Jack had a limited role in creating the content that Nate Pendley his co-defendant, and campaign inbox were also urging them. And so I won't go into further detail about those unless you have questions.

The Government also presents a fiction with regard to whether there was anything improper about the Draft PAC using most of the donations that it received to identify other donors or engage in other fundraising. The Government hasn't offered any legal support, any expert report, and there's certainly nothing from the primary regulator in the area, the FEC, that indicates that it is in any way unlawful or improper for a Draft PAC effort to put its focus on trying to identify and build a donor base for a candidate.

In fact, that's absolutely consistent with how many Draft PAC efforts on both sides of the aisle have operated.

Ready for Hilary PAC did this. The Draft Ben Carson PAC did

this. The Draft Ted Cruz PAC did this.

And we provided Your Honor with a declaration from Emily Hoover, who analyzed the expenditures in this PAC with Draft Ted Cruz and Draft Ben Carson and shows that this was not unusual.

I've also provided to you the expert declaration by
Kevin Siefert, who works in digital fundraising, who similarly
explains that a Draft efforts focus on identifying and building
a house list is not uncommon.

As to the aspects of the offense involving the false statements to the FEC. The Government also presents another fiction suggesting that Jack tried to conceal an offense or a scheme to perpetuate it for years on end as though there was sort of a multiyear set of criminal conduct here.

Mr. Daly takes responsibility and admits that he made a terrible decision in September 2017 to list a different individual as the treasurer on the Draft PAC's FEC Report. He did so mainly to avoid Sheriff Clark's ire and potential retribution. But after that, Mr. Daly essentially let the Draft PAC go dormant and let the paperwork in terms of who would be the treasurer just be renewed year after year. We're not saying that was a good decision. That was sloppy. It is a manifestation of his hyper focus.

And so again, part of why we gave Your Honor these expert evaluations of who Mr. Daly is is so that you can

understand that this wasn't an offense of multiple years of scheming. It is partly a matter of Mr. Daly's Autism Spectrum Disorder and his hyper focus.

As you consider the nature of this offense, I want to offer a few points, and I hope that you don't take anything that I am about to say as inconsistent with Mr. Daly's acceptance of responsibility. Having served in and like Your Honor lead the U.S. Attorney's Office, I submit to you that this is a very aggressive prosecution. It comes dangerously close to and I'm not saying it crossed a line, but it comes very close to core First Amendment speech in that raising money in order to encourage somebody to run for public office lies right at the heart of the First Amendment.

It bears noting that aspects of the Government's sentencing brief could lead one to suggest that they disagree with the political viewpoints of Mr. Daly and called them offensive. But surely, and I don't believe they are doing this, but Mr. Daly's sentence should not be increased based on any political viewpoint.

This case is also aggressive in that it involves a falsity about the representations of what somebody else might do in the future, whether they might run for office. Consider what if Sheriff Clark in early 2018 had decided to change his mind and run for Senate? Would we be here today? Should that vary on whether there is a criminal case or not?

I think most importantly, the Government presents a fiction in asking you to view this case as comparable to six other particular cases that DOJ charged involving scam PACs. These are the six cases they cite in their sentencing brief. The truth of those cases is that they are far, far more egregious than the conduct that Mr. Daly engaged in.

In each of those cases, the defendants obviously had no intention of ever running a bona fide PAC and instead used them as vehicles to simply embezzle money and put it in their own pockets.

Each of those cases involved six figures or even seven figures of loss compared to less than \$70,000 here. Each of those cases involved multiple PACs, another indication of the defendant's true intent. Let me just highlight one. United States v. Tierney in the Southern District of New York. The defendant there received a sentence of 24 months that the Government had asked for; although, I understand their recommendation will now be at the bottom of the guidelines range of six months.

But in the *Tierney* case, the defendant created six different PACs and transferred over \$400,000 to himself through shell companies in a true fraud, and the Government is asking you to view that case as equivalent to Mr. Daly who operated a Draft PAC in a bona fide fashion until July after which he did, as he's taken responsibility for, sent two false solicitations.

The Government also presents a fiction that Mr. Daly's offense was motivated by greed and has lead to his success. The truth is that Mr. Daly forwent many opportunities to make money through this Draft PAC. He donated his time in administering it when he could have charged money and received funds for that. He could have charged the PAC for his list of donors.

The Government's claim that Mr. Daly's business success came because of this PAC is not backed by any evidence other than the mere correlation that he has been a successful businessman after the PAC. But we have given you actual evidence, through the expert declaration of Kevin Siefert, that lays out the facts of the matter here.

Mr. Daly had over one million email addresses before this Draft PAC effort began. He had business success afterwards that had no causation from the Draft PAC effort. Kevin Siefert explains that the additional emails that were gained through the legitimate part of the Draft PAC would have had no more than a minimal impact on the value of Mr. Daly's donor data.

If you look at the actual offense here, the two solicitations in August and September 2017, Kevin Siefert tells you they had no impact on the value of Mr. Daly's lists. The point is, he was successful before and after the PAC but not because of it. The Government's only real sort of evidentiary suggestion is one witness' interview that references the notion of a purple cow theory with regard to Sheriff Clark. Kevin

Siefert explains that theory also doesn't have a basis in reality. Sheriff Clark was a known person for quite a while.

And if you look at the actual performance of the Draft PAC, it wasn't unusual in the expert opinion of Mr. Siefert.

Perhaps what's most telling is that in the plea agreement, the Government could have forfeited and reserved for itself the right to forfeit gains that Mr. Daly had from the value of the list that was increased because of the criminal conduct. The Government has not done so because it cannot do so. It cannot demonstrate that Mr. Daly's wealth or income was impacted by the offense here.

The reality is for Jack politics are the labor of love. He did this because he genuinely wanted to see -- He created the Draft PAC because he genuinely wanted to see Sheriff Clark run for office, and he's taken responsibility for the terrible decisions that he made that were criminal in August and September of 2017.

The Government's portrayal of the impact and victims on this case is also another instance of aggressive overreach. A significant part of their sentencing submission focuses on victims' statements. But let's be clear about the facts here. Mr. Daly has already paid restitution, just under \$70,000, for the actual victims. This is an unusual white collar case in that the money for restitution has been fully paid back, and he feels terribly for those victims who did, in fact, send money in

response to false solicitations. He takes responsibility for that.

The Government's characterization that Jack Daly is somebody who is dangerous who preyed on vulnerable victims is just beyond the pale. This was not a scheme that preyed on elderly or vulnerable victims. Let me be really clear, Your Honor. This wasn't in the briefing because this came after the Government's submission.

