The Federalist Society Is The Central Node In Conservative Kingpin Leonard Leo's Corrupt Dark-Money Network Linking The Interests Of Wealthy Elites To The Federal Judiciary

SUMMARY: Leonard Leo is the kingpin of a sprawling, multi-billion-dollar network of dark-money nonprofits and for-profit firms. At the center of this constellation of organizations is the Federalist Society, the conservative legal society for which Leo has worked for the better part of three decades. As vice president of the Federalist Society in the 2000s and 2010s, Leo wielded unparalleled—and, more importantly, unelected—power in the selection, nomination, and appointment of five of the six conservatives who now sit on the Supreme Court. In fact, after Donald Trump clinched the Republican nomination in the spring of 2016, Leo compiled a list of potential Supreme Court nominees to replace the late archconservative Justice Antonin Scalia on the high court should Trump be elected. Justices Neil Gorsuch, Brett Kavanaugh, and Amy Coney Barrett all appeared on this list, which lengthened over the course of Trump's presidency.

But Leo's surreptitious and corrupt influence on American courts and politics hasn't stopped there. As a Federalist Society executive, Leo <u>was introduced</u> to the Chicago-based tech magnate Barre Seid. In 2021, Seid donated his company Tripp Lite to a nonprofit organization called Marble Freedom Trust before the business was sold to the Irish conglomerate Eaton. The sale <u>resulted in a \$1.6 billion windfall</u> for Marble Freedom Trust and its chairman, Leonard Leo. Since then, Leo has tapped into this war chest—believed to be the largest political donation in U.S. history—to fuel myriad dark-money nonprofits seeking to impose their rightwing worldview on Americans.

Barre Seid is not the only billionaire whom Leo has kept in his orbit for the benefit of his work with the Federalist Society. Leo has also facilitated relationships between his uber-wealthy benefactors and sitting Supreme Court justices. For example, in 2008, Leo <u>arranged an</u> <u>exclusive fishing expedition</u> in Alaska for billionaire hedge fund manager and Republican donor Paul Singer and Justice Samuel Alito, a trip that Alito failed to report in his financial disclosure for that year. (One of Singer's companies was later involved in a lawsuit that <u>came before the Supreme Court</u>, and Alito ruled in its favor.) Leo has likewise fostered longstanding relationships between Justice Clarence Thomas and billionaire donors, including <u>Harlan Crow</u> and <u>the Koch brothers</u>. (Leo is a <u>frequent defender of Clarence Thomas</u> and has <u>worked</u> closely with his wife, Ginni, for more than 15 years.)

As Leo's influence in American politics and elite circles has grown, so too has his personal wealth and lavish lifestyle, which is now the subject of an investigation by the Washington DC attorney general. In August 2023, the DC AG <u>launched an investigation</u> into Leonard Leo and his affiliated dark money nonprofits to determine whether has <u>illegally enriched</u> himself by funneling contributions to his personal bank account and for-profit entities, in particular his public relations firm, CRC Advisors.

Today, Leo serves as co-chairman of the Federalist Society, whose membership, at Leo's direction, populates all levels of the federal judiciary and <u>numerous state courts</u>. Supreme Court justices regularly attend Federalist Society events and are invited on <u>Federalist</u>

<u>Society-sponsored trips</u> around the globe. Federalist Society members also hear cases brought about by state officials and activist nonprofits allied with and often funded by Leonard Leo.

In effect, Leonard Leo—who has never held public office—and the Federalist Society have drafted the players and umpires and written the rules of a game they are playing against the interests of everyday Americans.

Over The Course Of Several Decades, Leonard Leo, The Longtime Vice President Of The Powerful Federalist Society, Has Wielded His Influence To Reshape The American Judiciary And Entrench Powerful Right-Wing Interests

<u>The Federalist Society</u> is one of the largest and most influential conservative legal organizations in the U.S. Leonard Leo, the organization's longtime vice president and current <u>co-chairman</u>, has used his position in the Federalist Society to reshape federal and state courts to advance his far-right agenda. Most notably, the group is connected to the last five Supreme Court nominees appointed by Republican presidents and its membership includes numerous individuals who were instrumental to the events on January 6, 2021.

<u>The Federalist Society Is One Of America's Largest And Most</u> <u>Influential Legal Groups, Creating A Network Of Conservative "Legal</u> <u>Talent" And Pioneering Deeply Influential Legal Language And</u> <u>Framework To Roll Back Federal Regulations, Civil And Privacy</u> <u>Rights, And The Separation Of Church And State</u>

The Federalist Society Was Founded In The Early 1980s To Unite Conservative And Libertarian Law Students Against A Perceived Liberal Bias In Legal Studies. "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. He said that notion crystallized after the 1980 election of Ronald Reagan when a professor asked a class of 90 who had voted for the new president. [...] Calabresi envisioned the organization as a vehicle for bringing conservative and libertarian legal thinkers to campus to share their ideas and counteract what he saw as a liberal bias." [Washington Post, <u>7/28/05</u>]

By The 2000s, The Federalist Society Had Become A "Source Of Legal Talent For Republican Administrations" And Created And Popularized The Legal Methods Widely Used By Conservative Judges. "Not only has the Federalist Society become a source of legal talent for Republican administrations, but through its frequent on-campus seminars and forums for practicing lawyers, the group is also credited with popularizing methods of legal analysis now widely advocated by many conservatives and employed by an increasing number of judges." [Washington Post, 7/28/05]

As Of 2019, There Were Roughly 70,000 Members Of The Federalist Society, And The Organization Has More Than 200 Student Chapters At Various Law Schools. "From there,

the story of the Federalist Society's influence became the story of approximately 70,000 random epiphanies. That's roughly the number of active participants in the society today, according to its leadership. [...] That community now includes more than 200 student chapters at law schools, where Federalists are a minority presence, but a significant one." [Washington Post, 1/02/19]

Theories Such As Originalism, Pioneered by The Federalist Society, Have Given Conservative Judges The Legal Language And Framework To Roll Back Federal Regulations, Civil Rights Issues, And The Separation Of Church And State. "Theories such as originalism, which holds that the Constitution has a fixed and knowable meaning rather than an evolving meaning that should adapt to contemporary times, is an idea put forward by many Federalist members. Using that standard, some judges have challenged previous court rulings allowing broad federal control over states on regulatory and civil rights issues, and maintaining the legal wall separating church and state." [Washington Post, <u>7/28/05</u>]

Washington Post: "In Practice, [The Legal Philosophy Of The Federalist Society] Could Mean Fewer Regulations Of The Environment And Health Care, More Businesses Allowed To Refuse Service To Customers On Religious Grounds, And Denial Of Protections Claimed By Newly Vocal Classes Of Minorities, Such As Transgender People." [Washington Post, 1/02/19]

The Federalist Society's Legal Ideas Are Opposed To Civil And Privacy Rights, Which Would Include Banning Abortion And Contraception, And That Most Of The New Deal And Administrative State Is Unconstitutional. "In addition to creating a vast network that serves as a counterpoint to the mainstream legal world, the Federalist Society has mainstreamed ideas that were once considered intellectual outliers: that most of the New Deal and administrative state are unconstitutional, that corporations have free speech and free religion rights, that women and LGBT people are not "protected classes" under constitutional law, and that there is no right to privacy implied by the due process clause of the Constitution (i.e., banning abortion, contraception, and gay marriage are entirely constitutional)." [The Daily Beast, <u>7/24/18</u>]

Washington Post: "Much Of The Federalist Society's Influence Comes Not From Its Very Public Washington Victories But From Its Behind-The-Scenes, Grass-Roots Ability To Shift The Law At The Idea Level, Even The Cultural Level." [Washington Post, <u>1/02/19</u>]

Leonard Leo Was A Long Time Federalist Society Executive And Sits On Its Board At The Center Of Its Vast Network Of Right-Wing Legal Figures And Officials

