Justice Clarence Thomas's Benefactor Harlan Crow And Judicial Activist Leonard Leo Have Been Fueling The Anti-Affirmative Action Movement For Years—And They Are Expected To Get Their Pay Off As SCOTUS Decides The Future Of The Practice

SUMMARY: Between 2020 and 2021, a family foundation tied to Justice Clarence Thomas's benefactor Harlan Crow funneled hundreds of thousands of dollars to groups, including Leonard Leo's Teneo Network, which seeks to impose a conservative worldview on American society.

Both Leo and other beneficiaries of Crow's largesse are heavily involved in eliminating one of the key racial and economic advancement programs in American life: affirmative action. Harlan Crow and Leonard Leo have fueled the anti-affirmative action movement for over two decades:

- As the president of the <u>Trammell and Margaret Crow Foundation</u>, Harlan Crow directed \$75,000 to the Teneo Network between <u>2020</u> and <u>2021</u>. Teneo is a secretive group that fosters networks of conservatives working in media, entertainment, politics, and the corporate world. Leonard Leo <u>took over as the chairman</u> of the Teneo Network in 2021, seeking to "crush liberal dominance" in American society.
- Both Leonard Leo and Harlan Crow are connected to Students for Fair
 Admissions (SFA), the single-issue organization currently suing Harvard over its
 affirmative action policy. Leo's dark money group, the 85 Fund, contributed
 \$250,000 to SFA in 2020, accounting for more than 16% of the group's total intake of
 contributions that year. Conversely, Crow has served as a trustee at the American
 Enterprise Institute (AEI) since 1996. Edward Blum, the conservative activist, and
 president of SFA, has been a visiting fellow at AEI since 2005.
- Harlan Crow contributed to other anti-affirmative action groups via the Trammell and Margaret Crow Foundation. Between 2020 and 2021, the charity contributed over \$150,000 to two groups—the American Civil Rights Institute (ACRI) and the Institute for Justice—openly opposing affirmative action. The president of ACRI is Ward Connerly, who created the organization in the late nineties alongside Thomas L. Rhodes. Crow also has connections to Rhodes through the anti-tax group the Club for Growth, which Rhodes co-founded. In the earlier 2000s, Crow was one of the Club for Growth's most significant donors. He also served on the group's "founders committee" from 2001 until 2004.

A Family Foundation Connected To Justice Clarence Thomas's Benefactor Harlan Crow Gave \$75,000 To Leonard Leo's Teneo Network In Recent Years To Help The Conservative Activist "Crush Liberal Dominance"

Harlan Crow Is The President And Director Of The Trammell And Margaret Crow Foundation

Harlan Crow Is The President And Director Of The Trammell And Margaret Crow Foundation.

and Contractors	ut Officers, Directors, Trus		7 N 17 17 17 17 17 17 17 17 17 17 17 17 17	ployees,
(a) Name and address	(b) Title, and average hours per week	(c) Compensation (If not paid, enter	(d) Contributions to employee benefit plans and	(e) Expense account, other allowances
HARLAN R CROW	devoted to position PRESIDENT/DIRECTOR	-0-)	deferred compensation 0	0
3819 MAPLE AVENUE DALLAS, TX 75219	2.00			

[Trammell and Margaret Crow Foundation, Form 990, FY 2021]

 Trammell And Margaret Crow Are Harlan Crow's Parents. "Crow, 74, is chairman of one of North Texas' most successful private investment firms, Crow Holdings. He's a son of legendary late Dallas real estate developer Trammell Crow, who is credited with the creation of major projects such as the Dallas Market Center, Peachtree Center in Atlanta and the Embarcadero Center in San Francisco...His mother, Margaret Crow, survived the ship's sinking." [The Dallas Morning News, 4/6/23]

Between 2020 And 2021, The Trammell And Margaret Crow
Foundation Contributed \$75,000 To The Teneo Network Is A Secretive
Group Of Right-Wing Politicians, Activists, Business Leaders, And
Professionals Based Out Of Austin, Texas

The Teneo Network Is A Nonprofit Organization That Was Incorporated In Texas In 2018.

