

America First Legal Foundation (AFL)

America First Legal Foundation (AFL) was founded by former Donald Trump advisor Stephen Miller and other Trump administration alumni in 2021. Miller likens the group to a conservative version of the ACLU. During its existence, AFL has filed hundreds of lawsuits and complaints against the Biden administration and “woke” corporations, attacking diversity programs, voter registration and election laws, and public health programs. According to AFL’s mission statement, “Our security, our liberty, our sovereignty, and our most fundamental rights and values are being systematically dismantled by an unholy alliance of corrupt special interests, big tech titans, the fake news media, and liberal Washington politicians. We founded America First Legal to save our country from this coordinated campaign.”

America First Legal Foundation is registered at a 501(c)(3) with the IRS. The most recently filed IRS 990 form showed that the organization received more than \$45 million in contributions and grants in 2022, an 85 percent increase from 2021 when the group raised \$6.3 million. Citizens for Sanity is a 501(c)(4) organization that is linked the America First Legal as a “related organization” in IRS filings.

Key findings:

AFL has filed hundreds of lawsuits and legal complaints attacking “woke” corporations and diversity programs. After establishing a goal of pushing for a maximum volume of cases America First Legal has filed hundreds of lawsuits and legal complaints against the Biden administration and against “woke” corporate diversity and equity programs. Although AFL scored early victories defeating programs that provided assistance for Black farmers and targeted Covid treatments to high-risk minority communities, many of their cases have been ruled against or dismissed by federal judges and the group and their corporate complaints have been derided as “junk filings” that are primarily aimed at Republican donors and messaging. According to the *New York Times*, “Winning may be beside the point. America First Legal is primarily notable as a policy harbinger for a second Trump term, and for the considerable trouble it causes.”

AFL is active in Republican attacks against voting rights. Although they have only filed four election-related suits, a relatively small number compared to other right wing groups, America First Legal is an active participant in the ongoing Republican attack on election integrity and voting rights. Stephen Miller continues to spread false statements about the “manifest fraud that took place in 2020,” and in June 2024 AFL sent letters to all 50 states demanding that they purge noncitizens from the voter rolls. AFL is actively engaged in litigation against several counties in Arizona alleging that they broke the law in their administration of the 2022 election and Arizona election denier and failed Senate candidate Blake Masters joined the group’s board in 2022. AFL also unsuccessfully sued counties in Pennsylvania seeking to limit the use of ballot dropboxes and filed an amicus brief in *Moore v. Harper* supporting the far right “independent state legislature theory” which would have given state legislatures total power over elections.

Led by Stephen Miller, AFL’s senior staff and board is all White and all Male, with strong links to Donald Trump. Stephen Miller, Donald Trump’s [extreme far right](#) advisor and speechwriter who was the [architect](#) of the Trump administration’s most racist and draconian immigration policies, founded America First Legal with a goal of making Joe Biden’s life miserable by filing a high volume of lawsuits and legal complaints against the administration. Every known member of the board of directors and senior staff of AFL is a white man, and most served in high-ranking positions in the Trump administration. Executive Director Gene Hamilton played a key role in Trump’s most controversial immigration policies. Board member Russ Vaught was OMB Director under Trump and is one of the key authors of “Project 2025” a far right blueprint for a second Trump administration. Former Trump White House Chief of Staff Mark Meadows, who is currently under indictment in two states for his role in attempting to overturn the 2020 election, was a founder of AFL, although as of 2022 he is no longer listed as a member of the board. AFL was originally “incubated” by the Conservative Policy

Institute, a central hub for the most pro-Trump faction of the Republican Party and the majority of its 2022 funding came from the far right Bradley Impact Fund.

Miller and AFL maintain close ties to Trump and the GOP. Stephen Miller and America First Legal retain close ties to Donald Trump and the Republican Party. AFL advises the Republican majority in the House on oversight issues and Miller is reportedly in regular contact with Trump on policy and rhetoric. The group filed a Supreme Court [amicus brief](#) on behalf of Rep. Jim Jordan and Sen. Tom Cotton arguing that January 6 defendants could not be charged with obstructing and official proceeding. AFL holds a seat on “Project 2025” developing detailed policy plans for a second Trump term and is developing a database of far right attorneys who would staff the Trump administration.

AFL and its linked 501c4 spent tens of millions of dollars on racist and homophobic ads during the 2022 campaign. The vast majority of America First Legal’s 2022 budget was spent on advertising and promotion, not legal work. AFL spent \$30 million on advertising in 2022, blanketing 25 states with inflammatory television and radio ads and mail pieces accusing the Biden administration of “anti-white bigotry” and wanting to allow children to “remove breasts and genitals.” A second 501(c)(4) organization, Citizens for Sanity, spent \$90 million on similar campaign ads. Throughout 2022 AFL officials maintained that there was “no relationship” between Citizens for Sanity and America First Legal, despite sharing leadership, but the two groups are now listed as “related organizations” in IRS filings. Citizens for Sanity has continued to run ads attacking Democrats through 2023 and 2024 with a growing focus on “anti-white” racism.

BACKGROUND

Website: aflegal.org

X: [@America1stLegal](#) [243.4K followers as of 6/28/24]

Facebook: [America First Legal](#) [224,000 followers as of 6/28/24]

Instagram: [@AmericaFirstLegal](#) [6,632 followers as of 6/28/24]

April 2021: America First Legal Foundation Was Launched With An Endorsement From Donald Trump. “Today, top-ranking former Trump administration officials launched America First Legal (AFL), a new conservative nonprofit organization committed to upholding America First principles and combating the left’s radical and lawless agenda. The organization will be headed by Stephen Miller, former Senior Advisor to President Trump. ‘Stephen Miller is a fearless, principled fighter for the America First movement. He has backbone, integrity and never gives up,’ said former President Donald J. Trump. ‘As we know, the Radical Left has been relentless in waging their battles in court. Conservatives and America First supporters badly need to catch up and turn the tables, which is why I applaud Stephen and Mark Meadows for rushing to fill this critical void. The era of unilateral legal surrender must end—and I hope all America First patriots will get behind America First Legal.’ AFL will be forward-leaning, seeking to take meaningful action to defend the rights of Americans whenever and wherever possible. Without being encumbered by a single-issue focus or the need for credit, AFL will focus its efforts on resisting the radical left’s agenda and preserving our shared national values, collaborating with like-minded partners across the nation, including state attorneys general.” [America First Legal Press Release, [4/6/21](#)]

