

Supreme Court Architect Leonard Leo Backs Supreme Court Amicus Brief Filers Defending Trump In Insurrection Case, With At Least \$3.2 Million In Leo Network Funding

SUMMARY: In *Trump v. Anderson*, the U.S. Supreme Court—with its conservative “[supermajority](#)” installed by Trump and right-wing court [architect](#) Leonard Leo—will [consider reversing](#) the Colorado Supreme Court’s [decision](#) barring Trump from the state’s 2024 Republican primary for inciting the January 6th insurrection.

An Accountable.US review of the amicus filers and their lawyers pushing the Court to decide in favor of Trump has revealed a ***wide cast of close Leo allies who enjoy funding from his network, currently serve in the Federalist Society’s leadership alongside Leo, worked with Leo on Trump’s Supreme Court appointments, have exchanged lavish praise with Leo, and have been featured in hundreds of the Society’s events:***

- **Citizens United**—which was behind 2010’s Supreme Court decision allowing “[unlimited](#)” political spending—was joined in a pro-Trump [amicus brief](#) by FedSoc [Co-Chairman Steven Calabresi](#), who serves alongside fellow Co-Chair Leo. FedSoc [Treasurer](#) and “[founding member](#)” [Gary Lawson](#) also joined the brief.

The same brief was also joined by three highly influential FedSoc-tied former Republican Attorneys General:

- **Edwin Meese III**, a FedSoc [board member](#) who Leo called “[our moral compass](#)” and who had “[an enormous influence](#)” on Leo. In return, Meese has praised Leo for being a “[counterforce](#)” and for Leo’s “[leadership in the judicial selection process](#).”
 - **Michael Mukasey**, a [recent](#) FedSoc [board member](#) who has given the [keynote](#) at the group’s National Lawyers Convention and was given the [James Madison Award](#) by the group’s New York Lawyers chapter.
 - **William Barr**, a FedSoc [contributor](#) who was on the [board](#) of the [Leo-backed](#) Catholic Information Center [alongside Leo](#) and has said of Leo, “[no one has done more to advance traditional values, and especially the right to life, than Leonard](#).” In turn, Leo has said, “[Barr is a person of tremendous distinction and accomplishment](#).”
- **The Public Interest Legal Foundation (PILF)**, which “[pushed voter fraud fears into the mainstream](#),” has co-filed a pro-Trump [amicus brief](#) with its [board member](#) Hans Von Spakovsky, who has been featured in nearly [130 FedSoc events](#).

PILF has taken at least [\\$400,000](#) from [Leo’s 85 Fund](#) and [\\$250,000](#) from [Leo-tied](#) DonorsTrust. The group’s leadership includes “[close](#)” Leo ally Neil Corkery; Stop the Steal “[mastermind](#)” John Eastman, who has “[a long history of support from Leo](#)”; and Shawna Powell, a former [tax preparer](#) for [Leo’s Marble Freedom Trust](#).

- **The Claremont Institute**—which has become a “[nerve center of the American right](#)” and has taken over [\\$400,000](#) from the [Leo-tied](#) “[dark money ATM of the right](#)”—filed a pro-Trump [amicus brief](#) authored by Claremont [Senior Fellow](#) John Yoo, known for George W. Bush’s [torture memos](#). Yoo has authored a pro-Trump book featuring a [back cover quote from Leo](#), Yoo has made [multiple appearances](#) with Leo, and Yoo has been featured in about [150 FedSoc events](#).

The Claremont Institute's leadership also includes leading Stop The Steal “[mastermind](#)” John Eastman, who has “[a long history of support from Leo](#),” co-authored the “[first-ever](#)” SCOTUS brief for main Leo group the Judicial Education Project, and has been featured in over [100 FedSoc events](#).

- **Landmark Legal Foundation**, a pro-Trump [amicus filer](#), is [chaired](#) by right-wing pundit Mark Levin, who called Leo a “[great patriot](#)” in a FedSoc keynote speech for the group’s [2009 National Lawyers Convention](#), where Leo introduced Levin as “[our old Federalist Society stalwart](#).”

Also, Landmark [board member](#) and [Second Vice Chairman](#) Edwin Meese III is on [FedSoc’s Board of Directors](#). Meese has been praised by Leo as “[our moral compass](#)” who had “[an enormous influence](#)” on Leo. In turn, Meese has praised Leo for being a “[counterforce](#)” and for Leo’s “[leadership in the judicial selection process](#).”

- **Judicial Watch**, a [pro-Trump filer](#) whose [president](#) Thomas Fitton is also [president](#) of the Council for National Policy (CNP), an influential “[closed-door group of conservative leaders](#).” Leo has reportedly served on [CNP’s Board Of Governors](#), has been a [CNP member](#), and implored other CNP members to treat judicial confirmations like “[political campaigns](#).”
- **Jones Day**, a powerful [conservative corporate law firm](#) which has given FedSoc as much as [\\$457,000](#) since 2006, authored a [pro-Trump brief](#) for the **National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC)**. The firm was where Leo, Trump, and then-Jones Day partner Don McGahn—who became Trump’s White House Counsel before [rejoining](#) Jones Day in 2019—met to conceive Trump’s “[crucial](#)” Supreme Court shortlist in 2016.

McGahn—a FedSoc member since at least [1993](#)—and Leo have exchanged praise at a Society event, with Leo saying he was “[very grateful](#)” for McGahn’s role in judicial selection and McGahn personally thanking Leo for his “[friendship, support, and leadership](#)” of the Society.

- **Wyoming Secretary of State Chuck Gray’s** [pro-Trump brief](#) was filed by **Judd Stone**—a [prominent FedSoc contributor](#) who has been awarded a [\\$60,000 fellowship](#) from the group—and by “[crucial](#)” former Trump administration lawyer Gene Hamilton. Hamilton now is Senior Counsel for the [Leo-tied](#) America First Legal Foundation, [founded](#) by Trump [Chief of Staff](#) Mark Meadows.
- **America’s Future**, a “[limited government](#)” group, led a [pro-Trump brief](#) joined by other conservative organizations. America’s Future has taken over [\\$2.2 million](#) from DonorsTrust, the “[dark money ATM of the right](#)” which [has exchanged](#) tens of millions of dollars with Leo’s Network.

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In Trump v. Anderson, The U.S. Supreme Court—And Its Conservative “Supermajority” Installed By Trump And Right-Wing Court “Architect” Leonard Leo—Will Review The Colorado Supreme Court’s Decision Barring Trump From The State’s 2024 Republican Primary Ballot.

The U.S. Supreme Court Agreed To Review The Colorado Supreme Court’s Ruling Barring Donald Trump From The State’s 2024 Republican Primary Ballot Over His Role Inciting The January 6th Insurrection.

The U.S. Supreme Court (SCOTUS) Agreed To Review The Colorado Supreme Court’s Ruling Barring Donald Trump From The State’s Republican Primary Ballot Due To His Role In The January 6th Insurrection. “The Supreme Court agreed on Friday to review a ruling by a Colorado court that barred former President Donald Trump from appearing on the state’s Republican primary ballot because of his role in the Jan. 6, 2021, attacks on the U.S. Capitol.” [SCOTUSblog, [01/05/24](#)]

In An Unsigned Order, SCOTUS Agreed To Hear The Case, With Oral Argument Scheduled For February 8, 2024. “In a brief, unsigned order issued on Friday afternoon, the justices granted a petition for review filed by the former president and fast-tracked the briefing in the case, setting it for oral argument on Thursday, Feb. 8.” [SCOTUSblog, [01/05/24](#)]

- **Trump’s Opening Brief Is Due January 18, 2024, The Response From Colorado Voters And The Colorado Secretary Of State Are Due January 31, 2024, And Trump’s Reply Is Due February 5, 2024.** “In their order on Friday afternoon, the justices granted only Trump’s petition for review and set the case for oral argument in just over one month. Trump will file his opening brief on Jan. 18, with the response by the Colorado voters and secretary of state to follow on Jan. 31. Trump’s reply brief is due by 5 p.m. on Feb. 5, just three days before the oral argument.” [SCOTUSblog, [01/05/24](#)]

Donald Trump’s Legal Team Filed The Appeal To The U.S. Supreme Court, Asking It To Invalidate The Colorado Supreme Court’s Ruling. “Former President Donald Trump’s legal team on Wednesday appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court to invalidate the Colorado Supreme Court’s ruling disqualifying him from that state’s GOP primary ballot.” [ABC News, [01/04/24](#)]

The Case Revolves Around Section 3 Of The 14th Amendment, Enacted After The Civil War, To Bar Any “Officer of the United States” Who “Engaged In Insurrection” From Holding “Any Office ... Under The United States.” “The case centers on the interpretation of Section 3 of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, which was enacted in the wake of the Civil War to disqualify individuals who had been federal (or state) government officials before the war and had sworn to uphold the Constitution but then served in the Confederacy. It bars anyone who has served as ‘an officer of the United States’ and has previously taken an oath to support the U.S. Constitution from holding ‘any office ... under the United States’ if he has ‘engaged in insurrection.’” [SCOTUSblog, [01/05/24](#)]

- **The Colorado Supreme Court Reversed A Lower Court Ruling, Which Held That Section 3 Does Not Apply To Former President Trump Because “The Presidency Is Not An ‘Office ... Under The United States’ And The President Is Not An ‘Officer Of The United States.’”** “A state trial court agreed that Trump engaged in insurrection but concluded that Section 3 does not apply to the president because the presidency is not an ‘office ... under the United States’ and the president is not an ‘officer of the United States.’ The challengers appealed to the Colorado Supreme Court, which reversed in a ruling last month. It held that Trump was disqualified under Section 3 from serving as president and it barred the Colorado secretary of state from listing him on the primary ballot.” [SCOTUSblog, [01/05/24](#)]

The Group Of Registered Republicans And Unaffiliated Voters Who Filed The Colorado Lawsuit Pointed Out Trump’s “False Allegations Of Election Fraud” And His January 6th Speech Urging Supporters To

March On The Capitol. “A group of registered Republicans and unaffiliated voters eligible to vote in Colorado’s presidential primary filed the lawsuit last year. They argued that Trump should not be included on the state’s primary ballot because as president he had sworn an oath to support the Constitution but had engaged in insurrection on Jan. 6. They pointed to Trump’s false allegations of election fraud, as well as his statements at a speech on the Ellipse urging his supporters to march to the Capitol and fight there to prevent Congress from certifying the results of the 2020 presidential election.” [SCOTUSblog, [01/05/24](#)]

- **Following Trump’s Speech, Insurrectionists “Assaulted Over 100 Police Officers”—Since January 6th, Over 800 Insurrectionists Pleaded Guilty Or Have Been Convicted Of Federal Crimes.** “During the violence at the Capitol that ensued, rioters assaulted over 100 police officers. Four rioters died at the Capitol, and several police officers involved in the attacks died by suicide in the months that followed. More than 800 rioters have either pleaded guilty or been convicted of federal crimes for their roles that day.” [SCOTUSblog, [01/05/24](#)]

Trump Nominated Three Current Supreme Court Justices—Neil Gorsuch, Brett Kavanaugh, And Amy Coney Barrett—From A List “Personally Curated” By Right-Wing Court “Architect” Leonard Leo, The Current Co-Chairman Of The Federalist Society.

Trump Nominated Supreme Court Justices Neil Gorsuch, Brett Kavanaugh, And Amy Coney Barrett From A List “Personally Curated” By Leonard Leo . “Former President Donald Trump was quick to take credit for the demise of Roe v. Wade on Friday. In a statement released hours after the Supreme Court decision, he said it was only possible because he ‘delivered everything as promised, including nominating and getting three highly respected and strong constitutionalists confirmed to the United States Supreme Court.’ Those three justices were Neil Gorsuch, Brett Kavanaugh and Amy Coney Barrett — all of whom voted to overturn Roe. And all of whom were, at some point, on a much publicized list of potential SCOTUS nominees that Trump publicly shared. A list that was personally curated by Leo.” [NPR, [06/30/22](#)]

Leonard Leo, Co-Chairman And Former Executive Vice President Of “Right-Wing Powerhouse Group The Federalist Society,” “Helped Fuel The Rise Of Five Of The Six Republican Supreme Court Justices” And Has Been Called “The Quiet Architect Of A Pivotal Shift To The Right Throughout The Federal Judiciary.” “The 90-year-old was said to have gifted \$1.65 billion to a conservative nonprofit fronted by Leonard Leo, the cochairman of the right-wing powerhouse group The Federalist Society. Leo helped fuel the rise of five of the six Republican Supreme Court justices, as ProPublica noted, and has helped fund fights over abortion rights, voting laws, and other conservative causes.” [Insider, [08/26/22](#)]

- **Leonard Leo Has Been “The Quiet Architect Of A Pivotal Shift To The Right Throughout The Federal Judiciary” And The Federalist Society’s “Roughly 70,000 Members Represent A Vast Web Of Conservative Legal Power.”** “As executive vice president of the Federalist Society, Leo has been the quiet architect of a pivotal shift to the right throughout the federal judiciary. He was still at Cornell Law School in 1989 when he joined the society, a network of fresh legal minds who believed limited government was the best way to protect freedom and personal liberty. Today, under Leo’s leadership, the group’s roughly 70,000 members represent a vast web of conservative legal power.” [Politico Magazine, [2018](#)]

Six Of Nine Supreme Court Members Were Current Or Former Federalist Society Members. “Beginning in the early 1980s, when it was not exactly cool to be a conservative law student, a small group of students started a club, named in honor of The Federalist Papers, where they could safely discuss their right-of-center views. Fast-forward 40 years and six of the nine sitting Supreme Court Justices are current or former members of that club.” [The Harvard Gazette, [03/04/21](#)]

Leo Has “Played An Outsized Role In The Installation Of The Supreme Court’s Six-Member Conservative Supermajority.” “Leo played an outsized role in the installation of the Supreme Court’s six-member conservative supermajority.” [The Hill (Opinion), [06/26/23](#)]

Since Helping To Form The Supreme Court’s Conservative Supermajority, Leo And His Network Have Been Tied To A Majority Of The Conservative Amicus Briefs That Influenced The Supreme Court’s “Highest-Profile Rulings”—In The Consequential 303 Creative v. Elenis Case, Leo Was Tied To 85% Of Amicus Filers Arguing In Favor Of Anti-LGBTQ Discrimination.

Leonard Leo And His Network Have Been Tied To A Majority Of The Conservative Amicus Briefs In The Supreme Court’s “Highest-Profile Rulings” After Justice Amy Coney Barret Joined The Court And Solidified The Court’s “Supermajority,” Which Leo Played An “Outsized Role” In Installing.

December 2023: Politico Found That “Leo And His Network Of Nonprofit Groups Are Either Directly Or Indirectly Connected To A Majority Of Amicus Briefs Filed On Behalf Of Conservative Parties In Seven Of The Highest-Profile Rulings” In The Prior Two Years, After Justice Barrett Joined The Court. “A POLITICO review of tax filings, financial statements and other public documents found that Leo and his network of nonprofit groups are either directly or indirectly connected to a majority of amicus briefs filed on behalf of conservative parties in seven of the highest-profile rulings the court has issued over the past two years. It is the first comprehensive review of amicus briefs that have streamed into the court since Trump nominated Justice Amy Coney Barrett in 2020, solidifying the court’s conservative majority.” [Politico, [12/03/23](#)]

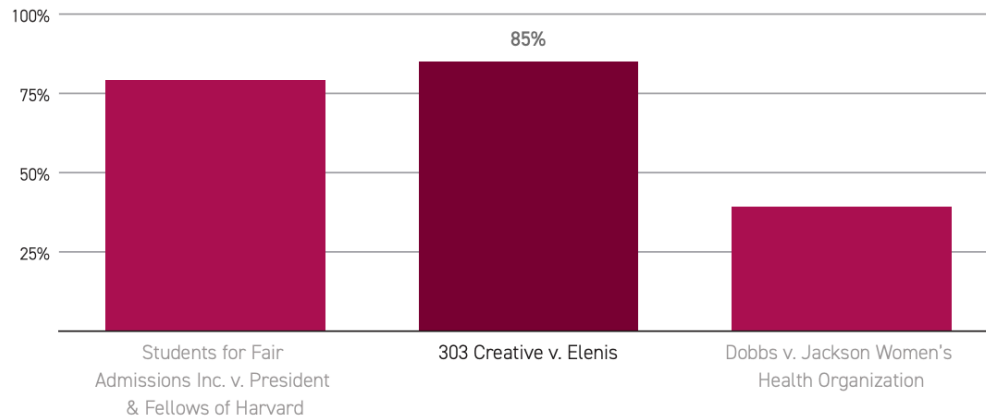
- **The Report Found That “Most Conservative Briefs In High-Profile Cases Have Links To A Small Cadre Of Activists Aligned With Leonard Leo.”** “A POLITICO review indicates most conservative briefs in high-profile cases have links to a small cadre of activists aligned with Leonard Leo.” [Politico, [12/03/23](#)]
- **Leo Has “Played An Outsized Role In The Installation Of The Supreme Court’s Six-Member Conservative Supermajority.”** “Leo played an outsized role in the installation of the Supreme Court’s six-member conservative supermajority.” [The Hill (Opinion), [06/26/23](#)]

The Review Found “Multiple Instances” Of Language From Leo-Tied Amicus Briefs Appearing In The Supreme Court’s Opinions. “POLITICO’s review found multiple instances of language used in the amicus briefs appearing in the court’s opinions.” [Politico, [12/03/23](#)]

In 303 Creative v. Elenis—A Case Brought By A Graphic Designer Who Did Not Want To Design Websites For Same-Sex Weddings—About 85% Of Amicus Briefs Were Tied To Leonard Leo, Whose Main Groups Gave \$7.8 Million To Organizations Who Filed The Briefs. “The overall concentration of conservative amicus briefs in the LGBTQ+ rights case tied to Leo’s network is among the highest, at about 85 percent, of any of the seven cases reviewed. Many were filed by Catholic or Christian nonprofits in support of the plaintiff, a designer whose company is called 303 Creative. The two pillars of Leo’s network, The 85 Fund and the Concord Fund, gave \$7.8 million between July of 2019 and 2021 to organizations filing briefs on behalf of 303 Creative LLC.”