Mr. Daly's donor data does not have dates of birth.

Mr. Daly's donor data would not allow him to be able to only send solicitations to elderly or vulnerable people. His donor list involved individuals who are likely to donate to conservative causes. That has nothing to do with age or vulnerability.

Here's what's especially galling about the Government's narrative about victims is they put forward some victims' statements from individuals who did not even donate in response to the two solicitations at issue. The Government sent just over 3600 requests for victim statements, 3600. It has put forward just 14 responses in the PSR. For 12 of those 14, we are able to identify who the donors were. And by our analysis, ten of those didn't even donate money in response to the two false solicitations. They had donated during the post-July period but in response to other solicitations that aren't alleged to be false here.

The Government's sentencing brief puts forward a particular 302, an interview memorandum from a retired US Naval Captain. And ask why is that one statement included out of just the two exhibits included? I think it might be because they are trying to paint a picture of this being, perhaps, a retired Government official, perhaps, somebody who is living on a fixed income to promote the notion of vulnerability.

But from a little bit of looking, we can see that the individual in that 302 is somebody who donated over \$3 million in the current campaign cycle, who has a home in Aspen as well as Martha's Vineyard. This is not to sort of get into evaluating the worth of victims. But what I'm asking the Court to see is that the portrayal of this offense is something that preyed on vulnerable people is simply a fiction.

In fact, the average donation size is less than \$50. This isn't a case in which vulnerable people were truly suffering financial hardships. But again, I want to stress that Mr. Daly feels remorse and has made early efforts to pay restitution fully.

I want to turn now to speak to the truth of who Jack
Daly is as a person. The Government has put in a lot of effort
to calling Mr. Daly various names, a grifter, a dangerous
fraudster, a proponent of shameless lies. I don't think the
Government has engaged in what was in the PSR about who Jack
Daly really is. I'm not sure who they are talking about. He is

a soldier. He's a civil servant. He's congressional staffer. He's an employer of multiple people. He's a devoted husband and father who for a long time was essentially the primary caregiver and breadwinner for his family.

You've seen in the submissions how Mr. Daly endured a terrible childhood. His father attempted to murder his mother. He suffered physical abuse at the hands of his father. He was neglected. He dropped out of high school as he suffered from his significant Asperger's and other mental disorders. But Jack Daly is somebody who then enlisted in the army; although, only to then be brutally attacked and suffer injury, but then still pulled himself up by his bootstraps, finished his GED, earned a law degree, served as a civil servant and on the Hill.

Now, you can say that that means that Mr. Daly should have known better and indeed, he should have of as to that period in August and September of 2017. But for the Government to pull out anecdotes from 25 years ago about a homeless person or for the Government to use terms like four-time bankrupt without addressing the realities of what Jack's life has been. During that period of financial hardship, his wife had suffered serious medical issues, was incapacitated and had giant medical bills. That's the reality of who Jack Daly is, not the fiction that the Government has presented to you.

I know and have prosecuted and you, Your Honor, have seen many true fraudsters, people who prey on innocent

individuals and are looking for ways to take advantage to them, and they make that generally their entire lifestyle. That is not Jack Daly.

You've read the incredible support letters. I want to point especially to the one by Carl Stephens at Exhibit E12. It is an incredible story. Carl Stephens was violently attacked by somebody with a hammer who knocked out his teeth and left him unable to smile, unable to eat regularly. He was a total stranger to Jack until Jack met him as he was a contractor on Jack's house.

They became friends. And at some point, Jack took it on himself voluntarily to say, I want to give your smile back and paid nearly \$90,000 to facilitate him traveling to have expert medical care to have facial reconstruction surgery.

That's the sort of man Jack Daly is.

Take it from his grand niece Kaylan Schild, not his own direct child, but a more distant relative who says that Jack's habitual altruism surpasses anyone I've encountered. You noted that you've already read the other sentencing letters, and they indicate who Jack actually is.

We're not asking for sympathy or excuses with regard to his Autism nor to the Traumatic Stress Disorder that he has suffered nor for the Depression and Anxiety, but they are part of who he is. His brain has literally been changed by those experiences, and he doesn't have the same ability as others

without that disorder, and it partly contributed to the offense with his hyper focus, his obsessive passion for politics.

That's part of Jack, the truth of who he is.

What I hope that you can see is that as he has said to you in his letter, that this offense has caused him to really understand himself in a way that he's grateful for and is taking steps towards rehabilitation in ways that Your Honor I think counsel in favor of a sentence of probation.

Incarceration is not needed in this case and would, in fact, impact Jack far more than most defendants given his conditions as well as his physical -- the medication and his physical conditions.

I want to turn to the purposes of sentencing. The Government stresses the seriousness of the offense and the need for deterrence. One thing should be very clear. There is no need for special deterrence in this case or a need to protect the public. Jack's offense occurred over five years ago in an isolated period, and he's otherwise lived an exemplary life. He will not re-offend. He comes to you without a criminal history without even regulatory citations or things like that.

He's lost his law license because of this offense. As a convicted felon, he will not be able to vote, which goes straight to his very life passion. And for Jack not being able to vote means much more than it might in the ordinary case. The emotional strain this offense has taken on Jack and his family

combined with all the other consequences I just said certainly provides sufficient deterrence, including deterrence for those who are actually similarly situated to Jack.

That's why I again, I distinguished those other cases that the Government cites where they want to fit Jack into a square -- I am going to use your analogy, Your Honor. They are going to fit Jack into a hole that just doesn't fit. If you use those other six cases as the basis for sentencing here, you will be promoting unwarranted disparities.

To avoid disparities, probation would be appropriate here. In fact, we submitted to you at page 36 of our brief that for defendants who are in the guidelines range that Jack is found in with his sort of criminal history, a noncustodial sentence is far more common, nearly 48 percent of defendants. And so this is a situation where avoiding unwarranted disparities supports a sentence of probation.

We're not asking for probation without any conditions. We are asking that he be required to receive autism-specific therapies and treatment for his complex PTSD. The Government, I'm sure, will stress the need for general deterrence, and we agree as far as that goes. But again, you need to sentence Jack for the actual conduct.

This is not a case in which he ran a scam PAC. The sentence should reflect the limited conduct that exists here.

My co-counsel, Mr. Cowley, wanted me to make sure that I bring

to the Court's attention that for a defendant like Jack Daly who is in Zone A or B, he is in Zone B of the sentencing table, a sentence other than a sentence of imprisonment is generally appropriate. So again, that supports a sentence of probation in this case.