TENEO NETWORK, INC.					
Texas Taxpayer Number	32068564890				
Mailing Address	1601 ELM ST STE 4360 DALLAS, TX 75201-4701				
Right to Transact Business in Texas	ACTIVE				
State of Formation	TX				
Effective SOS Registration Date	10/03/2018				
Texas SOS File Number	0803134062				
Registered Agent Name	COGENCY GLOBAL INC.				
Registered Office Street Address	1601 ELM ST., SUITE 4360 DALLAS, TX 75201				

[Texas Comptroller of Public Accounts, accessed 4/6/23]

• The Teneo Network Was Founded By Evan Baehr, A Managing Partner Of The Venture Capital Fund Learn Capital. "Baehr is managing partner of Learn Capital, a venture capital fund that backs and builds companies that drive human flourishing. He's Founder of Teneo, a national leadership organization, author of the best selling book Get Backed from Harvard Business Press, and host of the Arena, a TV show celebrating bold founders." [Evan Baehr's personal website, accessed 4/6/23]

Teneo Network Recruits, Connects, And Deploys Leaders In Business, Media, Finance, Entertainment, And Politics Who Share A Conservative Worldview And Seek To Influence The Greater Culture. "Teneo is the talent pipeline for the conservative movement...We're building the capacity to do for the broader culture what Leonard and others were able to do in law, We're recruiting, connecting, and deploying extraordinary leaders within business, media, finance, entertainment, and other sectors. We have an extraordinary network of leading CEOs, film producers, private equity investors, high-ranking public officials, leading journalists, Navy SEALs, public policy leaders, and best-selling authors across the country." [Bradley Impact Fund, interview with Teneo president Amanda Covo, accessed 4/6/23]

2020: The Trammell And Margaret Crow Foundation Contributed \$50,000 To The Teneo Network.

D-1971 A-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-	One Will Complement of the Com							
Part XV Supplementary Informations 3 Grants and Contributions Paid During the								
Recipient	If recipient is an individual, show any relationship to	Foundation	Purpose of grant or					
Name and address (home or business)			contribution	Amount				
2002 1999	202							
TENEO, INC.	N/A	PC	GENERAL					
44330 MERCURE CIR STERLING 20166				50,00				

[Trammell and Margaret Crow Foundation, Form 990, FY 2020]

2021: The Trammell And Margaret Crow Foundation Contributed An Additional \$25,000 To The Teneo Network.

TENEO, INC.	N/A	₽C	GENERAL	
44330 MERCURE CIR				1.00.00000000
STERLING, VA 20166	8			25,000

[Trammell and Margaret Crow Foundation, Form 990, FY 2021]

In 2020, Jonathan Bunch, A Longstanding Deputy Of The Conservative Activist Leonard Leo, Became A Teneo Network Board Member

The Teneo Network's Annual Return For Financial Year 2020 Showed That Jonathan Bunch Became A Board Member That Year.

(6) JONATHAN BUNCH	1.000	150					=
``		X			0	0	0
Director	20						

[Teneo Network, Form 990, FY 2020]

Jonathan Bunch Was Leonard Leo's "Right Hand Man" When Both Men Were At The Federalist Society. "After Kavanaugh was confirmed, supporters gathered in the Senate's Mansfield Room for a private reception, Politico reported. Leo, Marx and Jonathan Bunch, Leo's right-hand man at the Federalist Society, were there." [NBC News, 11/01/20]

• Leonard Leo Leo Was The Long-Time Executive Vice President Of The Federalist Society, A "Pipeline For Nearly All Of Trump's Judicial Nominees." "At the center of the network is Leonard Leo of the Federalist Society, the association of legal professionals that has been the pipeline for nearly all of Trump's judicial nominees. (Leo is on leave from the Federalist Society to personally assist Trump in picking a replacement for Justice Anthony Kennedy.) His formal title is executive vice president, but that role belies Leo's influence." [The Daily Beast, 7/24/18]

In 2020, Leonard Leo Stepped Down From The Federalist Society To Launch CRC Advisors, The Successor Of CRC Strategies. "Leonard Leo, executive vice president of the

Federalist Society, a conservative legal group, is stepping aside from his daily duties at the organization to launch a consulting firm that will fund conservative causes. The new firm, called CRC Advisors, is being billed as a "full-service conservative public affairs powerhouse." Leo will be chairman of CRC Advisors, which springs from an existing conservative public relations firm called CRC Strategies." [ABA Journal, 1/8/20]

