# Nearly Every Senate Judiciary Committee Conservative Has Deep Ties To Leonard Leo's Right-Wing Network Dedicated To Reshaping Federal Courts

**SUMMARY:** Leonard Leo is "the maestro of a network of interlocking nonprofits" to push conservative judges as part of his decades-long mission to reshape federal courts. The Federalist Society, which has been central to Leo's efforts, counted six of nine sitting Supreme Court justices as current or former members in 2021. Leo's network also includes the Judicial Crisis Network, whose leader Carrie Severino was "the principal public advocate for president Trump's judicial nominees," and spent \$37 million helping to confirm President Trump's nominees to the Supreme Court.

As the Senate Judiciary Committee considers the latest Supreme Court nominee, an Accountable.US review has found that nearly all of the committee's conservatives have deep ties to Leonard Leo, the Federalist Society, or his wider network of right-wing dark money groups:

### • Senate Judiciary Committee Ranking Member Chuck Grassley (R-IA)

- Leonard Leo called Sen. Grassley "a long friend of the Federalist Society" while introducing him at a 2018 Federalist Society reception.
- While Leo had "a central role" in Trump's judicial nominations, Sen. Grassley "sped up confirmation" of Trump's federal court picks by reversing his position and disallowing the century-old "'Blue Slip'" tradition.
- Sen. Grassley's former Chief Counsel for Nominations Mike Davis has founded the Article III Project, a judiciary-focused dark money group tied to Leonard Leo's Network—Davis said the group would work "'hand-in-glove'" with the Leo-tied Judicial Crisis Network.
- After the 2018 midterm elections, Sen. Grassley's Chief Counsel for Nominations Mike Davis contacted Sen. Lindsey Graham's office to "'push'" a judicial nominee, adding that "Leonard Leo is fully onboard" and would provide support "from the outside."

### • Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-SC)

- Sen. Graham was Judiciary Committee Chairman from 2019 to 2021, when he presided over the "speedy" confirmation of Supreme Court Justice and "longtime" Federalist Society Member Amy Coney Barrett after she was included in Trump's shortlist that Leonard Leo Helped draft.
- Sen. Graham took a "maxed-out donation from Federalist Society co-founder and board chairman Steven Calabresi" during Coney Barrett's nomination hearings— just days before Graham's committee voted to advance her nomination.
- Sen. Graham gave a keynote address for the Federalists Society's Legislative Branch Review Conference and was introduced by the group's general counsel.

#### • Sen. John Cornyn (R-TX)

- Sen. Cornyn has been featured in at least four Federalist Society events since 2005.
- 2018: alongside Leonard Leo, Sen. Cornyn reassured a private group of Koch network donors that Trump would overhaul much of the federal court of appeals, with Cornyn promising to "'clear the decks'" in Judiciary Committee nominations

Close Leonard Leo ally Carrie Severino prepared a Supreme Court amicus brief for Sen.
 Cornyn and others in King V. Burwell, a case that threatened the Affordable Care Act's central tax subsidies.

### • Sen. Mike Lee (R-UT)

- Sen. Lee has been active with the Federalist Society "since his days in law school," has been one of the few senators in the so-called "Federalist Society Caucus," and has been featured in at least 30 of the group's events since 2010.
- 2018: Sen. Lee gave the opening address for the Federalist Society's National Lawyers
   Convention, where Leonard Leo called Lee a "mainstay" and Lee responded, "it's a pleasure
   and an honor to be at the Federalist Society in any form."
- 2012: Sen. Lee addressed the Federalist Society's National Lawyers Convention, where Leo said Lee was adhering to his view of the Constitution "more than I can remember any other senator doing"—Lee said, "it's good to be among friends."

#### • Sen. Ted Cruz (R-TX)

- Sen. Cruz (R-TX) is one of the few senators in what has been called the "Federalist Society Caucus" and has been featured in at least 23 of the group's events since 2007.
- Sen. Cruz was on Trump's 2020 shortlist of Supreme Court candidates, which Leonard Leo praised and which the Federalist Society helped shape.
- 2012: then-Senator-Elect Ted Cruz addressed the Federalist Society's National Lawyer's Convention, where Leonard Leo praised him for running for the Senate—Cruz opened with, "it is great to be back with family," "I've grown up with the Federalist Society," and "this has been my home for my entire adult life, my entire professional life."
- Sen. Cruz's nonprofit, The Conservative Action Network has taken at least \$500,000 from Leonard Leo's Freedom and Opportunity Fund.

#### Sen. Ben Sasse (R-NE)

- 2020: Sen. Sasse issued a press release that applauded a "Win For [The] Federalist Society," after a court body decided to rescind a proposal to ban judges' membership in the Federalist Society, which he said was the product of "'a vicious liberal smear campaign."
- 2017: Sen. Sasse issued a press release titled "What's So Radical About The Federalist Society?" in which his office said he "responded forcefully to attempts to demonize the Federalist Society."

#### Sen. Josh Hawley (R-MO)

- Sen. Hawley is one of the few senators in what has been called the "Federalist Society Caucus" and has been featured in at least 5 of the group's events since 2013.
- Sen. Hawley was on Trump's 2020 shortlist of Supreme Court candidates, which Leonard Leo praised and which the Federalist Society helped shape.

#### Sen. Tom Cotton (R-AR)

- Sen. Cotton was on Trump's 2020 shortlist of Supreme Court candidates, which Leonard Leo praised and which the Federalist Society helped shape.
- Leonard Leo's Concord Fund, previously known as the Judicial Crisis Network, gave \$200,000 to "a dark money group tied to Sen. Tom Cotton" and launched by Cotton's former aide.
- 2017: Sen. Cotton issued an official press release about a Federalist Society speech he gave where he called Leonard Leo "my old friend," called his "affection" for the group "very personal," and said "there are few people who hold the Federalist Society in as much esteem as I do."

### • Sen. Thom Tillis (R-NC)

- Sen. Tillis took \$4,300 from Leonard Leo in the 2020 cycle, including \$1,500 the same day that Supreme Court nominee Neil Gorsuch began his confirmation hearings.
- o Sen. Tillis also took \$2,800 from the Federalist Society's Chairman in the 2020 cycle.

### • Sen. Marsha Blackburn (R-TN)

- Sen. Blackburn hosted close Leonard Leo ally Carrie Severino in a video discussion, where she
  promoted Severino's book about Brett Kavanaugh that counted Leo among its "heroes"—
  Blackburn also said of Severino and the book's co-author: "it is absolutely so wonderful to be
  joined by two of my favorites today."
- Sen. Blackburn mocked Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse's description of the Leonard Leo network's influence on federal courts during Amy Coney Barrett's confirmation hearings.

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Leonard Leo Is "The Maestro Of A Network Of Interlocking Nonprofits"
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Around The Federalist Society And The Judicial Crisis Network.

### <u>Leonard Leo Is "The Maestro Of A Network Of Interlocking Nonprofits" To Push</u> Conservative Judges.

**Leonard Leo Has "Been On A Mission" To Reshape The Courts For Over Two Decades.** "For two decades, Leo has been on a mission to turn back the clock to a time before the U.S. Supreme Court routinely expanded the government's authority and endorsed new rights such as abortion and same-sex marriage. Now, as President Trump's unofficial judicial adviser, he told the audience at the closed-door event in February that they had to mobilize in 'very unprecedented ways' to help finish the job." [The Washington Post, 05/21/19]

Leo Has Been "Widely Known As A Confidant To Trump" And "The Maestro Of A Network Of Interlocking Nonprofits" To Support Conservative Judges. "He is widely known as a confidant to Trump and as executive vice president of the Federalist Society, an influential nonprofit organization for conservative and libertarian lawyers that has close ties to Supreme Court justices. But behind the scenes, Leo is the maestro of a network of interlocking nonprofits working on media campaigns and other initiatives to sway lawmakers by generating public support for conservative judges." [The Washington Post, 05/21/19]

Leo Has Been One Of Trump's "Most Important Outside Advisors." "One of President Donald Trump's most important outside advisors assured a group of top Koch network donors over the weekend that the nomination of Brett Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court is just the beginning of an even bigger effort to load up the federal judiciary with conservative judges. This affirmation from the Federalist Society's Leonard Leo, who advised Trump on the Kavanaugh nomination, shows that while the president has been in a war of words with the organization led by billionaire industrialists Charles and David Koch, the administration and the group still have major goals in common – particularly when it comes to the courts." [CNBC, 08/02/18]

## The Federalist Society Has Been Central To Leo's Efforts And The Group Counted Six Of Nine Sitting Supreme Court Justices As Current Or Former Members In 2021.

**Leonard Leo Was Co-Chairman Of The Federalist Society, As Of February 2022.** [The Federalist Society, accessed <u>02/24/22</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, 10/28/20]

The Federalist Society Counts "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, 03/04/21]

 Headline: The conservative club that came to dominate the Supreme Court [The Harvard Gazette, 03/04/21]

## Leo's Network Also Includes The Judicial Crisis Network, Whose Leader Carrie Severino Was "The Principal Public Advocate For President Trump's Judicial Nominees."