AFL’s Mission Statement: “Our Security, Our Liberty, Our Sovereignty, And Our Most Fundamental Rights And Values Are Being Systematically Dismantled By An Unholy Alliance Of Corrupt Special Interests, Big Tech Titans, The Fake News Media, And Liberal Washington Politicians. We Founded America First Legal To Save Our Country From This Coordinated Campaign.” “We believe that all Americans deserve a government that puts their needs, their interests, and their country FIRST. This is the sacred obligation of every elected leader. This is the system our Founding Fathers established. This is the priceless heritage of every American citizen. Yet America First principles are now under attack like never before. Our security, our liberty, our sovereignty, and our most fundamental rights and values are being

systematically dismantled by an unholy alliance of corrupt special interests, big tech titans, the fake news media, and liberal Washington politicians. We founded America First Legal to save our country from this coordinated campaign. With your support, we will oppose the radical left's anti-jobs, anti-freedom, anti-faith, anti-borders, anti-police, and anti-American crusade." [America First Legal, [accessed 6/27/24](#)]

America First Legal's Founding Goal Was "To Make Joe Biden's Life Miserable." "Former Trump White House policy adviser Stephen Miller, known for his hard-line immigration policies and conservative culture war postures, is launching a new legal group. And he's looking to use it to make Joe Biden's life miserable. The group, which will be known as America First Legal, will help organize Republican attorneys general against perceived executive branch abuses in addition to filing lawsuits of its own, according to six people familiar with the planning. [...] Miller's organization will join a fairly crowded ecosystem of conservative-leaning legal entities, including Judicial Watch, Alliance Defending Freedom and the Immigration Reform Law Institute. But unlike those entities, which tend to operate around specific issues, such as religious liberty, free speech or immigration, America First Legal will be broadly focused on administrative law and executive overreach. That issue focus is derived, in large part, from the experiences that Miller and fellow Trump veterans confronted during the last administration." [Politico, [3/26/21](#)]

America First Legal Was Established With Guidance From The Conservative Partnership Institute And Ken Starr. "Miller has been putting America First Legal together with guidance from former Sen. Jim DeMint's Conservative Partnership Institute and Clinton-impeachment lawyer Ken Starr, who also served on Trump's first impeachment defense team. Gene Hamilton, a former Justice Department lawyer, has also been involved and is expected to oversee the group's legal work since Miller himself is not a trained attorney, while former White House chief of staff Mark Meadows, currently a senior partner at CPI, will serve on its board." [Politico, [3/26/21](#)]

- **America First Legal Was "Incubated" By CPI.** "It also recruited what the report described as Trump heroes, beginning with Mr. Meadows, who became a senior partner a week after Mr. Trump left office. The former White House chief of staff 'helped incubate and launch' numerous related groups that would be headed by prominent fellow Trump alumni, another annual C.P.I. report said. Among them: the America First Legal Foundation, a litigious conservative firm led by the former White House senior policy adviser and speechwriter Stephen Miller." [New York Times, [2/20/24](#)]
- **CPI Called AFL "The Sling That Hardworking, Patriotic Americans Can Use To Fight Back Against The Abusive Goliath Of The Biden Administration's Deep State."** "AFL was among several groups incubated in the first year of the Biden administration by the Conservative Partnership Institute, a central hub of the GOP's pro-Trump wing. CPI describes AFL as a "partner" on its website, and three AFL board members, including Mark Meadows, who served as a chief of staff to the former president, also have top CPI posts. Neither of these tax-exempt groups is required to disclose its donors to the public, though federal campaign records show Trump's political committee, Save America, donated \$1 million to CPI last year. In its 2021 annual report, CPI called AFL 'the sling that hardworking, patriotic Americans can use to fight back against the abusive Goliath of the Biden Administration's Deep State.'" [Washington Post, [12/12/22](#)]

AFL's Intent Is To "Push For A Maximum Volume Of Cases." "There are many conservative public-interest groups in the legal world already, but they tend to focus on specific areas of the law, such as protecting religion in public life, opposing abortion or attacking economic regulation. Mr. Miller said he wants to take a broader, more nimble approach and push for a maximum volume of cases. 'Nobody has the attitude of, 'Let's find the weakest points and legally attack them relentlessly and as often—and everywhere—that we possibly can,' he said." [Wall Street Journal, [4/7/21](#)]

AFL Achieves Legal Victories By "Consistently Filing Lawsuits In A Conservative-Friendly Judicial District In Texas And Taking Advantage Of A Larger Federal Court System Revamped By Trump's

Predominantly Conservative Nominees. “America First Legal is headed by Stephen Miller, the architect of President Donald Trump’s crackdown on illegal immigrants. While AFL lacks the name recognition and financial heft of many conservative counterparts, it has racked up notable court victories over the Biden administration. Casting itself as ‘the long-awaited answer to the ACLU,’ AFL has weaponized the grievance politics embodied by Trump’s ‘Make America Great Again,’ movement through dozens of federal lawsuits, challenging efforts to remedy racial disparities, support LGBTQ students and expand the pool of early voters. AFL-backed suits helped doom a \$29 billion program that prioritized struggling female and minority-owned restaurants last year, and last week, a council created by the Department of Education that conservative parents groups viewed as partisan. AFL has won in part by consistently filing lawsuits in a conservative-friendly judicial district in Texas and taking advantage of a larger federal court system revamped by Trump’s predominantly conservative nominees.” [Washington Post, [12/12/22](#)]

Despite Filing More Than 100 Lawsuits And Complaints, “America First Legal Is Primarily Notable As A Policy Harbinger For A Second Trump Term, And For The Considerable Trouble It Causes.” “The legal group has filed complaints with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission asserting that “woke corporations” like Disney, Nike, Mattel, Hershey, United Airlines and the National Football League discriminate against white males. It has filed lawsuits arguing that school districts in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland and Arizona promote “radical” pro-transgender and pro-gay attitudes. It has filed amicus briefs to protect Florida minors from drag shows and former President Donald J. Trump from a federal jury trial. For those who wonder what Stephen Miller has been up to since he left the Trump White House as senior policy adviser, the answer is litigating loudly. His conservative nonprofit group, America First Legal Foundation, is no ordinary law firm, beginning with the fact that Mr. Miller, 38, is not a lawyer. But judging by the flurry of filings it has generated over the past three years — more than a hundred lawsuits, E.E.O.C. complaints, amicus briefs and other legal demands — the foundation’s small in-house legal team punches above its weight. Assessing its success rate is more complicated, partly because many of the group’s cases are still pending, while the E.E.O.C. does not publicize which complaints it investigates. But winning may be beside the point. America First Legal is primarily notable as a policy harbinger for a second Trump term, and for the considerable trouble it causes.” [New York Times, [3/21/24](#)]