Leonard Leo Is Closely Associated With The Federalist Society. "Leo is most closely associated with the Federalist Society, which he joined in the 1990s. Sometimes thought of as a legal association, the Federalist Society is actually a large right-wing network that grooms conservative law students still in law school" [The Daily Beast, <u>7/24/18]</u>

Leo Is Responsible For Turning The Federalist Society From Primarily A Student Organization In The Late 1980s Into The Influential Group It Is Today. "In the late eighties, the Federalist Society was known primarily as an organization for law students, with few opportunities for members to stay involved after they left school. [...] From the beginning, there were limits on how the society could attempt to change the legal and political environment. As a nonprofit organization, it had to raise its own money and could not endorse candidates. Nevertheless, Leo set himself a clear goal." [New Yorker, $\frac{4/17/17}{1}$]

Leo Is The Co-Chair Of The Federalist Society's Board. "Leo, the co-chair of the Federalist Society;s board, was previously the group's Executive Vice President. Earlier this year, he announced the launch of a for-profit firm called CRC Advisors, which is working closely with Leo-tied non-profits that were being rebranded–including one previously known only as the "Judicial Education Project" (JEP)." [Center For Media And Democracy, <u>10/10/20]</u>

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

The New Yorker: Leo Is Not A Politician, Public Figure, Or legal Scholar But "Has Met And Cultivated Almost Every Important Republican Lawyer In More Than A Generation." [New Yorker, <u>4/17/17</u>]

Leonard Leo's Power In Washington Stems From His Central Role At The Federalist Society's Vast Network, The Relationships, Information And Linkages It Grants Him. "Most of the money went toward supporting the chapter programs and staging conferences — in other words, tending to the network and the idea factory. "What makes Leonard Leo so consequential is not because he's so smart or whatever, it's that he's sitting at the center of an enormous network," [...] 'He has lots of information, and that information isn't just his; it's that those things bubble up through those relationships ... spreading through all these people who know each other, and they develop reputations and linkages, which then have lots of other consequences." [Washington Post, <u>1/02/19</u>]

Leo's Influence On The Federalist Society Stems From His Desire To Win Right-Wing Culture Wars Via Court-Enforced Legalism Rather Than Public Opinion. "'He figured out twenty years ago that conservatives had lost the culture war. Abortion, gay rights, contraception—conservatives didn't have a chance if public opinion prevailed. So they needed to stack the courts." [The Daily Beast, 7/24/18]

While Leo's Work Courting And Pushing Through Right-Wing SCOTUS Nominees Happened When He Was "On Leave" From The Federalist Society, His Compensation Grew And He Actively Used Their Facilities

Leo's Work On Confirming Justices In the 2000s Officially Happened While He Was On Leave From the Federalist Society, But His Compensation There Jumped By 50% After His Work Confirming Justices John Roberts And Samuel Alito. "In the interview with The Post, Leo said he took time off from the Federalist Society — a charity that says it does not endorse specific nominees — during the nomination fights in 2005 and 2006. The group's tax filings show that his compensation in those two years jumped by nearly 50 percent, to about \$328,000 annually. Leo did not respond to a question about how his compensation was affected by his time off. A spokesman for the Federalist Society said Leo's pay went up — despite the time off — because of the organization's "extraordinary revenue growth." Back at the Federalist Society the following year, his compensation was \$419,000." [Washington Post, <u>5/21/19]</u>

• Even During His Period Of Leave From The Federalist Society Under Trump, Leo Met Reporters Out Of The Federalist Society's Office And Sung The Group's Praises. "I met Leo at the Federalist Society's offices in Washington. Despite the fact that in his personal capacity while on leave from the society he put so much effort into advising the Trump administration on judges, he endorses the network theory of the society, telling me, 'It's less about who gets what job and more about building a community that can be self-perpetuating and self-sustaining and self-driving.'" [Washington Post, <u>1/02/19</u>]

Leo Used Federalist Society Connections To Obtain A Historic \$1.6 Billion Donation To Fund His Dark Money Network

While He Was Vice President Of The Federalist Society, Leo Was Introduced To Billionaire Barre Seid With The Aim Of Soliciting Donations For The Society. "Leo first met Barre Seid, the now 91-year-old manufacturing magnate turned donor, through an introduction arranged by Eugene Meyer, the longtime director of the Federalist Society. At the time, Leo was the society's executive vice president, and he is currently its co-chair. Meyer envisioned Seid as a contributor to the society, according to a person familiar with the introduction." [Politico, <u>5/2/23</u>]

2021: Barre Seid Made A \$1.6 Billion Contribution To Leo's Network Following Their Introduction Through The Federalist Society. "Leonard Leo, who helped to choose judicial nominees for former President Donald Trump, obtained a historic \$1.6 billion gift for his conservative legal network via an introduction through the Federalist Society, whose tax status forbids political activism." [Politico, 5/2/23]

• Seid's Gift Of \$1.6 Billion Is Thought To Be The Largest Political Donation Ever. "Instead, Leo cultivated Seid as a funder of his own dark money network. The result was a \$1.6 billion gift announced last year — which is believed to be the largest political donation ever." [Politico, <u>5/2/23</u>]

Leo Used The \$1.6 Billion From Barre Seid To Fund His Dark Money Network. "Leonard Leo, who helped to choose judicial nominees for former President Donald Trump, obtained a historic \$1.6 billion gift for his conservative legal network via an introduction through the Federalist Society, whose tax status forbids political activism... Meyer envisioned Seid as a contributor to the society, according to a person familiar with the introduction. Instead, Leo cultivated Seid as a funder of his own dark money network." [Politico, <u>5/2/23</u>]

Leo's Political Activism And Siphoning Of Donor Money Have Created Tension With Leading Figures In The Federalist Society, According To Sources Close To The Organization. "Leo's political activism and his use of donor money to enhance his own wealth have prompted increasing tensions between him and his fellow co-chair, Northwestern University Law Professor Steven Calabresi, and Meyer, who has been executive director or president for more than 30 years, according to three people familiar with the society." [Politico, 5/2/23]

• Despite These Tensions, Sources Say Federalist Society Leaders Fear That A Rift With Leo Would Leave Them Cut Off From Funding Streams. "Leo's political activism and his use of donor money to enhance his own wealth have prompted increasing tensions between him and his fellow co-chair, Northwestern University Law Professor Steven Calabresi, and Meyer, who has been executive director or president for more than 30 years, according to three people familiar with the society. But they said Leo's ties to the conservative donor base fans fears that a rift would leave the society struggling for funds, while members also worry that any breach in the facade of the conservative legal movement would only empower the liberals that all sides disdain." [Politico, 5/2/23]

Since Reagan, The Federalist Society, And Leonard Leo Specifically, Has Exerted A Huge Influence On Conservative President's Appointments And Selection Of Judges, Notably SCOTUS Justices—This Influence Reached New Heights Under Trump

The Federalist Society, And Leo Himself, Helped Nearly Every Conservative Administration Since Reagan To Guide And Select Their And Federal Judicial Appointments

The Federalist Society Worked Closely With The Reagan Administration, The George W. Bush Administration, And The Trump Administration To Guide Them Through Their On Presidential Appointments And Selection Of Judges. "The group became more controversial as it worked closely with Republican administrations to influence the selection of judges. Its leaders advised the George W. Bush administration on appointments and, for Trump, have become an even closer partner in screening candidates for the bench." [CNN, <u>8/19/18</u>]

Leonard Leo Played An Important Role In Creating Trump's Short-List Of SCOTUS Nominees Along With Trump's Future White House Counsel Don McGahn. "When Trump was campaigning in 2016, he made the shrewd and unorthodox move of publicizing a list of 11 conservative legal stars that he promised to draw from if he got a chance to pick a Supreme Court justice. Leonard Leo, executive vice president of the Federalist Society, played a key role in suggesting the names, along with Trump's future White House counsel, Don McGahn (also a society member), and the conservative Heritage Foundation." [Washington Post, <u>1/02/19</u>]

Leo Took A Temporary Leave Of Absence From The Federalist Society To Help Push Through Neil Gorsuch And Brett Kavanaugh To The Court. "The list was expanded twice to include Gorsuch, Kavanaugh and others. Leo took a leave from his job at the Federalist Society to advise the White House on the confirmation process for Gorsuch and Kavanaugh — reprising a role he played for the George W. Bush White House in putting Roberts and Alito on the court. "[Washington Post, <u>1/02/19</u>]

Leo Also Played A Key Role In Guiding George W. Bush's SCOTUS Nominations, John Roberts And Samuel Alito, On The Court. "Leo took a leave from his job at the Federalist Society to advise the White House on the confirmation process for Gorsuch and Kavanaugh — reprising a role he played for the George W. Bush White House in putting Roberts and Alito on the court. " [Washington Post, <u>1/02/19</u>]

Leo And The Society's Influence Reached A Fever Pitch Under Trump, Receiving Public Ire For The Immense Power They Wielded Over The Courts

2019: Under Leo's Guidance, Trump Nominated More Federal Judges Than Any President Since Reagan Halfway Through His Term.