The Judicial Education Project Was Related To The Judicial Crisis Network, And Both Were "Connected To Leo Through Funding, Personnel And The Same Accountant," According To IRS Filings. "In the two years following its formation, the BH Group received more than \$4 million from the Judicial Crisis Network, a related group called the Judicial Education Project and a third nonprofit in the network called the Wellspring Committee, all of them connected to Leo through funding, personnel and the same accountant, IRS filings show. The groups described the payments in IRS filings as consulting, research and public relations fees. Leo, who disclosed BH Group as his employer in a campaign finance filing, declined to say how much money he received from the company or provide any other details about it." [The Washington Post, 05/21/19]

The Judicial Crisis Network Spent \$10 Million On Ads Supporting The Confirmation Of Amy Coney Barrett. "Judicial Crisis Network President Carrie Severino released the following statement in response to today's U.S. Senate vote to confirm Judge Amy Coney Barrett to the U.S. Supreme Court: 'Justice Amy Barrett's confirmation is a historic achievement for the conservative legal movement, which has persevered for more than three decades in pursuit of a Supreme Court majority that will follow the Constitution. And tonight we've achieved that goal.' ... \$10 million dollars spent on television and digital, as well as grassroots including 11 different ads." [Press Release, Judicial Crisis Network, 10/27/18]

The Judicial Crisis Network Pledged To Spend As Much As \$10 Million In Support Of Brett Kavanaugh's Nomination Fight. After President Donald Trump announced Kavanaugh's nomination in July, the Judicial Crisis Network declared that it was prepared to spend as much as \$10 million or more in a pro-Kavanaugh advertising campaign. It set up confirmkavanaugh.com, calling Kavanaugh "a person of impeccable character, extraordinary qualifications, independence, and fairness." [Associated Press, 11/27/18]

The Judicial Crisis Network Pledged \$10 Million To Back President Trump's Supreme Court Nominee To Fill Scalia's Vacant Seat, Which Would Be Filled By Neil Gorsuch. "The Judicial Crisis Network (JCN) today announced plans for a national campaign to confirm President Trump's nominee to the Supreme Court. Coming off of its historic "Let the People Decide" victory in the Garland nomination battle, JCN will engage a comprehensive campaign of paid advertising, earned media, research, grassroots activity, and a coalition enterprise, all adding up to the most robust operation in the history of confirmation battles. JCN and its allies will focus on states where Senate Democrats are vulnerable in 2018, particularly those where Trump won by large margins. JCN spent more than \$7 million in its Let the People Decide effort, and it expects to spend at least \$10 million to confirm the next justice." [Press Release, Judicial Crisis Network, 1/9/17]

The Judicial Crisis Network Spent \$7 Million Opposing President Obama's Nomination of Merrick Garland To The Supreme Court. "The Judicial Crisis Network (JCN) today announced plans for a national campaign to confirm President Trump's nominee to the Supreme Court. Coming off of its historic "Let the People Decide" victory in the Garland nomination battle, JCN will engage a comprehensive campaign of paid advertising, earned media, research, grassroots activity, and a coalition enterprise, all adding up to the most robust operation in the history of confirmation battles. JCN and its allies will focus on states where Senate Democrats are vulnerable in 2018, particularly those where Trump won by large margins. JCN spent more than \$7 million in its Let the People Decide effort, and it expects to spend at least \$10 million to confirm the next justice." [Press Release, Judicial Crisis Network, 1/9/17]

Sen. Chuck Grassley (R-IA) Has Been Called "A Long Friend Of The Federalist Society" By Leonard Leo, "Sped Up Confirmation" Of Trump Judicial Nominations In Which Leo Had "A Central Role," And His Former Top Nominations Staffer Founded A Dark Money Group Which Would Work "'Hand-In-Glove'" With The Leonard Leo-Tied Judicial Crisis Network.

Leonard Leo Called Senate Judiciary Ranking Member Chuck Grassley (R-IA) "A Long Friend Of The Federalist Society" While Introducing Him At A 2018 Federalist Society Reception.

Sen. Chuck Grassley (R-IA) Is The Ranking Member Of The Senate Judiciary Committee. [U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, accessed <u>02/23/22</u>]

2018: Leonard Leo Introduced Sen. Grassley At A Federalist Society Reception Where He Said That Grassley "Has Been A Long Friend Of The Federalist Society":



[The Federalist Society, accessed <u>02/23/22</u>]

- Leonard Leo, Federalist Society Executive Vice President, Was Scheduled To Introduce Sen. Grassley At The Reception. "Introduction: Leonard A. Leo, Executive Vice President, The Federalist Society" [The Federalist Society, accessed 02/23/22]
- In His Remarks, Leo Said That Sen. Grassley "Has Been A Long Friend Of The Federalist Society." [The Federalist Society via Youtube, 06/18/18 (02:49)]

While Leo Had "A Central Role" In Trump's Judicial Nominations, Sen. Grassley "Sped Up Confirmation" Of Trump's Federal Court Picks By Reversing His Position And Disallowing The Century-Old "'Blue Slip'" Tradition, Which Effectively Prevented Democrats From Blocking Nominees From Their Home States.

Sen. Grassley "Sped Up Confirmation" Of Donald Trump's And Leonard Leo's Court Of Appeals And District-Court Picks By "Reversing His Past Position And Junking The 'Blue Slip' Precedent," Which Let Senators Block Nominees From Their States. "Subsequently, Senate Judiciary Committee chair Chuck Grassley sped up confirmation of Trump's and Leo's Court of Appeals and district-court appointments by reversing his past position and junking the 'blue slip' precedent letting individual senators hold up or veto judges from their states." [New York Magazine, 11/21/17]

• Leonard Led Had "A Central Role In Advising First The Trump Campaign And Then The Trump Administration On Judicial Prospects." "Leo, after all, had a central role in advising first the Trump campaign and then the Trump administration on judicial prospects, in conjunction with the Heritage Foundation." [New York Magazine, 11/21/17]

Grassley's Reversal Was Consequential Because At The Time, Democrats In The Minority Could No Longer Block Judicial Nominees Unless They Were Backed By At Least Three Republican Senators. "That's why Grassley's decision to ignore blue slip objections matters so much. With neither the blue slip nor

the judicial filibuster, minority Democrats can no longer block judicial nominees unless three GOP senators cross the aisle to help defeat them." [The Washington Post, 11/20/17]

The Blue Slip Was A "Century-Old, Informal Senate Practice" That Dated Back To At Least 1917. "The blue slip is a century-old, informal Senate practice, never added to written committee or chamber rules. The oldest blue slip in congressional archives dates to 1917, although chairs maintained systematic records of correspondence with home state senators as early as 1913." [The Washington Post, 11/20/17]

Leonard Leo Said That Sen. Grassley's Former Chief Counsel For Nominations
Mike Davis Was Owed "A Tremendous Debt Of Gratitude" For His Role In
Judicial Nominations—Davis Was "A Central Figure" In Supreme Court
Confirmations For Brett Kavanaugh And Neil Gorsuch, Plus "A Record Number"
Of Circuit Judges In Trump's First Two Years.

2018: Leonard Leo Said That Mike Davis Was Owed "A Tremendous Debt Of Gratitude" For His Role In Judicial Nominations As He Introduced Sen. Grassley At A Federalist Society Reception:



[The Federalist Society, accessed 02/23/22]

- Leonard Leo, Federalist Society Executive Vice President, Was Scheduled To Introduce Sen. Grassley At The Reception. "Introduction: Leonard A. Leo, Executive Vice President, The Federalist Society" [The Federalist Society, accessed 02/23/22]
- While Discussing Grassley's Success In Advancing Judicial Nominations, Leo Said, "We
  Owe The Senator And His Team—Many Of Whom Were Here—Mike Davis And The Rest Of
  The Judiciary Staff And Some Others A Tremendous Debt Of Gratitude For Their Public
  Service." [The Federalist Society via Youtube, 06/18/18 (04:23)]

Mike Davis Was Sen. Grassley's Former Chief Counsel For Nominations Who Oversaw Trump-Appointed Justice Brett Kavanaugh's Confirmation And "A Record Number Of Circuit Judges" In Trump's First Two Years. "Mike Davis, the former Chief Counsel for Nominations to Senate Judiciary Chairman Chuck Grassley, is the founder and president of the Article III Project (A3P). A3P defends constitutionalist judges and the rule of law." [The Article III Project, accessed 02/23/22]

 Davis Oversaw The Confirmation Of Supreme Court Justice Brett Kavanaugh And "The Record Number Of Circuit Judges Confirmed During President Trump's First Two Years In Office." "As Chief Counsel for Nominations, Davis advised Chairman Grassley and other senators on the confirmation of federal judges and senior Executive Branch appointees, serving as staff lead for 30 hearings and 41 markup meetings. He oversaw the floor votes for 278 nominees, including the confirmations of Justice Brett Kavanaugh and the record number of circuit judges confirmed during President Trump's first two years in office." [The Article III Project, accessed 02/23/22]

Davis Also Previously Was A Law Clerk For Trump-Appointed Supreme Court Justice Neil Gorsuch Before Acting As "A Central Figure" For Gorsuch's Confirmation And Leading An "Outside Support Team" In The Effort. "Davis has served in all three branches of the federal government, including for President George W. Bush, the Justice Department, House Speaker Newt Gingrich, and current Supreme Court Justice Neil Gorsuch. Davis also led the outside support team for Justice Gorsuch's successful confirmation to the Supreme Court." [The Article III Project, accessed 02/23/22]

- Davis Was "A Central Figure" In Justice Gorsuch's And Kavanaugh's Confirmations. "Named
  the Article III Project for the section of the Constitution that established the judiciary, the
  organization will be led by Mike Davis, a former Republican Senate and White House aide who was
  a central figure in the confirmations of Justices Neil M. Gorsuch and Brett M. Kavanaugh." [The
  New York Times, 05/18/19]
- Gorsuch Was Appointed By Donald Trump. [Oyez, accessed <u>02/23/22</u>]
- Davis Was A Law Clerk For Gorsuch. "Davis was chief counsel for Senate Judiciary Committee during the most recent Supreme Court confirmation battles and Justice Neil Gorsuch's former law clerk." [OpenSecrets, 05/23/19]

Sen. Grassley's Former Chief Counsel For Nominations Mike Davis Later
Founded The Article III Project, A Judiciary-Focused Dark Money Group Tied To
Leonard Leo's Network—Davis Said The Group Would Take A "'Brass Knuckles'"
Approach And Would Work "'Hand-In-Glove'" With The Leonard Leo-Tied
Judicial Crisis Network.