- **Federal Court Judges Ruled Against AFL In Numerous Cases.** “Most of the AFL-backed lawsuits are still pending and allege that federal agencies are withholding public records about a range of right-wing targets, including the prosecution of Jan. 6, 2021, rioters, censorship by Big Tech, the origin of the coronavirus pandemic and a laptop used by President Biden’s son, Hunter Biden. Many of the records requests echo allegations made by the far right and are treated as news stories by conservative media outlets. AFL has also demanded nearly every federal agency to produce documents related to Biden’s executive order promoting racial equity, which Miller has called ‘government sponsored and directed racism.’ In some of the requests, AFL claims ‘widely recognized status as a representative of the news media’ to expedite its requests. Federal court judges have ruled against AFL in lawsuits opposing admissions criteria to ensure racial diversity at Philadelphia magnet schools, a New York program that considered race in determining eligibility for covid-19 treatment, a vaccine mandate for civilian federal employees, and Biden’s removal of Sean Spicer, a White House press secretary under Trump, and Vought, an AFL board member, from the U.S. Naval Academy Board of Visitors. AFL is appealing most of those cases.” [Washington Post, [12/12/22](#)]

Selected Press Coverage of America First Legal

Headline: “Stephen Miller To Launch a New Legal Group to Give Biden Fits.” [Politico, [3/26/21](#)]

Headline: “Stephen Miller’s Next Act Finds a Stage in the Courts.” [Wall Street Journal, [4/7/21](#)]

Headline: “Stephen Miller’s America First Legal looks to deal ‘significant blow’ to ‘woke cult’ in year ahead.” [Fox News, [7/5/22](#)]

Headline: “Stephen Miller-led group emerges as top legal foe of Biden initiatives.” [CNN, [12/15/22](#)]

Headline: “Stephen Miller Spent the Trump Years Testing the Bounds of Executive Authority. Now He’s Testing the Legal System.” [New Republic, [9/19/22](#)]

Headline: “How a Trump-allied group fighting ‘anti-white bigotry’ beats Biden in court.” [Washington Post, [12/12/22](#)]

Headline: “America First Legal, a Trump-Aligned Group, Is Spoiling for a Fight.” [New York Times, [3/21/24](#)]

PHILOSOPHY

America First Legal Founded As A “Conservative Answer to the ACLU.” “A former aide in the Trump administration is launching a ‘conservative answer to the ACLU’ after a barrage of lawsuits the Trump administration faced during its tenure. Stephen Miller, who served as a key aide to former President Donald Trump and spearheaded the administration’s immigration policies, is launching America First Legal, which aims to challenge the agenda of President Joe Biden’s administration in the courts. ‘The most important thing we could do as people who philosophically believe in traditional values, conservative values...was to develop and launch a conservative answer to the ACLU,’ Miller told the Wall Street Journal of the effort. The group will work with Republican state attorneys general and former administration lawyers, and it will also provide funding to attorneys nationwide to help them challenge the Biden administration. ‘Anything the president does that we believe to be illegal is fair game,’ Miller added.” [Washington Examiner, 4/7/21]

- **Miller Said AFL Would Oppose “The Left” In The Economic, Legal, And “Cultural Sphere.”** Stephen Miller is setting his sights on America’s culture wars with his new legal group and a list of targets that includes transgender issues, law enforcement, and critical race theory. Former President Donald Trump’s key adviser and a hate figure for liberals launched America First Legal on Wednesday, promising to oppose the Biden administration with the same energy and tactics deployed by the American Civil Liberties Union in fighting the Trump administration. In a string of interviews, he remained tight-lipped about his first targets for fear of tipping off his opponents. But he told the Washington Examiner he planned to take on issues that had been overlooked. ‘The Left raises far more money for litigation than the Right does. It’s not even close. It’s not even in the same galaxy,’ he said. ‘To the extent there is money raised for conservative or traditionalist or ‘America first’-type concepts, they seem to only be in the economic sphere, neglecting the much larger cultural sphere.’ ‘So, we are going to be aggressive and very active in that space.’” [Washington Examiner, 4/7/21]

Stephen Miller: “Anything The President Does That We Believe To Be Illegal Is Fair Game.” “Mr. Miller, an architect of the last administration’s restrictive immigration policies and a leading backer of its socially conservative initiatives, is launching this week a new organization, America First Legal, to challenge Biden administration initiatives at odds with Trump-era priorities. ‘Anything the president does that we believe to be illegal is fair game,’ he said. The group, Mr. Miller said, would tap into the expertise of Trump administration lawyers, work with Republican state attorneys general and partner with lawyers around the country who need legal and financial resources for their cases. The group also has broader ambitions, Mr. Miller said, to eventually get involved in litigation that goes beyond the Biden administration, including to support police officers, go after big tech companies and take on other business interests whose positions run counter to those he embraced in the White House.” [Wall Street Journal, [4/7/21](#)]

Stephen Miller Founded AFL With Mark Meadows to Stop “Radical Activist Left.” “Mr. Miller's group, America First Legal, is aimed at stopping the ‘radical activist left.’ He founded the group alongside Mr. Trump's former chief of staff Mark Meadows. Mr. Miller has been linked to white nationalist writings by a former Breitbart reporter. The reporter said Mr. Miller sent her emails suggesting she read articles from sites VDARE and American Renaissance, both of which are repositories for white supremacist writings.” [The Independent, 5/2/21]

June 2021: Stephen Miller: “Groups Like Mine Are Going to Take Them to Court Again and Again and Again and Again.” “America First Legal, an organization founded by Stephen Miller, a former senior adviser to President Donald J. Trump, filed two lawsuits in Texas that led the administration to alter its small-business program for restaurants, and the group is part of litigation objecting to debt relief for Black farmers. Recently, Mr. Miller threatened to lodge challenges to other efforts, including a proposal by NASA officials to incorporate ‘racial equity and support for underserved communities’ when the agency makes grants or signs contracts. ‘What they are going to discover is that groups like mine are going to take them to court again and again and again and again,’ Mr. Miller said in an interview. ‘Every time we have a willing plaintiff, we will take them to court and we will fight. And overwhelmingly, I believe they will lose.’” [New York Times, 6/26/21]

April 2021: Stephen Miller: “Those Who Believe in America First Must Not Shy Away from Using Our Legal System to Defend Our Society and Our Families from Any Unlawful Actions by the Left.” ““Those who believe in America First must not shy away from using our legal system to defend our society and our families from any unlawful actions by the left,’ Miller said of the organization. ‘Those looking to hold the new administration in Washington to account finally have their answer. Our self-imposed policy of legal disarmament is now over.’” [Washington Examiner, 4/28/21]

STAFF

Notable Staff And Directors (2022)		
Name	Position	2022 Total Compensation
Stephen Miller	President	\$193,704
Gene Hamilton	Executive Director, Executive Vice President, General Counsel, Secretary	\$561,771
Matt Whitaker	Director	\$0
Russ Vought	Treasurer	\$0
Ed Corrigan	Director	\$0
Blake Masters	Director	\$0
Reed Rubenstein	Lawyer	\$267,403
Andrew Block	Lawyer	\$175,155
Michael Ding	Lawyer	\$186,884
Adrienne Price (ending 10/22)	Chief Development Officer	\$193,322
Ian Prior	Lawyer	\$275,489