Federal appeals court appointments

President Trump has appointed more judges to the federal appeals courts than all other presidents at equivalent points in their presidencies.

30 Donald J. **Trump** 12 Barack Obama 16 George W. Bush 19 Bill Clinton 22 George H.W. Bush 19 Ronald Reagan

Figures provided by Russell Wheeler, visiting fellow in governance studies at the Brookings Institution.

[Washington Post, 1/02/19]

2017: Of The 18 Judges Trump Nominated To Federal Appeals Courts, 17 Were Federalist Society Members Of Affiliates, With 28 Of Trump's Total 58 District And Appeals Court Nominees Being Members Or Affiliates. "Of the 58 federal district and appeals court nominees announced by the White House so far, at least 28 have been members of the Federalist Society, according to their Senate questionnaires and other publicly available information. Of Trump's 18 nominees to the federal appeals courts — the final destination for all but a small percentage of cases the Supreme Court agrees to hear — 17 reported a Federalist Society connection." [BuzzFeed, <u>11/20/17</u>]

Leo And The Federalist Society's Overt And Extreme Influence On Trump's Judiciary Picks Drew Public Ire For How Much Power Leo And His Network, Unaccountable To The Public, Exerted Over The Federal Court Systems. "Democrats, civil rights groups, and liberal legal groups accuse Trump of outsourcing judicial nominations to Leo and the Federalist Society, along with a handful of other conservative groups such as the Heritage Foundation and the Judicial Crisis Network. Past presidents have sought input from outside groups, but Trump's critics say he's crossed a line in how much power he's ceded to an organization that isn't accountable to the public." [BuzzFeed, <u>11/20/17</u>]

<u>All Current Conservative SCOTUS Justices Are Members Of Or Are</u> <u>Closely Connected To The Federalist Society—A Connection That</u> <u>Drew Public Ire In The 2000s For Perceived Partisanship</u>

Chief Justice John Roberts Was A Steering Committee Member Of The Federalist Society's Washington Chapter—Which At The Time In The Mid-2000s Was A Source Of Pushback. "After President Bush tapped John G. Roberts Jr. for the Supreme Court, the nominee was widely reported to be a member of the Federalist Society -- an assertion that White House officials vigorously disputed. When it was later disclosed that Roberts was once listed as serving on the steering committee of the group's Washington chapter, Bush aides continued to insist that Roberts has no recollection of ever being a full-fledged member of the conservative legal group. The eagerness of the White House to distance Roberts from the Federalist Society baffled many conservatives." [Washington Post, 7/28/05] **SCOTUS Justices Brett Kavanaugh And Clarence Thomas Are Both Long-Time Federalist Society Members.** "Brett Kavanaugh, whose membership in the society dates to his Yale Law School days, has just been elevated to the Supreme Court; [...] They join Justice Clarence Thomas (who said last spring he's "been a part of the Federalist Society now since meeting with them ... in the 1980s" [Washington Post, <u>1/02/19</u>]

- Brett Kavanaugh, As Counsel Of The Bush Administration In 2001, Strongly Pushed Back On Allegations He Was An Active Federalist Society Member Due To Perceived Partisanship. "In an email chain addressed to two of his colleagues in March 2001, Brett Kavanaugh, then associate counsel to President George W. Bush, complained to his colleagues about recent press reports characterizing him. [...] Given his role in the White House of selecting judges himself, Kavanaugh, President Donald Trump's nominee for the Supreme Court, might have thought that the optics of being a member of the Federalist Society, an organization that has a distinctive conservative leaning with a special interest in selecting conservative judges to the courts, would hurt his credibility and image." [CNN, <u>8/19/18</u>]
- For Years, Clarence Thomas Attended Federalist Society Events Sitting At A "Head" Table Paid For By the Searle Freedom Trust. "For several years, for example, Thomas sat at one of the head tables of the Federalist Society galas purchased by the Searle Freedom Trust." [Senate Judiciary Testimony, Lisa Graves, 3/10/21]

SCOTUS Justices Neil Gorsuch and Samuel Alito Are Also Closely Associated With The Federalist Society, With Alito Being A Frequent Speaker At Society Events. "Trump's appointees, following Neil Gorsuch, another justice closely associated with the society. They join Justice Clarence Thomas (who said last spring he's "been a part of the Federalist Society now since meeting with them ... in the 1980s"), Chief Justice John Roberts (listed as a member in 1997-98) and Justice Samuel Alito (a periodic speaker at society events)." [Washington Post, 1/02/19]

Amy Coney Barret Was Among Judges "Treated As Rock Stars" Due To Her Overt Right-Wing Views At A 2019 Federalist Society Gala, Shortly Before Her Nomination To The Court. "Some of the judges were treated as rock stars, especially Amy Coney Barrett, named by Trump to the 7th Circuit. More than one convention speaker got a rise out of audiences by recalling Democratic Sen. Dianne Feinstein's gaffe of telling the Catholic Barrett during her confirmation hearing that 'the dogma lives loudly within you, and that's of concern." [Washington Post, <u>1/02/19</u>]

<u>The Federalist Society's Power Was Manifested In Bush V</u> <u>Gore—When Legal Scholars Saw The Influence Of The Vast</u> <u>Conservative Network.</u>

The Federalist Society's Power Was Solidified After Bush V. Gore—When Legal Scholars Saw The Influence Of The Vast Conservative Network. "Liberal legal advocates and scholars realized they were in a serious battle for the law with the Federalist Society after the Supreme Court decided Bush v. Gore in 2000, handing the White House to George W. Bush. Peter Rubin, then a professor at Georgetown, founded the American Constitution Society to win hearts and minds of students, lawyers and judges." [Washington Post, <u>1/02/19</u>]

Bush V. Gore Was Seen As The Manifestation Of An Immense Outside Influence Of The Federalist Society's Ideas On SCOTUS And Legal Thinking Writ Large. "Peter, among others, saw Bush v. Gore and recognized that we'd been snookered,' Caroline Fredrickson, president of the ACS, told me. 'The left had been sleeping on its laurels, still living in the Warren Court and all of the sudden we were going to have the Roberts Court'" [Washington Post, 1/02/19]

<u>The Federalist Society Has Long Been Bankrolled By Major</u> <u>Conservative Groups, Major Funders, And Corporations—Including</u> <u>Leo's Dark Money Groups DonorsTrust, The Kochs, The Bradleys, The</u> <u>Uihleins, The Sarah Scaife Foundation, Plus Google</u>

Since Its Inception, The Federalist Society Has Been Bankrolled By Conservative Organizations And Funding Operations. "While the Federalist Society may never take an official position on anything, conservative funders know who their friends are. Ever since the founding symposium at Yale in 1982 was bankrolled largely by conservative organizations, the society has enjoyed steady financial support from the right." [Washington Post, <u>1/02/19</u>]

The Federalist Society Was Founded With A Grant From Conservative Nonprofit The Olin Foundation. "And its story began with a small startup grant from the Olin Foundation. It's just another way America's philanthropic system — in which rich donors get lavish tax breaks for donations that can, if used properly, profoundly alter public policy — can clash with norms of democracy." [Vox, <u>6/03/19</u>]

In 2017 The Federalist Society Raised \$17 Million Dollars With More Than \$300,000 From The Koch Brothers. [Washington Post, <u>1/02/19]</u>

Major Right-Wing Funders Of The Federalist Society In 2020 And 2019 Included Leo's 85 Fund, The Charles Koch Institute, The Sarah Scaife Foundation, Donors Trust, Searle Freedom Trust, And The Uihlein Family.