Sen. Grassley's Former Chief Counsel For Nominations Mike Davis Founded The Article III Project, Which Claims To Defend "Constitutionalist Judges." "Mike Davis, the former Chief Counsel for Nominations to Senate Judiciary Chairman Chuck Grassley, is the founder and president of the Article III Project (A3P). A3P defends constitutionalist judges and the rule of law." [The Article III Project, accessed 02/23/22]

The Article III Project Rose From The "Ashes" Of The Leonard Leo-Tied Wellspring Committee, "One Of The Most Influential 'Dark Money' Groups You've Probably Never Heard Of," Which Shut Down In December 2018. "One of the most influential 'dark money' groups you've probably never heard of has officially shut its doors. The Wellspring Committee's existence has come to an apparent end, according to state incorporation records showing the dark money group's termination. Wellspring was just shy of eleven years old. The group died as it lived, surreptitiously. Officially shutting down in December 2018, its fate was not discovered until May 19, 2019. [...] At least one new group has already risen from Wellspring's ashes: the Article III Project (A3P)." [OpenSecrets, 05/23/19]

 Leonard Leo Has Been "A Central Player In Orchestrating Wellspring's Dark Money Network." "A central player in orchestrating Wellspring's dark money network has been Leonard Leo, Trump's judicial adviser and a longtime executive at the Federalist Society." [OpenSecrets, 05/23/19]

Davis Said, "'What I Want To Do With The Article III Project Is Take Off The Gloves, Put On The Brass Knuckles And Fight Back." "'What I want to do with the Article III Project is take off the gloves, put on the brass knuckles and fight back,' said Mr. Davis, an Iowa native who was the chief nominations counsel for Senator Charles E. Grassley, an Iowa Republican who was the chairman of the Judiciary Committee until this year." [The New York Times, 05/18/19]

The Article III Project Planned To Work Closely With The Leonard Leo-Tied Judicial Crisis Network, With Mike Davis Tweeting That He Was "'Excited To Work Hand-In-Glove With @Jcnseverino, My Other Longtime Friends At JCN.'" "A3P was sculpted in the mold of its predecessors and plans to work closely with JCN. 'Excited to work hand-in-glove with @JCNSeverino, my other longtime friends at JCN, and many others on the outside who understand the critical importance of the judicial fight,' A3P president Mike Davis tweeted. Davis was chief counsel for Senate Judiciary Committee during the most recent Supreme Court confirmation battles and Justice Neil Gorsuch's former law clerk." [OpenSecrets, 05/23/19]

- Carrie Severino, The Judicial Crisis Network's Chief Counsel And Policy Director, Was "The Principal Public Advocate For President Trump's Judicial Nominees" And The Group Spent \$17 Million On Ads To Defend Brett Kavanaugh's And Neil Gorsuch's Nominations. "Severino, the chief counsel and policy director of the Judicial Crisis Network, has emerged as the principal public advocate for President Trump's judicial nominees as he and Senate Republicans overhaul the federal judiciary. [...] Severino and JCN's strategy is to dominate mass-media airwaves. The group spent \$17 million in TV and digital ads to defend then-Supreme Court nominees Brett Kavanaugh and Neil Gorsuch, most of which was spent urging vulnerable Democratic senators to vote to confirm the embattled D.C. circuit judge Kavanaugh." [National Journal, accessed 02/23/22]
- The Judicial Crisis Network Is "Connected To Leo Through Funding, Personnel And The Same Accountant," According To IRS Filings. "In the two years following its formation, the BH Group received more than \$4 million from the Judicial Crisis Network, a related group called the Judicial Education Project and a third nonprofit in the network called the Wellspring Committee, all of them connected to Leo through funding, personnel and the same accountant, IRS filings show. The groups described the payments in IRS filings as consulting, research and public relations fees. Leo, who disclosed BH Group as his employer in a campaign finance filing, declined to say how much money he received from the company or provide any other details about it." [The Washington Post, 05/21/19]

After The 2018 Midterm Elections, Sen. Grassley's Chief Counsel For
Nominations Mike Davis Contacted Sen. Lindsey Graham's Office To "'Push'" A
Judicial Nominee, Adding That "Leonard Leo Is Fully Onboard" And Would
Provide Support "From The Outside."

2018: While Sen. Grassley's Chief Counsel For Nominations, Mike Davis Told Sen. Lindsey Graham's (R-SC) Staff That He'd Like To "'Push'" A Particular Nominee After Republicans Gained Senate Seats, Adding That "Leonard Leo Is Fully Onboard" To Support The Potential Nominee "From The Outside." "Another document we obtained from the department shows the extent of Leo's involvement in the nomination and confirmation process. The evening after the 2018 midterm election, in which Republicans gained two seats in the U.S. Senate, Mike Davis, the chief counsel for nominations to Judiciary Committee Chairman Sen. Charles Grassley, emailed a committee staffer for Sen. Lindsey Graham: 'Now that we picked up 2 or 3 seats, I'd like to push to have [redacted]. Grassley is onboard with this. Leonard Leo is fully onboard to support [redacted] from the outside, per my call with Leonard today. Would Graham be willing to talk to [redacted]?"" [American Oversight, 09/24/20]

### <u>Sen. Grassley Has Entered Mike Davis' Federalist Society Speeches Into The Congressional Record.</u>

Sen. Grassley Has Entered Davis' Speeches At Federalist Society Events Into The Congressional Record. "His talks at Federalist Society events have earned the distinction of being included in the congressional record at the request of his former employer, Sen. Chuck Grassley (R-lowa). During Davis' time at the Senate, he played a pivotal role in securing votes for Justices Neil Gorsuch and Brett Kavanaugh." [OpenSecrets, 05/23/19]

Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-SC) Presided Over The "Speedy" Confirmation Of Federalist Member Amy Coney Barrett After She Was Included On Leo's Shortlist, Took A "Maxed-Out" Donation From The Federalist Society's Co-Founder During Barrett's Nomination, And Has Given A Keynote Address For The Group.

Senate Judiciary Committee Member Lindsey Graham (R-SC) Was Chairman
From 2019 To 2021, When He Presided Over The "Speedy" Confirmation Of
Supreme Court Justice And "Longtime" Federalist Society Member Amy Coney
Barrett After She Was Included In Trump's Shortlist That Leonard Leo Helped
Draft.

**Sen. Lindsey Graham Is A Member Of The Senate Judiciary Committee.** [U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, accessed <u>02/23/22</u>]

Sen. Graham Was Chairman Of The Senate Judiciary Committee From 2019 To 2021. [U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, accessed <u>02/23/22</u>]

While Senate Judiciary Chairman, Sen. Graham "Presided Over Speedy Confirmation Hearings For Justice Amy Coney Barrett In A Race To Confirm Her In October 2020," Just Weeks Before The 2020 Election. "Graham knows that well, since he presided over speedy confirmation hearings for Justice Amy Coney Barrett in a race to confirm her in October 2020 just over a month after the death of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsberg, and weeks before the November presidential election." [Roll Call, 01/26/22]

Sen. Graham Reversed His Position On Advancing A Supreme Court Nominee Just Weeks Before An Election—He Previously Claimed That Former President Obama's Nomination Of Merrick Garland Should Not Be Held In An Election Year. "While the outcome of Amy Coney Barrett's confirmation to the Supreme Court is not in doubt, senators remain at odds over the decision to advance a nomination so close to a presidential election. Senate Judiciary Chairman Lindsey Graham, R-S.C., once claimed that he would not support such a move, but he quickly reversed himself following the death of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg. "There's nothing unconstitutional about this process," said Graham, reiterating the long-standing GOP justification to block then-President Barack Obama's nomination of Merrick Garland to the Supreme Court in an election year because the White House and Senate were controlled by opposing parties, and that an election should occur to let the people weigh in on the vacancy." [NPR, 10/12/20]

Barrett's "Fast-Track Rise" Was Part Of A Long-Term Conservative Effort To Remake The Federal Courts. "Barrett's fast-track rise, set to drive the nation's highest court to the right for a generation or longer, is the fulfillment of a decadeslong effort by conservatives to remake the federal bench that kicked into high gear after President Donald Trump was elected." [The Washington Post, 09/26/20]

**Barrett Was "A Longtime Member Of The Federalist Society."** "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, 10/28/20]

Leonard Leo Praised Barrett's Nomination As "'The Capstone Of A More Than Four-Year Process'" Of Preparing And Advancing Conservative Supreme Court Nominees. "Today's nomination is the capstone of a more than four-year process where the president seized upon the issue, stayed focused, and called attention to a small bench of very talented people who he could put on the Supreme Court," said Leonard Leo, of the conservative Federalist Society." [The Washington Post, 09/26/20]

2016: Leonard Leo Met With Trump's Incoming White House Counsel Don McGahn And Others To Draw A List Of Over 100 Judicial Nominees Which Included Barrett, Despite The Fact That She Was "Unheard Of Nationally." "Within weeks of Trump's victory in 2016, incoming White House counsel Don McGahn, Leo and a handful of other attorneys set about drawing up lists of potential nominees for more than 100 federal judicial vacancies. First among them was the Supreme Court vacancy created by the death of Scalia, but they also dug deeper. Barrett, then a law professor at Notre Dame, was not well known in political circles in Indiana and almost unheard of nationally. But she found herself on the list of potential picks for the 7th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, in large part thanks to McGahn." [The Washington Post, 09/26/20]

2017: Leonard Leo Met With Trump And McGahn In The Oval Office To Present Him A List Of Supreme Court Nominees That Included Barrett. "Months later, in the fall of 2017, Trump set about updating his list of potential nominees to the Supreme Court. Five names were presented to him in an Oval Office meeting with McGahn and Leo. Among the names: Barrett and Brett Kavanaugh." [The Washington Post, 09/26/20]

Trump White House Counsel Don McGahn "Unveiled" The Supreme Court List Just "Weeks Later" At A Federalist Society Event. "McGahn unveiled the list weeks later at a Federalist Society conference in Washington." [The Washington Post, 09/26/20]

Sen. Graham Took A "Maxed-Out Donation From Federalist Society Co-Founder And Board Chairman Steven Calabresi" During Coney Barrett's Nomination Hearings— Just Days Before Graham's Committee Voted To Advance Her Nomination.

2020: Sen. Graham Received A "Maxed-Out Donation From Federalist Society Co-Founder And Board Chairman Steven Calabresi" During Amy Coney Barrett's Confirmation Fight. "What do Republican Sens. Martha McSally (Ariz.), Cory Gardner (Colo.), David Perdue (Ga.), Kelly Loeffler (Ga.), Thom Tillis (N.C.) and Lindsey Graham (S.C.) have in common? At least two things: They're all in tight reelection campaigns, and they all received a maxed-out donation from Federalist Society co-founder and board chairman Steven Calabresi during Amy Coney Barrett's Supreme Court confirmation process." [Huffington Post, 10/28/20]

Graham And Other Senators Received \$2,800 From Calabresi During Barrett's Hearings And Just Days Before The Senate Judiciary Committee Voted To Advance Her Nomination. "A review of Federal Election Commission reports shows all six senators received \$2,800 from Calabresi, the maximum amount an individual can contribute to a campaign in a general election, between Oct. 9 and Oct. 19. Barrett's confirmation hearing took place between Oct. 12 and Oct. 15, and she was voted out of committee on Oct. 22." [Huffington Post, 10/28/20]

 Calabresi's \$2,800 Contribution To Sen. Graham Was On October 19, 2020. [Federal Election Commission, 10/19/20]

**Barrett Was "A Longtime Member Of The Federalist Society."** "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, 10/28/20]

Carrie Severino, The President Of The Leonard Leo-Tied Judicial Crisis Network, Praised Sen. Graham For Getting "Woke" And Less Bipartisan During Supreme Court Nominations.