Leo and his network filed a large portion of conservative briefs in major Supreme Court cases

Percentage of conservative briefs connected to Leo that were filed for select Supreme Court cases



Source: POLITICO analysis of U.S. Supreme Court filings
Catherine Kim/POLITICO

[Politico, [12/03/23](#)]

- **303 Creative LLC V. Elenis Was Brought By An Owner Of A Graphic Design Firm Who Did “Not Want To Design Websites For Same-Sex Weddings.”** “Lorie Smith is the owner and founder of a graphic design firm, 303 Creative LLC. She wants to expand her business to include wedding websites. However, she opposes same-sex marriage on religious grounds so does not want to design websites for same-sex weddings.” [Oyez, [12/05/22](#)]
- **December 2022: In 303 Creative v. Elenis, The Supreme Court Held That The First Amendment “Prohibits Colorado From Forcing A Website Designer To Create Expressive Designs Speaking Messages With Which The Designer Disagrees.”** “Holding: The First Amendment prohibits Colorado from forcing a website designer to create expressive designs speaking messages with which the designer disagrees. [...] Judgment: Reversed, 6-3, in an opinion by Justice Gorsuch on June 30, 2023. Justice Sotomayor filed a dissenting opinion, in which Justices Kagan and Jackson joined.” [SCOTUSblog, [12/05/22](#)]

A Pro-Trump Brief Was Filed By Citizens United—Which Was Behind 2010’s Supreme Court Decision Allowing “Unlimited” Political Spending—Joined By Federalist Society Co-Chairman Steven Calabresi, Who Serves Alongside Fellow Co-Chair Leo, And Federalist Society Treasurer And “Founding Member” Gary Lawson...

Former Attorneys General Edwin Meese III, Michael B. Mukasey, And William Barr; Law Professors Steven Calabresi And Gary Lawson; And Citizens United Filed A Joint Amicus Brief Asking The Supreme Court To Rule In Favor Of Trump.

Former Attorneys General Edwin Meese III, Michael B. Mukasey, And William Barr; Law Professors Steven Calabresi And Gary Lawson; And Citizens United Filed An Amicus Brief Urging The Supreme Court To Overturn The Colorado Supreme Court’s Ruling Against Trump. “At least without an

implementing statute passed by the people's representatives in Congress, Section 3 of the Fourteenth Amendment does not disqualify any American from running for the office of President of the United States. The judgment of the Supreme Court of Colorado must accordingly be reversed." [Amicus Brief of Edwin Meese III et al., Trump v. Anderson et al., Case No. 23-719, [01/18/24](#)]

**BRIEF OF FORMER ATTORNEYS GENERAL
EDWIN MEESE III, MICHAEL B. MUKASEY,
AND WILLIAM P. BARR; LAW PROFESSORS
STEVEN CALABRESI AND GARY LAWSON;
AND CITIZENS UNITED AS *AMICI CURIAE*
SUPPORTING PETITIONER**

[Amicus Brief of Edwin Meese III et al., Trump v. Anderson et al., Case No. 23-719, [01/18/24](#)]

Steven Calabresi Is Co-Chairman Of The Federalist Society Alongside Leonard Leo, Was An Original Founder Of The Group, Keeps It “Financially Intertwined With Leo” Even As Calabresi Has Sought To “Keep Distance” From Leo’s Other Activities, And Defended Leo’s “Lavish” Lifestyle By Stating, “I Personally Don’t Believe That Leonard Is Motivated By Greed.”

Steven Calabresi Is Co-Chairman Of The Federalist Society Alongside Leonard Leo:

**Prof. Steven G. Calabresi
Co-Chairman**

**Mr. Leonard A. Leo
Co-Chairman**

[The Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

Calabresi Was A Founder Of The Federalist Society, Stating “He Started The Organization After Determining That He Was One Of Few Conservatives During His Student Days At Yale Law School.”

“The idea that the Federalist Society would one day play a central role in the national legal debate, or that membership in the organization would be a point of contention for a Supreme Court nominee, seemed far-fetched when the group was formed by a law students in the early 1980s. Northwestern University law professor Steven G. Calabresi, chairman and a founder of the group, said he started the organization after determining that he was one of few conservatives during his student days at Yale Law School.” [The Washington Post, [07/29/05](#)]

Although Calabresi Has Sought To “Keep Distance” From Leo’s Non-Federalist Society Activities, The Society Is “Financially Intertwined With Leo, Receiving \$5.6 Million In Grant Money From The 85 Fund In 2020.” “Steven Calabresi, Leo’s fellow co-chairman, and President Eugene Meyer have sought to ‘keep distance’ from Leo’s activities, said Teles, including by granting leaves of absence for Leo around his advocacy work, he said. Still, the Federalist Society has become financially intertwined with Leo, receiving \$5.6 million in grant money from The 85 Fund in 2020.” [Politico, [03/01/23](#)]

- **The 85 Fund Is “A Rebranded Dark Money Group That Leo Has Said He Plans To Use To Fund Conservative Causes Nationwide.”** “The majority of CRC’s payments came through The 85 Fund, a rebranded dark money group that Leo has said he plans to use to fund conservative causes nationwide.” [Politico, [03/01/23](#)]

Calabresi Defended Leo While Responding To Reporting About Leo’s Life Taking “A Lavish Turn” From His Judicial Work, Stating, “I Personally Don’t Believe That Leonard Is Motivated By Greed” And “I Think Leonard Is Motivated By Ideology And Ideas.” “A network of political non-profits formed by judicial

activist Leonard Leo moved at least \$43 million to a new firm he is leading, raising questions about how his conservative legal movement is funded. Leo's own personal wealth appeared to have ballooned as his fundraising prowess accelerated since his efforts to cement the Supreme Court's conservative majority helped to bring about its decision to overturn abortion rights. [...] In an interview, Calabresi said he didn't know anything about Leo's work beyond the confines of the Federalist Society. 'I personally don't believe that Leonard is motivated by greed,' he said. 'I think Leonard is motivated by ideology and ideas. I do think he likes to live a high-rolling lifestyle, but I don't think he's in the business because of the money.'" [Politico, [03/01/23](#)]

- **Leo's "Lifestyle Took A Lavish Turn After He Became Donald Trump's Adviser On Judicial Nominations."** "The Federalist Society co-chairman's lifestyle took a lavish turn after he became Donald Trump's adviser on judicial nominations." [Politico, [03/01/23](#)]

Prof. Gary Lawson Is Secretary On The Federalist Society's Board Of Directors, Was A "Founding Member" Of The Group, And Has Been Featured In At Least 19 Of The Group's Events.

Professor Gary Lawson Serves On The Federalist Society's Board Of Directors As Secretary:

Board of Directors

[...]

Prof. Gary Lawson
Secretary

[The Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

Lawson Is "A Founding Member" Of The Federalist Society. "But that may be overly modest. Lawson is what one might call an original originalist. He is a founding member and current secretary of the Federalist Society, which has been home to some of the country's most famous originalists, including Justice Antonin Scalia, who died in 2016 and for whom Lawson clerked twice (once on the US Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit and once at the US Supreme Court)." [Boston University School of Law, accessed [01/24/24](#)]



Prof. Gary Lawson

Associate Dean for Intellectual Life and Philip S. Beck Professor of Law,
Boston University School of Law

[The Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

- **Lawson Has Been Featured In At Least 19 Federalist Society Events.** [The Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

Lawson Has Repeatedly Been Cited By Supreme Court Justices, Including Conservative Justices Clarence Thomas And Samuel Alito. "It is perhaps a sign of Boston University School of Law Professor Gary S. Lawson's lasting influence on constitutional interpretation that, in the US Supreme Court's most recent term ending in June, three different justices cited three different publications of his to defend their positions in cases

involving military courts, statutes of limitations, and immigration law. [...] Lawson, a 2017 Metcalf Award for Excellence in Teaching recipient, was also cited in dissents this term by Justices Clarence Thomas (Sessions v. Dimaya) and Samuel A. Alito (Ortiz v. United States). He said he rarely appears in majority opinions.” [Boston University School of Law, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

...The Same Brief Was Filed By Three Former Republican Attorney Generals: Edwin Meese, A FedSoc Board Member Who Leo Called “Our Moral Compass”; Michael Mukasey, A Recent FedSoc Board Member Who Has Given The Keynote At The Group’s National Lawyers Convention; And William Barr, Who Was On The Board Of A Leo-Backed Catholic Group Alongside Leo And Said Of Leo, “No One Has Done More To Advance Traditional Values, And Especially The Right To Life, Than Leonard.”

Edwin Meese III Is On The Federalist Society’s Board Of Directors, Has Been Congratulated By The Society For His 2019 Presidential Medal Of Freedom From Trump, Has Been Personally Interviewed By Society Co-Chairman Steven Calabresi, And Has Been Called “The Philosopher In Action” By The Society...

Edwin Meese III Was On The Federalist Society’s Board Of Directors, As Of January 2024:

Board of Directors

[...]

Hon. Edwin Meese III

[The Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

Meese Is A Federalist Society Contributor.



Hon. Edwin Meese, III

Ronald Reagan Distinguished Fellow Emeritus, The Heritage Foundation

Topics: Criminal Law & Procedure · Federalism & Separation of Powers · International & National Security Law

[The Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

- **Meese Has Been Featured In At Least 12 Federalist Society Events Since 1996.** [The Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

2019: The Federalist Society Posted An Article About Trump Awarding Meese The Presidential Medal Of Freedom, Writing, “On Behalf Of Everyone At The Society: Congratulations!” “Today, President Donald J. Trump awarded Hon. Edwin Meese III the Presidential Medal of Freedom. [...] Attorney General Meese served as the 75th United States Attorney General. He is the founder and namesake of the Heritage Foundation’s Center for Legal and Judicial Studies and a member of the Federalist Society’s Board of Directors. On behalf of everyone at the Society: Congratulations!” [The Federalist Society, accessed [10/08/19](#)]

- **The Article Included An Interview That Federalist Society Co-Chairman Steven Calabresi Held With Meese, Discussing “His Upbringing, His Work With President Ronald Reagan, And His Role In Popularizing The Concept Of Originalism.”** “Recently, Professor Steven G. Calabresi sat down with Attorney General Meese to learn more about his upbringing, his work with President Ronald Reagan, and his role in popularizing the concept of Originalism. Please enjoy a few excerpts from that interview.”



Excerpts from an Interview with Hon. Edwin Meese III



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[The Federalist Society via YouTube, 10/08/19, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

- **Steven G. Calabresi Is The Co-Chairman Of The Federalist Society.** [The Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

2012: The Federalist Society Review Published “The Philosopher In Action: A Tribute To The Honorable Edwin Meese III,” Praising Meese For Contributing To “Substantive Growth For The Conservative Legal Movement.” “Meese’s congenial leadership continues to facilitate new avenues of substantive growth for the conservative legal movement, including combating the growth of federal criminal law, and limits on congressional power. For these, and his many other achievements detailed herein, Americans owe him their thanks through analyzing his experiences in public life. This tribute strives to do just that.” [The Federalist Society, [03/22/12](#)]



The Philosopher in Action: A Tribute to the Honorable Edwin Meese III

William J. Haun Mar 22, 2012

[The Federalist Society, [03/22/12](#)]

In 2018, Meese Said Of Leo, “He Has Contact With Literally Dozens, Maybe Even Hundreds, Of People Throughout The Country Who Are Very Knowledgeable About The Federal Judiciary,” Adding, “That Gives Him A Resource That Very Few People Have.” “He has contact with literally dozens, maybe even hundreds, of people throughout the country who are very knowledgeable about the federal judiciary,” said Edwin Meese, a Republican attorney general in the Reagan administration and board member of the Federalist

Society, who has long been affiliated with the influential Heritage Foundation. ‘That gives him a resource that very few people have.’ [Associated Press, [07/03/18](#)]

...In 2005, Leonard Leo Praised Former Reagan Administration Attorney General Edwin Meese III As “Our Moral Compass” As The Federalist Society Prepared To Honor The 20th Anniversary Of An Influential Speech Meese Gave On Originalism—Leo Said The Speech Had “An Enormous” And “Heady” Influence On Him...

August 2005: Leonard Leo Praised Edwin Meese III As “Our Moral Compass” And Our “Utility Inflied,” As The Federalist Society Prepared To Mark The 20th Anniversary Of A Famous Speech Meese Gave On Originalism. “Mr. Meese gets more than 300 speaking requests a year, said schedulers at the Heritage Foundation, where he is a policy fellow. This fall, the Federalist Society, a conservative lawyers' group, is devoting its annual convention to the topic of originalism to mark the 20th anniversary of his speech. ‘He is our utility inflied,’ said Leonard A. Leo, executive vice president of the society. ‘He deals with whatever issue is on our plate at a given moment. And he is our moral compass. He reminds us, just by his presence, there is a long history to defending a judicial philosophy that pays proper respect to the Constitution as it is written.’” [The New York Times, [08/17/05](#)]

- **Then-Reagan Administration Attorney General Edwin Meese III Gave The Speech In July 1985.** “It was July 1985 and the newly confirmed attorney general, Edwin Meese III, was preparing to address the American Bar Association. Trouble was, he was conflicted about what to say.” [The New York Times, [08/17/05](#)]

Leonard Leo Attended Meese’s Speech, Recalling That “‘It Had An Enormous Influence On Me,’” And It Was “‘Certainly A Heady Moment For Me As A Student.’” “Mr. Leo, then a student at Cornell who was taking off a semester to work as an aide for the Senate Judiciary Committee, remembers attending the Federalist Society speech. ‘It had an enormous influence on me,’ he said. ‘It was a fairly young crowd, lawyers, a lot of Reagan Justice officials. It was quite an affair. Certainly a heady moment for me as a student.’” [The New York Times, [08/17/05](#)]

Edwin Meese, Now “Lionized By Conservatives For His Role In Reshaping The Judiciary,” Was U.S. Attorney General From 1985 To 1988. “Vilified by liberals as an ideologue and embroiled in frequent disputes with more moderate figures within the Reagan administration, Mr. Meese is now lionized by conservatives for his role in reshaping the judiciary. At 73, he is still at it.” [The New York Times, [08/17/05](#)]

- **“Edwin Meese III Served As U.S. Attorney General From 1985 To 1988.”** [The Washington Post, [11/29/21](#)]

...In 2018, Meese Praised Leo For Being A “Counterforce” And For His “Leadership In The Judicial Selection Process” In A Video The Anti-Choice Benedict Leadership Institute Produced For An Award It Gave To Leo For Bearing “Personal Witness To The Sanctity Of Human Life.”

April 2018: Edwin Meese III Praised Leonard Leo For His “Leadership In The Judicial Selection Process” And For Being A “Counterforce” In A Video For An Award Leo Received For Bearing “Personal Witness To The Sanctity Of Human Life.” “Leonard, in particular with his leadership of the Federalist Society, his leadership in the judicial selection process, has done very much to provide a counterforce and to promote the idea of protecting religious liberty through protecting the constitution.” [Video 2, The Benedict Leadership Institute, [04/11/18](#)]



[Video 2, The Benedict Leadership Institute, [04/11/18](#)]

- April 2018: Leonard Leo Accepted The Benedict Leadership Award From Belmont Abbey College's Benedict Leadership Institute—The Award Recognized His “Personal Witness To The Sanctity Of Human Life.”** “Leonard Leo, executive vice president of the Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy, has been named the second recipient of the Benedict Leadership Award. The award, given by the Benedict Leadership Institute at Belmont Abbey College, was presented March 22 at Belmont Abbey College. The Institute selected Leo for his dedication to the defense of religious liberty both in the United States and abroad and for his personal witness to the sanctity of human life.” [Catholic News Herald, [04/11/18](#)]
- February 2012: In Testimony Before The House Oversight Committee, Belmont Abbey College President Bill Thierfelder Said On Behalf Of The College, “We Are Unwavering In Our Belief That Contraception, Sterilization, And Abortion Are Against God’s Law. This Is What We Teach Our Students.”** “When the mandate was issued in August 2011, we were stunned. Belmont Abbey College, which was founded in 1876 by Benedictine Monks, is affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church and the Order of St. Benedict. We are unwavering in our belief that contraception, sterilization, and abortion are against God’s law. This is what we teach our students.” [House Committee on Oversight And Government Reform Republicans, [02/16/12](#)]

Michael Mukasey—Former Attorney General Under George W. Bush—who Was Listed As A Federalist Society Board Of Directors Member In The Group’s Tax Filing From August 2023, Has Given A Keynote Address At The Society’s National Lawyers Convention, And Was Given The James Madison Award By The Society’s New York Chapter At Its 25th Anniversary Dinner.

Michael Mukasey Was Listed On The Federalist Society’s Board Of Directors In Its 2021 Tax Filing Filed August 2023, And Was Last Publicly Listed As A Board Member In April 2023:

(20) MICHAEL B MUKASEY

DIRECTOR

[Federalist Society IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2021](#)]

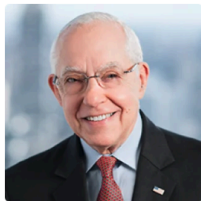
- The Tax Filing Was Submitted August 2023:

Submission: 2023-08-15

[Federalist Society IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2021](#)]

- Mukasey Was No Longer Listed As A Federalist Society Board Member On Its Website As Of January 2024. [The Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]
- Mukasey Was Listed As A Federalist Society Board Member On Its Website As Recently As April 2023. [The Federalist Society via Archive.org, captured 04/18/23, accessed [01/24/24](#)]
- Mukasey Was A Federalist Society Director As Early As Its 2013 Tax Year, Ending September 2014. [Federalist Society IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2013](#)]

Mukasey Is A Federalist Society Contributor.



Hon. Michael B. Mukasey

Former United States Attorney General

[The Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

- Mukasey Has Been Featured In At Least 25 Federalist Society Events. [The Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

Mukasey Was An Attorney General Under George W. Bush And Was Previously A U.S. District Court Judge For The Southern District Of New York. “As Attorney General from November 2007 to January 2009, he oversaw the U.S. Department of Justice and advised on critical issues of domestic and international law. From 1988 to 2006, Judge Mukasey served as a district judge in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, becoming Chief Judge in 2000.” [The Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

April 2011: Mukasey Was Awarded The James Madison Award At The Federalist Society New York Lawyers Chapter’s 25th Anniversary Dinner:

New York City Federalist Society 25th Anniversary Dinner

Apr

25

2011

Monday
6:30 p.m.