Donor Group	Amount	Year
The 85 Fund	\$5,615,445.00	<u>2020</u>
Charles Koch Institute	\$1,000,000.00	<u>2020</u>
Sarah Scaife Foundation	\$850,000.00	<u>2020</u>
Donors Trust	\$752,700.00	<u>2020</u>
Searle Freedom Trust	\$640,850.00	<u>2020</u>
John Templeton Foundation	\$565,062.00	2020
Ed Uihlein Family Foundation	\$200,000.00	<u>2020</u>
Atlas Economic Research Foundation	\$100,000.00	<u>2020</u>
Ravenel and Elizabeth Curry		<u>2020</u>
Foundation	\$50,000.00	
Dunn Foundation	\$25,000.00	<u>2020</u>
F.M. Kirby Foundation	\$10,000.00	<u>2020</u>
Triad Foundation	\$10,000.00	2020
Bradley Impact Fund	\$5,000.00	<u>2020</u>
Lynde & Harry Bradley		<u>2019</u>
Foundation	\$525,000.00	

The Hugh and Hazel Darling		<u>2019</u>
Foundation	\$30,000.00	

Google Gave The Federalist Society Over \$100,000 In 2019. [Federalist Society Annual Report 2019]

Leo Has Facilitated Relationships Between Wealthy Benefactors And Sitting Supreme Court Justices Justices

Leo Arranged An Alaskan Fishing Trip With Billionaire Paul Singer And Justice Samuel Alito

Leo Arranged An Alaska Fishing Vacation With Billionaire Paul Singer And Justice Samuel Alito. "Leonard Leo, the longtime leader of the conservative Federalist Society, attended and helped organize the Alaska fishing vacation. Leo invited Singer to join, according to a person familiar with the trip, and asked Singer if he and Alito could fly on the billionaire's jet. Leo had recently played an important role in the justice's confirmation to the court. Singer and the lodge owner were both major donors to Leo's political groups." [ProPublica, <u>6/20/23</u>]

Leo Facilitated Appearances By Justice Clarence Thomas At Events Hosted By The Billionaire Koch Brothers

Justice Clarence Thomas Attended A Summit Held By The Koch Brothers. "On Jan. 25, 2018, dozens of private jets descended on Palm Springs International Airport. Some of the richest people in the country were arriving for the annual winter donor summit of the Koch network, the political organization founded by libertarian billionaires Charles and David Koch. A long weekend of strategizing, relaxation in the California sun and high-dollar fundraising lay ahead. Just after 6 p.m., a Gulfstream G200 jet touched down on the tarmac. One of the Koch network's most powerful allies was on board: Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas." [ProPublica, <u>9/22/23</u>]

- Thomas' Appearances At Koch Events Were Facilitated By Leonard Leo. "Thomas' appearances were arranged with the help of Leonard Leo, the Federalist Society leader, according to the former senior network employee. 'Leonard was the conduit who would get him,' the former employee said. During one summit, Thomas gave a talk with Leo in an interview format, the donor recalled." [ProPublica, 9/22/23]
- Leo: Thomas' Participation At Koch Events Was "Compliant With All Ethics Requirements." "Justice Thomas attends events all over the country, as do all the Justices, and I was privileged to join him,' Leo said in a statement in response to questions about the Koch donor events. 'All the necessary due diligence was performed to ensure the Justice's attendance at the events was compliant with all ethics requirements.'" [ProPublica, 9/22/23]

Leo Is Featured In A Painting At Billionaire Harlan Crow's Topridge Resort Alongside Crow And Justice Clarence Thomas, Who Was The Recipient Of Free Luxury Vacations At The Resort

Harlan Crow's Private Resort Camp Topridge Features A Painting Of Crow And Justice Clarence Thomas Spending Time At The Resort. "CROW'S PRIVATE lakeside resort, Camp Topridge, sits in a remote corner of the Adirondacks in upstate New York. Closed off from the public by ornate wooden gates, the 105-acre property, once the summer retreat of the same heiress who built Mar-a-Lago, features an artificial waterfall and a great hall where Crow's guests are served meals prepared by private chefs. Inside, there's clear evidence of Crow and Thomas' relationship: a painting of the two men at the resort, sitting outdoors smoking cigars alongside conservative political operatives." [ProPublica, <u>4/6/2023</u>]

- Crow Frequently Invites Corporate Executives And Donors To His Resort, Who Come Into Contact With Justice Thomas. "Crow's access to the justice extends to anyone the businessman chooses to invite along. Thomas' frequent vacations at Topridge have brought him into contact with corporate executives and political activists. During just one trip in July 2017, Thomas' fellow guests included executives at Verizon and PricewaterhouseCoopers, major Republican donors and one of the leaders of the American Enterprise Institute, a pro-business conservative think tank, according to records reviewed by ProPublica." [ProPublica, <u>4/6/2023</u>]
- The Painting Of Crow And Thomas At Crow's Topridge Resort Also Features Leonard Leo. "The painting of Thomas at Topridge shows him in conversation with Leonard Leo, the Federalist Society leader regarded as an architect of the Supreme Court's recent turn to the right." [ProPublica, <u>4/6/2023</u>]

Thomas' Frequent Free Vacations At Crow's Luxury Resort Brought Him Into Contact With Corporate Executives And Political Activists. "The mountainous area draws billionaires from across the globe. Rooms at a nearby hotel built by the Rockefellers start at \$2,250 a night. Crow's invitation-only resort is even more exclusive. Guests stay for free, enjoying Topridge's more than 25 fireplaces, three boathouses, clay tennis court and batting cage, along with more eccentric features: a lifesize replica of the Harry Potter character Hagrid's hut, bronze statues of gnomes and a 1950s-style soda fountain where Crow's staff fixes milkshakes. Crow's access to the justice extends to anyone the businessman chooses to invite along. Thomas' frequent vacations at Topridge have brought him into contact with corporate executives and political activists." [ProPublica, <u>4/6/2023]</u>

Leo, Whose Lifestyle Has Become More Lavish In Recent Years, Is Under Investigation By The Washington DC Attorney General For Enriching Himself Through The Nonprofits He Developed Following His Work At The Federalist Society

August 2023: The Washington D.C. Attorney General Launched An Investigation Into Leonard Leo And His Affiliated Nonprofits For Enriching Himself Using Charities He Controls

August 2023: The Washington D.C. Attorney General Launched An Investigation Into Leonard Leo And His Affiliated Nonprofits For Possible Violation Of Laws Against Using Charities For Personal Enrichment. "Washington D.C. Attorney General Brian Schwalb is investigating judicial activist Leonard Leo and his network of nonprofit groups, according to a person with direct knowledge of the probe. The scope of the investigation is unclear. But it comes after POLITICO reported in March that one of Leo's nonprofits — registered as a charity — paid his for-profit company tens of millions of dollars in the two years since he joined the company. A few weeks later, a progressive watchdog group filed a complaint with the D.C. attorney general and the IRS requesting a probe into what services were provided and whether Leo was in violation of laws against using charities for personal enrichment." [Politico, <u>8/22/23</u>]