- Leonard Leo Currently Serves As The Chairman Of CRC Advisors. "Conservative powerhouse Leonard Leo tells Axios that he'll step aside from the daily running of the Federalist Society to focus on a new venture...The new venture will be called <u>CRC Advisors</u>...The new venture will go beyond the anonymous money networks they've already built and weaponized in the conservative legal movement." [Axios, <u>1/7/20</u>]
- CRC Advisors Provides Consulting For Policy Projects, Conservative Coalitions,
 And Right-Wing Groups And Connects Nonprofits For Funding. "At CRC Advisors,
 we don't just represent you. We work with you to build winning ventures. WE INCUBATE
 public policy projects, coalitions, and groups: mission-driven, focused, results-oriented.
 WE CONNECT best-in-class professionals, successful non-profits, and savvy
 philanthropists, forging partnerships tailored for success. WE STRENGTHEN our clients
 by helping them identify and bring together the capabilities they need to win, whether in
 public policy or private enterprise." [CRC Advisors, Last Accessed: 2/16/22]

Jonathan Bunch Joined CRC Advisors When Leo Took Over. "Leo became chairman of the newly branded CRC Advisors, Mueller's public relations firm. Bunch joined him." [NBC News, 11/01/20]

Jonathan Bunch Is CRC Advisors' Current President.

Title	Director	Name
Chief Executive Officer	Yes	GREGORY MUELLER
CHAIRMAN	Yes	LEONARD LEO
President	Yes	JONATHAN BUNCH

[Virginia State Corporation Commission, CRC Advisors, accessed 2/15/23]

In 2021, Leonard Leo, A Friend Of Harlan Crow, Took Over As The Chairman Of The Teneo Network

Leonard Leo Became The Chairman Of The Teneo Network In 2021.

(A) Name and title	(B) Average hours per week (list any hours	than is t	one b	ox, i	t ch unle fice	r and a	son	(D) Reportable compensation from the organization	(E) Reportable compensation from related organizations	(F) Estimated amount of other compensation from the
	for related organizations below dotted line)	Individual trustee or director	Institutional Trustee	Officer	Key employee	Highest compensated employee	Former	(W-2/1099- MISC/1099- NEC) (W-2/1099- MISC/1099- NEC)	organization and related organizations	
(1) LEONARD LEO Chairman	1.000	x		x				0	0	C

[Teneo Network, Form 990, FY 2021]

• Jonathan Bunch Remained A Director In 2021.

Director	Director	1.000	х						0	0		0
----------	----------	-------	---	--	--	--	--	--	---	---	--	---

[Teneo Network, Form 990, FY 2021]

Harlan Crow's Friendship With Leonard Leo Was Captured In A Commissioned Painting Depicting Himself Seated With Leo And Justice Clarence Thomas.



A painting that hangs at Camp Topridge shows Crow, far right, and Thomas, second from right, smoking cigars at the resort. They are joined by lawyers Peter Rutledge, Leonard Leo and Mark Paoletta, from left. Painting by Sharif Tarabay

[ProPublica, 4/6/23]

• Harlan Crow Told ProPublica That The Painting Depicted One Of His "Gatherings With Friends." "The painting of Thomas at Topridge shows him in conversation with Leonard Leo, the Federalist Society leader regarded as an architect of the Supreme Court's recent turn to the right. In his statement to ProPublica, Crow said he is "unaware of any of our friends ever lobbying or seeking to influence Justice Thomas on any case, and I would never invite anyone who I believe had any intention of doing that." "These are gatherings of friends," Crow said." [ProPublica, 4/6/23]

<u>Leonard Leo Plans To Leverage The Teneo Network To "Crush Liberal Dominance" In Many Areas Of American Society</u>

In A Video Address To Teneo Network Members, Leonard Leo Said He Planned To Use The Group To "Crush Liberal Dominance" In Media, Entertainment, And The Corporate **World.** "Now, Leo declared in a slick but private video to potential donors, he planned to "crush liberal dominance" across American life. The country was plagued by "woke-ism" in corporations and education, "one-sided journalism" and "entertainment that's really corrupting our youth," said Leo amid snippets of cheery music and shots of sunsets and American flags." [ProPublica, 3/9/23]