Source: IRS 2022 990 Form, Filed on [11/15/23](#)

AFL’s Board Of Directors And Senior Staff Is All White, All Male, And All Trump. Every member of the Board of Directors of America First Legal is a white man with ties to former president Donald Trump. Following the departure of Chief Development Officer Adrienne Price in October 2022, every member of the senior staff of America First Legal is a white man. [America First Legal, accessed [6/26/24](#); America First Legal Foundation IRS 2022 990 Form, Filed on [11/15/23](#)]

AFL Has Fewer Than 10 Lawyers On Its Payroll, Spending Most Of Its Budget On Advertising And Promotion. “In reality, Mr. Miller’s group joined a crowded field of conservative legal advocacy organizations that included Citizens United, Students for Fair Admissions and Alliance Defending Freedom, each of which has scored landmark victories at the Supreme Court. Mr. Miller’s group, with fewer than 10 lawyers on its payroll, is considerably smaller than the others. (Alliance Defending Freedom has roughly 100 full-time lawyers. The A.C.L.U. has about 550 lawyers.) The group’s abilities may be somewhat hamstrung by its budgetary choices. In 2022, the most recent publicly available tax filing, America First Legal paid \$1.7 million of its \$44 million budget to lawyers, while devoting \$29.6 million to promotion and advertising.” [New York Times, [3/21/24](#)]

Stephen Miller, President

Stephen Miller, A Former Donald Trump White House Advisor, Is President Of America First Legal.

“Stephen Miller, President, America First Legal. Stephen Miller served in the West Wing as Senior Advisor to the President for the entirety of the Trump Administration. Prior to that he was a senior aide to lawmakers and committees in the United States Congress.” [America First Legal, accessed [6/26/24](#)]

2021: Miller Continued to Draw A Substantial Taxpayer-Funded Salary During The Launch Of America First Legal.

“Donald Trump may no longer be president, but that has not stopped some of his most loyal staffers from drawing a paycheck funded by American taxpayers. Among the advisers still pocketing public cash is Stephen Miller, the architect of Mr. Trump's restrictive and heavy handed anti-immigration policies. Mr. Miller and at least 16 others are part of Mr. Trump's post-presidential transition office, according to documents obtained by Business Insider. Between 20 January and 21 July - the date when the formal presidential transition period ends - Mr. Trump's team will collect \$1.3m in federal salary and benefits. That means Mr. Trump has more than \$200,000 a month to spend on salaries and benefits for his team. Ten of the aides are working from Palm Beach, Florida, where Mr. Trump is currently residing. Another seven are working out of Arlington, Virginia, presumably due to its proximity to Washington DC. Though five of the Trump transition staffers' names were redacted by the General Services Administration in the documents obtained by Business Insider, it is clear that both Mr. Miller and Mr. Trump's former deputy chief of staff Dan Scavino are on the team and drawing salaries. Mr. Miller is earning a \$160,000 annualized salary, according to the documents obtained from GSA.” [The Independent, 5/18/21]

Gene Hamilton, Executive Director, Executive Vice President, General Counsel

Former Trump Official Gene Hamilton Serves As Executive Director, Executive Vice President, And General Counsel Of America First Legal. “Gene serves as Vice-President and General Counsel of America First Legal. Prior to AFL, Gene served as Counselor to the Attorney General at the United States Department of Justice from 2017-2021—providing legal advice, counsel, and strategic guidance. He has also served as Senior Counselor to the Secretary of Homeland Security, General Counsel on the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, and served in a variety of other roles at the Department of Homeland Security.” [America First Legal, accessed [6/26/24](#)]

Gene Hamilton Played A Crucial Role In Donald Trump’s Most Aggressive And Cruel Anti-Immigrant Policies. “Hamilton, often working behind the scenes, was an influential player in the Trump administration’s immigration policy. In an October 2017 deposition, later obtained by the New Yorker, Hamilton said that he had been the Trump transition team’s ‘lead on development of all immigration-policy issues.’ After Trump’s inauguration, Hamilton went to work at the Department of Homeland Security, and in late 2017 he became an aide to then-Attorney General Jeff Sessions. While working for the Trump administration, Hamilton was instrumental in setting refugee caps at historic lows and in ending Temporary Protected Status for people from Sudan and South Sudan in 2017. He is credited with writing the memo that ended Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, and a recent report by the DOJ inspector general named him as a key player in the ‘zero

tolerance’ policy that resulted in separating hundreds of children from their families. Previously, American Oversight reported on records obtained through Freedom of Information Act litigation that reveal frequent contact between Hamilton and Miller during the height of family separation. While Miller is often cited as the architect of Trump’s most severe anti-immigration policies, it’s clear that Hamilton’s role was equally crucial in enacting that agenda.” [American Oversight, [5/6/21](#)]

Reed Rubenstein, Senior Vice President

Reed Rubenstein, A Former Trump Administration Appointee, Serves As Senior Vice President Of America First Legal. “Reed D. Rubinstein is a former Deputy Associate Attorney General, U.S. Department of Education General Counsel (acting and delegated), and Senior Advisor to the Secretary of the Treasury. He spent more than thirty years in the private practice of law, litigating constitutional, administrative, and complex commercial trial and appellate cases; counseling publicly traded and closely held corporations on regulatory compliance, M&A, and transactional matters; and handling Executive Branch and Congressional oversight, investigations, and enforcement issues. Mr. Rubinstein is a 1985 graduate of the University of Michigan Law School.” [America First Legal, accessed [6/26/24](#)]

Daniel Epstein, Vice President

America First Legal Vice President Daniel Z. Epstein Served As A Special Assistant To Donald Trump. “Dan Epstein is an Assistant Professor of Law at St. Thomas University in Miami, Florida. Previously, he worked advising startups on regulatory matters at a private equity firm. His federal service includes being a Special Assistant to the President and Senior Associate Counsel to the President, and as a counsel for the House of Representatives Committee on Oversight and Government Reform. Earlier in his career, Mr. Epstein founded and ran Cause of Action, a public-interest law firm, where he represented clients in government investigations and litigated regulatory, constitutional, political, and public law matters. He holds a Ph.D. from George Washington University in Political Economy, a J.D. from Emory University School of Law, and a B.A. from Kenyon College.” [America First Legal, accessed [6/26/24](#)]

Board of Directors

AFL Added Failed Senate Candidate Blake Masters To The Board Of Directors In 2022. Venture capitalist and former Arizona Senate candidate Blake Masters joined the America First Legal Board of Directors in 2022. Masters announced a new campaign for the House of Representatives in October 2023. The current status of his AFL board membership is unknown. [America First Legal Foundation IRS 2022 990 Form, Filed on [11/15/23](#); New York Times, [10/26/23](#)]