Leo's Network Of Nonprofits Paid His For-Profit Public Relations Firm At Least \$43 Million In The Two Years Since Leo Joined The Firm. "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." [Politico, <u>3/1/23</u>]

• A Watchdog Organization Alleges That, Between 2016 And 2022, \$73 Million Flowed From Leo-Aligned Nonprofits To His For-Profit Firms. "The watchdog complaint alleges the total amount of money that flowed from Leo-aligned nonprofits to his for-profit firms was \$73 million over six years beginning in 2016." [Politico, <u>8/22/23</u>]

Leo's Lifestyle Became Significantly More Lavish After He Was Tapped To Informally Advise Donald Trump On Supreme Court Justice Nominations. "A POLITICO investigation based on dozens of financial, property and public records dating from 2000 to 2021 found that Leo's lifestyle took a lavish turn beginning in 2016, the year he was tapped as an unpaid adviser to incoming President Donald Trump on Supreme Court justices. It's the same period during which he erected a for-profit ecosystem around his longtime nonprofit empire that is shielded from taxes. Leo was executive vice president of The Federalist Society at the time." [Politico, 3/1/23]

Leo Has Steered Money To The Wife Of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas And Architected A Public Relations Campaign Venerating The Justice

Leo Ordered Discreet Payments To Ginni Thomas' Consulting Firm In 2012

Leonard Leo Arranged For Ginni Thomas, Wife Of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas, To Be Paid Tens of Thousands Of Dollars in 2012. "Conservative judicial activist Leonard Leo arranged for the wife of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas to be paid tens of thousands of dollars for consulting work just over a decade ago, specifying that her name be left off billing paperwork, according to documents reviewed by The Washington Post." [The Washington Post, 5/4/2023]

- Leo Told Pollster Kellyann Conway To "Give" Ginni Thomas "Another \$25K." "Leo, a key figure in a network of nonprofits that has worked to support the nominations of conservative judges, told Conway that he wanted her to 'give' Ginni Thomas 'another \$25K,' the documents show." [The Washington Post, <u>5/4/2023</u>]
- Conway's Firm, The Polling Company, Paid Ginni Thomas' Firm Liberty Consulting At Least \$80,000 In 2011 And 2012. In all, according to the documents, the Polling Company paid Thomas's firm, Liberty Consulting, \$80,000 between June 2011 and June 2012, and it expected to pay \$20,000 more before the end of 2012." [The Washington Post, <u>5/4/2023</u>]
- The Day Leo Ordered The Payment, Conway's Firm Sent A \$25,000 Bill To The Judicial Education Network. "Conway's firm, the Polling Company, sent the Judicial Education Project a \$25,000 bill that day. Per Leo's instructions, it listed the purpose as 'Supplement for Constitution Polling and Opinion Consulting,' the documents show." [The Washington Post, <u>5/4/2023</u>]
- The Judicial Education Project Is A Dark Money Group With Close Ties To Leonard Leo. "Despite appearing to be a free-standing new operation, the Honest Elections Project is just a legal alias for the Judicial Education Project, a well-financed nonprofit connected to a powerful network of dark money conservative groups, according to business records reviewed by the Guardian and OpenSecrets... The Judicial Education Project is also closely linked to Leonard Leo, one of the most powerful people in Washington who has shaped Donald Trump's unprecedented effort to remake the federal judiciary with conservative judges." [The Guardian, 5/27/20]

Leo Specified That Thomas' Name Be Left Off The Billing Paperwork. "Leo, a key figure in a network of nonprofits that has worked to support the nominations of conservative judges, told Conway that he wanted her to 'give' Ginni Thomas 'another \$25K,' the documents show. He emphasized that the paperwork should have 'No mention of Ginni, of course.'" [The Washington Post, <u>5/4/2023</u>]

In 2009, Leo Worked With Ginni Thomas To Found A Nonprofit That Stood To Benefit From The Citizens United Ruling

In 2009, Two Months Before The *Citizens United* Ruling, Clarence Thomas' Wife Ginni Thomas Created A Nonprofit That Stood To Benefit From The Decision. "Two months before the Citizens United decision, but after the justices had signaled their intentions by requesting new arguments, attorney Cleta Mitchell — later to play a role in Donald Trump's false claims about the 2020 elections — filed papers for Ginni Thomas to create a nonprofit group of a type that ultimately benefited from the decision." [Politico, <u>9/10/23</u>]

• Leonard Leo Was Listed As A Director In An Application The Organization Filed. "Two months before the Citizens United decision, but after the justices had signaled their intentions by requesting new arguments, attorney Cleta Mitchell — later to play a role in Donald Trump's false claims about the 2020 elections — filed papers for Ginni Thomas to create a nonprofit group of a type that ultimately benefited from the decision. Leo was one of two directors listed on a separate application to conduct business in the state of Virginia. Thomas was president. She signed it on New Year's Eve of 2009, and Crow provided much of the initial cash. A key Leo aide, Sarah Field, would come aboard to help Thomas manage the group, which they called Liberty Central." [Politico, <u>9/10/23]</u>

Leonard Leo Led A "Coordinated And Sophisticated Public Relations Campaign To Defend And Celebrate Clarence Thomas..."

2016: On The 25 Anniversary Of Justice Thomas' Confirmation To The Supreme Court An HBO Documentary Was Scheduled To Be Released "Recounting Anita Hill's Sexual Harassment Allegations." "The 25th anniversary of Clarence Thomas's confirmation to the Supreme Court was approaching — a moment that would draw attention to his accomplishments on the bench but also to the misconduct claims that had nearly derailed his rise. Among the wave of retrospective accounts set to come out that year, 2016, was a star-studded HBO film dramatically recounting Anita Hill's sexual harassment allegations." [Washington Post, 7/20/23]

In Opposition To The HBO Documentary, "A Flurry Of Opinion Articles Defending Thomas And Railing Against The film Appeared In News Outlets...Attacking His Onetime Accuser..." "That spring, a flurry of opinion articles defending Thomas and railing against the film appeared in news outlets, penned by a D.C. lawyer who had worked in the George H.W. Bush White House during the confirmation. Websites celebrating Thomas's career — and attacking his onetime accuser — popped up. And on Twitter, a new account using the name "Justice Thomas Fan Account" began serving up flattering commentary." [Washington Post, 7/20/23]

• "The Rush Of Favorable Content Was Part Of A Coordinated And Sophisticated Public Relations Campaign To Defend And Celebrate Thomas...it Was Financed With At Least \$1.8 Million From Conservative Nonprofit Groups Steered By The Judicial Activist Leonard Leo, The Examination Found." It was not apparent at the time, but the rush of favorable content was part of a coordinated and sophisticated public relations campaign to defend and celebrate Thomas, according to a Washington Post examination of public and internal records and interviews with people familiar with the effort. The campaign would stretch on for years and include the creation and promotion of a laudatory film about Thomas, advertising to boost positive content about him during internet searches and publication of a book about his life. It was financed with at least \$1.8 million from conservative nonprofit groups steered by the judicial activist Leonard Leo, the examination found." [Washington Post, 7/20/23]

2022: The Judicial Crisis Network Spent \$1.5 Million On A National Advertising Campaign Promoting The Thomas Film And Attacking Ketanji Brown Jackson During Her Supreme Court Confirmation Hearing. "The Judicial Crisis Network spent \$1.5 million to promote the Thomas film in March 2022 during the confirmation hearings of Ketanji Brown Jackson, the group announced at the time. The 30-second ad, which was nationally broadcast on cable television and online, took a swipe at Jackson, who is Black, for previously saying she did not understand Thomas as a Black man. 'She should watch Created Equal and learn about Justice Thomas's remarkable life, how he has been unfairly attacked for 30 years for thinking for himself,' the ad's narrator says as scenes from the film flash across the screen." [Washington Post, <u>7/20/23</u>]

George Mason University's Scalia Law School, Which Was The Recipient Of A \$30 Million Gift Brokered By Leonard Leo, Paid For A Luxury Trip For A District Judge