You can see, Your Honor, from the individuals in the courtroom and the letters that you read who the true Jack Daly is. We're asking that you would impose a sentence based on that truth of who Jack is and what this offense was. If you have any questions, I'd be happy to address them.

THE COURT: Thank you, Mr. Krueger. Mr. Daly, the
Court has read more than one of your lengthy letters. If you
have anything additional you would like to add this morning, now
is your opportunity.

DEFENDANT: Yes. Your Honor, I don't have much to add to the letter I wrote to the Court. I'm nervous, so I am going to try to hold it together and keep my comments brief.

First, to the victims who were harmed as a result of my offense. I'm sorry, truly, and I know having the money paid back won't undue the harm.

Second, I want to express gratitude to the people in my life who give it meaning, especially those who are here today to show their support. I'm deeply sorry you had to do that and more importantly for the disruption and stress this has caused in your lives.

This case has given me clarity about so much, and Your Honor, I'm committed to making meaningful change in my life going forward. And Your Honor whatever the outcome today, please know that I will continue to do the hard work to learn from this experience, to learn from the poor decisions I've made, and to ensure that they will never happen again. Thank you.

THE COURT: Thank you, Mr. Daly. Mr. Knight, Mr. Taibleson.

MR. KNIGHT: Thank you, Your Honor. Mr. Krueger is right about one thing. This case is about truth versus fiction, and the truth is that Jack Daly is a liar. Over and over and over again in the PSR he lies. He lies to donors. He lies to the politician he purports to support, and he lies to the FEC over and over and over.

I want to specifically address a point Mr. Krueger made because I think it's an important one. Mr. Krueger suggested that the Government is inviting the Court to punish Mr. Daly because of his political viewpoints. That is ridiculous. That is not what the Government is doing. The Government is asking the Court to impose a sentence that comports with the Section 3553(a) factors.

In fact, it's worth noting the people that Jack Daly hurt, the people that Jack Daly defrauded, the people that Jack Daly disincentivised from future political participation are all

folks who share his political views. They are all folks who wanted to support Sheriff Clark genuinely. The idea because Jack Daly has certain political views he should be punished is nonsensical, and it is inconsistent with the bare fact that he hurt folks that share those views.

I want to also address because we just can't seem to get this right, the nature of the Draft PAC. The defendant suggested that the nature of the Draft PAC was entirely legitimate up until July 22, 2017. The PSR recounts and unrebutted facts from paragraphs 24 to 31 lie after lie after lie that Mr. Daly told to donors separate and apart from his representations about Sheriff Clark's willingness to run.

April 2nd, a donation of \$5,000, \$2,500 paid for pursuing a TV ad. May 26th, we've already used over \$25,000 in donor money for radio adds which were just aired, and it goes on and on. As the Court knows the idea that this PAC was behaving appropriately and not lying to donors up until July 22nd is just belied by the facts. That's not what happened here.

I also think it's worth noting that we heard defense counsel say two separate times that Mr. Daly is not here to offer sympathy or to provide excuses. Candidly, that is not consistent with the submissions that were sent to the Court.

Over and over again we see Mr. Daly attempt to pass the buck and make excuses.

A few examples for the Court. There is no dispute

that over the course of the Draft PAC, Mr. Daly in the course of three different transactions moved \$75,000 from the Draft PAC accounts that he controlled to his own personal accounts.

We see Docket 19, pages 24-25. He doesn't recall the circumstances of those transfers of \$75,000 to himself, but it's likely they were inadvertent or otherwise had a legitimate purpose.

Docket 31, paragraph 131. He says that it's likely a refund corresponding to a donation he himself made to the PAC. That is an especially galling representation. Mr. Daly is saying that he transferred money from the PAC back to himself and didn't tell the FEC because it was a refunded donation. Of course, the other donors didn't get that refund until this case was brought. Mr. Daly treated himself to one.

Docket 25 at page 16. These unreported transfers are the product of sloppiness not a scheme. Of course, that is just not consistent with the evidence. Some other excuses. There's no dispute that during the pendency of the Draft PAC, Mr. Daly researched the difference between conversion and theft.

Docket 19 at page 25. He claims that these searches might have been prompted by concerns around the potential abuse and financial exploitation of his mother who was afflicted with Alzheimers. That representation is not credible. The PSR recounts how the defendant lost contact with his mother around 2011, did not find her without the help of a private

investigator in 2019.

Of course, again he's searching for the difference between conversion and theft during the pendency of this Draft PAC in March of 2017. Similarly, there is no dispute that Mr. Daly told Z.Z., the PAC's former functional intern, not to contact the FEC.

Docket 19 at page 26. That's because Mr. Daly wanted to obtain guidance from his FEC compliance guru. There is no dispute that Z.Z. voiced his concerns to Mr. Daly, Mr. Daly paid Z.Z. \$5,000.

Docket 19 at page 26. He claims this was a deposit towards Z.Z.'s work on a proprietary database even though they hadn't spoken in years, and there was absolutely no conversation about the actual deal that would encompass the work on that database.

There is no dispute that Mr. Daly and Mr. Pendley tried to recruit a homeless man to run for office in the state primary in North Carolina. But docket 21 the PSR at page 19, the defense claims that's okay because this tactic is not without precedence in American politics.

There is no dispute as I say, Judge, that over at least eight rounds of solicitations, the defendant lied about what he was going to do with donor's money. The defendant claims that that's okay.

Docket 25, page 9. Because "Jack did not write that

solicitation, and this was an error made by others." Defense counsel came here today twice and said he wasn't providing excuses. His submissions say otherwise.

Judge, as we said in our submission, every single one of the 3553(a) factors suggests a term of imprisonment is appropriate here. This crime was calculated, willful, premeditated. We've already referenced defendant's Google searches for scam PACs relating to the sheriff, his Google searches regarding theft. And I think it's especially telling, Judge, it's recounted in the memo in our PSR, the August exchange that defendant and his co-conspirator had with their direct mail vendor Eberle.

During that exchange, defendant's co-conspirator had to cajole and push the vendor to send out those solicitations. And a specific part of their conversation was Mr. Pendley, the co-conspirator, telling the direct mail vendor, no one is covering it. No one has covered the sheriff's statement in July that he's not going to run, so we can lie to those people and get away with it. That's what they did. That is a premeditated, willful crime involving others.