- **Masters Is An Election Denier With A Long History Of Racist And Far Right Views.** “Blake Masters, a far-right disciple of Silicon Valley titan Peter Thiel who has echoed the ideas of an ‘absolute monarchist,’ mused about retiring all government employees, and campaigned as the Arizona avatar of Trumpist nativism—losing in the process the respect of the best man at his wedding, with whom he longer speaks—has won the nomination to be the Republican nominee for Senate in Arizona. [...] Ever the venture capitalist, Masters sees the United States as another bloated company that could be turned around with the right investments. If the system most Americans call democracy ends up being disrupted in the process, that might just be the cost of doing business. In practice, this has meant running a hard-right campaign that has attracted the support of run-of-the-mill Trump voters, outspoken white nationalists, and internet monarchists. After defending women’s right to choose for much of his life, Masters now calls abortion a ‘genocide.’ Instead of calling illegal immigration ‘an ethical contradiction in terms’ as he did in his anarcho-capitalist days, he put out a video reminiscent of The Camp of the Saints in which CGI migrants streamed through a gap in the border wall.” [Mother Jones, [8/3/22](#)]

Former Trump Acting Attorney General Matt Whitaker Is On The Board Of America First Legal.

“President Trump first noticed Matthew G. Whitaker on CNN in the summer of 2017 and liked what he saw — a partisan defender who insisted there was no collusion between Russia and the Trump campaign. So that July, the White House counsel, Donald F. McGahn II, interviewed Mr. Whitaker about joining the president’s team as a legal attack dog against the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III. At that point, the White House passed, leaving Mr. Whitaker, 49, to continue his media tour, writing on CNN’s website that Mr. Mueller’s investigation — which he had once called ‘crazy’ — had gone too far. Fifteen months later, the attack dog is in charge. With little ceremony on Wednesday, Mr. Trump ousted Attorney General Jeff Sessions and put Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Sessions’s chief of staff, in charge of the Justice Department — and Mr. Mueller’s Russia investigation. People close to Mr. Trump believe that he sent Mr. Whitaker to the department in part to limit the fallout from the Mueller investigation, one presidential adviser said.” [New York Times, [11/9/18](#); America First Legal Foundation IRS 2022 990 Form, Filed on [11/15/23](#)]

Former Trump OMB Director Russ Vought Is On The Board of America First Legal. “Russell Vought joined the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) when President Trump took office. Vought previously served as Deputy Director and Acting Director prior to his confirmation as Director of OMB in July 2020. In his role, he is responsible for overseeing the implementation of the President’s policy, management and regulatory agendas across the Executive Branch. Prior to serving in the Trump Administration, Director Vought spent over 20 years working in Washington D.C. with grassroots and public policy organizations. Before joining the Administration, he worked for seven years as Vice President of Heritage Action for America. Prior to this, he worked on Capitol Hill, serving as the Policy Director for the House Republican Conference, under then-Chairman Mike Pence, and as the Executive Director of the Republican Study Committee (RSC), and as a legislative assistant for U.S. Senator Phil Gramm.” [Trump White House Archives, accessed [6/26/24](#); America First Legal Foundation IRS 2022 990 Form, Filed on [11/15/23](#)]

- **Vought Is A Christian Nationalist And A Key Figure Behind “Project 2025.”** “Vought is the founder and president of the Center for Renewing America, which he apparently founded ‘to renew a consensus of America as a nation under God.’ He also claimed that a ‘biblical’ worldview sits at the core of the organization’s policy platform. Vought once signed a statement claiming that ‘the Bible should be read as the first among the sources of a shared Western civilization in schools and universities,’ and authored a Newsweek op-ed titled: ‘Is There Anything Actually Wrong With ‘Christian Nationalism?’ [...] Vought is a key member of Project 2025, a conservative project to prepare for a potential 2025 Republican presidential transition. The coalition calls for an executive order that could result in the firing of tens of thousands of federal workers, which would be an ‘unprecedented scale’ of federal staff changes. The organization is also building a ‘conservative LinkedIn’ of ideologically trained future presidential appointees to fill the absences left by such a mass firing. Vought separately revealed CRA’s plan for a future Republican presidential administration, which includes ‘deconstruct[ng] the state’ and generally gutting the federal government to make it easier for political appointees and other federal workers to obtain security clearances to ‘crush the deep state.’” [Monitoring Influence, [accessed 6/26/24](#)]

AFL Board Member Ed Corrigan Was In Charge Of Domestic Agency Staffing For Trump’s First Term.

“On the day after Thanksgiving in 2016, Ed Corrigan, then the vice president for policy promotion at the Heritage Foundation, was summoned to Trump Tower in New York to join the senior leadership team of the Trump transition. From inside the building where the climactic personnel decisions of ‘The Apprentice’ were once taped, Corrigan oversaw the staffing of 10 different domestic agencies. Donald Trump, the former reality-TV star, was now the president-elect of the United States, and he had an administration to fill.” [New York Times, [6/20/18](#); America First Legal Foundation IRS 2022 990 Form, Filed on [11/15/23](#)]

- **Corrigan Serves As President And CEO Of The Conservative Policy Institute.** “Corrigan has over 25 years of leadership experience on Capitol Hill and in the conservative movement. In 2009, GQ magazine named Corrigan to its list of ‘50 Most Powerful People in DC.’ He was tapped by the Trump Transition to

lead the personnel selection process for all domestic policy departments, placing hundreds of conservatives in key administrative positions. Known for his passion to build the conservative movement, he works with the Conservative Action Project and serves on the board of the Leadership Institute. Corrigan previously served in senior roles in the U.S. Senate. From 2003 through 2012, he was executive director of the Senate Steering Committee, the caucus of conservative senators, under two chairmen — Senator Jim DeMint (R-SC) and Senator Jeff Sessions (R-AL). He served again at Steering as executive director under Chairman Mike Lee (R-UT) during the Spring of 2017.” [Conservative Policy Institute, [accessed 6/27/24](#)]

Former Trump Chief Of Staff Mark Meadows Was A Founding Board Member Of America First Legal, But Was No Longer Listed On The Group’s 990 Filing In 2022. “Miller has been putting America First Legal together with guidance from former Sen. Jim DeMint’s Conservative Partnership Institute and Clinton-impeachment lawyer Ken Starr, who also served on Trump’s first impeachment defense team. Gene Hamilton, a former Justice Department lawyer, has also been involved and is expected to oversee the group’s legal work since Miller himself is not a trained attorney, while former White House chief of staff Mark Meadows, currently a senior partner at CPI, will serve on its board.” [Politico, [3/26/21](#); America First Legal Foundation IRS 2022 990 Form, Filed on [11/15/23](#)]