<u>The Leo-Backed Antonin Scalia Law School Gifted A Luxury Getaway</u> <u>To A Federal Judge Who Later Delivered Donald Trump An Unusually</u> <u>Favorable Ruling In A Judicial Obstruction Case</u>

District Court Judge Aileen Cannon Received An All-Expenses Paid Trip To A Luxury Resort From A Leo-Affiliated Law School. "The judge's financial disclosure form for 2021, which was reviewed by Accountable.US, a liberal-leaning watchdog group that tracks government corruption, shows that she was reimbursed by George Mason University's Antonin Scalia Law School for a six day trip to 'colloquium seminar' held at a resort and spa in Montana in September." [The Guardian, <u>8/11/23</u>]

- Cannon Stayed At Montana's Sage Lodge, Which Markets Itself As "The Ultimate Montana Luxury Resort Getaway." "The Sage Lodge website describes the resort and spa as 'the ultimate Montana luxury resort getaway.' [The Guardian, <u>8/11/23</u>]
- Cannon's Trip Was Paid For By George Mason University's Antonin Scalia Law School, Which Was The Recipient Of A \$30 Million Gift Brokered By Leonard Leo. "The law school was renamed after Scalia, a conservative supreme court justice in 2016 – months after his death – 'the result,' the New York Times reported, 'of a \$30 million gift brokered by Leonard Leo.' George Mason University intended the Antonin Scalia school to become 'a Yale or Harvard of conservative legal scholarship and influence', the Times wrote." [The Guardian, 8/11/23]

In September 2022, Cannon Delivered Donald Trump A Highly Favorable Ruling In A Criminal Case For Judicial Obstruction, Drawing Harsh Criticism From Legal Experts. "Donald Trump seemed to win the judicial lottery when his newest criminal case — a 37-count indictment for hoarding classified documents and obstructing a grand jury probe — landed before U.S. District Court Judge Aileen Cannon. Cannon, a Trump appointee confirmed to the federal bench just days after Trump lost his reelection bid, ruled deferentially for Trump last summer when he contested the FBI's seizure of some of those very documents. Legal experts described Cannon's pro-Trump rulings at the time as audacious and even lawless, and a conservative appeals-court panel (which itself consisted of two other Trump appointees) quickly overruled her." [Politico, 6/12/23].

Since 2004, Leonard Leo's Federalist Society Paid For Alito To Travel Multiple Times–Including International Trips To Paris And A Baroque Palace In Vienna

<u>The Federalist Society, Which Is Co-Chaired By Leo, Has Been Central</u> <u>To His Efforts To Push The Federal Judiciary In A Conservative</u> <u>Direction</u> **Leonard Leo Was Co-Chairman Of The Federalist Society, As Of April 2023.** [The Federalist Society, accessed <u>04/21/23</u>]

The Federalist Society "Has Chosen And Helped Confirm All Three Of President Donald Trump's Supreme Court Nominees And Nearly All Of His 53 Appeals Court Judges." "Barrett is a longtime member of the Federalist Society, the conservative legal organization that has chosen and helped confirm all three of President Donald Trump's Supreme Court nominees and nearly all of his 53 appeals court judges." [Huffington Post, <u>10/28/20]</u>

The Federalist Society Counted "Six Of The Nine Sitting Supreme Court Justices" As Current Or Former Members As Of March 2021. "In a new audiobook, Law School professor explores the rise of the Federalist Society and why its sway may be waning [...] 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, <u>03/04/21</u>]

- The Six Justices Were Samuel Alito, Clarence Thomas, Brett Kavanaugh, John Roberts, Neil Gorsuch, And Amy Coney Barrett "Supreme Court Justices with Federalist Society ties: (clockwise from upper left) Samuel Alito, Clarence Thomas, Brett Kavanaugh, John Roberts, Neil Gorsuch, and Amy Coney Barrett." [The Harvard Gazette, 03/04/21]
- Justices Alito, Thomas, Kavanaugh, Roberts, Gorsuch, And Coney Barrett Were Still On The Supreme Court, As Of November 7, 2022. [U.S. Supreme Court, accessed <u>11/07/22</u>]

<u>Alito's Path To The Supreme Court Was Guided By Efforts By Leo And</u> <u>Alito's Federalist Society</u>

Alito, A "Federalist Society Mainstay Type," Was Nominated By George W. Bush To The Supreme Court After Federalist Society Members Pressured The Then-President Into Rescinding His Previous Nominee. "And the way that it hurt her — as soon as she was nominated, many of these sort of more vocal Federalist Society types rebelled against it and published op-eds. And so they made enough noise that George W. Bush actually withdrew Miers from consideration and nominated Samuel Alito, [who] is one of these Federalist Society mainstay types who comes up through the organization, works in the Reagan Justice Department alongside many of the founders, and is very much a known commodity to the Federalist Society." [Vox, 6/03/19]

• Federalist Society Members Pressured The Bush Administration To Withdraw His Nomination Of Harriet Miers Due To Her Lack Of Ties To The Society. "The nomination and withdrawal of Supreme Court nominee Harriet Miers in 2005 further illustrated the power of the Federalist Society in the appointment process. The Miers nomination received public support from Leonard Leo, then as now a leader of the society. But others in the society attacked Miers on multiple grounds, including her lack of ties to the Federalist Society." [Slate, 1/31/17]

Leo Helped Coordinate Support For Alito's Appointment To The Supreme Court. "By midmorning, Mr. Sekulow and Leonard Leo, another conservative lawyer coordinating

conservative support for the nominee, held conference calls with their coalition of about 80 grass-roots groups and about 75 legal experts to plot strategy." [New York Times, <u>11/01/05</u>]

Since 2004, The Federalist Society Has Paid For Alito To Take Multiple Trips–Including International Trips To Paris, Where He Met "France's Legal Elites," As Well As To Vienna

Year	Reimburser	Description	Location	Food?	Travel?	Lodging?
<u>2004</u>	Federalist Society	Moderated Panel	Washington, DC	Yes		Yes
<u>2010</u>	Federalist Society	Speaking Engagement	Paris, France	Yes	Yes	Yes
<u>2011</u>	Federalist Society	Speaking Engagement	Menlo Park, California	Yes	Yes	Yes
<u>2011</u>	Federalist Society	Speaking Engagement, Participate In Conference With European Judges And Lawyers	Vienna, Austria	Yes	Yes	Yes
2015	Federalist Society	Speech	Dallas, Texas	Yes	Yes	Yes

Alito's 2010 Trip To Paris Was Hosted By The Paris Chapter Of The Federalist Society And He Met "France's Legal Elites." "In December the Paris Chapter hosted U.S. Supreme Court Associate Justice Samuel Alito and Judge Jean-Claude Bonichot of the European Court of Justice in a public discussion on judicial review and separation of powers. During his Paris visit, Chapter President Francois Briard graciously organized meetings for Justice Alito with France's legal elites, including French Minister of Justice Michel Mercier, Conseil Constitutionnel President Jean-Louis Debré and most of his fellow justices, Conseil d'État Justices Jean-Marc Sauvé and Olivier Dutheillet De Lamothe, and Supreme Court Bar President Didier Le Prado." [Federalist Society 2010 Annual Report, Page 28]



(left to right) U.S. Supreme Court Associate Justice Samuel Alito, François Briard, President of the Federalist Society's Paris Chapter, and Judge Jean-Claude Bonichot of the European Court of Justice address the Paris Chapter in December on judicial review and separation of powers.