September 2020: Judicial Crisis Network President Carrie Severino Praised Sen. Graham For Getting "Woke" And Being Less Bipartisan During Supreme Court Nominations. "On Fox Across America with Jimmy Failla, Judicial Crisis Network President Carrie Severino explain why Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-SC) has changed the way he's felt about voting for a Supreme Court nominee during an election year. 'Lindsey

Graham, who's now Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, everyone remembers his really fiery response during that second (Kavanaugh) hearing where he really went off on the way the Democrats were using these hearings. And for people who aren't Senate watchers, if that was even more notable, if you know Lindsey Graham, because this is someone who, for so many decades, had just he was always trying to reach across the aisle, wanted to help Democrats, as he would say, I voted for Sotomayor. I voted for Kagan. This is the guy who was trying to be middle of the line on judges. And that was it. That's the moment he got woke to what was really going on. You can't appease the Democrats on this because they are not willing to play ball." [Fox News Radio, 09/22/20]

The Judicial Crisis Network Is "Connected To Leo Through Funding, Personnel And The Same Accountant," According To IRS Filings. "In the two years following its formation, the BH Group received more than \$4 million from the Judicial Crisis Network, a related group called the Judicial Education Project and a third nonprofit in the network called the Wellspring Committee, all of them connected to Leo through funding, personnel and the same accountant, IRS filings show. The groups described the payments in IRS filings as consulting, research and public relations fees. Leo, who disclosed BH Group as his employer in a campaign finance filing, declined to say how much money he received from the company or provide any other details about it." [The Washington Post, 05/21/19]

## Sen. Graham Gave A Keynote Address For The Federalists Society's Legislative Branch Review Conference And Was Introduced By The Group's General Counsel.

2019: Sen. Graham Gave The Keynote Address At The Federalist Society's Legislative Branch Review Conference, Held In The Capitol Building. [The Federalist Society, 02/06/19]

Graham Was Introduced By Federalist Society General Counsel And Vice President & Director
Of Practice Groups Dean A. Reuter. "Introduction: Dean A. Reuter, General Counsel | Vice President
& Director, Practice Groups, The Federalist Society" [The Federalist Society, 02/06/19]

Sen. John Cornyn (R-TX) Worked With Leonard Leo To Reassure A Private Group Of Koch Donors About Trump's Plan For The Courts, Was Represented By Leo Ally Carrie Severino In A Supreme Court Brief, And Has Been Featured In At Least Four Federalist Society Events.

### <u>Senate Judiciary Committee Member John Cornyn Has Been Featured In At</u> Least Four Federalist Society Events Since 2005.

**Sen. John Cornyn (R-TX) Is A Member Of The Senate Judiciary Committee.** [U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, accessed <u>02/23/22</u>]

Sen. Cornyn Has Appeared In At Least Four Federalist Society Events Since 2005. [The Federalist Society, accessed 02/24/22]

2018: Alongside Leonard Leo, Sen. Cornyn Reassured A Private Group Of Koch Network Donors That Trump Would Overhaul Much Of The Federal Court Of Appeals, With Cornyn Promising To "'Clear The Decks'" In Judiciary Committee Nominations And Leo Citing Common Goals With The Billionaires.

2018: Alongside Leonard Leo, Sen. Cornyn Assured A Private Group Of Donors That The Trump Administration Would Overhaul Much Of The Federal Court Of Appeals. "At a private meeting Sunday at the Koch summit in Colorado Springs, Leo, along with Sen. John Cornyn, R-Texas, told a small group of

financiers that the Trump administration was looking to overhaul a large chunk of the federal court of appeals by the end of the year, according to a person who was in the room during the discussion." [CNBC, 08/02/18]

Leo, One Of Trump's "Most Important Outside Advisors," Reportedly Told The Group Of Koch Network Donors That They "Have Major Goals In Common" Despite Trump's "War Of Words" With The Kochs At The Time. "One of President Donald Trump's most important outside advisors assured a group of top Koch network donors over the weekend that the nomination of Brett Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court is just the beginning of an even bigger effort to load up the federal judiciary with conservative judges. This affirmation from the Federalist Society's Leonard Leo, who advised Trump on the Kavanaugh nomination, shows that while the president has been in a war of words with the organization led by billionaire industrialists Charles and David Koch, the administration and the group still have major goals in common – particularly when it comes to the courts." [CNBC, 08/02/18]

Leo Reportedly Told Donors That "'Basically 26 Percent Of The Federal Appellate Bench Will Have Changed Under The Trump Administration.'" "'By the end of this year my prediction is that basically 26 percent of the federal appellate bench will have changed under the Trump administration,' Leo told donors, prompting a round of applause, said the person, who declined to be named." [CNBC, 08/02/18]

Cornyn Told The Donors About Plans To Fill Vacancies In The Crucial Ninth Circuit Court Of Appeals, Adding, "'We're Going To Clear The Decks On All Nominations We Can Get Through The Judiciary Committee Before The End Of The Year.'" "Cornyn told the donors in the meeting that the Senate plans to confirm more nominees to fill the vacancies on the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, which covers Arizona, California, Montana and Washington, among other districts. [...] 'You're right we need to do some work on the Ninth Circuit,' Cornyn said, according to the person who was in the room. The senator noted that the court has the highest percentage of cases overruled by the Supreme Court. 'We're going to clear the decks on all nominations we can get through the Judiciary Committee before the end of the year,' Cornyn added, the person said." [CNBC, 08/02/18]

Close Leonard Leo Ally Carrie Severino Prepared A Supreme Court Amicus Brief For Sen. Cornyn And Others In King V. Burwell, A Case That Threatened The Affordable Care Act's Central Tax Subsidies.

Carrie Severino Of The Judicial Education Project Was Counsel For Sen. John Cornyn And Other Senators In A Supreme Court Amicus Brief In King V. Burwell:

### In the Supreme Court of the United States

DAVID KING, ET AL.,

Petitioners,

SYLVIA BURWELL, SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, ET AL.,

On Petition for a Writ of Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit

BRIEF OF AMICI CURIAE SENATORS JOHN CORNYN, TED CRUZ, ORRIN HATCH, ROB PORTMAN AND MARCO RUBIO; AND REPRESENTATIVES DAVE CAMP AND DARRELL ISSA IN SUPPORT OF PETITIONERS

MICHAEL E. ROSMAN CENTER FOR INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS 1233 20th Street, N.W. Suite 300

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Fourth Floor Washington, D.C. 20005 CHARLES J. COOPER Counsel of Record DAVID H. THOMPSON HOWARD C. NIELSON, JR. PETER A. PATTERSON COOPER & KIRK, PLLC 1523 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 220-9600 ccooper@cooperkirk.com

Counsel for Amici Curiae

[Amicus Brief for Sen. John Cornyn et al., Supreme Court Case No. 14-114, 09/03/14]

June 2015: The Supreme Court Ruling In King V. Burwell Held That The Affordable Care Act Could Provide Tax Subsidies To Help People Purchase Health Insurance, Helping To Ensure That The Law Would Stand After The End Of The Obama Administration. "The Supreme Court ruled on Thursday that President Obama's health care law allows the federal government to provide nationwide tax subsidies to help poor and middle-class people buy health insurance, a sweeping vindication that endorsed the larger purpose of Mr. Obama's signature legislative achievement. The 6-to-3 ruling means that it is all but certain that the Affordable Care Act will survive after Mr. Obama leaves office in 2017. [...] The question in the case, King v. Burwell, No. 14-114, was what to make of a phrase in the law that seems to say the subsidies are available only to people buying insurance on 'an exchange established by the state.'" [The New York Times, 06/25/151

The Judicial Education Project Was Related To The Judicial Crisis Network, And Both Were "Connected To Leo Through Funding, Personnel And The Same Accountant," According To IRS Filings. "In the two years following its formation, the BH Group received more than \$4 million from the Judicial Crisis Network, a related group called the Judicial Education Project and a third nonprofit in the network called the Wellspring Committee, all of them connected to Leo through funding, personnel and the same accountant, IRS filings show. The groups described the payments in IRS filings as consulting, research and public relations fees. Leo, who disclosed BH Group as his employer in a campaign finance filing, declined to say how much money he received from the company or provide any other details about it." [The Washington Post, 05/21/19]

Carrie Severino Would Later Be "The Principal Public Advocate For President Trump's Judicial Nominees" As The Judicial Crisis Network's Chief Counsel And Policy Director, While The Group Spent \$17 Million On Ads To Defend Brett Kavanaugh's And Neil Gorsuch's Nominations. "Severino, the chief counsel and policy director of the Judicial Crisis Network, has emerged as the principal public advocate

for President Trump's judicial nominees as he and Senate Republicans overhaul the federal judiciary. [...] Severino and JCN's strategy is to dominate mass-media airwaves. The group spent \$17 million in TV and digital ads to defend then-Supreme Court nominees Brett Kavanaugh and Neil Gorsuch, most of which was spent urging vulnerable Democratic senators to vote to confirm the embattled D.C. circuit judge Kavanaugh." [National Journal, accessed 02/23/22]

Sen. Mike Lee (R-UT) Has Been Praised And Called "A Mainstay" At Federalist Society Events By Leonard Leo, Praised Trump's Leo-Prepared Supreme Court Shortlist As "'The Best, Most Conservative Supreme Court Shortlist I've Ever Seen,'" And Has Been Featured In At Least 30 Federalist Society Events Since 2010.

Senate Judiciary Committee Member Mike Lee (R-UT) Has Been Active With The Federalist Society "Since His Days In Law School," Has Been One Of The Few Senators In The So-Called "Federalist Society Caucus," And Has Been Featured In At Least 30 Of The Group's Events Since 2010.