As I noted in the memo, Judge, this defendant knew better. He played on his status as a lawyer citing his experience on the Senate Judiciary Committee to these gullible donors. He lead this conspiracy. He started the PAC. He registered the PAC. He founded the website. He opened and

controlled the bank accounts, and reaped the financial reward.

As I say, Judge, he took many, many steps to conceal his crimes. We noted in our memo September 1st, the day before the September 2nd email solicitation that lied to donors. He tells his associate to take his identifying phone number and email address off the PAC's website so donors won't be able to find who swindled them.

When he's called out by Sheriff Clark, he lies to Sheriff Clark and said that Z.Z.'s running the PAC, not him. He lies to the FEC for years using a fake email address that's designed to look as if it's associated with Z.Z.. And then last year when he's finally confronted by Z.Z. at law enforcement's direction, he tells him not to talk to the FEC, and he pays him \$5,000. That concealment, that leadership, that premeditation all suggests this crime was aggravated.

I think it's worth noting to just highlight another total discrepancy between how the parties view this case. We heard Mr. Krueger say that because Mr. Daly doesn't have the dates of birth of his victims, he somehow doesn't know that he's targeting the elderly and the disabled.

That is flatly contradicted by literally the first page of our sentencing memo wherein we see Mr. Pendley and Mr. Daly talk about what fraudulent political fundraisers do. They target little old ladies. Mr. Daly knew that was the constituency that he was targeting, and Mr. Daly committed these

crimes anyway.

Mr. Daly also knew, consistent with that email, that his crimes would have the effect of corroding our political infrastructure, polluting our political ecosystem and thereby deterring future political participation by the victims that they've hurt. That's exactly what they wrote to each other. Frauds their theirs leave less money for legitimate causes as donors are rightfully suspicious once they've been burned. They knew that. They were writing that to each other in February of 2017.

The idea that he's going to come into court today and tell you he didn't know he was ripping off little old ladies after he literally wrote or received an email from his co-conspirator about how these types of frauds are ripping off little old ladies is borderline nonsensical.

That combination of factors, Judge, the premeditation, the leadership, the obstruction, the vulnerable victims, that all counsels in favor of a sentence of imprisonment.

In terms of defendant's history and characteristics.

He's a lawyer as we've talked about. He played on the status as a lawyer when it came time to defraud the victims.

We've heard that defendant had medical bills, and I suppose that's true, but he also was making a very comfortable salary as a lawyer from a very good law school who was working prestigious jobs in the Senate Judiciary Committee.

In Ms. Daly's letter, she notes that Mr. Daly had other opportunities that would have paid him more, but he wanted to stay in politics. He was a far cry from a desperate defendant committing crimes for pecuniary gain because he had no other choice. He had plenty of choices.

It's also worth noting as the Court weighs Mr. Daly's background and characteristics, that after he became quite wealthy by virtue of the political fundraising that he's so proud of, he bought a lavish 60-acre estate in the Virgin Islands in what his best friend and co-conspirator described as a boondoggle tax dodge.

Judge, I think it's -- The defense is right. We're going to emphasize general deterrence here. That is not us making that up. It is the FBI that has publically warned wood-be donors that scam PACs are to use their phrase, "on the rise".

In other district courts faced with other folks who committed fraud on donors in a political context have similarly emphasized general deterrence. I know the Court knows the six prior scam PAC cases as well. But just briefly. United States v. Tierney, T-i-e-r-n-e-y. Court agreed with the Government incarceration is needed for deterrence as it's very hard to detect this sort of crime. Those who would do this sort of thing need to understand there are real consequences that follow from that sort of conduct.

The *United States v. Rogers*, R-o-g-e-r-s. The court emphasized the importance of general deterrence. The nation faces another election cycle perhaps as vitriolic as the Nixon years, and we need to have trust in those who are sending out political messages and there's not much out there. There is a need to deter others.

United States v. Tunstall, T-u-n-s-t-a-l-l.

Deterrence is a large factor here, and the district court explains since it's easy picking out there. It is easy picking out there. Mr. Daly knew it. He knew he was ripping off little old ladies. And other people who are similarly inclined to do a crime like this need to know that there will be consequences.

Of course that's true in any white collar crime.

Judge, it is especially true here. These crimes are especially hard to detect, and they do require vigorous prosecution.

I think it is -- It is a large point of disagreement between the Government and the defense regarding just how seriously we should weigh those victims' statements. I take them extremely seriously. I know the defense says that in their records, they are able to tie in particular donations to particular solicitations. But those folks who donated who we quoted in our memo, they donated after July 22nd. They gave Jack Daly money after receiving solicitations that said Sheriff Clark was going to run, and Jack Daly took that money and benefitted himself.

I think it's worth addressing just briefly this dispute about just how much this Draft PAC meant to Mr. Daly. I think it's worth noting that we have a statement from one of his chief lieutenants, J.S. in the PSR who explains in a candid and understandable way that this was a moment where there was money to be made. Mr. Daly took his million donors, pushed that data through the Draft PAC, sent those donors Draft PAC solicitations and thereby increased the value of that user information.

Now, I don't disagree with Mr. Siefert. I think his word is transient. That doesn't last forever, but it helped to snowball. It helped to explain how Mr. Daly went from being bankrupt multiple times to sitting in the Virgin Islands and making over \$40 million. It is a piece of the story and counsels in favor of a serious sentence.

I'm struck, Judge. I want to return to some of the submissions that the defendant made regarding the culpability here. I think we heard this one in court today too. In the memo, defense insists that, "The idea for solicitation in September originated with Campaign Inbox, not this defendant or Mr. Pendley." That's Docket, 25 footnote 9. What are we talking about?

This defendant was -- initiated that email conversation. This defendant pushed out personal copy that Mr. Pendley wrote. The fact that someone in a Campaign Inbox also thought a solicitation would make sense is not a defense.

It is not a reason not to impose a serious sentence here.

Defense suggests that Mr. Daly's continuous lies to the FEC reflected inertia rather than an on-going scheme. I think the quote from today was the Government wants you to believe as though there were a multiyear set of criminal conduct. That's literally what Mr. Daly has pled guilty to.

Mr. Daly has pled guilty to a year-long criminal conspiracy to lie to the FEC and to defraud donors. So the idea that somehow it's inaccurate to suggest that there's a multi-year course of criminal conduct, that's literally the offense of conviction. That is beyond dispute at this point, and any suggestion to the contrary should just be flatly rejected, Judge.

Some other submissions that I want to highlight to the Court because I think they suggest -- They underscore the disagreement between the parties again. In the memo the defendant writes, This is not a case in which individuals are defrauded of their life savings." That is page 17 of the sentencing memo.