Both Leonard Leo And Harlan Crow Are Connected To A Supreme Court Case Challenging Affirmative Action Through Either Financial Contributions (In Leo's Case) Or Membership In The American Enterprise Institute (In Crow's)

Students For Fair Admissions Inc. v. President & Fellows Of Harvard College Is A Landmark Case Challenging The Constitutionality Of Affirmative Action

Students For Fair Admissions v. Harvard Is A Challenge To Affirmative Action Policies. "On January 24, 2022, the Supreme Court consolidated and granted certiorari in two significant affirmative action cases. Both cases were brought by Students for Fair Admissions, Inc. (SFFA), an organization led by Edward Blum, a conservative activist who has long been involved in litigation concerning voting rights and affirmative action. Past Supreme Court cases brought by organizations lead by Blum include Shelby County v. Holder, which struck down the pre-clearance section of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and Fisher v. University of Texas II, an unsuccessful attempt at challenging affirmative action in university admissions." [National Law Review, 4/12/22]

• Students For Fair Admissions Is An Anti-Affirmative Action Group Tied To The Activist Edward Blum. "Edward Blum is the president of Students for Fair Admissions, a membership organization whose mission is to eliminate racial and ethnic classifications and preferences in school admissions." [The Federalist Society, accessed 6/13/23]

<u>Leonard Leo's 85 Fund Gave A Quarter Of A Million Dollars To</u> Students For Fair Admissions In 2020

In 2020, Leonard Leo's 85 Fund Contributed \$250,000 To Students For Fair Admissions.

(22) Students for Fair Admissions	47-1689810	501 c 3	250,000		n/a	general support
2200 Wilson Blvd Arlington, VA 222013397						

[Students for Fair Admissions, Form 990, FY 2020]

• The 85 Fund Is Part Of Leonard Leo's Network Of Dark Money Groups. "The society remains highly dependent on Leo's network. It received \$5.6 million in grants in 2020 and \$3.5 million in 2021 from The 85 Fund, a rebranded dark money group that Leo has said he plans to use to fund conservative causes nationwide, according to federal disclosures. This makes the Federalist Society the second biggest beneficiary of Leo's primary dark money vehicle, aside from Donors Trust, another conservative nonprofit." [Politico, 5/2/23]

The Contribution From The 85 Fund Accounted For 16% Of Students For Fair Admissions Total Intake Of Contributions In 2020.

		Prior Year	Current Year
0	8 Contributions and grants (Part VIII, line 1h)	1,539,694	683,166
Ä	9 Program service revenue (Part VIII, line 2g)		0
20	10 Investment income (Part VIII, column (A), lines 3, 4, and 7d)		0
ш.	11 Other revenue (Part VIII, column (A), lines 5, 6d, 8c, 9c, 10c, and 11e)	0	0
	12 Total revenue—add lines 8 through 11 (must equal Part VIII, column (A), line 12)	1,539,694	683,166

[Students for Fair Admissions, Form 990, FY 2020]

Edward Blum, The President Of Students For Fair Admissions, Has Been A Visiting Fellow At The American Enterprise Institute Since 2005

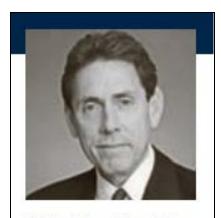
Edward Blum Is The President Of The Students For Fair Admissions. "You can also contact the President of Students for Fair Admissions, Edward Blum..." [Students for Fair Admissions, accessed 6/12/23]

Edward Blum Has Been A Visiting Fellow At The American Enterprise Institute Since 2005.



[LinkedIn, accessed 6/12/23]

• Edward Blum Researches "Civil Rights Policy" At The American Enterprise Institute And Wrote A Book Attacking The Voting Rights Act.



Visiting Fellow Edward Blum researches civil rights policy. He is the author of The Unintended Consequences of Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, which was published this year by the AEI Press. Mr. Blum is a frequent contributor to the Wall Street Journal, The Weekly Standard, and National Review, among other publications.

[American Enterprise Institute, 12/27/07]

<u>Harlan Crow Has Been A Trustee Of The American Enterprise Institute</u> Since 1996

Harlan Crow Became A Trustee At The American Enterprise Institute In 1996. "The new AEI trustees are Dick Cheney, Harlan Crow, Harvey Golub, and William S. Stavropoulos." [American Enterprise Institute, 2/1/96]

Harlan Crow Is Still A Trustee Of The American Enterprise Institute As Of June 2023.