**Sen. Mike Lee (R-UT) Is A Member Of The Senate Judiciary Committee.** [U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, accessed <u>02/23/22</u>]

Sen. Lee Has Been "Active" With The Federalist Society For Law And Public Policy Studies "Since His Days In Law School" And The Group's President Has Praised Lee's "Genuine Interest In Ideas, In Open Debate And Exchange." "There's no question Lee has a genuine interest in ideas, in open debate and exchange, said Eugene Meyer, president of the conservative Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies, where Lee has been active since his days in law school." [Politico, 01/27/14]

Sen. Lee Is Among The Few U.S. Senators Who "Grew Up" With The Leonard Leo's Federalist Society And Has Been Included In What Has Been Called The "Federalist Society Caucus." "Much has been written about the rise of judges who were nurtured in the Federalist Society. They are likely to continue a revolution of formalism in both statutory and constitutional interpretation. But almost nothing has been said about the rise of U.S. Senators who also grew up with the Federalist Society. With the election of Josh Hawley from Missouri, there are now four such senators, including Ted Cruz of Texas, Mike Lee of Utah, and Tom Cotton of Arkansas." [Law & Liberty, 11/21/18]

- Headline: Meet the Federalist Society Caucus [Law & Liberty, 11/21/18]
- 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, 10/28/20]
- January 2020: "Conservative Powerhouse" Leonard Leo Announced He Would Step Down From Running The Federalist Society's Day-To-Day Operations To Focus On A New Conservative Funding Operation. "Conservative powerhouse Leonard Leo tells Axios that he'll step aside from the daily running of the Federalist Society to focus on a new venture inspired by Arabella Advisers on the left that will funnel big money and expertise across the conservative movement. [...] Leo is considered one of the most powerful conservatives in the country, playing a key role in shaping President Trump's selections for the Supreme Court and raising hundreds of millions of dollars to fill the nation's courts with conservative judges. [...] Leo will remain co-chair of the Federalist Society's board." [Axios, 01/07/20]

Sen. Lee Has Been Featured In At Least 30 Federalist Society Events Since 2010. [The Federalist Society, accessed 02/24/22]

2018: Sen. Lee Gave The Opening Address For The Federalist Society's National Lawyers Convention, Where Leonard Leo Called Lee A "Mainstay" And Lee Responded, "It's A Pleasure And An Honor To Be At The Federalist Society In Any Form."

Sen. Mike Lee Gave The Opening Address For The Federalist Society's 2018 National Lawyers Convention And Was Introduced By Leonard Leo. "On November 15, 2018, Sen. Mike Lee (UT) gave the opening address at the Federalist Society's 2018 National Lawyers Convention. Lee discussed the sharp divisions in modern politics and the role of conflict in our constitutional republic. [...] Introduction: Mr. Leonard A. Leo, Executive Vice President, The Federalist Society" [The Federalist Society, 11/15/18]



[The Federalist Society via YouTube, 12/04/18]

Leonard Leo Said "I Know Of No Better Person To Launch This Year's Convention Than U.S. Senator Mike Lee," Citing Trump's Emphasis On Judicial Selection. "President Trump has stated that judicial Selection is inextricably intertwined with this issue we've witnessed over the past few years a growing number of lawsuits initiated by an historic number of states the challenged administrative action as a means of drawing clearer federalism boundaries and at the heart of any current debate about repairing the legislative process is a serious inquiry into the proper limits of congressional delegation of power to administrative agencies these and other issues will feature prominently in the programs you attend here I know of no better person to launch this year's convention than US Senator Mike Lee." [The Federalist Society via YouTube, 12/04/18 (01:52)]

Leo Called Sen. Lee Has Been A "A Mainstay At These Gatherings," Noting His Former Role In The Federalist Society's Leadership. "All of, yes almost all of you, if not all of you, know him. He has been a mainstay at these gatherings. He has served in Federalist Society leadership and as a senator he has been an irrepressible advocate for ensuring respect for our structural Constitution" [The Federalist Society via YouTube, 12/04/18 (02:38)]

**Lee Opened His Remarks With "It's A Pleasure And An Honor To Be At The Federalist Society In Any Form."** "Thanks to all of you for joining us this morning. It's a pleasure and an honor to be at the Federalist Society in any form, but I especially like this annual gathering." [The Federalist Society via YouTube, 12/04/18 (03:35)]

2012: Sen. Lee Addressed The Federalist Society's National Lawyers
Convention, Where Leo Said Lee Was Adhering To His View Of The Constitution
"More Than I Can Remember Any Other Senator Doing"—Lee Said, "It's Good To
Be Among Friends."

**2012**: Sen. Mike Lee Gave An Address At The Federalist Society's National Lawyers Convention And Was Introduced By Leonard Leo. "Senator Mike Lee of Utah addressed attendees of the Federalist Society's 2012 National Lawyers Convention on Friday, November 16, at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, DC. Senator Lee was introduced by Mr. Leonard A. Leo, Executive Vice President of the Federalist Society." [The Federalist Society, accessed 02/23/22]



[The Federalist Society via YouTube, 11/17/12]

Leo Praised Sen. Lee For Going "Back To Basic Constitutional Principles" "More Than I Can Remember Any Other Senator Doing." "Senator Lee has hearkened back to basic constitutional principles and respect for the structural constitution more than I can remember any other senator doing." [The Federalist Society via YouTube, 11/17/12 (00:11)]

Leo Added That Other Senators "Are Feeling Just A Little More Pain And Anxiety" About Adhering To His View Of The Constitution, "Knowing That Senator Lee Will Be There At The Barricades With A Copy Of His Warren Dog-Eared Pocket Constitution." "More Americans are talking about the Constitution because of Senator Lee and more intent and more intelligently because of him. And members of the Senate, including some in his own caucus, are feeling just a little more pain and anxiety when they back efforts that lack a firm foundation in the founding principles knowing that Senator Lee will be there at the barricades with a copy of his Warren dog-eared pocket Constitution." [The Federalist Society via YouTube, 11/17/12 (00:53)]

Sen. Lee Thanked Leo And Said, "It's Good To Be Among Friends." "Thank you, Leonard. It's Good to be among friends." [The Federalist Society via YouTube, 11/17/12 (01:28)]

<u>During The 2016 Campaign, Sen. Lee Praised Trump's Unprecedented List Of Supreme Court Picks—A List That Trump Asked Leonard Leo To Compile And Which Included Sen. Lee's Brother—As "'The Best, Most Conservative Supreme Court Shortlist I've Ever Seen.'"</u>

Sen. Lee Praised Trump's May 2016 List Of Potential Supreme Court Picks, Declaring "'It Wasn't Just That There Were Some Great Names On That List, That Was The Best, Most Conservative Supreme Court Shortlist I've Ever Seen.'" "Lee has refused to endorse Trump for president, although he did offer praise for Trump's first list of potential justices unveiled in May, which included his brother Thomas, a Utah Supreme Court justice. 'It wasn't just that there were some great names on that list, that was the best, most conservative Supreme Court shortlist I've ever seen,' Lee said at the time. 'And I was thrilled by that.'" [Politico, 09/23/16]

• Trump's May 2016 List Included 11 Judges That He Said Were Recommended By "'Highly Respected Conservatives And Republican Party Leadership." "Donald Trump on Wednesday released a list of 11 judges he would consider appointing to the Supreme Court, offering up a group of relatively tame conservative jurists apparently curated with the help of GOP leaders. In an unusually restrained statement, Trump's campaign offered up short bios of the judges and described the list as one assembled 'first and foremost, based on constitutional principles, with input from highly respected conservatives and Republican Party leadership." [Politico, 05/18/16]

The May 2016 List Included Sen. Lee's Brother Thomas, An Associate Chief Justice In The Utah Supreme Court. "Lee has refused to endorse Trump for president, although he did offer praise for Trump's first list of potential justices unveiled in May, which included his brother Thomas, a Utah Supreme Court justice." [Politico, 09/23/16]

• Sen. Lee's Brother Thomas Lee Was An Associate Chief Justice In The Utah Supreme Court. "Thomas Lee is retiring as an associate chief justice on the Utah Supreme Court after 12 years, the state court system announced Thursday. Lee, the brother of Sen. Mike Lee, R-Utah, announced his retirement in a letter sent to Gov. Spencer Cox on Wednesday. Thomas Lee plans to step down from his post on July 31, he said in the letter. [...] In 2018 and 2020, both Thomas and Mike Lee were on former President Donald Trump's short list of possible U.S. Supreme Court nominees." [Salt Lake Tribune, 01/20/22]

In The Spring Of 2016, Trump Invited Leonard Leo To Compile A List Of Potential Supreme Court Nominees That He Would, Unprecedentedly Release To The Public During The Campaign. "One day last spring, Leo received an invitation to join Donald Trump for lunch at a law firm's offices in Washington. Trump was getting closer to clinching the Republican nomination, but his political history still provoked wariness among Party ideologists. Trump, it turned out, wanted Leo to compile a list, which the campaign would make public, of Trump's likely nominees to the Supreme Court, in the event that he won the election. As Leo recounted their conversation, Trump said, 'People don't know who I am on these issues, and I want to give people a sense of that.' No campaign in history had put out such a list. Leo recalled, 'I said, 'That's a great idea—you're creating a brand.'" [The New Yorker, 04/10/17]

• 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, 10/28/20]

Sen. Ted Cruz (R-TX) Was On Trump's 2020 Supreme Shortlist, Which Was Shaped By The Federalist Society, A Group Cruz Referred To As " My Home For My Entire Adult Life"— Cruz Also Took At Least \$500,000 From Leo's Network For His Nonprofit, And Was Represented By Leo Ally Carrie Severino In A Supreme Court Brief.

Senate Judiciary Committee Member Ted Cruz (R-TX) Is One Of The Few Senators In What Has Been Called The "Federalist Society Caucus" And Has Been Featured In At Least 23 Of The Group's Events Since 2007.

**Sen. Ted Cruz (R-TX) Is A Member Of The Senate Judiciary Committee.** [U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, accessed <u>02/23/22</u>]

Sen. Cruz Is Among The Few U.S. Senators Who "Grew Up" With The Leonard Leo's Federalist Society And Has Been Included In What Has Been Called The "Federalist Society Caucus." "Much has been written about the rise of judges who were nurtured in the Federalist Society. They are likely to continue a revolution of formalism in both statutory and constitutional interpretation. But almost nothing has been said about the rise of U.S. Senators who also grew up with the Federalist Society. With the election of Josh Hawley from Missouri, there are now four such senators, including Ted Cruz of Texas, Mike Lee of Utah, and Tom Cotton of Arkansas." [Law & Liberty, 11/21/18]

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Cruz Has Been Featured In At Least 23 Federalist Society Events Since 2007. [The Federalist Society, accessed <u>02/23/22</u>]

### Sen. Cruz Was On Trump's 2020 Shortlist Of Supreme Court Candidates, Which Leonard Leo Praised And Which The Federalist Society Helped Shape.