Sponsors: New York City Lawyers Chapter

 In-Person Event

New York Yacht Club 37 West 44th
Street
New York, New York

[...]

*The Steering Committee of the New York Lawyers Chapter of the Federalist Society
invites you to its 25th Anniversary Dinner honoring*

FORMER ATTORNEY GENERAL MICHAEL MUKASEY

Recipient of our
JAMES MADISON AWARD

[The Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

November 2008: Mukasey Gave The “Keynote” Annual Dinner Address At The Federalist Society’s National Lawyers Convention, Where He Said “I Have Long Had A Deep Respect For The Federalist Society”: “Thank you for that introduction and for the opportunity to address this group. I have long had a deep respect for the Federalist Society and for its principles, and so I feel privileged to be here tonight.” [The Federalist Society, [11/20/08](#)]

Nov

20

2008

*Keynote Address by U.S. Attorney General
Michael B. Mukasey - Prepared Remarks*

[The Federalist Society, [11/20/08](#)]

- **November 20, 2008: Mukasey Gave The Annual Dinner Address For The Federalist Society’s National Lawyers Convention:**

11.20 Thursday   

[...]

7:00 p.m. - 10:00
p.m.

Lawyers Convention Annual Dinner Address by U.S. Attorney
General Michael B. Mukasey
2008 National Lawyers Convention

[The Federalist Society, [01/24/24](#)]

William Barr—Former Attorney General Under George H.W. Bush And Trump—Who Was On The Board Of The Catholic Information Center (CIC) Alongside Leo; Said “No One Has Done More To Advance Traditional Values, And Especially The Right To Life, Than Leonard [Leo]”; And Has Been Praised By Leo As “A Person Of Tremendous Distinction And Accomplishment.”

William Barr, Who Was Attorney General For Presidents George H.W. Bush And Trump, Is A Federalist Society Contributor:



Hon. William P. Barr

Former United States Attorney General

[The Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

- **Barr Has Been Featured In At Least 4 Federalist Society Events.** [The Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]
- **Barr Served As Attorney General Under Presidents George H.W. Bush And Donald Trump.** “Under President George H.W. Bush, Mr. Barr served as the Deputy Attorney General from 1990 to 1991; the Assistant Attorney General of the Office of Legal Counsel from 1989 to 1990; and the 77th Attorney General of the United States from 1991 to 1993. [...] President Donald Trump announced his intention to nominate Mr. Barr on December 7, 2018, and he was confirmed as the 85th Attorney General of the United States by the U.S. Senate on February 14, 2019.” [The Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

From 2014 To 2017, Barr Served On The Board Of The Catholic Information Center (CIC), Where Leo Has Also Served As A Board Member. “While Barr is not a member of Opus Dei, according to his Senate questionnaire, from 2014 to 2017 he served on the board of the Catholic Information Center, an Opus Dei-affiliated bookstore and chapel a few blocks from the White House that is a longtime hub for conservative intellectuals, Republican politicians and other well-connected Catholics in the nation's capital. Other prominent board members at the center have included Leonard Leo, co-chairman of the Federalist Society, which helped shepherd the Supreme Court nominations of Brett Kavanaugh and Neil Gorsuch through the Senate confirmation process.” [National Catholic Reporter, [07/23/20](#)]

- **Leo Was Reportedly Still On The Board Of The CIC As Of December 2023.** “It was hosted by the Catholic Information Center, a downtown Washington D.C. chapel and meeting place for influential conservatives led by a priest of Opus Dei, an ultra-conservative prelature of the Catholic Church, and for which Leo sits on the board.” [Politico, [12/29/23](#)]
- **Leo Is “A Major Supporter Of The CIC.”** “The Catholic Information Center is a bookstore, event space and place of worship. Its location in the nation's capital is no accident: On its website, the center boasts that it is the closest tabernacle to the White House. Leo is a major supporter of the CIC, and its unabashed projection of political power aligns with the central role of religion in Leo's political project.” [ProPublica, [10/11/23](#)]
- **The CIC Has Had “An Outsize Impact On Policy And Politics.”** “The small center — its members and its leaders — continue to have an outsize impact on policy and politics.” [The Washington Post, [01/14/19](#)]

- **Barr Was Publicly Listed On CIC's Board Of Directors Alongside Leo As Early As October 2014 And As Late As Mid-2017:**

Board of Directors

William P. Barr

Fr. William Byrne

Pat Cipollone

Leonard Leo

[Catholic Information Center via Archive.org, captured 10/06/14, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

Board of Directors

William P. Barr

Pat Cipollone

Leonard Leo

[Catholic Information Center via Archive.org, captured 06/25/17, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

2022: When CIC Gave Leo "Its Highest Honor," Barr Filmed An Interview Paising Leo, Stating, "I Can't Think Of Anyone Who Has Lived His Faith More Powerfully Than Leonard Leo," And "No One Has Done More To Advance Traditional Values, And Especially The Right To Life, Than Leonard." "I can't think of anyone who has lived his faith more powerfully than Leonard Leo," former Attorney General William Barr, a past board member at the Catholic Information Center, said in a video tribute produced by the organization. 'He does it quietly and unassumingly but with inhuman energy. ... It's particularly fitting that the very year in which Dobbs was decided we are honoring Leonard Leo because no one has done more to advance traditional values, and especially the right to life, than Leonard.'" [National Catholic Reporter, [12/15/22](#)]



2022 John Paul II New Evangelization Award Honoring Leonard Leo



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- **In 2022, The Catholic Information Center Gave “Its Highest Honor,” The John Paul II New Evangelization Award, To Leo.** “In October 2022, the Opus Dei-affiliated Catholic Information Center in Washington, D.C., bestowed its highest honor, the John Paul II New Evangelization Award, on the conservative legal activist Leonard Leo.” [National Catholic Reporter, [01/04/24](#)]

Leo “Came Out Strongly In Favor” Of Trump’s Appointment Of Barr To Be Attorney General, Stating, “Barr Is A Person Of Tremendous Distinction And Accomplishment.” “Those groups include other conservative Washington insiders, such as Leonard Leo, the executive vice president of the Federalist Society. Mr. Leo has also served on the board of the Catholic Information Center and he came out strongly in favor of Mr. Trump’s nomination of Mr. Barr for attorney general.” [The New York Times, [10/26/19](#)]

- **Leo Said, “Barr Is A Person Of Tremendous Distinction And Accomplishment.”** “‘Barr is a person of tremendous distinction and accomplishment,’ said Leonard Leo, the executive vice president for the Federalist Society, the legal organization that has played a major role in the Trump White House’s recruitment of originalist jurists to the federal bench.” [National Catholic Register, [12/14/18](#)]

2019: Leo Said Of Barr’s “Combative” Conservative Stances, “He’s Offering A Fairly Unabashed, Crisp And Candid Assessment Of The Nature Of Our Culture Right Now.” “The attorney general embodies the combative culture and conservative ideology that animate the president and the Republican Party. [...] That defiance is one reason he has attained an almost heroic status among some on the right, particularly the religious conservatives. ‘He’s offering a fairly unabashed, crisp and candid assessment of the nature of our culture right now,’ said Leonard A. Leo, the executive vice president of the Federalist Society and a prominent advocate for socially conservative causes.” [The New York Times, [12/08/19](#)]

Citizens United Was Behind The Supreme Court’s 2010 Decision To Allow “Corporations And Other Outside Groups To Spend Unlimited Funds On Elections.”

Citizens United Was The Plaintiff In 2010’s Supreme Court Case Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission, Which “Reversed Century-Old Campaign Finance Restrictions And Enabled Corporations And Other Outside Groups To Spend Unlimited Funds On Elections.” “January 21, 2020 will mark a decade since the Supreme Court’s ruling in Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission, a controversial decision that reversed century-old campaign finance restrictions and enabled corporations and other outside groups to spend unlimited funds on elections. While wealthy donors, corporations, and special interest groups have long had an outsized influence in elections, that sway has dramatically expanded since the Citizens United decision, with negative repercussions for American democracy and the fight against political corruption.” [Brennan Center for Justice, [12/12/19](#)]

The Public Interest Legal Foundation (PILF), Which “Pushed Voter Fraud Fears Into The Mainstream,” Has Co-Filed A Pro-Trump Amicus Brief With Its Board Member Hans Von Spakovsky, Who Has Been Featured In Nearly 130 Federalist Society Events—PILF Has Taken At Least \$400,000 From Leo’s 85 Fund And Its Leadership Includes “Close” Leo Ally Neil Corkery, A Former Tax Preparer For Leo’s Marble Freedom Trust, As Well As Other Leo Allies.

The Public Interest Legal Foundation (PILF)—Which “Pushed Voter Fraud Fears Into The Mainstream”—And Hans Von Spakovsky—A PILF Board Of Directors Member And Member Of Trump’s Failed “Election Integrity” Commission—Filed An Amicus Brief In Support Of Trump.

The Public Interest Legal Foundation (PILF) And Hans A. Von Spakovsky Filed An Amicus Brief In Trump v. Anderson Asking The Supreme Court To Reverse The Colorado Supreme Court’s Decision:

**Brief of the Public Interest Legal Foundation
and Hans A. von Spakovsky as *Amici Curiae* in
Support of Petitioner**

[Amicus Brief of the Public Interest Legal Foundation and Hans A. von Spakovsky,
Trump v. Anderson et al., Case No. 23-719, [01/16/24](#)]

- **The Brief Asked The Supreme Court To Reverse The Colorado Supreme Court’s Decision Against Trump.** “For these reasons, amici respectfully request that this Court reverse the decision of the Colorado Supreme Court.” [Amicus Brief of the Public Interest Legal Foundation and Hans A. von Spakovsky, Trump v. Anderson et al., Case No. 23-719, [01/16/24](#)]
- **Von Spakovsky Is On PILF’s Board of Directors:**



HANS VON SPAKOVSKY

Director

[Public Interest Legal Foundation, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

PILF Stated That Its Interest In The Case Was As An “Organization Whose Mission Includes Working To Protect The Fundamental Right Of Citizens To Vote And Preserving Election Integrity Across The Country.” “The Public Interest Legal Foundation, Inc. (‘Foundation’) is a non-partisan, public interest 501(c)(3) organization whose mission includes working to protect the fundamental right of citizens to vote and preserving election integrity across the country.” [Amicus Brief of the Public Interest Legal Foundation and Hans A. von Spakovsky, Trump v. Anderson et al., Case No. 23-719, [01/16/24](#)]

PILF Was Linked To A Network Of Right-Wing Lawyers And Groups Who “Pushed Voter Fraud Fears Into The Mainstream.” “In making these claims, Trump has seized upon the idea that U.S. elections are vulnerable to rampant fraud. That once-fringe theory has become a staple of Republican politics, due largely to the efforts of a small network of lawyers who have promoted it for two decades, funded by right-wing

foundations. [...] Four nonprofits run by or linked to this network of lawyers – the Public Interest Legal Foundation, the American Constitutional Rights Union, Judicial Watch and True the Vote - have been involved in at least 61 lawsuits over election rules since 2012, according to a Reuters examination. More than half have been initiated since Trump took office in 2017, including 11 cases concerning absentee or mail-in voting.” [Reuters, [09/09/20](#)]

- **Reuters Headline: Special Report: How A Small Group Of U.S. Lawyers Pushed Voter Fraud Fears Into The Mainstream** [Reuters, [09/09/20](#)]

Hans A. Von Spakovsky, A Former Member Of Trump’s Advisory Commission On Election Integrity, Also Joined The Brief “In His Personal Capacity,” Citing His Prior Roles As A Federal Election Commissioner And As Counsel To The Assistant Attorney General For Civil Rights Justice Department. “Hans A. von Spakovsky submits this brief in his personal capacity. Mr. von Spakovsky is a member of the board of the Foundation but is also a former Commissioner on the Federal Election Commission, which enforces federal campaign finance law, and the former Counsel to the Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights at the U.S. Department of Justice, where he coordinated the enforcement of federal voting rights laws.” [Amicus Brief of the Public Interest Legal Foundation and Hans A. von Spakovsky, Trump v. Anderson et al., Case No. 23-719, [01/16/24](#)]

- **Von Spakovsky Was At The Federal Election Commission From 2006 To 2007 And At The U.S. Justice Department From 2002 To 2005.** “From 2006 to 2007, von Spakovsky was a member of the Federal Election Commission. He served as Counsel to the Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights at the U.S. Department of Justice from 2002 to 2005.” [The Federalist Society, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

Von Spakovsky Was A Member Of Trump’s Advisory Commission On Election Integrity, Which Was “Disbanded After Less Than A Year Without Finding Evidence Of Significant Fraud.” “He is a former member of President Donald Trump’s Advisory Commission on Election Integrity.” [The Federalist Society, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

- **Trump’s Advisory Commission On Election Integrity “Disbanded After Less Than A Year Without Finding Evidence Of Significant Fraud.”** “Trump, saying he wanted an investigation into supposed voter fraud, appointed Adams and von Spakovsky to an election integrity commission in May 2017. It disbanded after less than a year without finding evidence of significant fraud. Adams told Reuters that was not the group’s mission.” [Reuters, [09/09/20](#)]

Hans Von Spakovsky Is A Federalist Society Contributor Who Has Been Featured In Nearly 130 Of The Group’s Events Since 2008.

Von Spakovsky Is A Federalist Society Contributor:



Hans A. Von Spakovsky

Senior Legal Fellow, The Heritage Foundation

[The Federalist Society, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

- **Von Spakovsky Has Been Featured In At Least 129 Federalist Society Events Since 2008.** [The Federalist Society, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

Neil Corkery—Who Is Currently Listed As PILF’s Treasurer And Was PILF’s CFO In 2021—Is A “Close” Ally Of Leonard Leo Who “Possesses The Organization’s Books And Records” For Leo’s 85 Fund And Marble Freedom Trust Groups And Who Has Been The CFO For Leo’s For-Profit Firm CRC Advisors.

Neil Corkery Is Currently Listed As PILF’s Treasurer With The Indiana Secretary Of State:

Title	Name	Address
Treasurer	Neil Corkery	32 E Washington St, STE 1675, Indianapolis, IN, 46204, USA

[Indiana Secretary of State, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

- **Corkery Was Listed As PILF’s Treasurer In Its Most Recent Annual Report With The Indiana Secretary Of State, Filed January 2021:**

PRINCIPAL(S)	
TITLE	Treasurer
NAME	Neil Corkery
ADDRESS	32 E Washington St, STE 1675, Indianapolis, IN, 46204, USA

[Public Interest Legal Foundation 2021/2022 Annual Report,
Indiana Secretary of State, [01/22/21 \(PDF\)](#)]

Neil Corkery Was Listed As The Treasurer Of Public Interest Legal Foundation In Its Tax Filings From 2014-2019:

- **2014:**

(2) Neil Corkery
Treasurer/Secretary

[Public Interest Legal Foundation IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2014](#)]

- **2015:**

(6) Neil Corkery
Treasurer

[Public Interest Legal Foundation IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2015](#)]

- **2016:**

(6) Neil Corkery
Treasurer

[Public Interest Legal Foundation IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2016](#)]

- **2017:**

(6) Neil Corkery
Treasurer

[Public Interest Legal Foundation IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2017](#)]

- **2018:**

(6) Neil Corkery
Treasurer, Director

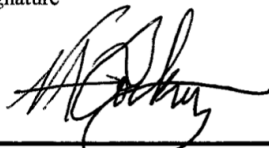
[Public Interest Legal Foundation IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2018](#)]

- **2019:**

(5) Neil Corkery Treasurer, Director

[Public Interest Legal Foundation IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2019](#)]

In July 2021, Neil Corkery Was Identified As The Public Interest Legal Foundation’s Chief Financial Officer In Its Annual Financial Report Form For The North Carolina Secretary Of State:

Name: Neil Corkery	Signature 
Title: CFO	

[...]

55. Report Completion and Signature Date:	07/21/2021
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[Public Interest Legal Foundation Annual Financial Report Form, North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, [2020](#)]

Neil And Ann Corkery Are “Close Allies Of Leo,” Whose Home Was The Address For Leo’s Judicial Confirmation Network, Which Spent About \$15 Million Supporting Justice Roberts’ And Alito’s Confirmations. “In 2005 and 2006, Leo served as the leader of the campaigns supporting Supreme Court nominees John G. Roberts Jr. and Samuel A. Alito Jr. He and other members of an advocacy coalition spent about \$15 million in donations from undisclosed donors on ads, telemarketing and the mobilization of ‘grass roots’ groups, Leo later told a Federalist Society chapter at the University of Virginia. They conducted polls to help craft the most persuasive messages and arranged dozens of ‘background’ briefings for reporters. A key part of those efforts was a new nonprofit called the Judicial Confirmation Network, or JCN. Tax filings show it was based at the home of Ann and Neil Corkery, close allies of Leo who have served as board members or treasurers of organizations run by Leo and a small group of interconnected activists.” [The Washington Post, [05/21/19](#)]

Corkery “Possesses The Organization’s Books And Records” For Leo’s 85 Fund And Marble Freedom Trust, Which Received An Unprecedented \$1.6 Billion Donation. “Most recently, Leo reaped a \$1.6 billion windfall from a single donor in what is likely the biggest single political gift in U.S. history. [...] Corkery ‘possesses the organization’s books and records’ for The 85 Fund and Leo’s Marble Freedom Trust, which received the \$1.6 billion, according to IRS filings. The two groups appear to have no websites, logos or official phone numbers other than Corkery’s in federal filings.” [Politico, [03/01/23](#)]

Corkery Was The Chief Financial Officer For Leo’s For-Profit Consulting Firm, CRC Advisors, Which Drew Scrutiny For Taking At Least \$43 Million From Leo’s Network Of Non-Profit Organizations. “A network of political non-profits formed by judicial activist Leonard Leo moved at least \$43 million to a new firm he is leading, raising questions about how his conservative legal movement is funded. [...] The for-profit and nonprofit entities share more than just Leo’s involvement: The same longtime ally managing the books for two of his new leading nonprofits, Neil Corkery, is also chief financial officer of Leo’s for-profit company, POLITICO confirmed in IRS filings. One of those nonprofits paid the for-profit \$33.8 million over two years. [...] Leo’s Virginia-based CRC Advisors — a political consulting firm that was created in 2020 and for which he is chairman — declined to say what services it provided for the \$43 million payments.” [Politico, [03/01/23](#)]

Shawna Powell, Who Was Listed As PILF’s Treasurer And Registered Agent In Its Most Recent Annual Report For The Indiana Secretary Of State, Has Also Been The Tax Preparer For Leo’s Marble Freedom Trust.