Well, the victims explained, even though Mr. Daly could not, that while their donations might have been small, that was "not the point." That's 149 of the PSR. This is not how we expect people to behave.

Another 96-year old victim explained that while the \$100 he personally donated, "Might not seem significant. It was

a large amount to him." That was money he could have otherwise used for food, medical bills. The victim explained these conartists should be punished. They scammed many hard-working people instead of using their education to help others.

There is a disagreement between the parties as to how to reference the other scam PAC cases and what weight they should carry here.

In our memo, we acknowledged those frauds were more hamfisted. They were more obvious. They were perpetuated by non lawyers. Mr. Daly is more sophisticated. Mr. Daly knew that if he raised \$3 million or \$1.6 million and transferred the entire amount of money to his personal account, we would be on to him pretty quickly. That is not what he did. Mr. Daly ran the scam PAC and lied to donors, lied to the FEC, and lied to Sheriff Clark in a way that was designed to enrich himself but not trip additional law enforcement wires.

So are those cases different? They are. But the sentencing concerns identified by those district judges should carry weight here. I think -- I just want to briefly acknowledge the defendant's submissions regarding his mental and physical problems. I think it is worth noting. When he was interviewed by probation, the defendant, "reported he is in fair physical health."

In advance of sentencing we've heard about a litany of maladies including PTSD, Overactive Bladder Syndrome, cold

sensitivity, Tinnitus, jaw pain, angina. Perhaps the most incredulous representation comes in the submission from Dr. Geller who writes that Mr. Daly, "cannot stand bright sunlight." That's an unusual infliction for someone who bought a giant estate in the Virgin Islands.

And at bottom, Judge, those physical problems such as they are are not grounds for a probationary sentence.

As to the more recent Autism Spectrum Disorder, I think it is worth noting that as the Court said, that's a concern for BOP. Judge at bottom, the takeaway quote from our memo is that this defendant knew what he was doing, he knew it was wrong, he did it anyway. And sentencing him to a period of probation to be served at the estate in the Virgin Islands he bought after this fraud is not fair, just or reasonable. Subject to Your Honor's questions.

THE COURT: All right. Thank you, Mr. Knight.

MR. KRUEGER: Your Honor, may I be heard briefly?

THE COURT: Certainly.

MR. KRUEGER: Thank you, Your Honor. I don't want to address most of what the Government said because it has been thoroughly briefed, issues of the \$75,000, the correspondence it has to a donation he had previously made, the internet searches. But what I want to especially focus on is this issue of the defendant's wealth or his estate in the Virgin Islands.

Mr. Knight just acknowledged that the other scam PAC

cases they cite are different where there were funds directly that go to the defendant in those cases, and the Government agrees that's not what happened here.

This is not a case in which Mr. Daly personally enriched himself in that there's no evidence of that other than what just the lawyer argument has been presented to you. Kevin Siefert gives you actual evidence that Mr. Daly's success is not attributable to the offense here. Imposing a sentence on him here for his wealth would be absolutely unjust.

Similarly, the references to say his home in the Virgin Islands is not a basis on which to impose this higher sentence. I don't even want to suggest this but to the extent the Court is considering something other than probation such as home confinement, his wife Kay has a home now in Florida, and there can be other arraignments to be made. But the notion that how nice the defendant's house is should influence what his sentence is is just preposterous and lawless.

I am troubled that the Government is suggesting

Mr. Daly has sort of I think incredulous when it described his

physical conditions such as Overactive Bladder Syndrome. These

are real things. It is troubling that the Government would

suggest that they are somehow fabricated.

So I want to just underscore again the reality we presented. Mr. Daly takes responsibility for what he did and yes, the FEC reports did continue to be presented falsely, but

you have no evidence from the Government that this was part of an ongoing scheming or intentionality other than manifestation of Jack's very real disorganization and hyper focus on other things.

Again, the other scam PAC cases strongly counsel in favor here of making a difference from them and imposing a sentence of probation. Thank you.

THE COURT: All right. Thank you, Mr. Krueger. The Court staff earlier circulated a series of conditions of supervised release. They are 13 in number. Mr. Krueger, have you had a chance to discuss those with your client?

MR. KRUEGER: Yes, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Any concerns or suggestions?

MR. KRUEGER: No, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Similarly, Mr. Knight, Mr. Taibleson, have you reviewed those proposed conditions?

MR. KNIGHT: Yes, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Again, any concerns or suggestions?

MR. KNIGHT: No, Your Honor. Thank you.

THE COURT: Well, Mr. Daly, I appreciate at the outset that this morning is the first time that you and I have seen one another in person. Obviously, the Court has read a lot about you and an awful lot about the underlying facts in this case to determine ultimately what ought to be an appropriate, fair, just and reasonable sentence; that is, one that is sufficient but not

greater than necessary to achieve the goals of sentencing.

And as Mr. Krueger and his colleagues may have related to you along the way, the Judge before whom you appear this morning is one of those rare people who has had an awful lot of experience not only as a lawyer, not only with the federal court system, but more pointedly a sentencing Judge.

Today you are the 2484 defendant that Judge

Stadtmueller has sentenced. There are in each case an awful lot of competing considerations, whether it's your status as a lawyer, the nature of the offense. And when it comes to lawyers, unfortunately you are not the first, and I have no doubt you will not be the last lawyer that Judge Stadtmueller has sentenced.

Indeed just a couple of weeks ago today in this very courtroom, I had another lawyer who was sentenced for fraud.

Four years custody of the Bureau of Prisons. Before that, I had two other lawyers a couple of years ago both of whom were sentenced for wire fraud, one a couple of years, one about three years.

And the point I want to make in all of this is that each individual offender's sentencing determinations in this branch of the court are done on an individual basis. You are not before one of those "cookie cutter judges". Each case and each offender and each victim and each set of core facts are addressed individually.

And at the outset, let me further tell you I take no personal pride or joy out of having to sentence any offender. It is part of the job, and there are obviously other parts of the task that I undertake virtually everyday are more inviting and more fulfilling than having to pass judgment on the matter of what ought to be as I said moments ago a fair, just, reasonable sentence, one that is sufficient but not greater than necessary to achieve the goals of sentencing.

In this particular case, the Court has the benefit of an awful lot of information, much of which is certainly relevant to your well being but not as relevant to what ought to be the core considerations that the Court needs to address in determining this ultimate question.