**2020:** Sen. Cruz Was One Of Three Sitting Republican Senators Included On Trump's Shortlist Of Supreme Court Candidates. "Sen. Josh Hawley (R-Mo.) said Wednesday that he would not accept a nomination to the Supreme Court shortly after President Trump named him on a shortlist of candidates for the high court. [...] Hawley was one of three sitting GOP senators on the shortlist, along with Sens. Ted Cruz (R-Texas) and Tom Cotton (R-Ark.)." [The Hill, 09/09/20]

Then-Co-Chairman Of The Federalist Society Leonard Leo Praised The List, Stating That "'The President's Expanded Supreme Court List Reaffirms His Commitment To Making Judges A Continuing Priority In His Administration.'" "On Wednesday, conservative court watchers expressed approval over Trump's updated list. 'The President's expanded Supreme Court list reaffirms his commitment to making judges a continuing priority in his Administration,' Leonard Leo, co-chairman of the conservative Federalist Society and an outside judicial adviser to Trump who supported the confirmations of Justices Neil Gorsuch and Brett Kavanaugh, said in a statement." [The Hill, 09/09/20]

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2012: Then-Senator-Elect Ted Cruz Addressed The Federalist Society's National Lawyer's Convention, Where Leonard Leo Praised Him For Running For Senate—Cruz Opened With, "It Is Great To Be Back With Family," "I've Grown Up With The Federalist Society," And "This Has Been My Home For My Entire Adult Life, My Entire Professional Life."

2012: Sen. Cruz Addressed The Federalist Society's National Lawyer's Convention And Was Introduced By Leonard Leo. "Senator-elect Ted Cruz of Texas addressed attendees of the Federalist Society's 2012 National Lawyers Convention on Friday, November 16, at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, DC. Senator-elect Cruz was introduced by Mr. Leonard A. Leo, Executive Vice President of the Federalist Society." [The Federalist Society, 02/23/22]

Leonard Leo Said Of Then-Senator-Elect Cruz, "How Could I Be Anything But Thankful That He Wanted To Run?" And "Ted Stands Before For Us As The Senator-Elect From The State Of Texas And We Are All The Better For It." "How could I be anything but thankful that he wanted to run and hopeful for success. Ted's drive, optimism, and zealous pursuit of public service out of a commitment to our Constitution paid off with great sacrifice from him his wife Heidi and their family. Ted stands before for us as the senator-elect from the state of Texas and we are all the better for it because we have in the Senate a good man with extraordinary skill and intellect and with unparalleled and unflinching commitment to our constitution of small and limited government." [The Federalist Society via YouTube, 11/17/12 (02:02)]

Cruz Said, "It Is Great To Be Back With Family," "I've Grown Up With The Federalist Society," And "This Has Been My Home For My Entire Adult Life, My Entire Professional Life." "Thank you Leonard for that very very warm welcome. It is great to be back with family. Like many people in this room I've grown up with the Federalist Society. This has been my home for my entire adult life, my entire professional life. Federalist Society, we're having our 30th anniversary now I first became involved with this august group 20 years ago when I was a 1I in law school." [The Federalist Society via YouTube, 11/17/12 (03:28)]

Sen. Cruz's Nonprofit, The Conservative Action Network Has Taken At Least \$500,000 From Leonard Leo's Freedom And Opportunity Fund, Which Also Gave At Least \$4 Million To A Dark Money Group That Aggressively Defended Trump Supreme Court Nominee Brett Kavanaugh Against Sexual Assault Accusations.

Leonard Leo Has Led The Freedom And Opportunity Fund, Which Gave At Least \$4 Million To A Dark Money Group Called Independent Women's Voice That Was "Vociferous" In Defending Supreme Court Justice Brett Kavanaugh Against Sexual Assault Accusations During His Confirmation. "The Freedom and Opportunity Fund is helmed by Leonard Leo, a Trump confidente and longtime executive vice president at the Federalist Society, a national conservative and libertarian lawyers network based in Washington, D.C. Between its inception in 2016 and 2017, the fund donated \$4 million to the Independent Women's Voice (IWV),

a D.C.-based dark money organization, according to tax filings obtained by the Center for Responsive Politics and MapLight. IWV was vociferous in its defense of Kavanaugh, who was accused of sexual assault by Christine Blasey Ford, a Stanford professor who knew the justice while he was in prep school." [OpenSecrets, 02/27/19]

 Independent Women's Voice's Leaders "Spoke At Rallies, Wrote Online Commentary And Appeared Regularly On Fox News" To Promote Kavanaugh. "Leaders of Independent Women's Voice last year spoke at rallies, wrote online commentary and appeared regularly on Fox News to promote another of Trump's Supreme Court nominees, Brett M. Kavanaugh." [The Washington Post, 05/21/19]

As Of February 2019, Leo's Freedom And Opportunity Fund Gave \$500,000 To The Conservative Action Network, A Nonprofit To Support Sen. Cruz For Which His Senate Chief Of Staff Became A Senior Advisor. "The fund gave another \$500,000 to the Conservative Action Network, a nonprofit formed in 2016 to support Sen. Ted Cruz (R-Texas)." [OpenSecrets, 02/27/19]

In 2016, Sen. Cruz's Senate Chief Of Staff Paul Teller Became Senior Advisor For The
Conservative Action Network. "Cruz's Senate chief of staff, Paul Teller, left the office last week to
become a senior adviser for new pro-Cruz political nonprofit called the Conservative Action
Network, which CNN reports will have a series of state-based chapters around the country." [The
Dallas Morning News, 08/08/16]

Close Leonard Leo Ally Carrie Severino Prepared A Supreme Court Amicus Brief For Sen. Cruz And Others In King V. Burwell, A Case That Threatened The Affordable Care Act's Central Tax Subsidies.

Carrie Severino Of The Judicial Education Project Was Counsel For Sen. Ted Cruz And Other Senators In A Supreme Court Amicus Brief In King V. Burwell:

In the Supreme Court of the United States

DAVID KING, ET AL.,

Petitioners,

v.

SYLVIA BURWELL, SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, ET AL.,

Respondents.

On Petition for a Writ of Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit

BRIEF OF AMICI CURIAE SENATORS
JOHN CORNYN, TED CRUZ, ORRIN HATCH,
ROB PORTMAN AND MARCO RUBIO;
AND REPRESENTATIVES DAVE CAMP AND
DARRELL ISSA IN SUPPORT OF PETITIONERS

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June 2015: The Supreme Court Ruling In King V. Burwell Held That The Affordable Care Act Could Provide Tax Subsidies To Help People Purchase Health Insurance, Helping To Ensure That The Law Would Stand After The End Of The Obama Administration. "The Supreme Court ruled on Thursday that President Obama's health care law allows the federal government to provide nationwide tax subsidies to help poor and middle-class people buy health insurance, a sweeping vindication that endorsed the larger purpose of Mr. Obama's signature legislative achievement. The 6-to-3 ruling means that it is all but certain that the Affordable Care Act will survive after Mr. Obama leaves office in 2017. [...] The question in the case, King v. Burwell, No. 14-114, was what to make of a phrase in the law that seems to say the subsidies are available only to people buying insurance on 'an exchange established by the state.'" [The New York Times, 06/25/15]

The Judicial Education Project Was Related To The Judicial Crisis Network, And Both Were "Connected To Leo Through Funding, Personnel And The Same Accountant," According To IRS Filings. "In the two years following its formation, the BH Group received more than \$4 million from the Judicial Crisis Network, a related group called the Judicial Education Project and a third nonprofit in the network called the Wellspring Committee, all of them connected to Leo through funding, personnel and the same accountant, IRS filings show. The groups described the payments in IRS filings as consulting, research and public relations fees. Leo, who disclosed BH Group as his employer in a campaign finance filing, declined to say how much money he received from the company or provide any other details about it." [The Washington Post, 05/21/19]

Carrie Severino Would Later Be "The Principal Public Advocate For President Trump's Judicial Nominees" As The Judicial Crisis Network's Chief Counsel And Policy Director, While The Group Spent \$17 Million On Ads To Defend Brett Kavanaugh's And Neil Gorsuch's Nominations. "Severino, the chief counsel and policy director of the Judicial Crisis Network, has emerged as the principal public advocate for President Trump's judicial nominees as he and Senate Republicans overhaul the federal judiciary. [...] Severino and JCN's strategy is to dominate mass-media airwaves. The group spent \$17 million in TV and digital ads to defend then-Supreme Court nominees Brett Kavanaugh and Neil Gorsuch, most of which was spent urging vulnerable Democratic senators to vote to confirm the embattled D.C. circuit judge Kavanaugh." [National Journal, accessed 02/23/22]

Sen. Ben Sasse (R-NE) Celebrated A "Win For [The] Federalist Society" In An Official Press Release, Issued An Earlier Release Touting His Efforts To Respond "Forcefully To Attempts To Demonize The Federalist Society," And Has Been Featured In At Least Four Of The Group's Events Since 2016.

<u>Senate Judiciary Committee Member Ben Sasse (R-NE) Has Been Featured In At</u> Least Four Federalist Society Events Since 2016.

**Sen. Ben Sasse (R-NE) Is A Member Of The Senate Judiciary Committee.** [U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, accessed <u>02/23/22</u>]

Sen. Sasse Has Been Featured In At Least Four Federalist Society Events Since 2016. [The Federalist Society, accessed 02/23/22]

2020: Sen. Sasse Issued A Press Release That Applauded A "Win For [The]
Federalist Society," After A Court Oversight Committee Decided To Back Off A
Proposal To Ban Judges' Membership In The Federalist Society, Which He Said
Was The Product Of "'A Vicious Liberal Smear Campaign.'"

2020 Sen. Sasse Press Release: Sasse Applauds Win for Federalist Society [Sen. Ben Sasse, 07/31/20]

Sen. Sasse, The Chairman Of The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee On Oversight And Federal Courts, Issued A Statement Celebrating A Judicial Panel's Decision To Not Ban Membership In The Federalist Society. "U.S. Senator Ben Sasse, the Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Oversight and Federal Courts, issued the following statement after a judicial panel dropped a plan to ban membership in the Federalist Society but back the liberal activist American Bar Association." [Sen. Ben Sasse, 07/31/20]

The Committee on Codes of Conduct of the Judicial Conference of the United States
 Proposed To Ban Judges From Being Members In The Federalist Society. "The Committee on
 Codes of Conduct of the Judicial Conference of the United States, a panel that provides binding
 guidance to judges, dropped a proposal that would have restricted judges from being members of
 the Federal[ist] Society and the American Constitution Society." [Sen. Ben Sasse, 07/31/20]

Earlier In 2020, Sasse Claimed To Have "Led A Group Of 29 Senators Demanding This Change Of Course." "Earlier this year, Sasse led a group of 29 Senators demanding this change of course." [Sen. Ben Sasse, 07/31/20]

Sasse Called The Proposal "'A Vicious Liberal Smear Campaign Against The Federalist Society," Which He Said Was Just "'A Group Of Law Students And Lawyers With Diverse Opinions Who Formed A Debate Society." "'I'm glad the Judicial Conference decided not to participate in a vicious liberal smear campaign against the Federalist Society. Senator Whitehouse can hyperventilate about the Illuminati all he wants, but the Federalist Society is a group of law students and lawyers with diverse opinions who formed a debate society. Because they take the Constitution and the rule of law seriously, they've been the target of a ruthless blitz that will ultimately erode confidence in an independent and fair Judiciary. The Judicial Conference made the right call." [Sen. Ben Sasse, 07/31/20]

The U.S. Judicial Conference Committee's Draft Proposal Would Have Banned Membership From Both The Federalist Society And The Progressive American Constitution Society—Noting That Membership In Either Group Could Inappropriately Convey Ideological Bias. "The legal community should weigh in on a draft judicial ethics proposal discouraging judges from membership in the conservative Federalist Society or the progressive American Constitution Society, a legal ethics scholar said. [...] The draft advisory opinion by the U.S. Judicial Conference Committee on Codes of Conduct says judicial membership in the two groups at opposite ends of the ideological spectrum is not consistent with the code that governs judges. 'Official affiliation with either organization could convey to a reasonable person that the affiliated judge endorses the views and particular ideological perspectives advocated by the organization,' the advisory opinion said." [Bloomberg Law, 01/22/20]

2017: Sen. Sasse Issued A Press Release Titled "What's So Radical About The Federalist Society?" In Which His Office Said He "Responded Forcefully To Attempts To Demonize The Federalist Society."