Shawna Powell Is Currently Listed As PILF’s Treasurer With The Indiana Secretary Of State:

Secretary	SHAWNA Powell	32 E Washington St, STE 1675, Indianapolis, IN, 46204, USA
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[Indiana Secretary of State, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

- **Powell Was Listed As PILF's Secretary And Registered Agent In Its Most Recent Annual Report With The Indiana Secretary Of State, Signed By Powell And Filed In January 2021:**

REGISTERED OFFICE AND ADDRESS

REGISTERED AGENT TYPE Individual
NAME SHAWNA L. POWELL
ADDRESS 6886 E CR 150 S, Avon, IN, 46123, USA

[Public Interest Legal Foundation 2021/2022 Annual Report,
Indiana Secretary of State, [01/22/21 \(PDF\)](#)]

PRINCIPAL(S)

[...]

TITLE Secretary
NAME SHAWNA Powell
ADDRESS 32 E Washington St, STE 1675, Indianapolis, IN, 46204, USA

[Public Interest Legal Foundation 2021/2022 Annual Report,
Indiana Secretary of State, [01/22/21 \(PDF\)](#)]

SIGNATURE

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, THE UNDERSIGNED HEREBY VERIFIES, SUBJECT TO THE PENALTIES OF PERJURY, THAT THE STATEMENTS CONTAINED HEREIN ARE TRUE, THIS DAY **January 22, 2021**.

SIGNATURE Shawna L Powell
TITLE Secretary

[Public Interest Legal Foundation 2021/2022 Annual Report,
Indiana Secretary of State, [01/22/21 \(PDF\)](#)]

Shawna L. Powell Has Been Identified As The Public Interest Legal Foundation's Secretary As Recently As Its 2021 Tax Filing:

(6) SHAWNA L POWELL
.....
SECRETARY

[Public Interest Legal Foundation IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2021](#)]

Shawna Powell Was The Marble Freedom Trust's Paid Tax Preparer For Its 2020 IRS Filing:

Paid Preparer Use Only	Print/Type preparer's name	Preparer's signature
	Shawna Powell	
	Firm's name ▶ Shawna Powell	
	Firm's address ▶ 9100 Purdue Rd Ste 115, Indianapolis, IN 46204	

[Marble Freedom Trust IRS Form 990, [2020](#)]

- **Leonard Leo Founded Marble Freedom Trust.** "Seid, who has spent tens of millions of dollars funding conservative and libertarian organisations, donated an entire company last year to a newly founded political advocacy group run by Leo, the Marble Freedom Trust." [The Guardian, [01/31/23](#)]
- **Leonard Leo Was Identified As The Marble Freedom Trust's Trustee And Chairman In Its 2020 IRS Filing:**

Leonard Leo
Trustee and Chairman

- [Marble Freedom Trust IRS Form 990, [2020](#)]

PILF Has Received At Least \$400,000 From The Leo-Tied 85 Fund, Formerly Known As The Judicial Education Project And \$250,000 From DonorsTrust, The "Dark Money ATM Of The Right" Which Has Exchanged Tens Of Millions Of Dollars With Leo's Network.

In 2020, The Public Interest Legal Foundation Received \$400,000 From The 85 Fund:

(16) Public Interest Legal Foundation			
32 E. Washington St., Room 1675 Indianapolis	45-4355641	501 c 3	400,000

[The 85 Fund IRS Form 990, [2020](#)]

The 85 Fund, Formerly Known As The Judicial Education Project, Is Part Of Leonard Leo's Network Of Organizations. "Around the same time, two other groups that he had worked with on confirmation fights — the Judicial Education Project and a group that had been known as the Judicial Crisis Network — changed their names to the 85 Fund and the Concord Fund. The change seemed to reflect a broadening of their focus beyond the courts. Mr. Leo does not have an official role in the 85 Fund or the Concord Fund, but since the beginning of 2016, they paid more than \$7.4 million to the BH Group, and more than \$41 million to CRC." [The New York Times, [10/12/22](#)]

In 2021, PILF Received \$250,000 From DonorsTrust:

(498) Public Interest Legal Foundation 32 E Washington Street Suite 1675 Indianapolis, IN 46204	45-4355641	501(c)(3)	250,000
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[Donors Trust IRS Form 990, [2021](#)]

In 2021, Leonard Leo's 85 Fund Received A \$17.1 Million Gift Through DonorsTrust, Known As The "Dark Money ATM Of The Right." "One of the biggest conservative dark money organizations in the nation was boosted last year by two separate anonymous gifts, each totaling more than \$425 million dollars. The money sent to DonorsTrust, a 501(c)(3) charity that has become one of the most influential conduit of funds in Republican-leaning circles, was a huge chunk of the more than \$1 billion the group brought in in 2021, according to a tax filing obtained first by POLITICO. They are among the largest ever donations to a politically-connected group. DonorsTrust used those funds to support a vast network of prominent conservative

causes, including a \$17.1 million gift it made to The 85 Fund, a group founded by a major engine of the conservative movement: Leonard Leo." [Politico, [11/16/22](#)]

- **DonorsTrust Is An Influential Right-Wing Donor Group Non-Profit Dubbed The "'Dark Money ATM Of The Right.'**" "They all have one thing in common: They received anonymous funding funneled through a single conservative dark money behemoth. That's the news in the latest IRS filing from Donors Trust—a conservative, Koch-aligned nonprofit which does not need to reveal the names of its donors and has been called the 'dark money ATM of the right.'" [The Daily Beast, [11/22/21](#)]

In 2020, Donors Trust Received \$59.1 Million From The Marble Freedom Trust, A Conservative Group "Controlled By Leonard Leo." "A new conservative nonprofit group scored a \$1.6 billion windfall last year via a little-known donor — an extraordinary sum that could give Republicans and their causes a huge financial boost ahead of the midterms, and for years to come. The source of the money was Barre Seid, an electronics manufacturing mogul, and the donation is among the largest — if not the largest — single contributions ever made to a politically focused nonprofit. The beneficiary is a new political group controlled by Leonard A. Leo, an activist who has used his connections to Republican donors and politicians to help engineer the conservative dominance of the Supreme Court and to finance battles over abortion rights, voting rules and climate change policy. [...] For perspective, the \$1.6 billion that the Marble trust reaped from the sale is slightly more than the total of \$1.5 billion spent in 2020 by 15 of the most politically active nonprofit organizations that generally align with Democrats, according to an analysis by The Times. [...] Two other funds that steer money into conservative politics, Donors Trust and Schwab Charitable Fund, received a total of \$59.1 million from the Marble trust, according to the filing." [The New York Times, [08/22/22](#)]

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2021: The 85 Fund Contributed Over \$71 Million To Donors Trust:

			grant	cash asst.
Name and address	Donors Trust 1800 Diagonal Rd Ste 280 Alexandria, VA 22314	52-2166327	71,145,000	
IRC code section	501 c 3			
Method of valuation				
Desc. of Non-Cash Asst.				
Purpose of grant	General Support			

[85 Fund IRS Form 990, [2021](#)]

2022: The 85 Fund Contributed \$92 Million To Donors Trust:

Schedule I, Part IV, Statement 1		THE 85 FUND	
Form: Schedule I (2022)		EIN: 20-2466871	
Page: 1		Part II, Line 1	
Description of Grants and Other Assistance to Governments and Organizations in the United States			
		Recipient EIN	Amt. of cash grant Amt. of non-cash asst.
Name and address	Donors Trust 1800 Diagonal Rd Ste 280 Alexandria, VA 22314	52-2166327	92,000,000
IRC code section	501 c 3		
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[85 Fund IRS Form 990, [2022](#)]

John Eastman—Trump’s Election Lawyer Who Is Facing Disbarment In California For His Role In Trying To Overturn The 2020 Election—Has “A Long History Of Support From Leo,” Co-Authored The “First-Ever” SCOTUS Amicus Brief For Leo’s Judicial Education Project, Received A Personal Contribution From Leo For His Failed California AG Bid, And Has Been Featured In Over 110 Federalist Society Events.

John Eastman Is Currently Listed As A Director For PILF With The Indiana Secretary Of State:

Director	John Eastman	32 E Washington St, STE 1675, Indianapolis, IN, 46204, USA
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[Indiana Secretary of State, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

- **Eastman Was Listed As A PILF Director In Its Most Recent Annual Report With The Indiana Secretary Of State, Filed January 2021:**

TITLE	Director
NAME	John Eastman
ADDRESS	32 E Washington St, STE 1675, Indianapolis, IN, 46204, USA

[Public Interest Legal Foundation 2021/2022 Annual Report,
Indiana Secretary of State, [01/22/21 \(PDF\)](#)]

Eastman Was On The Public Interest Legal Foundation’s Board Of Directors As Of September 19, 2022:

DR. JOHN C. EASTMAN
Director

[Public Interest Legal Foundation via Archive.org, captured 09/19/22, accessed [01/30/23](#)]

- **Eastman Was No Longer Publicly Listed On PILF’s Board Of Directors, As Of January 31, 2023.**
[Public Interest Legal Foundation, accessed [01/31/23](#)]

The State Bar Of California Is Trying To Disbar Eastman Due To His Efforts To Overturn The 2020 Election. “The State Bar of California is seeking to strip Eastman of his law license, arguing that his efforts to overturn Democrat Joe Biden’s victory over former Republican president Trump during the 2020 presidential election was unsupported by law or precedent and ran contrary to U.S. values. [...] Eastman, a former law professor at Chapman University in California, drafted legal memos suggesting then-Vice President Mike Pence could refuse to accept electoral votes for Biden from several swing states when Congress convened to certify the 2020 vote count. Pence rebuffed his arguments, saying he did not have legal authority.” [Reuters, [10/20/23](#)]

Eastman Was Among 18 Trump Allies Criminally Charged Of Violating Racketeering Laws By Trying To Overturn Georgia’s 2020 Election Results. “Eastman is separately one of 18 Trump allies who were criminally charged in August along with the former president with violating racketeering and other laws in their efforts to challenge the 2020 election results in Georgia.” [Reuters, [10/20/23](#)]

Eastman Is A “Co-Defendant With Trump In The Election-Interference Case In Georgia.” “Eastman is best known as the accused mastermind of the legal strategy Trump used to try and overthrow the 2020 election, and is now co-defendant with Trump in the election-interference case in Georgia.” [Politico, [12/03/23](#)]

Eastman, A Former Clerk For Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas, “Has A Long History Of Support From Leo.” “The quote and reference to Virginia’s Bill of Rights also appeared in an amicus brief filed by John Eastman, a former Thomas law clerk who has a long history of support from Leo.” [Politico, [12/03/23](#)]

In 2012, Eastman “Co-Authored The First-Ever Brief That Leo’s Primary Activist Group, The Judicial Education Project, Filed Before The Supreme Court.” “Eastman, in February of 2012, co-authored the first-ever brief that Leo’s primary activist group, the Judicial Education Project, filed before the Supreme Court.” [Politico, [12/03/23](#)]

- **The Judicial Education Project Amicus Brief Was Co-Filed The Claremont Institute’s Center For Constitutional Jurisprudence:**

**BRIEF OF CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL
JURISPRUDENCE, JUDICIAL EDUCATION
PROJECT, REASON FOUNDATION, THE
INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS FOUNDATION, THE
HERITAGE FOUNDATION, ENDING SPENDING,
INC., AND FORMER SENATORS GEORGE
LEMIEUX AND HANK BROWN AS *AMICI CURIAE*
IN SUPPORT OF RESPONDENTS
(MINIMUM COVERAGE PROVISION ISSUE)**

JOHN C. EASTMAN

CHRISTOPHER R.J. PACE

[Amicus Brief of the Center for Constitutional Jurisprudence et al.,
HHS et al. v. State of Florida et al., Case no. 11-398, [02/13/12](#)]

Leonard Leo Personally Contributed \$500 To John Eastman’s 2010 Campaign For California Attorney General:

Recipient Name	Recipient Committee	Recipient Committee ID	Office Sought	Ballot Measure(s)	Contributor Name	Contributor ID	Amount	Date
EASTMAN, JOHN C.	John Eastman for Attorney General 2010	1323807	Attorney General		Leo, Leonard		\$500.00	Mar 23, 2010

[California Secretary of State, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

- **According To The Accountability Project, Leo Listed His Employer As The Federalist Society For This Contribution;**

Date	From
2010-03-23	LEONARD LEO :: FEDERALIST SOCIETY MCLEAN VA

[The Accountability Project, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

- **Eastman's Attorney General Campaign Was Unsuccessful.** "Both Leo and Ginni Thomas donated to Eastman's unsuccessful 2010 campaign for state attorney general of California." [Politico, [12/03/23](#)]

John Eastman Is A Federalist Society Contributor:

HOME > CONTRIBUTORS > JOHN C. EASTMAN



in f t

Dr. John C. Eastman

Topics: Free Speech & Election Law · Federalism & Separation of Powers · Religious Liberties · Civil Rights



[Federalist Society, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

- **Eastman Has Been Featured In At Least 112 Federalist Society Events.** [Federalist Society, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

PILF Chairman Cleta Mitchell—"One Of The Key Figures" In The Scheme To Overturn The Election Who Advised Trump In His Notorious Call With Georgia's Secretary Of State—Has Served Alongside Leo On The Far-Right Council For National Policy's Board Of Governors And Is A Federalist Society Contributor.

Cleta Mitchell Was The Chairman Of The Public Interest Legal Foundation's Board Of Directors As Of January 2024:



CLETA MITCHELL
Chairman

[Public Interest Legal Foundation, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

Cleta Mitchell Is A Federalist Society Contributor:



Cleta Mitchell

Partner (retd.), Foley & Lardner LLP

Topics: Telecommunications & Electronic Media · Free Speech & Election Law · Federalism & Separation of Powers

[The Federalist Society, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

- **Mitchell Has Been Featured In At Least 8 Federalist Society Events Since 2008.** [The Federalist Society, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

Leonard Leo And Cleta Mitchell Were Members Of The Secretive Far-Right Council For National Policy As Of January 2022—Leo And Mitchell Were Both On The Group’s Board Of Governors As Of Early 2022. “CNP members range from the leaders of the Heritage Foundation and the Federalist Society, to the Southern Poverty Law Center designated anti-LGBTQ hate groups Family Research Council and Alliance Defending Freedom. The heads of major foundations on the right, including those of Donors Trust and the Bradley Foundation, are also members. [...] The new membership list was shared by a member of CNP in January 2022 and obtained by Documented. Although the list does not include a specific date, metadata of the file shows it was created on January 19, 2022.” [Documented, [03/18/22](#)]

- **Leonard Leo Was On The Council For National Policy’s Board Of Governors As Of Early 2022.** “Leonard Leo [...] He is a member of CNP’s Board of Governors.” [Documented, [03/18/22](#)]
- **Cleta Mitchell Was On The Council For National Policy’s Board Of Governors As Of Early 2022.** “Cleta Mitchell [...] She is a member of CNP’s Board of Governors.” [Documented, [03/18/22](#)]
- **The Council For National Policy Is Highly Secretive And The Group Threatens Expulsion For Any Members Who Reveal Its Membership List.** “The membership list of the Council for National Policy is supposed to be a prized secret. A 2016 internal CNP policy obtained by Documented threatens expulsion for anyone that breaks the rules and names names. So anytime a list like this comes out, it’s a big deal for those trying to follow what is happening in right-wing circles.” [Documented, [03/18/22](#)]

Cleta Mitchell Was “One Of The Key Figures” In Trump’s Scheme To Overturn The 2020 Election And Was Among “A Cadre Of Republican Lawyers Who Frantically Compiled Unsubstantiated Accusations, Debunked Claims And An Array Of Confusing And Inconclusive Eyewitness Reports.” “In a hotel conference center outside Harrisburg, Pa., Cleta Mitchell, one of the key figures in a failed scheme to overturn Donald J. Trump’s defeat, was leading a seminar on ‘election integrity.’ [...] In the days after the 2020 election, Ms. Mitchell was among a cadre of Republican lawyers who frantically compiled unsubstantiated accusations, debunked claims and an array of confusing and inconclusive eyewitness reports to build the case that the election was marred by fraud.” [The New York Times, [05/30/22](#)]

January 2021: Cleta Mitchell Resigned From Her Partnership At Law Firm Foley And Lardner Amid Criticism Of Her Role Advising Then-President Donald Trump For A Phone Call Where He Pressured Georgia’s Secretary Of State To Overturn The 2020 Election. “Republican attorney Cleta Mitchell resigned from her law firm Tuesday after advising President Trump on a phone call with Georgia state officials during which he urged them to find evidence that could overturn the state’s November election results. Mitchell resigned her partnership from the Washington, D.C., office of Foley & Lardner following criticism of her involvement in the Jan. 2 phone call between Trump and Georgia officials.” [NPR, [01/06/21](#)]

The Claremont Institute—Which Has Become A “Nerve Center Of The American Right” And Is Tied To The Same Funding Network As Leo—Filed A Brief Authored By Senior Fellow John Yoo, Whose Pro-Trump Book Features A Back Cover Quote From Leo, Who Has Made Multiple Appearances With Leo, And Has Been Featured In About 150 Federalist Society Events...

The Center For Constitutional Jurisprudence At The Claremont Institute—Which “Made The Intellectual Case For Trump,” And Has Become A “Nerve Center Of The American Right”—Filed An Amicus Brief Backing Trump.