Harlan Crow

Chairman

Crow Holdings

[American Enterprise Institute, accessed 6/12/23]

Between 2020 And 2021, The Same Crow Family Foundation That Provided Grants To Leonard Leo's Teneo Network Also Contributed More Than \$150,000 To Anti-Affirmative Action Groups

In 2020, The Trammell And Margaret Crow Foundation Gave \$10,000 To The American Civil Rights Institute, Whose President Successfully Defeated A Proposition To Overturn A Ban On Affirmative Action In California That Same Year

2020: The Trammell And Margaret Crow Foundation Gave \$10,000 To The American Civil Rights Institute.

Part XV Supplementary Information(continued)								
3 Grants and Contributions Paid [Ouring the Year or Approv	ed for Future	Payment					
Recipient	If recipient is an individual, show any relationship to	Foundation status of	Purpose of grant or	Amount				
Name and address (home or business)	any foundation manager or substantial contributor	recipient	contribution	Amount				
a Paid during the year								
AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS INSTITUTE PO BOX 397 COEUR DALENE, ID 83816	N/A	PC	GENERAL	10,000				

[Trammell and Margaret Crow Foundation, Form 990, FY 2020]

The American Civil Rights Institute Is An Organization Created To "Educate The American Public, Press And Elected Officials About The Problems With Racial And Gender Preferences In Federal, State, And Local Programs." "ACRI, a national non-profit organization was formed to educate the American public, press and elected officials about the problems with racial and gender preferences in federal, state and local government programs." [American Civil Rights Institute, accessed 6/12/23]

Ward Connerly, The Co-Founder And President Of The American Civil Rights Institute, Led The Opposition To Proposition 16, Which Would Have Removed A Ban On Affirmative Action In California In 2020. "If approved, Proposition 16 would repeal a 1996 initiative that made it unlawful for California's state and local governments to discriminate against or grant preferential treatment to people based on race, ethnicity, national origin or sex...Opponents include Ward Connerly, an African American businessman and former University of California regent who pushed for the 1996 ban. Connerly also serves as the Founder and President of the American Civil Rights Institute. Connerly joined Good Morning San Diego to discuss why he opposes Prop 16 and detail why he believes it is simply another method of segregating people." [KUSI News, 10/12/20]

- Proposition 16 Failed After 57% Of Voters In California Rejected It. "That year,
 President Biden swamped Donald Trump by 29 percentage points in California, but
 Proposition 16 went down, with 57 percent of voters opposing it." [The New York Times,
 6/11/23]
- Students For Fair Admissions Was The Largest Donor To Connerly's No On 16
 Campaign, Having Contributed \$50,000. "The Yes campaign received \$6.5 million
 from a single donor—Quinn Delaney, chairman of the Oakland-based Akonadi
 Foundation, which says it aims to "eliminate structural racism." The largest contribution
 received by No on 16 was less than 1% as large—\$50,000 from Students for Fair

Admissions, a nonprofit group that has sued Harvard, alleging that it discriminates against Asians." [The Wall Street Journal, 11/20/20]

The American Civil Rights Institute Was Co-Founded By Thomas Rhodes, Whom Harlan Crow Joined In The Late Nineties To Found The Anti-Tax Group The Club For Growth

The American Civil Rights Institute Was Co-Founded By Thomas L. Rhodes. "Among the institute's leading founders and advisers are Thomas L. Rhodes, the president of the National Review, the conservative magazine; Clint Bolick, director of litigation for the Institute for Justice, and Grover Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, both organizations that push conservative causes; and State Senator Quentin Kopp of San Francisco, an independent who is one of Sacramento's most outspoken legislative mavericks." [The New York Times, 1/16/97]

Thomas L. Rhodes Was Also A Co-Founder Of The Club For Growth, An Anti-Tax Group. "The Club was founded in 1999 by the banker/activists Richard Gilder and Thomas Rhodes, and the economic pundit Stephen Moore. The group's mission was to rid Washington of tax-and-spenders and replace them with extreme fiscal hawks. They occasionally targeted Democrats; in 2004 they ran a commercial that more or less accurately labeled Howard Dean as

a "tax-hiking, government-expanding, latte-drinking, sushi-eating, Volvo-driving, New York Times-reading" candidate." [Politico, 10/1/16]