**2017 Sen. Sasse Press Release: What's So Radical About The Federalist Society?** [Sen. Ben Sasse, 04/26/17]

Sen. Sasse's Release Claimed He "Responded Forcefully To Attempts To Demonize The Federalist Society For Its Belief In The Constitution's Separation Of Powers." "Today, at a Judiciary Committee hearing on the nomination of Judge Amul Thapar — currently a district court judge for the Eastern District of Kentucky — to be a circuit judge on the 6<sup>th</sup> Circuit of Court of Appeals, U.S. Senator Ben Sasse responded forcefully to attempts to demonize the Federalist Society for its belief in the Constitution's separation of powers." [Sen. Ben Sasse, 04/26/17]

Sasse Claimed That The Federalist Society Is Just "A Debating Society Of Law Students And Lawyers." "The Federalist Society's founding mission statement — I was at another meeting but I overheard some of the questioning on TV so I ran back; again I apologize for standing between you and lunch — but the Federalist

Society is founded on the principles that the state exists to preserve freedom, that the separation of governmental powers is central to our Constitution, and that is emphatically the province and the duty of the judiciary say what the law is, not what it should be. The Federalist Society is a debating society of law students and lawyers. It's about the Constitution. We in this body have taken an oath to the Constitution." [Sen. Ben Sasse, 04/26/17]

Sen. Josh Hawley (R-MO) Is A Member Of The So-Called "The Federalist Society Caucus," Was On Trump's 2020 Supreme Court Shortlist Which Was Shaped By The Federalist Society, And Has Been Featured In At Least 5 Of The Group's Events Since 2013.

Senate Judiciary Committee Member Josh Hawley (R-MO) Is One Of The Few Senators In What Has Been Called The "Federalist Society Caucus" And Has Been Featured In At Least 5 Of The Group's Events Since 2013.

**Sen. John Hawley (R-MO) Is A Member Of The Senate Judiciary Committee.** [U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, accessed <u>02/23/22</u>]

Sen. Hawley Has Appeared At Five Federalist Society Events Since 2013. [The Federalist Society, accessed 02/23/22]

Sen. Hawley Is Among The Few U.S. Senators Who "Grew Up" With The Leonard Leo's Federalist Society And Has Been Included In What Has Been Called The "Federalist Society Caucus." "Much has been written about the rise of judges who were nurtured in the Federalist Society. They are likely to continue a revolution of formalism in both statutory and constitutional interpretation. But almost nothing has been said about the rise of U.S. Senators who also grew up with the Federalist Society. With the election of Josh Hawley from Missouri, there are now four such senators, including Ted Cruz of Texas, Mike Lee of Utah, and Tom Cotton of Arkansas." [Law & Liberty, 11/21/18]

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Sen. Hawley Was On Trump's 2020 Shortlist Of Supreme Court Candidates, Which Leonard Leo Praised And Which The Federalist Society Helped Shape.

2020: Sen. Hawley Was One Of Three Sitting Republican Senators Included On Trump's Shortlist Of Supreme Court Candidates. "Sen. Josh Hawley (R-Mo.) said Wednesday that he would not accept a

nomination to the Supreme Court shortly after President Trump named him on a shortlist of candidates for the high court. [...] Hawley was one of three sitting GOP senators on the shortlist, along with Sens. Ted Cruz (R-Texas) and Tom Cotton (R-Ark.)." [The Hill, 09/09/20]

Hawley Said He Had "'No Interest In The High Court." "Just hours after Trump announced 20 additions to a running list of potential nominees Wednesday, Sen. Josh Hawley said he has 'no interest in the high court.' 'I appreciate the President's confidence in listing me as a potential Supreme Court nominee,' Hawley wrote in a tweet. 'But as I told the President, Missourians elected me to fight for them in the Senate." [Springfield News-Leader, 09/10/20]

Leonard Leo Praised The List, Stating That "'The President's Expanded Supreme Court List Reaffirms His Commitment To Making Judges A Continuing Priority In His Administration.'" "On Wednesday, conservative court watchers expressed approval over Trump's updated list. 'The President's expanded Supreme Court list reaffirms his commitment to making judges a continuing priority in his Administration,' Leonard Leo, co-chairman of the conservative Federalist Society and an outside judicial adviser to Trump who supported the confirmations of Justices Neil Gorsuch and Brett Kavanaugh, said in a statement." [The Hill, 09/09/20]

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Sen. Tom Cotton (R-AR) Was On Trump's 2020 Supreme Court Shortlist Which The Federalist Society Helped Shape, Has Called Leonard Leo "My Old Friend" And Called His "Affection" For The Federalist Society "Very Personal"—And A Cotton-Tied Dark Money Group Has Taken \$200,000 From Leo's Network.

Senate Judiciary Committee Member Tom Cotton (R-AR) Is One Of The Few Senators In What Has Been Called The "Federalist Society Caucus" And Has Been Featured In At Least 7 Of The Group's Events Since 2013.

**Sen. Tom Cotton (R-AR) Is A Member Of The Senate Judiciary Committee.** [U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, accessed <u>02/23/22</u>]

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Sen. Cotton Has Appeared In At Least 7 Federalist Society Events Since 2013. [The Federalist Society, accessed 02/24/22]

### <u>Sen. Cotton Was On Trump's 2020 Shortlist Of Supreme Court Candidates,</u> Which Leonard Leo Praised And Which The Federalist Society Helped Shape.

**2020:** Sen. Cotton Was One Of Three Sitting Republican Senators Included On Trump's Shortlist Of Supreme Court Candidates. "Sen. Josh Hawley (R-Mo.) said Wednesday that he would not accept a nomination to the Supreme Court shortly after President Trump named him on a shortlist of candidates for the high court. [...] Hawley was one of three sitting GOP senators on the shortlist, along with Sens. Ted Cruz (R-Texas) and Tom Cotton (R-Ark.)." [The Hill, 09/09/20]

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2017: Sen. Cotton Issued An Official Press Release About A Federalist Society
Speech He Gave Where He Called Leonard Leo "My Old Friend," Called His
"Affection" For The Group "Very Personal," And Said "There Are Few People
Who Hold The Federalist Society In As Much Esteem As I Do."

Sen. Cotton Press Release: Cotton Calls Out Senate Democrats' Obstruction At Federalist Society Convention [Sen. Tom Cotton, 11/16/17]

In His Remarks, Sen. Cotton Said, "Leonard Leo, My Old Friend A Great Champion For Freedom And Limited Government." "It's great to be back with the Federal [sic] Society, to see so many friends and familiar faces. Dean, it's good to see you. Leonard Leo, my old friend a great champion for freedom and limited government." [Sen. Tom Cotton, 11/16/17]

Sen. Cotton Said He Was "Really Truly Am Excited To Be Here" And Said It "An Exciting Time For The Federalist Society To Be Celebrating Your 35th Anniversary With A New Republican Administration In

**Washington."** "But I really truly am excited to be here with you today. It's an exciting time for the Federalist Society to be celebrating your 35th anniversary with a new Republican administration in Washington. And you know, I-you can clap for that." [Sen. Tom Cotton, 11/16/17]

Sen. Cotton Said He Was A Federalist Society Member As A Student And While In Private Law Practice, Adding "I've Long Supported What You Do To Spread The Gospel Of Freedom And Constitutional Government." "I was a member of the Federalist Society when I was a student and then when I was in private practice so I've long supported what you do to spread the gospel of freedom and constitutional government to the benighted backwater lands of our nation's law schools." [Sen. Tom Cotton, 11/16/17]

Sen. Cotton Said "My Affection For The Federalist Society Has Also Become Very Personal," Adding That He Met His Wife At One Of The Group's Lunches. "Now, my affection for the Federalist Society has also become very personal: I met my wife at a Federalist Society lunch." [Sen. Tom Cotton, 11/16/17]

Sen. Cotton Said, "There Are Few People Who Hold The Federalist Society In As Much Esteem As I Do." "So, believe me, there are few people who hold the Federalist Society in as much esteem as I do. It is a great institution, and it's a true honor to be celebrating your 35th anniversary with you." [Sen. Tom Cotton, 11/16/17]

Leonard Leo's Concord Fund, Previously Known As The Judicial Crisis Network, Gave \$200,000 To "A Dark Money Group Tied To Sen. Tom Cotton" And Launched By Cotton's Former Aide.