The Claremont Institute’s Center For Constitutional Jurisprudence Filed An Amicus Brief In Support Of Trump, Prepared By Counsel Of Record John Yoo:

**BRIEF OF *AMICUS CURIAE*
CLAREMONT INSTITUTE’S CENTER FOR
CONSTITUTIONAL JURISPRUDENCE IN
SUPPORT OF PETITIONER**

JOHN YOO
Counsel of Record
1550 Tiburon Blvd. #G503
Tiburon, CA 94920
(510) 600.3217
johncyoo@gmail.com

[Amicus Brief of The Claremont Institute’s Center for Constitutional Jurisprudence, Trump v. Anderson et al., Case No. 23-719, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

- **The Amicus Brief Asked The Supreme Court To Reverse The Colorado Supreme Court’s Ruling Against Trump.** “For the foregoing reasons, this Court should reverse the decision below of the Supreme Court of Colorado.” [Amicus Brief of The Claremont Institute’s Center for Constitutional Jurisprudence, Trump v. Anderson et al., Case No. 23-719, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

The Claremont Institute, Which “Made The Intellectual Case For Trump,” Has Become A “Nerve Center Of The American Right.” “How the Claremont Institute Became a Nerve Center of the American Right [...] They made the intellectual case for Trump. Now they believe the country is in a cultural civil war.” [The New York Times, [08/03/22](#)]

The Brief Was Prepared By Claremont Senior Fellow John Yoo, Who “Gained Notoriety” For Authoring George W. Bush’s Torture Memos, Who Has Been Featured In At Least 150 Federalist Society Events, Has Had Leo Provide A Back Cover Quote Praising Yoo’s Book On Trump, And Has Made Multiple Appearances With Leo.

John Yoo, A Senior Fellow For The Claremont Institute, Was The Counsel Of Record For The Claremont Institute’s Amicus Brief:

BRIEF OF *AMICUS CURIAE*
CLAREMONT INSTITUTE'S CENTER FOR
CONSTITUTIONAL JURISPRUDENCE IN
SUPPORT OF PETITIONER

JOHN YOO
Counsel of Record
1550 Tiburon Blvd. #G503
Tiburon, CA 94920
(510) 600.3217
johncyoo@gmail.com

[Amicus Brief of The Claremont Institute's Center for Constitutional Jurisprudence,
Trump v. Anderson et al., Case No. 23-719, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

- **John Yoo Is A Senior Fellow For The Claremont Institute.** [The Claremont Institute, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

September 2023: John Yoo—Who “Gained Notoriety” For Authoring Memos Justifying George W. Bush’s Use Of Torture Against Terrorism Suspects—took The Stand In Defense Of Claremont Institute Leader John Eastman, Who Wrote Memos Claiming Trump Could Overturn The 2020 Election. “John Yoo, the onetime US Justice Department lawyer who gained notoriety for memoranda he authored widely seen as justifying the use of torture when interrogating terrorism suspects, took the stand Tuesday in defense of embattled conservative law professor John Eastman. Eastman, an advisor to ex-President Donald Trump and former Chapman University law school dean is relying on the former George W. Bush administration official to support Eastman’s contentions that his work to buttress Trump’s claim to a second term wasn’t without legal basis. [...] Eastman wrote memos advancing theories that Pence as president of the Senate could reject electoral college votes, declare Trump the victor, or delay Congress certifying the 2020 results.” [Bloomberg Law, [09/12/23](#)]

- **John Eastman Is A Senior Fellow For The Claremont Institute And Founding Director Of Its Center For Constitutional Jurisprudence.** [Claremont Institute, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

Yoo Is A Federalist Society Contributor:



in f

Prof. John C. Yoo

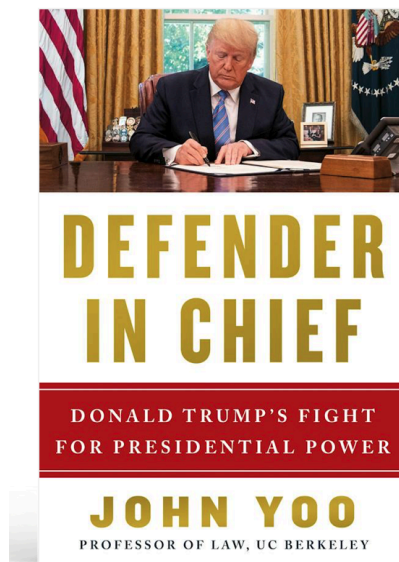
Emanuel S. Heller Professor of Law, University of California at Berkeley;
Nonresident Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute; Visiting
Fellow, Hoover Institution

[The Federalist Society, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

- **Yoo Has Been Featured In At Least 150 Federalist Society Events Since 2003.** [The Federalist Society, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

Leonard Leo Contributed A Back Cover Quote For Yoo’s Book *Defender In Chief*, Praising The Book As “An Important Reminder Of The Delicate Balance Of Power Our Constitution Strikes.” “Why defend presidential power? Because, as counterintuitive as it might seem, energy in the executive actually advances individual freedom by curbing the threats of legislative and bureaucratic tyranny. The Founders understood this, and John Yoo’s *Defender in Chief* is an important reminder of the delicate balance of power our

Constitution strikes.’ —Leonard Leo, co-chairman of the board of directors of the Federalist Society”
[Macmillan Publishers, accessed [01/23/24](#)]



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PRAISE FOR **DEFENDER IN CHIEF**

[...]

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—**LEONARD LEO**, co-chairman of the board of directors of the Federalist Society

[Defender in Chief via Amazon.com, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

March 2019: Yoo And Leonard Leo Appeared Together In A *National Review* Discussion Of “The Modern Threats That Progressivism Poses To The Structural Protections Of Freedom In America.” “Yoo and Leonard Leo, executive vice president of the Federalist Society, joined National Review on Thursday to discuss the modern threats that progressivism poses to the structural protections of freedom in America.”
[National Review, [03/28/19](#)]



[National Review, [03/28/19](#)]

March 2019: Yoo Appears To Have Moderated An American Enterprise Institute Event Titled “Reshaping The Courts: A View From The Inside,” At Which Leonard Leo Was Scheduled To Appear Alongside Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-KY) And Trump Transportation Secretary Elaine Chao. “In 2019, Transportation Secretary Elaine Chao’s calendars show her attending the AEI World Forum, a secretive gathering for Republican luminaries hosted by the American Enterprise Institute. While the schedule for the event wasn’t publicly released, documents we obtained through FOIA show that Chao was scheduled to attend a panel on ‘Reshaping the Courts: A View from the Inside’ featuring McConnell (who is also Chao’s husband), Leo, and John Yoo, the Bush administration attorney known for his role in authorizing the torture of ‘War on Terror’ detainees.” [American Oversight, [09/24/20](#)]

- **Yoo Appears To Have Moderated The March 11, 2019 Event:**

Mon, Mar 11
General Session
The Cloister
Ifil 6
Free
AEI Luncheon: Reshaping the Courts: A View from the Inside with Leonard Leo, Mitch McConnell, John Yoo (Moderator)

[FOIA Records via American Oversight, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

The Claremont Institute Has Received Over \$440,000 From DonorsTrust, The “Dark Money ATM Of The Right” Which Has Exchanged Tens Of Millions Of Dollars With Leo’s Network.

2022: The Claremont Institute Received A \$100,500 Grant From DonorsTrust:

(155) Claremont Institute 1317 West Foothill Boulevard Upland, CA 91786	95-3443202	501(c)(3)	100,500	0	N/A	N/A	for general operations
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[Donors Trust IRS Form 990, [2022](#)]

2021: The Claremont Institute Received A \$120,500 Grant From DonorsTrust:

Claremont Institute 1317 West Foothill Boulevard Suite Upland, CA 91786	95-3443202	501(c)(3)	120,500.	0.	N/A	N/A	for general operations
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[Donors Trust IRS Form 990, [2021](#)]

2020: The Claremont Institute Received A \$156,500 Grant From DonorsTrust:

Claremont Institute 1317 West Foothill Boulevard Suite Upland, CA 91786	95-3443202	501(c)(3)	156,500.	0.	N/A	N/A	for general operations
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[Donors Trust IRS Form 990, [2020](#)]

2019: The Claremont Institute Received Two Grants Worth \$66,712 From DonorsTrust:

Claremont Institute 1317 West Foothill Boulevard Suite 120 Upland, CA 91786	95-3443202	501(c)(3)	\$20,712.88	N/A	Cash	N/A	for general operations
Claremont Institute 1317 West Foothill Boulevard Suite 120 Upland, CA 91786	95-3443202	501(c)(3)	\$46,000.00	N/A	Cash	N/A	for general operations (1% of 2017 expenses)

[Donors Trust IRS Form 990, [2019](#)]

In 2021, Leonard Leo's 85 Fund Received A \$17.1 Million Gift Through DonorsTrust, Known As The "Dark Money ATM Of The Right." "One of the biggest conservative dark money organizations in the nation was boosted last year by two separate anonymous gifts, each totaling more than \$425 million dollars. The money sent to DonorsTrust, a 501(c)(3) charity that has become one of the most influential conduit of funds in Republican-leaning circles, was a huge chunk of the more than \$1 billion the group brought in in 2021, according to a tax filing obtained first by POLITICO. They are among the largest ever donations to a politically-connected group. DonorsTrust used those funds to support a vast network of prominent conservative causes, including a \$17.1 million gift it made to The 85 Fund, a group founded by a major engine of the conservative movement: Leonard Leo." [Politico, [11/16/22](#)]

- **DonorsTrust Is An Influential Right-Wing Donor Group Non-Profit Dubbed The "Dark Money ATM Of The Right."** "They all have one thing in common: They received anonymous funding funneled through a single conservative dark money behemoth. That's the news in the latest IRS filing from Donors Trust—a conservative, Koch-aligned nonprofit which does not need to reveal the names of its donors and has been called the 'dark money ATM of the right.'" [The Daily Beast, [11/22/21](#)]

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Purpose of grant	General Support		

[85 Fund 990, [2021](#)]

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Page: 1		Part II, Line 1	
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		Recipient EIN	Amt. of cash grant Amt. of non-cash asst.
Name and address	Donors Trust 1800 Diagonal Rd Ste 280 Alexandria, VA 22314	52-2166327	92,000,000
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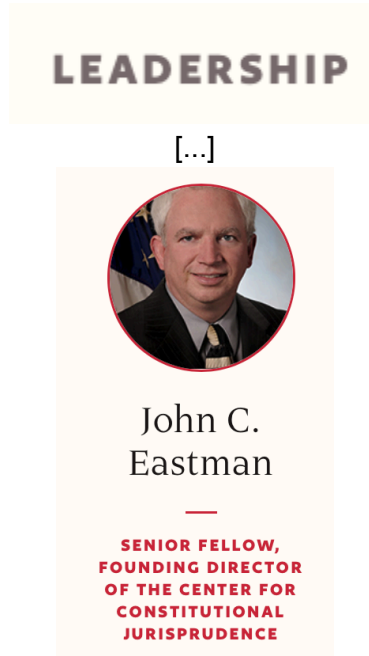
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Service at Chapman University's Dale E. Fowler School of Law. He is also a Senior Fellow of the Claremont Institute. [...] Carrie Severino is chief counsel and policy director of the Judicial Crisis Network." [The American Mind, [06/29/18](#)]

- **Eastman Is Listed Among The Claremont Institute's "Leadership":**



[The Claremont Institute, accessed [12/14/23](#)]

- **Eastman Was Still Listed As Director For The Claremont Center For Constitutional Jurisprudence, As Of January 2024.** [The Claremont Institute, accessed [01/23/24](#)]
- **As Of October 2023, The State Bar Of California Was "Seeking To Strip Eastman Of His Law License" Due To His Role In Trying To Overturn The 2020 Presidential Election.** "The State Bar of California is seeking to strip Eastman of his law license, arguing that his efforts to overturn Democrat Joe Biden's victory over former Republican president Trump during the 2020 presidential election was unsupported by law or precedent and ran contrary to U.S. values. [...] Eastman, a former law professor at Chapman University in California, drafted legal memos suggesting then-Vice President Mike Pence could refuse to accept electoral votes for Biden from several swing states when Congress convened to certify the 2020 vote count. Pence rebuffed his arguments, saying he did not have legal authority." [Reuters, [10/20/23](#)]
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**BRIEF OF CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL
JURISPRUDENCE, JUDICIAL EDUCATION
PROJECT, REASON FOUNDATION, THE
INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS FOUNDATION, THE
HERITAGE FOUNDATION, ENDING SPENDING,
INC., AND FORMER SENATORS GEORGE
LEMIEUX AND HANK BROWN AS *AMICI CURIAE*
IN SUPPORT OF RESPONDENTS
(MINIMUM COVERAGE PROVISION ISSUE)**

JOHN C. EASTMAN

CHRISTOPHER R.J. PACE

[Amicus Brief of the Center for Constitutional Jurisprudence et al.,
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Recipient Name	Recipient Committee	Recipient Committee ID	Office Sought	Ballot Measure(s)	Contributor Name	Contributor ID	Amount	Date
EASTMAN, JOHN C.	John Eastman for Attorney General 2010	1323807	Attorney General		Leo, Leonard		\$500.00	Mar 23, 2010

[California Secretary of State, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

- **According To The Accountability Project, Leo Listed His Employer As The Federalist Society For This Contribution;**

Date	From
2010-03-23	LEONARD LEO :: FEDERALIST SOCIETY MCLEAN VA

[The Accountability Project, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

- **Eastman's Campaign For Attorney General Was Unsuccessful.** "Both Leo and Ginni Thomas donated to Eastman's unsuccessful 2010 campaign for state attorney general of California." [Politico, [12/03/23](#)]

John Eastman Is A Federalist Society Contributor:



in f t

Dr. John C. Eastman

Topics: Free Speech & Election Law · Federalism & Separation of Powers · Religious Liberties · Civil Rights



[Federalist Society, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

- **Eastman Has Been Featured In At Least 112 Federalist Society Events.** [Federalist Society, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

Pro-Trump Amicus Filer Landmark Legal Foundation Is Chaired By Mark Levin, Who Called Leo A “Great Patriot” In A 2009 Federalist Society Keynote Speech And Who Leo Introduced As “Our Old Federalist Society Stalwart”...

The Conservative Landmark Legal Foundation Filed An Amicus Brief Asking The Supreme Court To Overturn The Colorado Supreme Court’s Ruling Against Trump.

The Landmark Legal Foundation, A “Conservative Legal Advocacy Group,” Filed An Amicus Brief Asking The Supreme Court To Reverse The Colorado Supreme Court’s Decision Against Trump:

**BRIEF OF *AMICUS CURIAE*
LANDMARK LEGAL FOUNDATION
IN SUPPORT OF PETITIONER**

RICHARD P. HUTCHISON
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FOUNDATION
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816-931-5559

MICHAEL J. O’NEILL
Counsel of Record
MATTHEW C. FORYS
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703-554-6119 (Facsimile)
mike@landmarklegal.org

Attorneys for Amicus Curiae

[Amicus Brief of the Landmark Legal Foundation,
Trump v. Anderson et al., Case No. 23-719, [01/11/24](#)]

- **The Brief Asked The Supreme Court to Reverse The Colorado Supreme Court’s Decision Against Trump.** “For these reasons, the Court should reverse the decision of the Colorado Supreme Court.” [Amicus Brief of the Landmark Legal Foundation, Trump v. Anderson et al., Case No. 23-719, [01/11/24](#)]


- **The Landmark Legal Foundation Is “A Conservative Legal Advocacy Group.”** “‘Damages from intentional destruction of property are not inherent to the act of striking,’ said Michael O’Neill of the Landmark Legal Foundation, a conservative legal advocacy group that submitted a brief in the case.” [The New York Times, [06/01/23](#)]

Landmark Legal’s Chairman Mark Levin Gave The Keynote Address At The Federalist Society’s 2009 National Lawyers Convention, Where Leo Introduced Levin As “Our Old Federalist Society Stalwart” And Where Levin Opened With, “I Want You To Know What A Great Patriot Leonard Leo Really Is,” Calling The Federalist Society “Magnificent.”

Mark R. Levin, Is The Chairman Of The Board For The Landmark Legal Foundation. “Mark also serves as Chairman of the Board of Landmark Legal Foundation.” [Landmark Legal Foundation, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

Board of Directors

[...]



Mark R. Levin

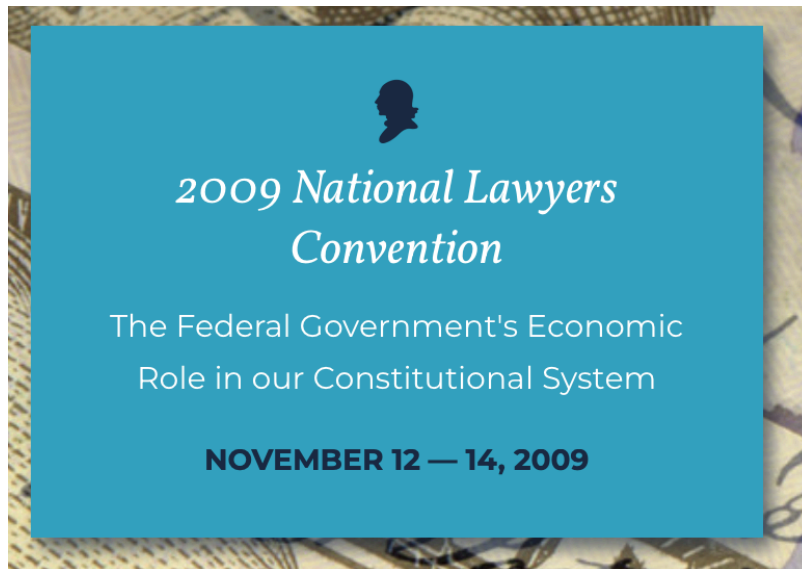
Mark Levin is the host of *The Mark Levin Show*, one of the most respected political radio shows in the country. Heard by 14 plus millions in America and around the world, *The Mark Levin Show* airs 6:00 – 9:00 pm EST on over 300 stations across the United States, on satellite radio, live streaming apps, and by podcast. Mark’s outstanding talent as a radio host earned him induction in the National Radio Hall of Fame in November 2018.