- **Mark Meadows Is Under Indictment In Arizona And Georgia For His Role In The Attempt To Overturn The 2020 Election.** “Mark Meadows, the former White House chief of staff, pleaded not guilty on Friday in an Arizona election interference case, the latest development in the criminal prosecutions playing out in five battleground states over efforts to keep former President Donald J. Trump in power in 2020. Arizona is the second state, after Georgia, to charge Mr. Meadows in connection with his conduct after the 2020 election. He is accused of taking part in an effort to reverse Mr. Trump’s loss in Arizona, and, like other defendants, faces charges of conspiracy, fraud and forgery.” [New York Times, [6/7/24](#)]

FINANCES

IRS 990 Financial Reporting		
Description	2021	2022
Contributions and Grants	\$6,388,442	\$44,399,187
Total Revenue	\$6,388,442	\$44,399,187
Salaries	\$216,499	\$2,369,234
Total Expenses	\$2,150,423	\$35,179,698
Total Assets	\$4,359,987	\$13,635,863
Net Assets	\$4,238,019	\$13,457,508

Source: IRS 2022 990 Form, Filed on [11/15/23](#)

Initial Funding For America First Legal Came From Conservative Partnership Institute And Former RNC Finance Chair Steve Wynn. “The group’s mission was fueled by more than \$6.3 million in donations last year, recent tax filings show, including about \$1.3 million from the Conservative Partnership Institute, whose leadership includes key figures in the effort to overturn the 2020 election. Steve Wynn, the casino magnate who resigned as finance chair of the Republican National Committee in 2018 amid allegations of sexual misconduct, is an AFL donor, according to two people familiar with the group’s work who were not authorized to speak publicly about its fundraising. Wynn, who has denied the allegations, declined to comment.” [Washington Post, [12/12/22](#)]

America First Legal’s Revenue Exploded By Nearly 600% Between 2021 And 2022. After raising \$6.3 million in contributions and grants in 2021, America First Legal’s fundraising exploded to nearly \$44.4 million in 2022, the most recent year available. [IRS 2022 990 Form, Filed on [11/15/23](#)]

- **Most Of AFL's Fundraising Windfall Was Spent On Campaign Ads.** "In 2021, when AFL raised \$6.4 million, it reported paying roughly \$580,000 for legal services and about \$650,000 for employee compensation, while spending less than \$70,000 on ads and promotions. Together, the outlays indicate a significant shift in AFL's spending priorities. The group applied the vast majority of its 2022 fundraising windfall not to building out its internal operations, but to an advertising campaign that provided ideological air support to Republicans ahead of the midterms." [Daily Beast, [12/14/23](#)]

Stephen Miller Refuses To Answer Questions About AFL's Donors Because "It's Best For Your Adversaries To Have Less Rather Than More Information." "Miller declined to answer questions about the group's donors. 'It's best for your adversaries to have less rather than more information when they meet you in court,' he said." [Washington Post, [12/12/22](#)]

GOP DARK MONEY TIES

2022: More Than 60 Percent Of AFL's Funding Came From The Right Wing Bradley Impact Fund. "In 2022, AFL brought in \$44 million. Its revenue shot up by nearly 600 percent compared with the previous year. But less scrutinized has been how AFL has secured its haul. More than 60 percent of its funding came from a little-discussed entity: the Bradley Impact Fund. In 2022, Bradley doled out more than \$27 million to AFL, according to the organization's most recent available tax filing. [...] Over the last few years, the Bradley Impact Fund has experienced massive growth, emerging as one of the key bankrollers of the coterie of organizations and apparatchiks hoping to create institutions that carry out Trump's ideological agenda. In the process, Bradley fuels the culture wars and undermines faith in democracy by stirring election denialism—all while keeping its donors secret. Created in 2012, the Bradley Impact Fund is a donor-advised fund (DAF) 'aligned' with the Milwaukee-based Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, which has a long history of conservative influence and, of late, has become a source of money for organizations pushing Republicans to change election laws." [Mother Jones, [4/30/24](#)]

- **The AFL Donation Was "By Far The Bradley Impact Fund's Largest Grant Of 2022."** "AFL does not disclose any of its donors, but donor-advised organizations like the Bradley Impact Fund serve as a middleman, offering an extra layer of anonymity—particularly for entities that publicize their charitable giving elsewhere. The AFL donation was by far the Bradley Impact Fund's largest grant of 2022, nearly three times the \$7.7 million designated for right-wing youth group Turning Point USA." [Daily Beast, [12/14/23](#)]

2021: Roughly 20 Percent Of AFL's Initial Year Of Funding Came From Conservative Partnership Institute. "A grant from the Conservative Partnership Institute, a hub whose leaders include Meadows and former Trump lawyer Cleta Mitchell, accounted for about \$1 million of that, 2021 tax records first reported by Sludge show. The Conservative Partnership Institute's connections to America First Legal were not limited to funding. Multiple individuals affiliated with the Conservative Partnership Institute also serve on America First Legal's board of directors, including Conservative Partnership Institute President Edward Corrigan and Meadows, according to state charitable records filed in March." [Open Secrets, [12/12/22](#)]

2022: AFL Paid Over \$200,000 In Legal Fees To A Trustee Of Leonard Leo's Dark Money Marble Freedom Trust. "AFL paid over \$234,000 to Consovoy McCarthy PLLC. Consovoy McCarthy partner Tyler Green is the administrative trustee for the Marble Freedom Trust, a dark money group 'controlled by' Leonard Leo that received an unprecedented \$1.6 billion windfall for conservative efforts." [Accountable.US, [11/17/23](#)]

2022: AFL Paid \$75,000 To The January 6-Linked Rule Of Law Defense Fund. "AFL paid \$75,000 to the Rule of Law Defense Fund, the Republican Attorneys General Association (RAGA) fundraising arm that drew controversy for its robocalls urging people to march on the Capitol Building the day before the January 6

insurrection. RLDF was also listed as an organizer of the rally that led to the insurrection.” [Accountable.US, [11/17/23](#)]

2022: AFL Paid \$25,000 To The American Accountability Foundation. “AFL paid \$25,000 to the American Accountability Foundation, which is being audited by the IRS, has been dedicated to sinking Biden nominations, and has been called a ‘well-funded, well-oiled slime machine.’” [Accountable.US, [11/17/23](#)]

CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES

2022: America First Legal Spent The Vast Majority Of Its Budget On Ads Rather Than Legal Services.