Leonard Leo's Concord Fund, Previously Known As The Judicial Crisis Network, Gave \$200,000 To America One Policies, "A Dark Money Group Tied To Sen. Tom Cotton." "The Concord Fund also contributed \$750,000 to Stand for America, a dark money group created by former Trump ambassador and ex-South Carolina Gov. Nikki Haley. It donated \$200,000 to America One Policies, a dark money group tied to Sen. Tom Cotton, R-Ark., and \$250,000 to State Solutions, the dark money arm of the Republican Governors Association." [The Daily Poster, 06/29/21]

• The Concord Fund, Which Was Previously Known As The Judicial Crisis Network, Was Steered In Part And "Closely Tied" To Leonard Leo. "The Concord Fund is closely tied to top Trump judicial adviser Leonard Leo. In early 2020, Leo stepped away from his day-to-day role at the Federalist Society, the national conservative lawyers group, to help steer the Concord Fund. Between mid-2019 and mid-2020, the Concord Fund paid \$1.6 million to a company affiliated with Leo called BH Group, LLC. Leo and his allies rebranded the Judicial Crisis Network as the Concord Fund, turning it into a social welfare organization that fiscally sponsors other organizations." [The Daily Poster, 06/29/21]

America One Policies Was "Launched By Cotton's Former Aide And Allies In July 2019" Ahead Of Cotton's 2020 Reelection Campaign. "A 'dark money' group launched by allies of Sen. Tom Cotton (R-Ark.) is spending on digital attack ads targeting incumbent Democrats facing reelection in congressional districts President Donald Trump won in 2016. America One Policies was launched by Cotton's former aide and allies in July 2019 with Cotton facing re-election in 2020." [OpenSecrets, 07/30/20]

Sen. Thom Tillis (R-NC) Took At Least \$7,800 From Federalist Society Leadership In The 2020 Cycle, Including \$1,500 From Leonard Leo On The Day That Neil Gorsuch Began His Supreme Court Confirmation Hearings.

## Senate Judiciary Committee Member Thom Tillis (R-NC) Took \$4,300 From Leonard Leo In The 2020 Cycle, Including \$1,500 The Same Day That Supreme Court Nominee Neil Gorsuch Began His Confirmation Hearings.

**Sen. Thom Tillis (R-NC) Is A Member Of The Senate Judiciary Committee.** [U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, accessed <u>02/23/22</u>]

Leonard Leo Personally Gave \$4,300 To Sen. Tillis In The 2020 Election Cycle, Including \$1,500 The Same Day That Supreme Court Nominee Neil Gorsuch Began His Confirmation Hearings In The Senate Judiciary Committee. "Federalist Society Executive Vice President Leonard Leo — who is widely credited with helping the GOP to reshape the federal courts and was dubbed 'Trump's judge whisperer' – has donated \$4,300 to Tillis' campaign this cycle. Leo advised the White House during the Senate confirmations of Neil Gorsuch and Brett Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court, the *Washington Post* reported. Leo donated \$2,800 to Tillis in May of this year. The campaign had already donated \$1,500 on March 20, 2017, the same day that Gorsuch began his confirmation hearings in the Senate Judiciary Committee, where Tillis was a member." [NC Policy Watch, 08/23/19]

 The Next Day, Tillis Praised Gorsuch, Telling Him "I Like Your Track Record On The Bench." "The following day, Tillis praised Gorsuch. 'I like your track record on the bench,' he told the then-Supreme Court nominee, McClatchy reported at the time." [NC Policy Watch, 08/23/19]

### Sen. Tillis Also Took \$2,800 From The Federalist Society's Chairman In The 2020 Cycle.

In June 2019, Federalist Society Chairman Steven Calabresi Gave \$2,800 To Tillis. "In June of this year, the Federalist Society's chairman — Northwestern University Pritzker School of Law professor Steven Calabresi — donated \$2,800 to the North Carolina senator. Calabresi has been chairman of the Federalist Society's board of directors since 1986; he worked in the White House for President Ronald Reagan and clerked for conservative Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia." [NC Policy Watch, 08/23/19]

Sen. Marsha Blackburn (R-TN) Praised Close Leonard Leo Ally Carrie Severino As She Hosted Her For A Discussion Promoting Her Book On Justice Brett Kavanaugh—Which Included Leo Among Its "Heroes"—Blackburn Also Mocked Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse's Attempt To Expose The Leo Network During Amy Coney Barrett's Confirmation Hearings.

### Senate Judiciary Committee Member Marsha Blackburn (R-TN) Has Been Featured In At Least Four Federalist Society Events Since 2009.

**Sen. Marsha Blackburn (R-TN) Is A Member Of The Senate Judiciary Committee.** [U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, accessed <u>02/23/22</u>]

Sen. Blackburn Has Appeared In At Least Four Federalist Society Events Since 2009. [The Federalist Society, accessed 02/24/22]

Sen. Blackburn Hosted Close Leonard Leo Ally Carrie Severino In A Video Discussion, Where She Promoted Severino's Book About Brett Kavanaugh That Includes Leo Among Its "Heroes"—Blackburn Also Said Of Severino And The Book's Co-Author: "It Is Absolutely So Wonderful To Be Joined By Two Of My Favorites Today."

Sen. Blackburn Hosted Carrie Severino And Mollie Hemingway For A Discussion About Supreme Court Nominee Amy Coney Barrett:



[Sen. Marsha Blackburn via Facebook, accessed 02/24/22]

Sen. Blackburn Said Of Severino And Hemingway, "It Is Absolutely So Wonderful To Be Joined By Two Of My Favorites Today." "It is absolutely so wonderful to be joined by two of my favorites today, Mollie Hemingway and Carrie Severino." [Sen. Marsha Blackburn via Facebook, accessed 02/24/22 (00:00)]

**Sen. Blackburn Added, "I Am Just So Incredibly Pleased To Have Them Join Me Today."** "And I am just so incredibly pleased to have them join me today." [Sen. Marsha Blackburn via Facebook, accessed <u>02/24/22</u> (01:00)]

Carrie Severino Was President Of The Leonard Leo-Tied Judicial Crisis Network. "Now Carrie is the President of Judicial Crisis Network. She is a graduate of Harvard Law and she is a former law clerk for Justice Thomas." [Sen. Marsha Blackburn via Facebook, accessed 02/24/22 (00:19)]

• Carrie Severino, The Judicial Crisis Network's Chief Counsel And Policy Director, Was "The Principal Public Advocate For President Trump's Judicial Nominees" And The Group Spent \$17 Million On Ads To Defend Brett Kavanaugh's And Neil Gorsuch's Nominations. "Severino, the chief counsel and policy director of the Judicial Crisis Network, has emerged as the principal public advocate for President Trump's judicial nominees as he and Senate Republicans overhaul the federal judiciary. [...] Severino and JCN's strategy is to dominate mass-media airwaves. The group spent \$17 million in TV and digital ads to defend then-Supreme Court nominees Brett Kavanaugh and Neil Gorsuch, most of which was spent urging vulnerable Democratic senators to vote to confirm the embattled D.C. circuit judge Kavanaugh." [National Journal, accessed 02/23/22]

• The Judicial Crisis Network Is "Connected To Leo Through Funding, Personnel And The Same Accountant," According To IRS Filings. "In the two years following its formation, the BH Group received more than \$4 million from the Judicial Crisis Network, a related group called the Judicial Education Project and a third nonprofit in the network called the Wellspring Committee, all of them connected to Leo through funding, personnel and the same accountant, IRS filings show. The groups described the payments in IRS filings as consulting, research and public relations fees. Leo, who disclosed BH Group as his employer in a campaign finance filing, declined to say how much money he received from the company or provide any other details about it." [The Washington Post, 05/21/19]

Sen. Blackburn Promoted Severino And Hemingway's Book Titled "Justice On Trial, The Kavanaugh Confirmation And The Future Of The Court." "And she's the co-author with Mollie Hemingway—the best-selling book Justice on Trial, the Kavanaugh Confirmation and the Future of the Court. And she is also an expert in judicial confirmation processes." [Sen. Marsha Blackburn via Facebook, accessed 02/24/22 (00:19)]

Book Co-Author Molly Hemingway Was Senior Editor Of The Federalist And A Fox News Contributor. "And Molly Hemingway is an author. She's a Fox News contributor. She is the Senior Editor at the Federalist." [Sen. Marsha Blackburn via Facebook, accessed 02/24/22 (00:48)]

Leonard Leo Was One Of The Book's "Heroes," According To A Republican National Lawyers Association Review Of The Book. "This book has heroes, including Justice Kavanaugh and his wife Ashleigh that any veteran of the judicial wars will recognize; Leonard Leo of the Federalist Society; Don McGhan, White House Counsel; Senator Chuck Grassley and Senator Lindsey Graham." [Republican National Lawyers Association, 07/15/19]

## Sen. Blackburn Mocked Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse's Description Of The Leonard Leo Network's Influence On Federal Courts During Amy Coney Barrett's Confirmation Hearings.

October 2020: During Supreme Court Justice Amy Coney Barrett's Confirmation Hearing, Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI) Described The Influence That Leonard Leo, The Federalist Society, And Related Groups Have Had In Reshaping Federal Courts. "The general feeling that the nomination of Judge Amy Coney Barrett to the Supreme Court is the capstone of a lavishly funded, long-term conservative plan to own the federal judiciary for the foreseeable future, and that Barrett's career is altogether a product of that project, has hung over the confirmation hearings like a foul mist. On Tuesday afternoon, Senator Sheldon Whitehouse gave that feeling form and substance, and charts, too. Whitehouse used every one of his allotted 30 minutes to describe in detail the mechanisms by which conservative activists, fueled by the unlimited corporate money unleashed by Citizens United v. FEC, have fashioned to produce judicial nominees—and, ultimately, judges—on what in the last decade has looked very much like an ideological assembly line. [...] He showed the connections between the Federalist Society and the Judicial Crisis Network, and he showed the outsized influence of Leonard Leo and Carrie Severino, activists who have been the puppeteers behind many of these nominations. (Leo headed up the work at the Federalist Society and Severino ran the Judicial Crisis Network. When Leo quit, Severino moved over and replaced him.) Whitehouse turned the machine around and pulled out all the wires." [Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse, 10/13/20]

 Leonard Leo Praised Barrett's Nomination As "'The Capstone Of A More Than Four-Year Process'" Of Preparing And Advancing Conservative Supreme Court Nominees. "Today's nomination is the capstone of a more than four-year process where the president seized upon the issue, stayed focused, and called attention to a small bench of very talented people who he could put on the Supreme Court," said Leonard Leo, of the conservative Federalist Society." [The Washington Post, 09/26/20]

Sen. Marsha Blackburn Responded To Sen. Whitehouse With A Sarcastic Tweet That Said, "George Soros Is Funding Radical Left Activists" With "Dark Money":



Here @SenWhitehouse, I fixed it for you.



1:14 PM · Oct 13, 2020 · Twitter Web App

• Liberal Philanthropist George Soros Is "A Holocaust Survivor Who Is Often The Target Of Anti-Semitic Conspiracy Theories." "And while Hemingway's featured illustration also contained passing mention of liberal philanthropist George Soros — a Holocaust survivor who is often the target of anti-Semitic conspiracy theories — Sen. Marsha Blackburn (R-TN) just went straight to the point." [Media Matters for America, 10/13/20]

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