[Landmark Legal Foundation, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

(5) MARK R LEVIN DIRECTOR/CHAIRMAN
--

[Landmark Legal Foundation IRS Form 990, [2022](#)]

November 2009: At The Federalist Society’s National Lawyers Convention, Then-Executive Vice President Leonard Leo Introduced Then-Landmark Legal Foundation President Mark Levin’s Keynote Address:



[...]

4:30 p.m. - 5:30
p.m.

Address by Mark Levin
2009 National Lawyers Convention

[...]

DESCRIPTION

- **Mr. Mark R. Levin**, President, Landmark Legal Foundation and Author of *Liberty and Tyranny: A Conservative Manifesto*
- **Introduction: Mr. Leonard A. Leo**, Executive Vice President, The Federalist Society

[The Federalist Society, accessed [01/23/24](#)]

In His Introduction, Leo Called Mark Levin “Our Old Federalist Society Stalwart” And Stating That He Could Recognize Levin By His Voice. “So I I come home from work on one night, and I hear this man's voice booming in my kitchen. And I suddenly realized that it was our old Federalist Society stalwart Mark Levin.” [The Federalist Society via YouTube, 11/20/09, accessed [01/23/24](#) (00:13)]

Leo Concluded His Introduction By Praising Levin’s “Extraordinary Ability To Take The Rule Of Law And Constitutional Concepts We All Talk And Think About And To Communicate Them In Ways That Are More Readily Accessible, And More Readily Accessible, And Embraced By A Broad Cross-Section Of America.” “Now, as dinners being readied and what I've slowly learned and come to be deeply impressed with, is his extraordinary ability to take the rule of law and constitutional concepts we all talk and think about and to communicate them in ways that are more readily accessible, and more readily accessible, and embraced by a broad cross-section of America. And that is a truly special talent, and one that I know many of us wish we we had to the degree that that that Mark Levin has.” [The Federalist Society via YouTube, 11/20/09, accessed [01/23/24](#) (01:06)]



[The Federalist Society via YouTube, 11/20/09, accessed [01/23/24](#)]



[The Federalist Society via YouTube, 11/20/09, accessed [01/23/24](#) (03:51)]

Levin Opened His Remarks By Saying “I Want You To Know What A Great Patriot Leonard Leo Really Is” And How “The Federalist Society Is So Magnificent The Libs Set Up Their Own Society To Try And Copy” It. “I want you to know what a great patriot Leonard Leo really is. How hard he works. And the Federalist Society is so magnificent the libs set up their own society to try and copy - what's that group called, the American whatever? ...don't need to brand them. I like the way they put American and everything, but they don't really mean it” [The Federalist Society via YouTube, 11/20/09, accessed [01/23/24](#) (04:08)]



[The Federalist Society via YouTube, 11/20/09, accessed [01/23/24](#) (04:08)]

Levin Is A Federalist Society Contributor:

Mark R. Levin

President, Landmark Legal Foundation

[The Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

...Landmark's Board Member And Second Vice Chairman Edwin Meese III Is On The Federalist Society's Board Of Directors; Has Been Praised By Leo As "Our Moral Compass" Who Had "An Enormous Effect" On Leo; And Has Praised Leo For Being A "Counterforce" And For Leo's "Leadership In The Judicial Selection Process."

Former Reagan Attorney General Edwin Meese III Is On Landmark Legal Foundation's Board Of Directors, Served As Its Second Vice-Chairman As Of A Tax Filing Signed November 2023, And Has A Highly-Paid Landmark Legal Fellowship Named In His Honor...

Edwin Meese III—Attorney General Under President Ronald Reagan—Is A Member Of Landmark Legal Foundation's Board Of Directors And Was Its Second Vice Chairman As Of A Tax Filing Signed November 2023:

Board of Directors

[...]



Hon. Edwin Meese, III

Ronald Reagan Distinguished Fellow Emeritus, The Heritage Foundation

Topics: Criminal Law & Procedure • Federalism & Separation of Powers • International & National Security Law

[The Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

- **Meese Has Been Featured In At Least 12 Federalist Society Events Since 1996.** [The Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

2019: The Federalist Society Posted An Article About Trump Awarding Meese The Presidential Medal Of Freedom, Writing, “On Behalf Of Everyone At The Society: Congratulations!” “Today, President Donald J. Trump awarded Hon. Edwin Meese III the Presidential Medal of Freedom. [...] Attorney General Meese served as the 75th United States Attorney General. He is the founder and namesake of the Heritage Foundation’s Center for Legal and Judicial Studies and a member of the Federalist Society’s Board of Directors. On behalf of everyone at the Society: Congratulations!” [The Federalist Society, accessed [10/08/19](#)]

The Article Included An Interview That Federalist Society Co-Chairman Steven Calabresi Held With Meese, Discussing “His Upbringing, His Work With President Ronald Reagan, And His Role In Popularizing The Concept Of Originalism.” “Recently, Professor Steven G. Calabresi sat down with Attorney General Meese to learn more about his upbringing, his work with President Ronald Reagan, and his role in popularizing the concept of Originalism. Please enjoy a few excerpts from that interview:”



Excerpts from an Interview with Hon. Edwin Meese III



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[The Federalist Society via YouTube, 10/08/19, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

- **Steven G. Calabresi Is The Co-Chairman Of The Federalist Society.** [The Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

2012: The Federalist Society Review Published “The Philosopher In Action: A Tribute To The Honorable Edwin Meese III,” Praising Meese For Contributing To “Substantive Growth For The Conservative Legal

Movement.” “Meese’s congenial leadership continues to facilitate new avenues of substantive growth for the conservative legal movement, including combating the growth of federal criminal law, and limits on congressional power. For these, and his many other achievements detailed herein, Americans owe him their thanks through analyzing his experiences in public life. This tribute strives to do just that.” [The Federalist Society, [03/22/12](#)]



The Philosopher in Action: A Tribute to the Honorable Edwin Meese III

William J. Haun ⌚ Mar 22, 2012

[The Federalist Society, [03/22/12](#)]

In 2018, Meese Said Of Leo, ““He Has Contact With Literally Dozens, Maybe Even Hundreds, Of People Throughout The Country Who Are Very Knowledgeable About The Federal Judiciary,”” Adding, ““That Gives Him A Resource That Very Few People Have.”” ““He has contact with literally dozens, maybe even hundreds, of people throughout the country who are very knowledgeable about the federal judiciary,” said Edwin Meese, a Republican attorney general in the Reagan administration and board member of the Federalist Society, who has long been affiliated with the influential Heritage Foundation. ‘That gives him a resource that very few people have.’” [Associated Press, [07/03/18](#)]

In 2005, Leonard Leo Praised Former Reagan Administration Attorney General Edwin Meese III As “Our Moral Compass” As The Federalist Society Prepared To Honor The 20th Anniversary Of An Influential Speech Meese Gave On Originalism—Leo Said The Speech Had ““An Enormous”” And “Heady” Influence On Him.

August 2005: Leonard Leo Praised Edwin Meese III As “Our Moral Compass” And Our “Utility Infielder,” As The Federalist Society Prepared To Mark The 20th Anniversary Of A Famous Speech Meese Gave On Originalism. “Mr. Meese gets more than 300 speaking requests a year, said schedulers at the Heritage Foundation, where he is a policy fellow. This fall, the Federalist Society, a conservative lawyers’ group, is devoting its annual convention to the topic of originalism to mark the 20th anniversary of his speech. ‘He is our utility infielder,’ said Leonard A. Leo, executive vice president of the society. ‘He deals with whatever issue is on our plate at a given moment. And he is our moral compass. He reminds us, just by his presence, there is a long history to defending a judicial philosophy that pays proper respect to the Constitution as it is written.’” [The New York Times, [08/17/05](#)]

- **Then-Reagan Administration Attorney General Edwin Meese III Gave The Speech In July 1985.** “It was July 1985 and the newly confirmed attorney general, Edwin Meese III, was preparing to address the American Bar Association. Trouble was, he was conflicted about what to say.” [The New York Times, [08/17/05](#)]

Edwin Meese, Now “Lionized By Conservatives For His Role In Reshaping The Judiciary,” Was U.S. Attorney General From 1985 To 1988. “Vilified by liberals as an ideologue and embroiled in frequent disputes with more moderate figures within the Reagan administration, Mr. Meese is now lionized by conservatives for his role in reshaping the judiciary. At 73, he is still at it.” [The New York Times, [08/17/05](#)]

- **“Edwin Meese III Served As U.S. Attorney General From 1985 To 1988.”** [The Washington Post, [11/29/21](#)]

Leonard Leo Attended Meese’s Speech, Recalling That “It Had An Enormous Influence On Me,” And It Was “Certainly A Heady Moment For Me As A Student.” “Mr. Leo, then a student at Cornell who was taking

off a semester to work as an aide for the Senate Judiciary Committee, remembers attending the Federalist Society speech. 'It had an enormous influence on me,' he said. 'It was a fairly young crowd, lawyers, a lot of Reagan Justice officials. It was quite an affair. Certainly a heady moment for me as a student.'" [The New York Times, [08/17/05](#)]

In 2018, Meese Praised Leo For Being A "Counterforce" And For His "Leadership In The Judicial Selection Process" In A Video The Anti-Choice Benedict Leadership Institute Produced For An Award It Gave To Leo For Bearing "Personal Witness To The Sanctity Of Human Life."

April 2018: Edwin Meese III Praised Leonard Leo For His "Leadership In The Judicial Selection Process" And For Being A "Counterforce" In A Video For An Award Leo Received For Bearing "Personal Witness To The Sanctity Of Human Life." "Leonard, in particular with his leadership of the Federalist Society, his leadership in the judicial selection process, has done very much to provide a counterforce and to promote the idea of protecting religious liberty through protecting the constitution." [Video 2, The Benedict Leadership Institute, [04/11/18](#)]



[Video 2, The Benedict Leadership Institute, [04/11/18](#)]

- **April 2018: Leonard Leo Accepted The Benedict Leadership Award From Belmont Abbey College's Benedict Leadership Institute—The Award Recognized His "Personal Witness To The Sanctity Of Human Life."** "Leonard Leo, executive vice president of the Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy, has been named the second recipient of the Benedict Leadership Award. The award, given by the Benedict Leadership Institute at Belmont Abbey College, was presented March 22 at Belmont Abbey College. The Institute selected Leo for his dedication to the defense of religious liberty both in the United States and abroad and for his personal witness to the sanctity of human life." [Catholic News Herald, [04/11/18](#)]
- **February 2012: In Testimony Before The House Oversight Committee, Belmont Abbey College President Bill Thierfelder Said On Behalf Of The College, "We Are Unwavering In Our Belief That Contraception, Sterilization, And Abortion Are Against God's Law. This Is What We Teach Our Students."** "When the mandate was issued in August 2011, we were stunned. Belmont Abbey College, which was founded in 1876 by Benedictine Monks, is affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church and the

Order of St. Benedict. We are unwavering in our belief that contraception, sterilization, and abortion are against God's law. This is what we teach our students." [House Committee on Oversight And Government Reform Republicans, [02/16/12](#)]

A Pro-Trump Brief Was Filed By Judicial Watch, Whose President Thomas Fitton Is Also President Of The Council For National Policy (CNP), An Influential "Closed-Door Group Of Conservative Leaders" Where Leo Has Reportedly Served On The Board Of Governors, Has Been A Member, And Implored CNP Members To Treat Judicial Confirmations Like "Political Campaigns."

A Pro-Trump Amicus Brief Was Submitted By Judicial Watch, Whose President Thomas Fitton Is Was Also President Of The Council For National Policy (CNP)—An Influential "Closed-Door Group Of Conservative Leaders"—As Recently As February 2023.

Judicial Watch Inc. And The Allied Educational Foundation Filed An Amicus Brief In Support Of Trump:

**AMICI CURIAE BRIEF OF JUDICIAL WATCH,
INC. AND ALLIED EDUCATIONAL
FOUNDATION IN SUPPORT OF PETITIONER**

[Amicus Brief of Judicial Watch Inc. & Allied Educational Foundation,
Trump v. Anderson et al., Case No. 23-719, [01/18/24](#)]

- **The Brief Asked The Supreme Court To Reverse The Colorado Supreme Court's Decision Against Trump.** "Amici submit that the Colorado Supreme Court's December 19, 2023 ruling disregards this Court's Due Process precedents and respectfully request that this Court reverse and render judgment for Petitioner." [Amicus Brief of Judicial Watch Inc. & Allied Educational Foundation, Trump v. Anderson et al., Case No. 23-719, [01/18/24](#)]

Thomas Fitton Is The President Of Judicial Watch:

JUDICIAL WATCH DIRECTORS/OFFICERS

- **Thomas Fitton – President, Board Member, Officer**

[Judicial Watch, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

Thomas Fitton Was Listed As President Of The Council For National Policy In Its 2022 Tax Filing And Recognized As President As Recently As February 2023:

(1) THOMAS FITTON PRESIDENT

[Council for National Policy IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2022](#)]

- **Fitton Was Recognized As CNP’s President In A February 2023 Speech.** “Welcome all of you to Miami. I want to first begin by acknowledging the President of the Council for National Policy Tom Fitton, and also Congressman Bob McEwen, who was a long time in Miami—went to the University of Miami—for organizing such an important conference. You are now sitting in the most important city in America.” [Council for National Policy, [February 2023](#)]

The Council For National Policy (CNP) Is A Highly Confidential “Closed-Door Group Of Conservative Leaders” Whose Membership Includes “Former Vice President Mike Pence, Ralph Reed And Ginni Thomas, Wife Of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas.” “Yet here he was in a conference room at the Ritz-Carlton in McLean, Va., soliciting support from a closed-door group of conservative leaders called the Council for National Policy. [...] One of its defining features is its confidentiality. In a town where people and groups constantly angle for publicity, CNP bars the press and uninvited outsiders from its events. All members — even such luminaries as former vice president Mike Pence, Ralph Reed and Ginni Thomas, wife of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas — agree to remain silent about its activities.” [The Washington Post, [10/25/21](#)]

Leonard Leo Has Reportedly Been On CNP’s Board Of Governors And Appeared In Its Membership Directory As Recently As 2022—Leo Has Reportedly Told CNP Members, “We’re Going To Have To Understand That Judicial Confirmations These Days Are More Like Political Campaigns.”

Leo, Reportedly A CNP Board Of Governors Member, Told The Group’s Members, “‘We’re Going To Have To Understand That Judicial Confirmations These Days Are More Like Political Campaigns.’” “As Leo later told members of CNP — where he served on the board of governors — that was only going to happen through a campaign by the conservative movement. ‘We’re going to have to understand that judicial confirmations these days are more like political campaigns,’ Leo said, according to one of the videos I reviewed. ‘We’re going to have to be smart as a movement.’” [The Washington Post, [10/25/21](#)]

- **Leo Is “A Member Of CNP’s Board Of Governors.”** “He is a member of CNP’s Board of Governors.” [Documented, [03/18/22](#)]

Leonard Leo Appeared In The CNP’s 2015 Directory. “I obtained an internal CNP directory for 2015 and examined it for insights about the kinds of people Trump would be courting. There were about 400 members from across the country, many of them leaders of relatively small nonprofits focused on social and religious conservatism. But I also saw some now-familiar names: Leonard Leo, then of the Federalist Society; Steve Bannon, then leader of Breitbart News and later chief executive of Trump’s campaign; David Bossie, the head of the group Citizens United and later Trump’s deputy campaign manager; and Kellyanne Conway, who would become a White House counselor.” [The Washington Post, [10/25/21](#)]

Leonard Leo Appeared In A CNP Directory Created In 2022. “The new membership list was shared by a member of CNP in January 2022 and obtained by Documented. Although the list does not include a specific date, metadata of the file shows it was created on January 19, 2022.” [Documented, [03/18/22](#)]

Council for National Policy Membership Directory

Leonard A. Leo		
Name	Position	Organization
Mr. Leonard A. Leo	Chairman	CRC Advisors

[Documented, [03/18/22](#)]

Two Federalist Society Board Of Directors Members Serve On CNP's Board Of Directors, As It Appeared In Its Most Recently Available Tax Filing.

Edwin Meese III Was Listed As A Director For The Council For National Policy In Its 2022 Tax Filing:

(20) EDWIN MEESE III
DIRECTOR

[Council for National Policy IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2022](#)]

Board of Directors

[...]

Hon. Edwin Meese III

[Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

T. Kenneth Cribb Jr. Was Listed As A Director For The Council For National Policy In Its 2022 Tax Filing:

(13) T KENNETH CRIBB JR
DIRECTOR

[Council for National Policy IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2022](#)]

Board of Directors

[...]

Hon. T. Kenneth Cribb, Jr.

[Federalist Society, accessed [01/24/24](#)]

Judicial Watch Lawyers Who Served As Counsel On The Amicus Brief Are Both Federalist Society Contributors.

Judicial Watch's Robert D. Popper, A Federalist Society Contributor, Is Counsel Of Record For The Amicus Brief:

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Counsel of Record
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Washington, DC 20024
(202) 646-5172
rpopper@judicialwatch.org

[Amicus Brief of Judicial Watch Inc. & Allied Educational Foundation,

- **Robert Popper Is A Federalist Society Contributor:**



Robert Popper

Senior Attorney and Director, Election Integrity Project, Judicial Watch

[The Federalist Society, accessed [01/25/24](#)]

Judicial Watch's T. Russell Nobile, A Federalist Society Contributor, Is A Counsel For The Amicus Brief:

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(202) 527-9866

[Amicus Brief of Judicial Watch Inc. & Allied Educational Foundation,
Trump v. Anderson et al., Case No. 23-719, [01/18/24](#)]

- **T. Russell Nobile Is A Federalist Society Contributor:**



T. Russell Nobile

Senior Attorney, Judicial Watch

[The Federalist Society, accessed [01/25/25](#)]

Conservative Corporate Law Firm Jones Day, Which Authored A Pro-Trump Brief For The National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC), Was Where Leo, Trump, And Then-Jones Day Partner Don McGahn—Who Became Trump's White House Counsel Before Rejoining Jones Day In 2019—Met To Conceive Trump's "Crucial" Supreme Court Shortlist...