“A prominent MAGA legal nonprofit run by a top Donald Trump aide has credited itself for gathering “some of the nation’s best legal, political, and strategic thinkers” to fight ‘anti-white bigotry’ in the courts, spending a staggering \$35.2 million to initiate dozens of culture-war lawsuits against the Biden administration, universities, and corporations last year. But tax filings show that the group, ‘America First Legal,’ isn’t exactly spending all that money on lawsuits. In fact, the lawsuits account for a very small percentage of the \$35 million budget. That’s because America First Legal blew nearly all of that money, about \$30 million—more than 85 percent of the budget—on advertising. About four percent of the group’s expenditures, less than \$1.5 million, went toward the namesake ‘legal’ services, while about 7.5 percent—\$2.7 million—was spent on salaries and compensation.” [Daily Beast, [12/14/23](#)]

- **Nearly All Of AFL’s Budget Was Spent On Trump-Aligned Republican Marketing Firms.** “AFL isn’t being sneaky or clever in its filings with the IRS. Nearly every penny of its \$30 million ad budget went to three marketing firms, according to information the group was required to provide about its top five paid contractors. The two companies at the bottom of that list were both law firms, whose outside services cost a combined \$650,000. Mitchell Law of Austin, Texas, received around \$414,000, and Consovoy McCarthy, a premier boutique conservative firm, took in about \$234,000. Together with unspecified expenses, AFL’s total ‘legal’ costs came out to \$1,493,860. The \$30 million ad budget was split almost entirely between three entities—PG Placements, Jamestown Associates, and FlexPoint Media. Ohio-based PG Placements was the top earner, receiving about \$12.8 million. Next was Jamestown Associates—a political marketing and media production firm whose alums include Trump campaign royalty Jason Miller and Bill Stepien—which was paid roughly \$11.7 million. And FlexPoint Media received a flat \$5 million. However, Virginia business records show that PG Placements doubles as a pseudonym for FlexPoint Media, meaning that AFL really only paid two companies, with PG/FlexPoint raking in nearly \$18 million combined in 2022. That’s almost three times AFL’s total revenue the prior year.” [Daily Beast, [12/14/23](#)]

2022: America First Legal Spent \$5 Million On Radio Ads, 15 Percent Of The Total Spent By Republican Groups.

“One of the biggest radio ad blitzes in the final stretch of the midterm elections is a provocative package of advertisements aimed at deepening cultural divides over transgender care for children and racial tensions. Financed by two groups run by former Trump administration officials, the ads have been placed with Black and Hispanic radio stations, along with conservative talk radio stations. [...] One ad from America First Legal, a group started by Stephen Miller, who was a top policy adviser in the Trump White House, accuses the Biden administration of ‘anti-white bigotry’ while claiming that corporations, airlines and universities “all openly discriminate against white Americans.” ‘When did racism against white people become OK?’ the narrator asks. Another radio ad from the group says that the Biden administration wants to pave the way for children ‘to remove breasts and genitals.’ ‘Not long ago, everyone knew that you’re either born a boy or a girl,’ the narrator says. ‘Not anymore.’ A similar spot that aired in Tennessee during a radio broadcast of the Tennessee Titans game, according to WPLN-FM, claimed, ‘They push girls to take testosterone so they grow facial hair.’ [...] The radio spots from the two groups have aired in 24 markets across several states in the past month before Election Day, according to data from AdImpact, an ad-tracking firm. The two groups have aired radio ads in the same markets in Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Nevada, Tennessee and Texas. America First Legal has also run ads in Colorado, Michigan and Nevada. In total, America First Legal has spent more than \$5

million on its radio ads. Only the Senate Leadership Fund, a super PAC aligned with Senator Mitch McConnell, the Republican minority leader, has spent more on ads in the final month of the election. The fund has collected more than \$250 million this campaign cycle. America First Legal's total radio budget, when combined with the \$1.6 million that Citizens for Sanity has also spent on the radio since Oct. 7, accounts for 15 percent of the \$44.5 million that all Republican groups are spending during that same time, according to AdImpact." [New York Times, [11/1/22](#)]

2022: AFL's Ads Targeting Transgender Children Appeared In At Least 25 States. "Polling rarely registers transgender-related issues as a top priority for voters, with other topics like the economy and public safety taking the lead in this midterm cycle. But America First Legal, launched by longtime Donald Trump aide Stephen Miller, has plastered airwaves and mailboxes with the issue ahead of the election — all without mentioning candidates currently running for office, as both groups are registered nonprofits. Ads targeting transgender children have spread in at least 25 states across the political spectrum — from Texas to Illinois to Michigan — in the last month, according to the Human Rights Campaign. [...] America First Legal has made more than \$4 million in radio buys across Atlanta, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Detroit — cities in competitive states with significant Black populations. The radio ad features a man speaking over ominous music, claiming that children have been pushed to take puberty blockers and get gender-affirming surgery. [...] America First Legal has also sent mailers to Black and Hispanic households in states including Georgia, Texas and Nevada, according to advertisements collected as part of POLITICO's Political Mailers Project. Citizens for Sanity, another group formed by Trump administration alumni which has spent tens of millions on late advertising, also made TV buys on the issue a week ahead of Election Day in battleground states including Georgia, Arizona and Nevada. In Spanish and English-language mailers, America First Legal similarly warned against 'radical and irreversible gender experiments,' including anecdotes from unnamed people who regretted 'destroying their lives' with gender-affirming care and surgery. Another ad more specifically goes after Biden, surrounding a picture of the president with anti-transgender Headlines related to schools from Fox News and the Daily Wire." [Politico, [11/1/22](#)]

2022: America First Legal Ran Ads Accusing The Biden Administration Of Being Racist Against White People. "A group launched by longtime Donald Trump aide Stephen Miller has been quietly running radio ads warning white voters that the Biden administration is pursuing a host of policies designed to hurt them because of their race. A recording of the ad, obtained by POLITICO, represents one of the most openly race-based spots of the cycle, amplifying tropes that have historically been used to generate backlash to minority groups. "When did racism against white people become OK?" the ad begins. "Joe Biden put white people last in line for Covid relief funds. Kamala Harris said disaster aid should go to non-white citizens first. Liberal politicians block access to medicine based on skin color. Progressive corporations, airlines, universities all openly discriminate against white Americans. Racism is always wrong. The left's anti-white bigotry must stop. We are all entitled to equal treatment under the law." The spot ends with the disclosure that it is paid for by America First Legal, the organization that was founded by Miller after the Trump administration ended, along with former Trump administration officials like Mark Meadows, Matt Whitaker, and Russ Vought." [Politico, [10/30/22](#)]

- **The Washington Post Fact Checker Gave AFL's Ads "Three Pinocchios."** "These ads are a disingenuous stew that claim the Biden administration and liberals are harming Whites with policies intended to deal with racial inequities, such as minority communities being more affected by the coronavirus pandemic. But Harris did not say what the ad claims and there is no evidence people have been denied medicine on the basis of race. The policy on covid relief funds for restaurants was not aimed at all Whites, as the ads claim — or even all White men. But there was a policy limiting funds until it was halted by the courts. The overall message that such policies constitute 'anti-White' racism is worthy of Four Pinocchios, but the factual claims made in the ad earn Three." [Washington Post, [11/4/22](#)]