Harlan Crow Was One Of The Club For Growth's Most Significant Donors In The Early 2000s, Giving At Least \$100,000 Annually According To News Reports. "About half of the group's money comes in the form of large, unregulated contributions. Its \$100,000 donors include Crow Holdings CEO Harlan Crow, of Dallas, and New York City philanthropist and businessman Ronald S. Lauder." [National Journal, LexisNexis, 10/25/02]

• 2004: Harlan Crow Contributed \$275,000 To The Club For Growth.

k Contributor	Total
Exoxemis Inc	\$475,000
Gilder, Gagnon et al	\$441,000
Crow Holdings	\$275,000
Houston Texans	\$251,000
TRT Holdings	\$250,000
Elliott Assoc	\$250,000
Stephens Inc	\$250,000
	Exoxemis Inc Gilder, Gagnon et al Crow Holdings Houston Texans TRT Holdings Elliott Assoc

[OpenSecrets, accessed 6/12/23]

• 2006: Harlan Crow Contributed \$150,000 To The Club For Growth.

Rank	Contributor	Total	
1	JW Childs Assoc	\$300,000	
2	Crow Holdings	\$150,000	

[OpenSecrets, accessed 6/12/23]

From At Least 2001 To 2004, Harlan Crow Sat On The Club For Growth's "Founders Committee." "At the time of the legal challenge, from at least 2001 to 2004, Crow was a member of the Club for Growth's prestigious 'founders committee.' Though little is known about the role of the committee, it clearly commanded some influence over the group's policymaking." [The Guardian, 4/20/23]

Between 2020 And 2021, The Trammell And Margaret Crow Foundation Gave \$150,000 To The Institute For Justice, A Libertarian Law Firm That Opposes Affirmative Action

2020: The Trammell And Margaret Crow Foundation Gave \$75,000 To The Institute For Justice.

INSTITUTE FOR JUSTICE	N/A	PC	GENERAL	75,000
901 NORTH GLEBE RD SUITE 900	1084001	200		
ARLINGTON, VA 22203				

[Trammell and Margaret Crow Foundation, Form 990, FY 2020]

2021: The Trammell And Margaret Crow Foundation Gave \$75,000 To The Institute For Justice.

INSTITUTE FOR JUSTICE	N/A	PC	GENERAL	75,000
901 NORTH GLEBE RD SUITE 900 ARLINGTON, VA 22203				

[Trammell and Margaret Crow Foundation, Form 990, FY 2021]

The Institute For Justice Is A Libertarian Public Interest Law Firm. "That's what the plaintiffs in a lawsuit against the city and the District Attorney's Office are claiming. On Aug. 11 the D.C.-based libertarian Institute for Justice charged that Philadelphia operated a "veritable machine" of civil forfeiture, which violated the due process clause of the Constitution." [Slate, 9/12/14]

• The Institute For Justice Has Opposed Affirmative Action Since The 1990s.

"Opponents of affirmative action expressed disappointment today that an anticipated victory had been thwarted. "Defenders of preferences recognize that the end is drawing near, and this payoff was the price they had to pay to forestall the day of reckoning," said Clint Bolick, litigation director of the Institute for Justice, a public interest law firm that opposes affirmative action and that recently helped lead the opposition to Senate

confirmation of Bill Lann Lee, President Clinton's nominee to head the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division." [The New York Times, 11/22/97]

• In 1996, The Institute For Justice Criticized The Clinton Administration For Trying To Overturn Proposition 209, Which Banned Affirmative Action In California. "Plunging into a contentious legal and political arena, the White House announced today that the Administration had decided to join a challenge to the constitutionality of a successful California ballot initiative that bans affirmative action programs by the state and its local governments. The Justice Department had recommended the Administration's intervention after concluding that the ballot initiative, Proposition 209, approved by California's voters last month, violated the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment..."The Administration has placed itself not only against the principle of non-discrimination but also against the popular will," said Clint Bolick, vice president of the Institute for Justice, a group that opposes affirmative action programs." [The New York Times, 12/21/96]

[###]