Obviously, the matter of politics in these United

States has come under an assault that incapsulates the entire

genre of what our entire democracy is all about. Unfortunately,

it didn't start with Jack Daly, and it's not going to end with

Jack Daly or the core facts of this or the other Draft PAC

criminal prosecutions.

But what is important to understand is the hard reality that politics in these United States has become solely driven by that commodity that each of us use in our everyday life, and that's money and influence, and it is the life blood of politics.

Harkening back to your days as a staffer whether it is

in the House or the Senate, it was far different back then. It was far different from Judge Stadtmueller when I came through the process first to be nominated and confirmed as US Attorney not once but twice, and then to achieve the ultimate for any lawyer, and that's an appointment to a federal court.

Again, everything was different back in 1987 prior to the singular event that totally changed the entire nomination confirmation process not only for supreme court justices but the entire federal judiciary. That's the confirmation hearing for one Robert Bork. Fortunately, Judge Stadtmueller came through that process prior to the Bork hearings. I was nominated on March 3rd. My confirmation hearing was on April 28th. It was actually moved up two days not moved back, and I was confirmed on the very same day that my nomination was reported out of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Unheard of again not because of Judge Stadtmueller but because Senator Robert Byrd had a matter he deemed equally important and got his colleagues to waive the 24-hour rule for confirmations.

But once again, everything from that point forward has changed. We've had judicial vacancies both in the district court and in the Seventh Circuit from Wisconsin that have gone unfilled for years. In fact, we currently have a district court vacancy that is now soon to be at its fourth anniversary, the longest vacancy currently in the country. And we could go on

for hours to talk about what's going on, whether it is in the halls of Congress, whether it is impeachments, whether republican or democrat, the intransigence with respect to nominations, including military appointments. The disfunctionality is beyond the pale, literally beyond the pale.

And so when it comes to cases like this one, it's very easy to package what occurred in the underpinnings of this case with the gross unadulterated disfunctionality of our entire political process, whether at the national level, whether at the state level. And you can bring to the table the local level whether it is book bans in student libraries, it's just unparalleled.

And so when cases like this come along after I took a look at the two solicitations that are the subject of this prosecution, there needs to be some whole sale, and I underscore the word whole sale changes in the Federal Election Commissions' approach to these Draft Political Action Committees.

To the unsophisticated, despite protestations to the contrary, neither of these solicitations truly, truly captures the PAC that one David Clark is truly not yet a candidate. And there should be on the front page of any solicitation a direct quote from the candidate within a day or two of the solicitation outlining exactly what his or her position is.

I appreciate they cannot know who you are soliciting from, but certainly those who are be contacted need to

understand in full Kodak color as it were exactly where the candidate stands. And so there's plenty of grist in the mill here for lack of attentiveness to detail, including the Federal Election Commission.

I appreciate also the fact on a personal level, you may have had the altruistic view of trying to cultivate and capture and fulfill your own strident interest in conservative politics. I have no issue with that anymore than I would have an issue with those on the other side of the aisle trying to accomplish the same purpose.

What I do find interesting here beyond your personal contact with David Clark and this underscores that the level of legitimacy at the outset was certainly there chapter and verse. I have no quarrel with anything that occurred prior to that faithful day in July 2017 when David Clark told a radio host that he was not going to run for the office of US Senate.

Unfortunately, it would have been much more preferable had he communicated that to you and Mr. Pendley directly before announcing it publically. And the Federal Election Commission in its rule-making authority could have had in place a simple requirement that although you may not be precluded from continuing with your work in an attempt to draft Mr. Clark or any candidate to run, you do have an obligation to report to those whom you are soliciting the fact that the candidate has chosen not to run.

But that doesn't preclude you from including that phrase and declination to run to continue to solicit funds anymore than any of the current candidates who have withdrawn from the 2024 presidential race. They can continue to raise money to pay off their campaign debt, but they have to disclose it, and that's what didn't occur here. And not only did it not occur here because it wasn't required I understand that, but this case crosses the line with affirmative actions that tended to mask, disguise, call it what you will, the true facts of what occurred here and what had not occurred here.

And those facts go well beyond the fact that your \$2,500 contribution will pay for a TV add. I don't read that phrase as suggesting that if you give \$2,500, I will use it personally for a TV add for David Clark. It's simply an outline of what money is being spent for or will be spent for.

But the line was crossed as against the backdrop of your calling as a lawyer against the backdrop of your years of experience in fundraising, indeed incredibly successful. In fact, against the backdrop other than your profound interest in conservative politics why particularly in today's world you would even choose to become involved in political fundraising. Because as one wag mentioned recently, politics has become as dirty as the job of a chimney sweep or a coal miner, and that is not very becoming to individuals who look to be successful in a career to be caught up in what this wag has suggested is dirty,

dirty, dirty, politics. And it is very sad that that's what everything has been relegated to not in 2017 during this period, but certainly in 2023 and that which immediately preceded it and that which will follow next year.

Then, there is the additional foment if you will to try to make this work by suggesting that these solicitations in July or August and September of 2017 were based on script and materials that have been pre-prepared. Obviously, changes in political solicitations can change on a dime particularly in the days of the electronic world and high-speed photocopy machines, prepaid postage, automated envelopes, et cetera, et cetera.

And so there was an opportunity to make change.

Indeed there were changes, but not the sort of changes that excuse the conduct that is at the core of this case, namely change the treasurer and the whole machination associated with that. Whether to protect you personally in your otherwise vibrant clientele or to protect you from the wrath of one David Clark, it really doesn't matter. But what it does relate to is the simple fact that ultimately it provided you with an opportunity to forget about trying to recoup the lousy \$6,000 that had been expended or protect oneself, you would better protect yourself having disassociated and terminated the entire Draft effort as soon as you learned Mr. Clark's decision.

But as I often say, we can't put the genie back in the bottle or turn back the hands on the clock of mother time. All

of these factors weigh against particularly an individual with your level of experience, your level of success what occurred with respect to the copy with respect to the solicitations.

I appreciate the fact there may have been a ray of hope that Sheriff Clark would have run when he announced on August 31st he had resigned as the Sheriff of Milwaukee County, that he might reconsider. But there again instead of calling David Clark, you probably knew what the answer was. I ain't reconsidering. I told you once, I'm not going to tell you again.

But it didn't happen that way, and so you forged ahead despite the red flag from Cali about I don't think we should send this out, but you forged ahead. And fortunately for you unlike these other six cases, the amount of money that was generated from those two solicitations wasn't what perhaps you thought it might ultimately be, and it affects your sentencing guideline calculations.