A Pro-Trump Brief Was Filed On Behalf Of Sen. Steven Daines And The National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC) By Four Lawyers From Jones Day, A "Corporate Law Firm" That Has "Push[ed] To Move The American Government And Courts To The Right."

A Pro-Trump Brief Was Filed On Behalf Of Sen. Steve Daines And The National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC) By Jones Day Lawyers Noel J. Francisco, John M. Gore, E. Stewart Crosland, And Hashim M. Mooppan. "The right of all citizens to participate in free and fair elections and to vote for the

candidate of their choice is the Constitution's bedrock guarantee of American democracy. The Colorado Supreme Court's decision barring President Trump from the Republican Party's primary election ballot breaches that guarantee and, if left standing, threatens to thwart the democratic process and the will of the American people in 2024 and beyond." [Amicus Brief for Sen. Steve Daines & National Republican Senatorial Committee, Trump v. Anderson et al., Case No. 23-719, [January 2024](#)]

**BRIEF FOR SENATOR STEVE DAINES &
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL
COMMITTEE AS *AMICI CURIAE*
IN SUPPORT OF PETITIONERS**

NOEL J. FRANCISCO
JOHN M. GORE
Counsel of Record
E. STEWART CROSLAND
HASHIM M. MOOPAN
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jmgore@jonesday.com

Counsel for Amici Curiae

[Amicus Brief for Sen. Steve Daines & National Republican Senatorial Committee,
Trump v. Anderson et al., Case No. 23-719, [January 2024](#)]

- **Noel J. Francisco—Former Solicitor General Under Trump—Is Partner-In-Charge For Jones Day's Washington Office.** "Noel Francisco served as the 47th Solicitor General of the United States, from 2017 to 2020."



[Jones Day, accessed [01/26/24](#)]

Jones Day Is A "Corporate Law Firm" That Has "Push[ed] To Move The American Government And Courts To The Right":

How a Corporate Law Firm Led a Political Revolution

The untold story of Jones Day's push to move the American government and courts to the right.

[The New York Times Magazine, [08/25/22](#)]

- **Jones Day Is An “International Law Firm.”** “On a balmy Saturday night in June, Traci Lovitt hosted a 50th birthday party for her husband, Ara, at their 9,800-square-foot Westchester mansion overlooking Long Island Sound. The couple met while clerking for Supreme Court justices: Traci for Sandra Day O’Connor, Ara for Antonin Scalia. These days, Ara worked in finance. Traci was a top partner at — and a contender to one day run — the international law firm of Jones [The New York Times Magazine, [08/25/22](#)]

Leonard Leo, Donald Trump, And Then-Jones Day Partner Don McGahn—Who Became Trump’s White House Counsel And Rejoined Jones Day In 2019—Met At Jones Day’s Washington Office To Conceive Trump’s Supreme Court Shortlist, Which Would Be “A Crucial Turning Point “ For Trump’s 2016 Campaign.

Leonard Leo, Along With Republican Senators And House Members, Appeared At Jones Day’s Capitol Hill Office To Meet With Don McGahn—”The Jones Day Partner Who Helped Run Trump’s Campaign And Then Became His White House Counsel”—Who Was Trying To Sell Then-Candidate Donald Trump To Establishment Republicans. “That March, about two dozen Republicans — senators, House members, lobbyists, Leonard Leo of the Federalist Society, among others — showed up at Jones Day’s neoclassical building on Capitol Hill for lunch. McGahn convened the session to help the conservative establishment gain comfort with the Republican Party’s unorthodox front-runner. [...] Chief among those aims was dismantling what Don McGahn — the Jones Day partner who helped run Trump’s campaign and then became his White House counsel — disparagingly referred to as the ‘administrative state.’” [The New York Times Magazine, [08/25/22](#)]

In 2019, McGahn Rejoined Jones Day As Its Practice Leader For Government Regulation. “Prior to rejoining Jones Day in 2019, Don served as Counsel to the President of the United States.” [Jones Day, accessed [01/26/24](#)]



[Jones Day, accessed [01/26/24](#)]

McGahn Recalled That Leo Asked Trump To Discuss Judges, With Trump Responding, “‘Why Don’t I Put Out A List Publicly Of People Who Could Be The Sort Of People I Would Put On The Supreme Court?’”— “After Trump spoke for a few minutes, Leo invited him to talk about judges. ‘Why don’t I put out a list publicly of people who could be the sort of people I would put on the Supreme Court?’ Trump suggested, as McGahn later recalled. The room reacted with joy.” [The New York Times Magazine, [08/25/22](#)]

Leo Recalled That It Was McGahn Who Asked Him To Bring A List Of Potential Judge Nominees. “(He and Leo have at times given divergent accounts of the fateful meeting; in Leo’s telling, McGahn had asked him to bring a list of names.)” [The New York Times Magazine, [08/25/22](#)]

Leo And McGahn Then Led A Team To Assemble The List, Which Would “Become A Crucial Turning Point For Trump’s Campaign.” “The final list of potential Supreme Court picks would take months to come together — a team led by McGahn and Leo scoured the candidates’ court opinions — but it would become a crucial turning point for Trump’s campaign.” [The New York Times Magazine, [08/25/22](#)]

McGahn Later Responded To Claims That “Trump Had Outsourced The Judge-Picking Process To The Federalist Society” With, ‘We Didn’t Outsource It,’ [...] ‘We Insourced It!’” “It was a testament to McGahn’s devotion to the cause of reconstituting the federal judiciary — a planning process that started years earlier when Trump met with Leonard Leo and others inside Jones Day’s Washington office. After he left the White House, McGahn was a regular on the conservative speaking circuit, and he liked to say how much it bugged him when Democrats grouched that Trump had outsourced the judge-picking process to the Federalist Society. ‘We didn’t outsource it,’ McGahn would recite, building to the punchline. ‘We insourced it!’” [The New York Times Magazine, [08/25/22](#)]

Jones Day Has Given As Much As \$457,000 To The Federalist Society Since 2006.

Jones Day Has Given Between \$200,000 And \$456,987 To The Federalist Society Since 2006:

Year	Benefactor Level	Contribution Amount
2022	Madison Club Silver	\$25,000-\$49,000
2021	Madison Club Silver	\$25,000-\$49,000
2019	Madison Club	\$10,000-\$24,999
2018	Madison Club	\$10,000-\$24,999
2017	Madison Club	\$10,000-\$24,999
2016	Madison Club	\$10,000-\$24,999
2015	Madison Club	\$10,000-\$24,999
2014	Madison Club	\$10,000-\$24,999
2013	Madison Club	\$10,000-\$24,999
2012	Madison Club	\$10,000-\$24,999
2011	Madison Club Silver	\$25,000-\$49,000
2010	Madison Club	\$10,000-\$24,999

2009	Madison Club	\$10,000-\$24,999
2008	Madison Club	\$10,000-\$24,999
2007	Madison Club	\$10,000-\$24,999
2006	Madison Club	\$5,000-\$9,999
	Total:	\$200,000-\$456,987

...McGahn, A Longtime Federalist Society Member, And Leo Have Exchanged Praise At A Society Event, With Leo Saying He Was “Very Grateful” For McGahn’s Role In Judicial Selection And McGahn Thanking Leo For His “Friendship, Support, And Leadership” Of The Society.

McGahn, Now Jones Day’s Practice Leader For Government Regulation, Has Told Federalist Society Members, “I Am You. You Are Me,” And Has Stated That All His White House Counsel Office Staff Were Federalist Society Members.

McGahn Has Said “All His Subordinates In The White House Counsel’s Office Were Members” Of The Federalist Society. “He noted that all his subordinates in the White House Counsel’s Office were members of the group.” [The New York Times Magazine, [08/25/22](#)]

At A Federalist Society Event, McGahn Told The Group, “I Am You. You Are Me.” “At a Federalist Society event in California in 2019, he declared: ‘I am you. You are me.’” [The New York Times Magazine, [08/25/22](#)]

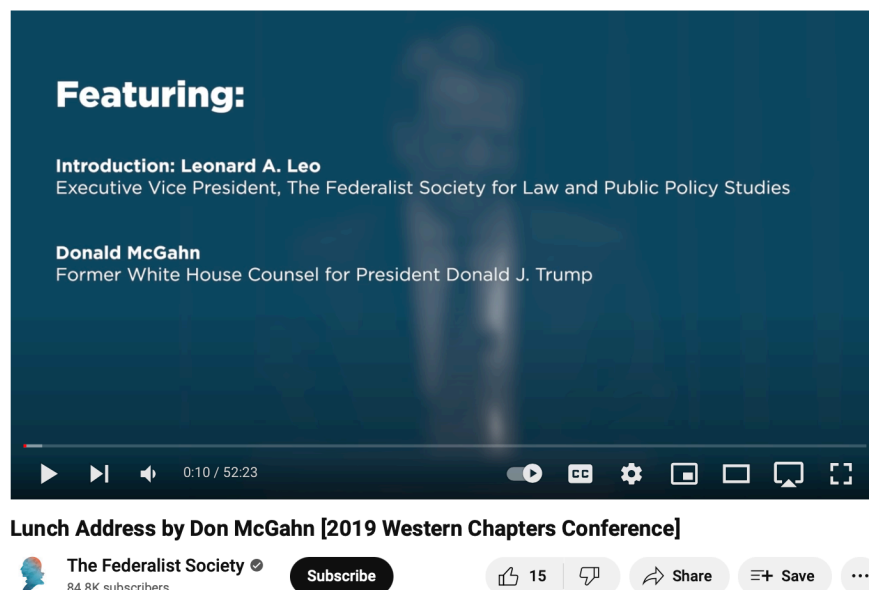
In 2019, McGahn Rejoined Jones Day As Its Practice Leader For Government Regulation. “Prior to rejoining Jones Day in 2019, Don served as Counsel to the President of the United States.” [Jones Day, accessed [01/26/24](#)]



[Jones Day, accessed [01/26/24](#)]

2019: Leo Introduced McGahn At A Federalist Society Event, Saying “Don, We’re Very Grateful For The Service That You Rendered To Our Country” And Noting McGahn’s Longtime Society Membership—McGahn Reciprocated By Personally Thanking Leo For His “Friendship, Support, Leadership Of This Organization.”

February 2019: Leonard Leo Introduced Former Trump White House Counsel Don McGahn At A Federalist Society Event:



[The Federalist Society via YouTube, 02/19/19, accessed [01/25/24](#)]

- **In 2019, McGahn Rejoined Jones Day As Its Practice Leader For Government Regulation.** “Prior to rejoining Jones Day in 2019, Don served as Counsel to the President of the United States.” [Jones Day, accessed [01/26/24](#)]



[Jones Day, accessed [01/26/24](#)]



Lunch Address by Don McGahn [2019 Western Chapters Conference]



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[The Federalist Society via YouTube, 02/19/19, accessed [01/25/24](#)]



[The Federalist Society via YouTube, 02/19/19, accessed [01/25/24](#) (05:01)]



[The Federalist Society via YouTube, 02/19/19, accessed [01/25/24](#) (38:18)]

Leo Said It Was “A Privilege” To Introduce McGahn, Citing His “Illustrious Career” And Stating “I Can’t Recall In My Professional Life, At Least, A White House Counsel Who Was As Directly And Intensely Engaged On The Enterprise Of Judicial Selection And Confirmation.” “It’s a privilege for me to be up here to introduce our speaker this afternoon, former White House Counsel Donald McGahn, who I know many of you are at least generally familiar with. And he’s had a very illustrious career. Looking to the more recent period, you know, two US Supreme Court justices, nearly 40 appellate court judges, an extremely muscular agenda on regulatory reform. These are some of the very consequential aspects of former White House Counsel Don McGahn’s legacy. I can’t recall in my professional life, at least, a white House Counsel who was as directly and intensely engaged on the enterprise of judicial selection and confirmation. And I certainly cannot recall a process as bold and entrepreneurial. An unprecedented, unprecedented, number of youthful nominees who will serve for two decades, a generation or more. A pipeline that began just on the heels of the inauguration of 2017 and was unrelenting in churning out nominees quickly.” [The Federalist Society via YouTube, 02/19/19, accessed [01/25/24](#) (00:41)]

Leo Said McGahn “Got Involved In The Federalist Society Early On In Law School” And Noted A Certificate The Society Gave Him In 1993 “For His Service As President Of His Law School Federalist Society Chapter.” “He got involved in the Federalist Society early on in law school. In fact, he just recently showed me a certificate we gave him in 1993 for his service as president of his law school Federalist Society chapter.” [The Federalist Society via YouTube, 02/19/19, accessed [01/25/24](#) (02:28)]

Leo Concluded, “Don, We’re Very Grateful For The Service That You Rendered To Our Country As Counsel To The President, The Important Legacy You’ve Established, The Important Mark You’ve Left On The Judiciary In Cooperation With With Our President.” “So first of all, Don, we’re very grateful for the service that you rendered to our country as Counsel to the President, the important legacy you’ve established, the important mark you’ve left on the judiciary in cooperation with with our President, and of course, we’re also very grateful for your participation today on our Western leadership, in our Western Conference.” [The Federalist Society via YouTube, 02/19/19, accessed [01/25/24](#) (04:21)]

McGahn Concluded His Remarks By Personally Thanking Leo—Who McGahn Said “I Knew Before, Really Know Now”—For Leo’s “Friendship, Support, Leadership Of This Organization.” “And my final is just to personally thank Leonard, who I knew before, really know now, for his friendship, support, leadership of this organization, not to diminish Jim T Meyers ultimate leadership, and everyone else involved, But Leonard, I remember bringing Leonard over to my law firm when then-candidate Trump came into town and introduced them. And they really hit it off. And and it’s it’s really it helped me because I could have a great

sounding board, and you know, President Trump wanted to make sure he knew what he was getting with his judges. And I did a lot of due diligence, that without Leonard's help, and so many here, really I look around the room, so many of you helped.” [The Federalist Society via YouTube, 02/19/19, accessed [01/25/24](#) (36:23)]

Wyoming Secretary Of State Chuck Gray’s Pro-Trump Brief Was Filed By Judd Stone—A Prominent Federalist Society Contributor Who Has Been Awarded A \$60,000 Fellowship From The Group—And By “Crucial” Former Trump Administration Lawyer Gene Hamilton, Who Now Leads Leo-Network Group America First Legal Foundation, Founded By Trump Chief Of Staff Mark Meadows.

A Pro-Trump Brief Was Filed On Behalf Of Wyoming Secretary Of State Chuck Gray By Judd E. Stone And Gene Hamilton, Former Trump Administration Lawyer And Current Vice President And General Counsel For America First Legal Foundation—Which Was Founded By Trump’s Former Chief Of Staff Mark Meadows.

Gene P. Hamilton Of America First Legal Foundation Was Counsel For Amicus Filer Chuck Gray, Who Asked The Supreme Court To Rule In Favor Of Trump. “The decision of the Colorado Supreme Court should be reversed.” [Amicus Brief of Chuck Gray, Trump v. Anderson et al., Case No. 23-719, [January 2024](#)]

**BRIEF FOR CHUCK GRAY, SECRETARY OF STATE
OF WYOMING, AS AMICUS CURIAE IN SUPPORT OF
PETITIONER**

GENE P. HAMILTON
AMERICA FIRST LEGAL
FOUNDATION
611 Pennsylvania Ave. SE
#231
Washington, DC 20003

JUDD E. STONE II
Counsel of Record
CHRISTOPHER D. HILTON
ARI CUENIN
STONE | HILTON PLLC
P.O. Box 12548 (MC 059)
Austin, Texas 78711-2548
judd@stonehilton.com
(737) 465-7248

Counsel for Amicus Curiae

[Amicus Brief of Chuck Gray, Trump v. Anderson et al., Case No. 23-719, [January 2024](#)]

- **Gene Hamilton, Former Counselor To The Attorney General During The Trump Administration, Is Vice President And General Counsel For America First Legal Foundation.** “Gene serves as Vice-President and General Counsel of America First Legal. Prior to AFL, Gene served as Counselor to the Attorney General at the United States Department of Justice from 2017-2021—providing legal advice, counsel, and strategic guidance.” [America First Legal Foundation, accessed [01/25/24](#)]

Hamilton Had A “Crucial Role” In Trump’s Immigration Policy, Helping To “Shape Trump’s Various Travel Bans, Changes To Refugee Policies, And The Implementation Of An Aggressive New Approach To Immigration Enforcement.” “A handful of officials in the White House, the Justice Department, and the Department of Homeland Security have spent the past year attempting to realize President Trump’s vision of an America that is less welcoming of foreigners. John Kelly, the White House chief of staff; Jeff Sessions, the Attorney General; and Stephen Miller, Trump’s senior adviser, have led this effort. A crucial role has also been played by a lesser-known figure: Gene Hamilton, a lawyer in his mid-thirties who works as a top aide to

Sessions at the Justice Department. Federal officials, congressional staffers, advocacy groups, and think-tank researchers know that Hamilton has helped shape Trump's various travel bans, changes to refugee policies, and the implementation of an aggressive new approach to immigration enforcement." [The New Yorker, [11/10/17](#)]

- **Hamilton Is Known As A "Close Ally" Of Stephen Miller.** "In interviews with the DOJ Office of Inspector General in the lead-up to the report, Hamilton, known as a close ally of White House adviser Stephen Miller, and Whitaker said the decision to separate families, a policy known as 'zero tolerance' that lasted two months in 2018 before it was terminated by executive order, ultimately rested with President Donald Trump and then-Department of Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen." [NBC News, [01/14/21](#)]

America First Legal Was Co-Founded By Mark Meadows In 2021. "Founded in 2021 by Trump Administration officials Stephen Miller, Gene Hamilton, and Mark Meadows, America First Legal (AFL) engages in 'lawfare' designed to defeat the ever-pervasive woke agenda infiltrating Big Business, Big Education, and Big Government." [Conservative Partnership Institute, [2022](#)]

- **Mark Meadows Was A Chief Of Staff For Trump.** "Former Trump White House chief of staff Mark Meadows has asked a federal appeals court to reconsider its decision rejecting his bid to move his Georgia election interference criminal case to federal court." [CNN, [01/02/24](#)]
- **Mark Meadows Leads Conservative Partnership Institute, "An Influential Conservative Nonprofit."** "An influential conservative nonprofit led by former Trump chief of staff Mark Meadows is buying up millions of dollars worth of office space on Capitol Hill, records show." [Axios, [01/17/23](#)]

Judd Stone Is A Federalist Society Contributor Who Has Been Featured In At Least Nine Of The Group's Events, Has Appeared Repeatedly In Its Annual Report, And Was Awarded A \$60,000 Fellowship From The Society.