[Federalist Society 2010 Annual Report, Page 27]

Alito's 2011 Trip To Vienna Was Hosted At A Baroque Palace, Where He Was Photographed Alongside Leo – The Event Was Likely Funded By The Bradley Foundation

In October 2011, The Federalist Society Hosted A Law And Democracy Conference Featuring Alito At Schloss Neuwaldegg In Vienna, Austria. "The October 2011 Law and Democracy Conference also took place at Schloss Neuwaldegg. The highlight of the Conference was a roundtable discussion on the importance of an independent judiciary to a functioning democracy. The roundtable participants included U.S. Supreme Court Justice Samuel Alito, Judge István Stumpf of the Constitutional Court of Hungary, and George Papuashvili, President of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Georgia. The Conference also examined fundamental democratic issues, including free expression, freedom of assembly, and the societal role of voluntary associations." [Federalist Society 2011 Annual Report, Page 27]

Schloss Neuwaldegg Is A Baroque Palace Created By A High-Ranking Member Of The Hapsburg Empire. "Schloss Neuwaldegg is a Baroque palace with an English garden in the Hernals borough of Vienna, Austria. It is currently privately owned and rented out for a variety of private and public events. Neuwaldegg manor arose from a farmstead acquired by the Imperial councillor Stefan Agler after the 1529 Siege of Vienna. Agler was ennobled to the rank of Ritter by the Habsburg emperor Ferdinand I and in 1539 received the title of an Edler of Paumgarten and Neuwaldegg." [TouristLink, Accessed <u>4/26/23</u>]



[Wikipedia, Accessed 4/25/23]

Leo And Alito Were Photographed In Front Of Schloss Nuewaldegg Alongside Foreign Dignitaries.



to Central and Eastern European law students and young lawyers. The conference

Dignitaries of Hungary and Georgia, and U.S. Supreme Court Associate Justice Samuel Alito and Leonard Leo, Executive Vice President of the Federalist Society, met with participants at the Federalist Society's Law and Democracy Conference in Vienna, Austria.

[Federalist Society 2011 Annual Report, Page 27]

In 2011, The Federalist Society Hosted A Conference Of A Conference Series On American And International Law At Schloss Neuwaldegg "Through The Generosity Of The Lynde And Harry Bradley Foundation." "In April, through the generosity of the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, the Society hosted the 2011 Law and Economics Conference at Schloss Neuwaldegg in Vienna, Austria. This was the third in a series of Vienna-based conferences designed to introduce the 'First Principles' to Central and Eastern European law students and young lawyers. The conference courses were led by Federalist Society co-founder, Board Chairman, and Northwestern University School of Law Prof. Steven Calabresi and Prof. John McGinnis, also of Northwestern, and Jim Kelly, Director of the Federalist Society's International Affairs Division. The lecturers led discussions on how legal systems promote prosperity, on the economics of American federalism, on the causes and effects of rent-seeking, and on the economic "global welfare state" arising from activities of the United Nations, the European Union, and various civil and non-governmental organizations." [Federalist Society 2011 Annual Report, Page 27]

• The Bradley Foundation Also Funded Federalist Society Conferences At Schloss Neuwaldegg In 2010. "Through the generosity of the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, the Federalist Society hosted a March 2010 Law and Sovereignty Conference at Schloss Neuwaldegg, the home of the Educational Initiative for Central and Eastern Europe, where we now maintain an office for international operations. [...] The Federalist Society followed up on that highly successful Law and Sovereignty Conference with the August Law and Security Conference, held again at Schloss Neuwaldegg." [Federalist Society 2010 Annual Report, Page 27]

The Bradley Foundation Gave The Federalist Society \$230,000 In 2010.

To support general operations and an effort to encourage alumni to become engaged with their law schools The Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies 9/1/2010 112,500 Washington, DC 20036 70 support general operations and an effort to encourage alumni to become engaged with their law schools 12/3/2010 5,000 The Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies 12/3/2010 5,000 Washington, DC 20036 -366- -366-
Washington, DC 20036 To support general operations and an effort to encourage alumni to become engaged with their law schools The Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies 12/3/2010 5,000 Washington, DC 20036
To support general operations and an effort to encourage alumni to become engaged with their law schools The Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies 12/3/2010 5,000 Weshinston DC 20036
Washington, DC 20036

[[]Bradley Foundation IRS Form 990, 2010]

The Bradley Foundation Gave The Federalist Society \$595,000 In 2011–With \$400,000 Of That Earmarked For "A Project On American Sovereignty And International Law."

The Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies Washington, DC 20036	3/16/2011	\$100,000
To support a project on American sovereignty and international law		
The Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies Washington, DC 20036	4/6/2011	\$95,000
To support general operations		
The Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies Washington, DC 20036	4/6/2011	\$100,000
To support a project on American sovereignty and international law		
The Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies Washington, DC 20036	5/4/2011	\$100,000
To support a project on American sovereignty and international law		
The Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies Washington, DC 20036	6/1/2011	\$95,000
To support general operations		
The Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies	6/1/2011	\$100,000
Washington, DC 20036		
To support a project on American sovereignty and international law		
The Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies	12/8/2011	\$5,000
Washington, DC 20036		
To support general operations		

[Bradley Foundation IRS Form 990, Page 383]

The Bradley Foundation Is Funded By The Multi-Billion Dollar Fortune Of 20th Century Industrialist Harry Bradley, A Founding Member Of Far Right Conspiratorial Group The John Birch Society. "Harry, a John Birch Society founding member, started a small family foundation that initially devoted much of its giving to needy employees and to civic causes in Milwaukee. In 1985, after the brothers' death, their heirs sold the company to the defense contractor Rockwell International, for \$1.65 billion, generating an enormous windfall for the foundation." [The New Yorker, <u>8/09/21</u>]

In 2014, Leo Connected A Bradley Foundation Grant Officer With His Associate Neil Corkery To Discuss How The Bradley Foundation Could Fund Two "Supreme Court Amicus Projects" At Leo's Judicial Education Project. "The newly reviewed grant documents include emails showing that the Bradley Foundation's grant officer conferred with Leo at the Federalist Society about how the foundation could fund "two Supreme Court *amicus* projects" without funneling the money through DonorsTrust, in 2014. Leo connected them to Neil Corkery, a long-time ally of his in an array of groups, and the listed leader of JEP. That group was launched in 2004 alongside another group Leo has deep ties to: the Judicial Confirmation Network, which is now known as the Judicial Crisis Network (JCN)." [PR Watch, 10/10/20]

• The Bradley Foundation Grant Officer Explicitly Stated A Goal To "Orchestrate" Amicus Efforts. "[The officer made] their intention clear with the statement that: 'At this highest of legal levels, it is often very important to orchestrate high-caliber amicus efforts that showcase respected high-profile parties who are represented by the very best lawyers with strong ties to the Court. Such is the case here, with King and Friedrichs, even given Bradley's previous philanthropic investments in the actual, underlying legal actions." [Senate Judiciary Testimony, Lisa Graves, <u>3/10/21</u>]

Alito Was Paid To Address The Texas Federalist Society In September 2015, Two Months Before He Joined A SCOTUS Opinion That Weakened The Clean Air Act

In September 2015, Alito's Gave The Keynote Speech At A Statewide Meeting Of The Texas Chapter Of The Federalist Society That Was Hosted At The George W. Bush Presidential Center. "Federalist Society chapters throughout the state of Texas also held their first statewide conference at the George W. Bush Presidential Center in September. Over 200 attendees from chapters around the state gathered for panels offering a retrospective on the rule of law during the George W. Bush administration. The day kicked off with a surprise address by former President George W. Bush. President Bush welcomed attendees, updated the crowd on his family, and greeted many of his former legal officials in attendance. Proceedings included panels focused on the war on terror and judicial nominations, as well as a conversation on the 2008 financial crisis. Panelists at the conference included former United States Attorney General Michael Mukasey, former Department of Homeland Security Secretary Michael Chertoff, former Deputy Attorney General Larry Thompson, and former White House Counsel Harriet Miers, among many others. United States Supreme Court Justice Samuel Alito offered a keynote address commemorating his tenth anniversary on the Supreme Court. He discussed his love for baseball, the increased use of textualism on the Court, the state of religious liberty in America, and his views on the protection of First Amendment rights." [Federalist Society 2015 Annual Report, Page 11]



In 2015, Alito Sided WIth The Majority In Michigan v. EPA.