And to that extent, you ought to consider yourself very, very, very fortunate that all of this came to an end when it did. Because as you now know from your own research and your consultation with counsel, this case could have been much, much more significant in terms of exposure when it came both to restitution, whether it is a term of imprisonment, forfeiture, fine, the entire genre. So from that standpoint you ought to consider yourself fortunate that law enforcement jumped in when

they did because it could have been an awful lot worse.

One of the things that neither the Government nor Mr. Krueger and his colleagues have not addressed is the core principles that underlie the Sentencing Reform Act of 1984, and those two core principles are uniformity and proportionality in sentencing.

When Congress adopted the guideline approach to sentencing in our federal courts back in 1984 making those guidelines applicable to conduct occurring on or after

November 1st of 1987, most folks have totally forgotten about the fact that when these guidelines were first promulgated, they were mandatory. In other words, on a day like today whether it is a sentence of 30 to 36 months or 41 months or six months to a year or ten months to 18 months, the Court was cabined, barring exceptional circumstances, to imposing a sentence that comported with the requirements of the guidelines as applicable to the offender and his or her conduct.

But as a result of the US Supreme Court decision in United States v. Booker back in January of 2005, some soon to be 20 years ago or 19 years ago, the Supreme Court struck down the mandatory requirement because it intruded upon the independence of the judiciary. But at the same time, the Supreme Court underscored those two core principles that underlie the Sentencing Reform Act of 1984, uniformity as well at proportionately.

In other words, a like offender with the same offense conduct, the same facts, whether mitigating or aggravating, should nearly as possible mirror the sentence that that offender might receive in Brooklyn or Miami or San Francisco or Salt Lake City or Minneapolis or Milwaukee.

And one of the problems that any judge, including
Judge Stadtmueller, has today when sentences are cited like I
cited sentences handed down to lawyers in this court recently
and those involving scam PACs, we don't have in any of the
cases, including those that I cited this morning, all of the
facts that went into the sentencing determination. And so no
one should take whether it is this sentence this morning or next
weeks sentence with respect to Mr. Pendley any reasonable
interpretation that the sentence imposed today will be exactly
the same next week or next month or next year.

At the same time, the guidelines themselves as you know from this very case, in fact, you got an advantage of a two-level reduction for having no criminal history points. That became effective back as of November 1st. That wouldn't have applied three years ago or ten years ago. And so the matter of sentencing while we strive to ensure that it is uniform and proportional does not necessarily mean that it's going to be virtually identical in any given case when comparisons are called for or made.

We've talked a lot about politics and how serious this

sort of conduct has become in the parlance of today's political world. It's also important to keep in mind the balance of those sentencing factors that are addressed in Title 18 § 3553(a)(2); that is, a sentence that promotes respect for the law as an institution in our society while at the same time affording adequate deterrence, and I have little doubt about the fact as Mr. Krueger and perhaps even Mr. Knight would acknowledge in a moment of candor, deterrence is perhaps less applicable in your case to you personally as opposed to society generally.

And there is a difference. And while precious, precious, precious few cases get any media attention these days, they do get attention in the halls of Congress as between elected representatives and their staffs, as they get attention by members of the Sentencing Commission, the law enforcement community as well as anecdotally among those who engage in similar activity in this case, political fundraising.

And I have little doubt that along life's path you personally will make some significant contributions in your approach to this line of work as you interact, whether it is with a municipality or fundraising or a political candidate or a unit of government or a private foundation to ensure that collectively those who engage in any sort of activity do a much better job in acquainting those from whom they solicit funds with exactly what they are about, what their goals are, how the money will be spent because like politics itself, fundraising

has become an incredibly expensive, expensive proposition.

And while algorithms might be better equipped to help those like yourself identify prospective contributors, we're a long way from capturing those who genuinely would benefit with a more informed pallet of guideposts on what this is all about.

And so there's much work to be done in this area, whether by Jack Daly or others like him. Only time will tell. It's also important that whatever sentence the Court imposes this morning also take into account the right of the public to be protected. And while each and every recipient of these solicitations has license to unsubscribe, to throw mail in the trash and not respond, there still are particularly among a segment of the population who may be whether because of age or other infirmities unfamiliar or unknowing of the relative risk.

When I looked over these mailings, I can understand -or solicitations I should say -- why they may have been sent to
people in Wisconsin. But with me personally, there's a
significant disconnect about why somebody running for the US
Senate in Wisconsin would expect to receive anything by way of
significant contributions from individuals, not major PACs, to
contribute when they live in another state where they may also
have candidates running.

And so there's been no attempt, at least in this case, to define at least geographically what the sample was like; that is, how many of these contacts were in Wisconsin, whether email

or snail mail, whether other states they were in, whether they lived abroad, whether they were in the military. None of those markers are captured. And frankly, they are not relevant. But anecdotally, they are interesting if only to understand why one might use a mailing list of a million names not knowing where the individuals may be particularly with email.

Finally, whatever sentence the Court imposes must provide for just punishment. And to be sure at the end of the day, there is ample factual support whether in the Government's version of the offense or in the defense acknowledgement of the core of the Government's version of the offense. I appreciate there are nuances on both sides of the aisle.

But let me make one thing very clear and; that is,

Judge Stadtmueller's sentence today is on the basis of what

occurred in August and September of 2017. There may be relevant

underpinnings, whether it is the core of your business or your

interactions such as they were with the candidate, but none of

that drives the ultimate sentence of the Court. What does drive

the ultimate sentence is the loss figure that the Court has

adopted. The Seventh Circuit will have an opportunity to

revisit that if the Government elects to appeal or if you elect

to appeal, that's certainly your right and your prerogative.

But I want everyone to understand that I did not take into account and I do not take into account in the ultimate sentence of the Court any of the conduct except to acknowledge

that this entire endeavor was predicated upon the acquiescence of the candidate. This is not a fraud scheme woven out of whole cloth.

Mr. Clark may have proven himself nettlesome to deal with to put it charitably, but ultimately he didn't until the end of July take steps to disavow himself whether out of a desire to keep his name in the media or his own adulation. I guess that's ultimately beside the point. Ultimately, he made a change, and you chose to look the other way, and so we are now at a point of the Court determining what ought to be an appropriate, fair, just and reasonable sentence.

I reviewed all of the written submissions. I listened attentively to the comments that Mr. Krueger made today, that you made today, that Mr. Knight made today. I've reviewed all of the letters the professionals, including Mr. Siefert, who in his own right is a true professional as are the medical and prison advocates. But ultimately, it is the core facts of this case that drive the Court's sentence.