Texas Solicitor General Judd Edward Stone, II Is Currently Listed As A Federalist Society Contributor:



Judd Edward Stone, II
Solicitor General, Texas

[The Federalist Society, accessed [11/02/23](#)]

- **Judd Edward Stone, II Has Been Featured In At Least Nine Federalist Society Events.** [The Federalist Society, accessed [11/02/23](#)]
- **In 2012, Stone Received The Federalist Society's Olin/Searle/Smith Fellowship, Which Granted A \$60,000 Stipend.** "Olin/Searle/Smith Fellowships [...] The Faculty Division offers Olin/Searle/Smith Fellowships to law school graduates interested in pursuing a career in legal academia. These one-year fellowships provide a \$60,000 stipend to graduates whose strong academic qualifications make them likely to contribute to intellectual diversity in the legal academy, allowing them to spend a year working on articles at a top law school. Many past recipients have gone on to earn tenure track positions at top law schools. This year's recipients were Robert Leider (Penn) and Judd Stone (Harvard)." [The Federalist Society, [2012](#)]

- **Judd Edward Stone, II Has Been Featured In At Least Two Federalist Society “Commentary” Items.** [The Federalist Society, accessed [11/02/23](#)]
- **Judd Stone Was Repeatedly Featured In The Federalist Society’s 2021 Annual Report:**



[...]

3
 Judge James Ho, Kyle Hawkins, Scott Keller, Jonathan Mitchell, and Judd Stone discuss the role of the Texas Solicitor General at the Seventh Annual Texas Chapters Conference.

[The Federalist Society, [2021](#)]



[...]

2
 Texas Solicitor General Judd Stone speaks on a panel at the Texas Chapters Conference.

America First Legal Foundation Has Taken At Least \$162,000 From DonorsTrust, The “Dark Money ATM Of The Right” Which Has Exchanged Tens Of Millions Of Dollars With Leo’s Network.

In 2021, America First Legal Foundation Received \$32,750 From DonorsTrust:

(15) America First Legal Foundation 600 14th Street NW 5th Floor Washington, DC 20005	86-2190372	501(c)(3)	25,000	0	N/A	N/A	for general operations
[...]							
(165) Conservative Partnership Institute 300 Independence Avenue SE Washington, DC 20003	82-1470217	501(c)(3)	7,750	0	N/A	N/A	\$5,000 for the Center for Renewing America/ \$2,750 to support America First Legal through your fiscal sponsorship

[Donors Trust Inc. IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2021](#)]

In 2022, America First Legal Foundation Received \$129,250 From DonorsTrust:

(19) America First Legal Foundation 611 Pennsylvania Ave SE Washington, DC 20003	86-2190372	501(c)(3)	30,000	0	N/A	N/A	for general operations
(20) America First Legal Foundation 611 Pennsylvania Ave SE Washington, DC 20003	86-2190372	501(c)(3)	99,250	0	N/A	N/A	for election reform activities

[Donors Trust Inc. IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2022](#)]

In 2021, Leonard Leo’s 85 Fund Received A \$17.1 Million Gift Through DonorsTrust, Known As The “Dark Money ATM Of The Right.” “One of the biggest conservative dark money organizations in the nation was boosted last year by two separate anonymous gifts, each totaling more than \$425 million dollars. The money sent to DonorsTrust, a 501(c)(3) charity that has become one of the most influential conduit of funds in Republican-leaning circles, was a huge chunk of the more than \$1 billion the group brought in in 2021, according to a tax filing obtained first by POLITICO. They are among the largest ever donations to a politically-connected group. DonorsTrust used those funds to support a vast network of prominent conservative causes, including a \$17.1 million gift it made to The 85 Fund, a group founded by a major engine of the conservative movement: Leonard Leo.” [Politico, [11/16/22](#)]

- **DonorsTrust Is An Influential Right-Wing Donor Group Non-Profit Dubbed The “Dark Money ATM Of The Right.”** “They all have one thing in common: They received anonymous funding funneled through a single conservative dark money behemoth. That’s the news in the latest IRS filing from Donors Trust—a conservative, Koch-aligned nonprofit which does not need to reveal the names of its donors and has been called the ‘dark money ATM of the right.’” [The Daily Beast, [11/22/21](#)]

In 2020, Donors Trust Received \$59.1 Million From The Marble Freedom Trust, A Conservative Group “Controlled By Leonard Leo.” “A new conservative nonprofit group scored a \$1.6 billion windfall last year via a little-known donor — an extraordinary sum that could give Republicans and their causes a huge financial boost ahead of the midterms, and for years to come. The source of the money was Barre Seid, an electronics manufacturing mogul, and the donation is among the largest — if not the largest — single contributions ever made to a politically focused nonprofit. The beneficiary is a new political group controlled by Leonard A. Leo, an activist who has used his connections to Republican donors and politicians to help engineer the conservative dominance of the Supreme Court and to finance battles over abortion rights, voting rules and

climate change policy. [...] For perspective, the \$1.6 billion that the Marble trust reaped from the sale is slightly more than the total of \$1.5 billion spent in 2020 by 15 of the most politically active nonprofit organizations that generally align with Democrats, according to an analysis by The Times. [...] Two other funds that steer money into conservative politics, Donors Trust and Schwab Charitable Fund, received a total of \$59.1 million from the Marble trust, according to the filing.” [The New York Times, [08/22/22](#)]

- **DonorsTrust Acts As "A Go-Between" For Wealthy Donors To Anonymously Give Donations To Largely "Right-Leaning, Libertarian, And Free-Market Advocates."** "The Donors Trust primarily funds right-leaning, libertarian, and free-market advocates. It describes itself as 'a charitable savings account'—a go-between that allows wealthy donors to deposit money in lump sums, where it gets invested at tax-free growth. They can later direct contributions at any time while remaining anonymous." [The Daily Beast, [11/22/21](#)]

2021: Leo's 85 Fund Contributed Over \$71 Million To Donors Trust:

			grant	cash asst.
Name and address	Donors Trust 1800 Diagonal Rd Ste 280 Alexandria, VA 22314	52-2166327	71,145,000	
IRC code section	501 c 3			
Method of valuation				
Desc. of Non-Cash Asst.				
Purpose of grant	General Support			

[85 Fund IRS Form 990, [2021](#)]

- **The 85 Fund, Formerly Known As The Judicial Education Project, Is Part Of Leonard Leo's Network Of Organizations.** "Around the same time, two other groups that he had worked with on confirmation fights — the Judicial Education Project and a group that had been known as the Judicial Crisis Network — changed their names to the 85 Fund and the Concord Fund. The change seemed to reflect a broadening of their focus beyond the courts. Mr. Leo does not have an official role in the 85 Fund or the Concord Fund, but since the beginning of 2016, they paid more than \$7.4 million to the BH Group, and more than \$41 million to CRC." [The New York Times, [10/12/22](#)]

2022: The 85 Fund Contributed \$92 Million To Donors Trust:

Schedule I, Part IV, Statement 1		THE 85 FUND		
Form: Schedule I (2022)		EIN: 20-2466871		
Page: 1		Part II, Line 1		
Description of Grants and Other Assistance to Governments and Organizations in the United States				
		Recipient EIN	Amt. of cash grant	Amt. of non-cash asst.
Name and address	Donors Trust 1800 Diagonal Rd Ste 280 Alexandria, VA 22314	52-2166327	92,000,000	
IRC code section	501 c 3			
Method of valuation				
Desc. of Non-Cash Asst.				
Purpose of grant	General Support			

[85 Fund IRS Form 990, [2022](#)]

In 2022, America First Legal Foundation Paid Over \$234,000 To Law Firm Consovoy McCarthy, Whose Partner Tyler Green Is The Administrative Trustee For Leonard Leo's Marble Freedom Trust, Which Received An Unprecedented \$1.6 Billion Donation To Fund Right-Wing Causes.

In 2022, America First Legal Foundation Paid \$234,357 To Consovoy McCarthy PLLC:

Consovoy McCarthy PLLC 1600 Wilson Blvd Suite 700 Arlington, VA 22209	Legal	234,357
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[America First Legal Foundation IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2022](#)]

Tyler Green Is A Partner At Consovoy McCarthy:



[Consovoy McCarthy, accessed [01/25/24](#)]

Tyler Green Is The Administrative Trustee For The Marble Freedom Trust, Where Leonard Leo Is Chairman And Sole Trustee And Which Received An Unprecedented \$1.6 Billion Donation:

(4) TYLER GREEN	
ADMINISTRATI	

[Marble Freedom Trust IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2021](#)]

(2) Tyler Green	
Administrative Trustee	

[Marble Freedom Trust IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2020](#)]

2 LEONARD A LEO
TRUSTEE AND CHAIRMAN

[Marble Freedom Trust IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2021](#)]

- Marble Freedom Trust Received An Unprecedented \$1.6 Billion Donation From “Electronics Mogul” Barre Seid.** “A deep-pocketed nonprofit organization founded by the conservative activist Leonard A. Leo gave away \$182.7 million in a year’s time, a new tax filing shows, demonstrating how aggressively it has worked behind the scenes to prop up other groups and causes on the right. The organization, Marble Freedom Trust, was formed in 2020 and was funded by a gift of more than \$1.6 billion — an extraordinary windfall that resulted from a single donor’s contribution of 100 percent of a company’s shares before the company was sold, leaving Marble with the proceeds of the sale, The New York Times reported last year. [...] Since the \$1.6 billion windfall — which came from Barre Seid, an electronics manufacturing mogul — Marble has received no contributions or grants, but it did report

\$26.6 million in investment income last year. As of about a year ago, Marble still had \$1.2 billion to spend.” [The New York Times, [05/12/23](#)]

Pro-Trump Filer America’s Future, A “Limited Government” Group, Has Taken Over \$2.2 Million From DonorsTrust, The “Dark Money ATM Of The Right,” Which Has Exchanged Tens Of Millions Of Dollars With Leo’s Network.

America’s Future, A Conservative And Libertarian Group Which Pushed “Free Enterprise” And “Limited Government,” Led A Pro-Trump Brief.

An Amicus Brief Led By America’s Future Asked The Supreme Court To Reverse The Colorado Supreme Court’s Decision Against Trump. “The decision of the Colorado Supreme Court should be reversed, and the matter remanded with instructions to restore President Trump to the Colorado Republican primary election ballot, as well as the general election ballot.” [Amicus Brief of America’s Future et al., Trump v. Anderson et al., No. 23-719, [01/18/24](#)]

**Brief *Amicus Curiae* of America’s Future,
Gun Owners of America, Inc., Gun Owners
Foundation, Gun Owners of California, Inc.,
Heller Foundation, Tennessee Firearms
Association, Tennessee Firearms Foundation,
Inc., Public Advocate of the United States, U.S.
Constitutional Rights Legal Defense Fund,
Constitution Party National Committee, and
Conservative Legal Defense and Education
Fund in Support of Petitioner**

[Amicus Brief of America’s Future et al.,
Trump v. Anderson et al., No. 23-719, [01/18/24](#)]

America’s Future States, “AF Members Generally Self-Identify As Conservatives, Libertarians, And Independents” And “What Binds Us Are Simple Principles That Result In A Society Where Free Enterprise, Limited Government, Individual Liberty, And Personal Responsibility Prevail.” “Is AF Libertarian Or Conservative? AF members generally self-identify as conservatives, libertarians, and independents because what binds us are simple principles that result in a society where free enterprise, limited government, individual liberty, and personal responsibility prevail. Those principles include private property, integrity, and the rule of law as understood in the U.S. Constitution and by classical liberal thinkers such as Milton Friedman, Friedrich Hayek, and Ludwig Von Mises.” [America’s Future, accessed [01/25/24](#)]

America’s Future Foundation Has Taken Over \$2.2 Million From DonorsTrust, The “Dark Money ATM Of The Right” Which Has Exchanged Tens Of Millions Of Dollars With Leo’s Network.

America’s Future Instructs Potential Donors To Give To The America’s Future Foundation. “How Can I Give To America’s Future? Thank you for considering a tax-deductible donation to support the work of America’s Future Foundation.” [America’s Future, accessed [01/25/24](#)]

2020: The America’s Future Foundation Took \$1,252,950 From DonorsTrust:

(4) America's Future Foundation 1633 Connecticut Ave NW Suite 300 Washington, DC 20009	52-1928321	501(c)(3)	303,000	0	N/A	N/A	for general operations
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[...]

(374) America's Future Foundation 1633 Connecticut Ave NW Suite 300 Washington, DC 20009	52-1928321	501(c)(3)	108,600	0	N/A	N/A	for Talent Market
(375) America's Future Foundation 1633 Connecticut Ave NW Suite 300 Washington, DC 20009	52-1928321	501(c)(3)	250	0	N/A	N/A	for the area of highest need
(376) America's Future Foundation 1633 Connecticut Ave NW Suite 300 Washington, DC 20009	52-1928321	501(c)(3)	1,100	0	N/A	N/A	to be divided: \$1000.00 for general operations, \$100.00 to support Talent Market
(377) America's Future Foundation 3434 Washington Blvd FL 1 Arlington, VA 22201	52-1928321	501(c)(3)	840,000	0	N/A	N/A	to transfer the TM project

[Donors Trust Inc. IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2020](#)]

2021: The America's Future Foundation Took \$469,350 From DonorsTrust:

(59) America's Future Foundation 1633 Connecticut Ave NW Suite 300 Washington, DC 20009	52-1928321	501(c)(3)	354,750	0	N/A	N/A	for general operations
(60) America's Future Foundation 1633 Connecticut Ave NW Suite 300 Washington, DC 20009	52-1928321	501(c)(3)	108,600	0	N/A	N/A	for Talent Market
(61) America's Future Foundation 1633 Connecticut Ave NW Suite 300 Washington, DC 20009	52-1928321	501(c)(3)	6,000	0	N/A	N/A	for an event sponsorship

[Donors Trust Inc. IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2021](#)]

2022: The America's Future Foundation Took \$571,023 From DonorsTrust:

(23) America's Future Foundation 1633 Connecticut Ave NW Washington, DC 20009	52-1928321	501(c)(3)	211,823	0	N/A	N/A	to transfer the TM project
(24) America's Future Foundation 1633 Connecticut Ave NW Washington, DC 20009	52-1928321	501(c)(3)	359,200	0	N/A	N/A	for general operations

[Donors Trust Inc. IRS Form 990 via ProPublica, [2022](#)]

In 2021, Leonard Leo's 85 Fund Received A \$17.1 Million Gift Through DonorsTrust, Known As The "Dark Money ATM Of The Right." "One of the biggest conservative dark money organizations in the nation was boosted last year by two separate anonymous gifts, each totaling more than \$425 million dollars. The money sent to DonorsTrust, a 501(c)(3) charity that has become one of the most influential conduit of funds in Republican-leaning circles, was a huge chunk of the more than \$1 billion the group brought in in 2021, according to a tax filing obtained first by POLITICO. They are among the largest ever donations to a politically-connected group. DonorsTrust used those funds to support a vast network of prominent conservative causes, including a \$17.1 million gift it made to The 85 Fund, a group founded by a major engine of the conservative movement: Leonard Leo." [Politico, [11/16/22](#)]

- **DonorsTrust Is An Influential Right-Wing Donor Group Non-Profit Dubbed The "Dark Money ATM Of The Right."** "They all have one thing in common: They received anonymous funding funneled

through a single conservative dark money behemoth. That's the news in the latest IRS filing from Donors Trust—a conservative, Koch-aligned nonprofit which does not need to reveal the names of its donors and has been called the 'dark money ATM of the right.'" [The Daily Beast, [11/22/21](#)]

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- **DonorsTrust Acts As "A Go-Between" For Wealthy Donors To Anonymously Give Donations To Largely "Right-Leaning, Libertarian, And Free-Market Advocates."** "The Donors Trust primarily funds right-leaning, libertarian, and free-market advocates. It describes itself as 'a charitable savings account'—a go-between that allows wealthy donors to deposit money in lump sums, where it gets invested at tax-free growth. They can later direct contributions at any time while remaining anonymous." [The Daily Beast, [11/22/21](#)]

2021: Leo's 85 Fund Contributed Over \$71 Million To Donors Trust:

		grant	cash asst.
Name and address	Donors Trust 1800 Diagonal Rd Ste 280 Alexandria, VA 22314	52-2166327	71,145,000
IRC code section	501 c 3		
Method of valuation			
Desc. of Non-Cash Asst.			
Purpose of grant	General Support		

[85 Fund IRS Form 990, [2021](#)]

- **The 85 Fund, Formerly Known As The Judicial Education Project, Is Part Of Leonard Leo's Network Of Organizations.** “Around the same time, two other groups that he had worked with on confirmation fights — the Judicial Education Project and a group that had been known as the Judicial Crisis Network — changed their names to the 85 Fund and the Concord Fund. The change seemed to reflect a broadening of their focus beyond the courts. Mr. Leo does not have an official role in the 85 Fund or the Concord Fund, but since the beginning of 2016, they paid more than \$7.4 million to the BH Group, and more than \$41 million to CRC.” [The New York Times, [10/12/22](#)]

2022: The 85 Fund Contributed \$92 Million To Donors Trust:

Description of Grants and Other Assistance to Governments and Organizations in the United States			
		Recipient EIN	Amt. of cash grant Amt. of non-cash asst.
Name and address	Donors Trust 1800 Diagonal Rd Ste 280 Alexandria, VA 22314	52-2166327	92,000,000
IRC code section	501 c 3		
Method of valuation			
Desc. of Non-Cash Asst.			
Purpose of grant	General Support		

[85 Fund IRS Form 990, [2022](#)]

###