The *Michigan v. EPA* Decision Raised The Standard For The EPA's Ability To Regulate Emissions Under The Clean Air Act, Which The Harvard Law Review Said Could "Thwart Agency Efforts To Pursue Enterprising Public-Health And Environmental Initiatives."

"With more agency cost-benefit analyses, a State Farm standard that might forbid regulations whose costs substantially outweigh their benefits, and the possible preclusion of ancillary benefit consideration, the path to valid regulation may be narrowed significantly. Thus, if Michigan is read broadly, it could spur a series of developments that would thwart agency efforts to pursue enterprising public-health and environmental initiatives." [Harvard Law Review, November 2015]

Both Industry Lawyers In Michigan v. EPA Were Federalist Society Members.

CITATION	ADVOCATES
576 US_(2015)	Aaron D. Lindstrom
	for the state petitioners
GRANTED Nov 25, 2014	Donald B. Verrilli, Jr. for the federal respondents
ARGUED Mar 25, 2015	Paul M. Smith for the industry respondents
	F. William Brownell
DECIDED	for the industry petitioners and respondents in support

Jun 29, 2015



HOME > CONTRIBUTORS > PAUL SMITH



Paul Smith Partner, Jenner & Block LLP

Search

Comm

Commentary Case

[Federalist Society, Accessed 5/01/23]



Search

HOME > CONTRIBUTORS > WILLIAM BROWNELL



William Brownell

Partner, Hunton & Williams LLP

[Federalist Society, Accessed 5/01/23]

Major Donors To The Federalist Society Include Leading Opponents Of Climate Action Such As The Koch Family And Fossil Fuel Giant Chevron. "Some of the many donors to the Federalist Society include Koch Industries, which has fought climate action; the Sarah Scaife Foundation, created by the heirs to the Mellon oil, aluminum and banking fortune; and Chevron, the oil giant in the case that created Chevron deference." [New York Times, <u>6/19/22</u>]

Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton Was A Petitioner In Favor Of Fossil Fuel Interests In *Michigan V. EPA.* "Robert D. Cook, Solicitor General, James Emory Smith, Jr., Deputy Attorney General, Office of the Attorney General, Columbia, SC, for Petitioner State of South Carolina. Ken Paxton, Attorney General" [CaseText, <u>6/29/15</u>]

Paxton Is A Federalist Society Member.



[Federalist Society, Accessed 5/01/23]

Altio Addressed The Silicon Valley Federalist Society Chapter The Same Year Verizon Challenged Net Neutrality Rules

Altio's 2011 Trip To California Was To Address The Re-Launch Of The Silicon Valley Lawyers Chapter Of The Federalist Society. "The Silicon Valley Lawyers Chapter re-launched with U.S. Supreme Court Justice Samuel Alito as its initial guest. Over 150 lawyers and students attended the luncheon, where the Justice gave remarks and answered audience questions, including one concerning his recent dissent in Snyder v. Phelps. In May, the St. Louis Lawyers Chapter was also honored to host Justice Alito, who met with Chapter members at a breakfast meeting. He spoke briefly before answering questions from the attendees." [Federalist Society 2011 Annual Report, Page 6]

In 2011, Verizon Sued To Block Net Neutrality Rules. "Verizon Communications on Friday sued the Federal Communications Commission to overturn controversial net neutrality rules, saying the regulations are too stringent and go beyond the agency's authority. In an ironic twist, the suit comes after a separate legal challenge by Free Press this week that says <u>the rules</u> don't go far enough to protect wireless customers." [Washington Post, <u>9/30/11</u>]

Justice Alito Has Attended Federalist Society Events Since 2017 And Received A Standing Ovation At The Society's 40th Anniversary Galas In 2022

Alito Attended A 2018 Federalist Society Reception Hosted At The Supreme Court

Alito Attended A 2018 Federalist Society Reception Hosted At The Supreme Court. "The majestic building at the top of Capitol Hill is first and foremost a public office building, open to the public on weekdays. But it also serves as a coveted, after-hours event space, used 30 to 50 times a year by private groups, if they are sponsored by a justice. One of those groups is the conservative Federalist Society, which held a reception in July 2018 that was attended by Justice Samuel Alito. The group posted photos from the event on its Facebook page." [Associated Press, <u>11/29/19</u>]

• The Court Does Not Maintain Public Records Of Groups Or Sponsoring Justices That Hold Events At Its Facilities. "The court would not provide a comprehensive list of groups, events or sponsoring justices. 'The court does not maintain public records of organizations holding events,' spokeswoman Kathy Arberg said. But groups that use the building typically have a connection to the court or the law, and they pay up to \$6,000 for an event, Arberg said." [Associated Press, <u>11/29/19</u>]

Alito Gave The Keynote Speech At The 2020 Federalist Society National Convention Where He Attacked Efforts To Curb The Society's Influence Of The Judiciary

Alito Gave The Keynote Speech At The 2020 Federalist Society National Convention. "Justice Samuel Alito told the Federalist Society on Thursday night that two constitutional protections – the First Amendment right to free exercise of religion, and the Second Amendment right to bear arms – are rapidly becoming 'second-class' liberties. Alito's keynote address at the group's 2020 National Convention was the first public appearance by a Supreme Court justice (aside from the court's telephonic oral arguments) since the election." [SCOTUSBlog, <u>11/13/20</u>]

- Alito Attacked An Effort That Would Bar Active Members In Ideological Groups Such As The Federalist Society From Serving In The Federal Judiciary. "Turning from law schools to the judiciary, Alito criticized a measure proposed last year that would have barred federal judges from maintaining membership in ideological groups like the Federalist Society. 'We should all express our thanks' to the 200 federal judges who signed a letter successfully opposing that measure, Alito urged, calling these judges 'defenders of free speech.'" [SCOTUSBIOg, <u>11/13/20]</u>
- Alito Also Complained That Freedom Of Religion And The Right To Bear Arms Were Becoming "Second Class" Liberties. "Justice Samuel Alito told the Federalist Society on Thursday night that two constitutional protections – the First Amendment right to free exercise of religion, and the Second Amendment right to bear arms – are rapidly

becoming 'second-class' liberties. Alito's keynote address at the group's 2020 National Convention was the first public appearance by a Supreme Court justice (aside from the court's telephonic oral arguments) since the election." [SCOTUSBlog, <u>11/13/20]</u>

Alito Received A Standing Ovation At The 40th Anniversary Federalist Society Gala In 2022

Alito Spoke At The Federalist Society's 40th Anniversary Gala In 2022 Where He Received A Standing Ovation Shortly After Authoring The Opinion That Overturned *Roe v. Wade.* "Four of the five US supreme court justices who overturned the constitutional right to abortion in America showed up at the ultra-conservative Federalist Society's black-tie dinner marking its 40th anniversary. Justice Samuel Alito, who wrote the opinion in the shock decision, got a long, loud ovation at the event on Thursday night from a crowd of 2,000 people, most in tuxedos and gowns, when another speaker praised him on the overturning of Roe v Wade in June." [The Guardian, <u>11/12/22</u>]

• The Standing Ovation For Alito Lasted Nearly A Minute. "Prior to Barrett taking the stage, Alito received a near-minute-long standing ovation from the crowd before he spoke highly of his introduction to the conservative group many years ago, recalling the meals he shared with the Federalist Society's D.C. chapter at a local Chinese restaurant after he had already started his legal career." [Washington Examiner, <u>11/11/22</u>]



[Washington Examiner, 11/11/22]

Alito Told Federalist Society Members That "Your Work Is Needed" During Biden's **Presidency.** "Justice Amy Coney Barrett and Alito offered brief remarks that steered well clear of the court's work, though Alito praised the Federalist Society for its success in the Trump years and hoped it would continue. 'Boy, is your work needed today,' he said." [The Guardian, <u>11/12/22</u>]