And I have determined in the last hour that the only fair, just, and reasonable sentence in this case is a sentence of four months custody of the Bureau of Prisons to be followed by a two-year term of supervised release subject to each of the 13 conditions that the Court earlier circulated to which there were no objections or modifications sought.

I am also constrained on the totality of the facts and

circumstances in this case to impose a fine within the guideline range because a fine is appropriate again against the backdrop of the core facts of the case that include both the aggravating and mitigating factors that the Court has been considering.

And with respect to the confinement portion of the Court's sentence, I will continue the bond that you are now released under with a reporting date to the facility designated by the Bureau of Prisons with a reporting date of on or after February the 1st of 2024, which is a Thursday.

Your reporting date will be provided to you either by your Pretrial Services officer, the US Marshal Service or the Federal Bureau of Prisons directly. And the fact that the Court has set February 1st should not necessarily be taken by you as meaning that is the day. It is on or after.

And Mr. Krueger, if you and your colleagues have a recommendation as to a place of confinement, I'll be happy to include a recommendation along those lines appreciating the fact that ultimately it is an executive branch decision both as to Mr. Daly's classification as well as place of confinement. And in the matter of classification as well as place of confinement, again I reiterate what I said at the outset of the hearing and; that is, to the extent that the records that have been submitted to the probation department are germane and relevant,

Ms. Garstka's office should ensure that those are transmitted to the Bureau of Prisons immediately for their consideration in the

classification placement process. And Mr. Krueger, to the extent that you or Mr. Daly have additional medical records that may prove helpful to the Bureau of Prisons, they should be submitted as well.

So for all of those reasons, this now becomes the formal sentence of the Court. Jack Daly on June 8th of 2023, you entered a plea of guilty and were adjudged guilty as to a single-count information charging you with conspiracy to commit an offense against the United States in violation of Section 371 Title 18 of the United States Code.

The Court having asked the defendant why judgment should not now be pronounced and pursuant to the Sentencing Reform Act of 1984 for the reasons previously stated, it is the judgment of the Court that you, Jack Daly, be committed to the placement of the Federal Bureau of Prisons for a term of four months with a reporting day of on or after February 1st of 2024.

The Court further determines that Mr. Daly has the financial ability to pay a fine and accordingly orders a fine in the amount of \$20,000. The fine is due and payable within two weeks of today's date. There will be no interest on the fine; however, the Court is also obliged to impose the mandatory \$100 special assessment.

In addition pursuant to the mandatory Victims

Restitution Act of 1996, you are to pay restitution in the amount of \$69,978.37 jointly and severally with the coactor,

Mr. Nathaniel Pendley. The Court acknowledges that that amount has already been fully paid and is on deposit with the Clerk of the Court.

In accordance with the Court's earlier determination following release from the custodial portion of the Court's sentence, Mr. Daly will be placed on supervised release for a term of two years subject to each of the 13 conditions that the Court earlier circulated to which there were no objections or modifications sought. Keeping in mind that at the time of Mr. Daly's release from the custodial portion of the Court's sentence, those conditions do remain subject to further review and reevaluation in accordance with Seventh Circuit case authority.

Having accepted your plea of guilty and having imposed what the Court believed to be an appropriate, fair, just and reasonable sentence, to the extent that Mr. Daly has limited ability to appeal any sentence in this case, I now advise him that should he elect to appeal, any notice of appeal must be filed within 14 days of the docketing of the judgment and commitment order; otherwise, he will have effectively waived any right of appeal.

Mr. Krueger, as you are aware pursuant to the teachings of the US Supreme Court in *Roe v. Flores-Ortega* decided in February of 2000, you have an obligation to confer with Mr. Daly as to the merit of any appeal and be guided by any

request that he may make of you in that regard.

In the event he elects to forego such an appeal, I would ask as his counsel you formally notify the Court, whether by pleading or letter, indicating that you have discussed with your client his right of appeal, and that he has elected to forego such an appeal. And should the later be the case, I would also ask that on whatever form of communication you use with the Court, you include a signature line for Mr. Daly to serve as an acknowledgement of having been advised of his right of appeal, and that he has elected to forego such an appeal.

Mr. Krueger, do you have any recommendations as to place of confinement?

MR. KRUEGER: Thank you, Your Honor. My understanding is that for the defendant in Zone B, a custodial sentence can be satisfied by community confinement in a Residential Reentry Center. And so if the Court were willing, we would recommend placement at a Residential Reentry Center in southern Florida. If the Court insists upon designation to FCI facility, our request would be a designation to FCI Pensacola in Florida.

THE COURT: All right. The choice between a community center and FCI Pensacola, that is a matter that is going to be left strictly up to the Bureau of Prisons. It may be driven solely on the basis of availability of space at either type of facility. You've made your recommendation, and I'm going to leave it up to the Bureau of Prisons as to which to accept or

reject. The Government is free to submit its comments to the Bureau of Prisons at well just as you are allowed to submit the medical records. In other words, the entirety of this is an executive branch decision. The Court stands in recess for five minutes.

MR. KRUEGER: Your Honor, may I be heard for a quick second?

THE COURT: Certainly.

MR. KRUEGER: Apologies, Your Honor. On the issue of appeal, I think you noted it but in case not I just want the record to be sure that the Court is aware that there was an appeal waiver provision in the plea agreement, and so we will take that into account in advising Mr. Daly, and I think that is important.

THE COURT: My advice was somewhat circumspect because there are at least three or four Seventh Circuit cases which have permitted an appeal that was outside the waiver. I don't have the cases in front of me. I don't know whether the facts of any potential appeal here would reach beyond the waiver, and so the wiser course is to advise a defendant of his or her right of appeal. It may or may not be a viable appeal. That's for others to determine.

MR. KRUEGER: Thank you, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Mr. Knight, anything further?

MR. KNIGHT: No, Your Honor. Thank you.

CERTIFICATE

I, SUSAN ARMBRUSTER, RPR, RMR, Official Court Reporter for the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Wisconsin, do hereby certify that the foregoing pages are a true and accurate transcription of my original machine shorthand notes taken in the aforementioned matter to the best of my skill and ability.

Signed and Certified December 15, 2023.

/s/Susan Armbruster

Susan Armbruster

Susan Armbruster, RPR, RMR
United States Official Reporter
517 E Wisconsin Ave., Rm 200A,
Milwaukee, WI 53202
Susan_Armbruster@wied.uscourts.gov