2022: America First Legal Sent Mailers Accusing The Biden Administration Of Discriminating Against White People To Texas Voters. "A group led by a former adviser to Donald Trump is responsible for mailers

delivered to Dallas-area voters and being denounced by Democrats for saying that ‘President Joe Biden and left-wing officials are engaged in widespread discrimination against white and Asian Americans.’ One of the mailers — which started hitting residences in Collin, Tarrant and Dallas counties over the weekend — alleges that Biden and progressive politicians are ‘pushing radical & irreversible gender experiments on children.’ The mail blitz is being paid for by the America First Legal Foundation, a group that former Trump senior adviser Stephen Miller started in 2021. Democrats on Monday were quick to denounce the mailers, which appear designed to affect critical local elections in North Texas. Spanish language versions of the America First Legal mailers also appeared in El Paso and the Rio Grande Valley.” [Dallas Morning News, 11/3/22]

2022: America First Legal Sent Anti-Trans Mailers To Colorado Voters. “A group led by a top adviser to former President Donald Trump is producing Spanish-language mailers and radio ads with anti-transgender messaging targeted toward Colorado’s Latino voters. The messages come from the political nonprofit America First Legal Foundation, which is led by Stephen Miller, who served as a key aide to Trump, namely on immigration issues. Because it’s a nonprofit, the organization does not have to reveal its donors and so The Colorado Sun refers to it as a dark-money group. The mailers falsely claim that Democratic President Joe Biden and his liberal allies “are pushing radical and irreversible gender experiments on children” like blocking puberty and removing genitalia. The mailers also feature a photo of Rachel Levine, an assistant secretary at the U.S. Department Health and Human Services, a Biden appointee who is the first transgender person to hold a federal office requiring U.S. Senate confirmation.” [Colorado Sun, [10/25/22](#)]

Citizens for Sanity

2022: Citizens For Sanity, A Republican Dark Money Group Bankrolling Racist And Transphobic Campaign Ads, Was Closely Linked To America First Legal. “A new 'dark money' group bankrolling provocative ads mocking progressive policies and politicians in battleground states ahead of 2022 midterms is connected to officials in former President Donald Trump’s administration who now work with the America First Legal Foundation, records reviewed by OpenSecrets show. The group, Citizens for Sanity, has paid for billboards emblazoned with messages like 'Protect Pregnant Men from Climate Discrimination' and 'Real progressives support violent criminals in their hour of need' in states across the country - including Massachusetts, Colorado, Arizona, Nevada, Pennsylvania, California, Michigan, Texas, Illinois and Georgia. The ads have been described as racist and transphobic. While many of the billboards mock progressive views generally, some of the group's ads take aim at specific candidates...Citizens for Sanity insists it is 'not an ideological organization,' claiming it aims to 'return common sense to America' and fight 'anti-critical thinking ideologies that have permeated every sector of our country and threaten the very freedoms that are foundational to the American Dream.' But Federal Communications Commission records reviewed by OpenSecrets reveal that the group's board includes three former Trump administration officials involved in the America First Legal Foundation, a group founded by former Trump White House official Stephen Miller and aimed at using the legal system to challenge President Joe Biden's agenda.” [Open Secrets, 9/15/22]

- **Leaders Of Citizens For Sanity Were All Linked To America First Legal.** “The leaders of Citizens for Sanity are associated with the America First Legal Foundation, which was founded by Stephen Miller, its president. Notoriously, Miller was an architect of Trump's cruel and crude immigrant family separation policy, his Muslim ban and his shutdown of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, which defers deportation for immigrants brought to the U.S. as minors by their parents and allows them to work, but requires regular renewals. A whole page on the website of the Southern Poverty Law Center, which tracks hate groups, is devoted to Miller. [...] The connections tying together Miller, the America First Legal Foundation, and Citizens for Sanity have been laid out by the nonprofit group OpenSecrets, which tracks money in politics. A public document cited by OpenSecrets identifies the top executives of Citizens for Sanity as Gene Hamilton, Ian Prior and John Zadrozny. Prior told OpenSecrets that his group has ‘no relationship with America First Legal Foundation.’ Is that so? Prior identifies himself on his own LinkedIn page as ‘Senior Advisor for America First Legal.’ Hamilton is vice president and general counsel of

America First Legal. Zadrozny is identified on America First Legal's website as its deputy director for investigations. All three have impeccable credentials as former Trump aides.” [Los Angeles Times, 10/19/22]

Citizens For Sanity Spent More Than \$90 Million On The 2022 Campaign. “A dark money group with ties to Trump’s inner circle dropped more than \$90m on ads described as vile, racist and transphobic in the second half of 2022 alone, new tax records obtained by Documented and the Guardian reveal. The staggering sum makes the newly created group, which is based out of the nerve center for the Maga movement, one of the top political spenders in the last election cycle, as it now appears to gear up to influence voters with violent, bigoted messaging in 2024. The group, called Citizens for Sanity, formed in mid-2022, and quickly drew attention as it flooded the airwaves in battleground states and swing districts with deeply offensive and often misleading ads. Some ads targeted LGBTQ+ rights and attacked ‘Biden and his radical allies’ for supporting ‘the woke left’s war on girls’ sports’ and the ‘woke war on our children.’ Others pictured Latino immigrants and characterized them as criminals ‘draining your paychecks, wrecking your schools, ruining your hospitals [and] threatening your family’, declaring that ‘Joe Biden and the Democrats have erased our southern border.’ Another ad featured scene after scene of violent crime involving Black people, blaming the disturbing imagery on the ‘radical leftwing love affair with criminals.’ The racist ads seem to be part of a bigger strategy to try to suppress voting among communities of color. Not long ago, this kind of extreme messaging would be relegated to far-right internet message boards like 4Chan. But Citizens for Sanity even ran these ads during the World Series, and tax records show that Citizens for Sanity spent a stunning \$93m in the final months of 2022, with nearly all of those funds going towards payments to outside media firms for ‘advertising and promotion.’” [The Guardian, [5/17/24](#)]

2024: Citizens For Sanity Has Continued To Run Ads Attacking Democrats. “Citizen for Sanity’s spending has continued into this election cycle, with more recent ads focusing intensely on ‘anti-white’ racism. One ad from last year plays on racist fears of white Americans being disadvantaged by diversity, equity and inclusion (DEI) metrics, falsely claiming that ‘leftwing politicians think skin color and gender identity should determine who gets the job.’ Another ad declares that equity is “leftwing code for whites and Asians not welcome.’ The group asserts that ‘Democrats used to care about the middle class, now they just care about your race and your gender.’ Other ads have targeted Democrats in competitive races, such as Senator Sherrod Brown in Ohio.” [The Guardian, [5/17/24](#)]

Despite Claiming That There Is “No Relationship” Between America First Legal And Citizens For Sanity, The Two Groups Are Now Registered As “Related Organizations.” The newly obtained tax records also reveal that Citizens for Sanity is housed at the headquarters of the Conservative Partnership Institute (CPI), a ‘nerve center for the right wing’ and a key component of Maga political infrastructure. CPI is staffed with former Trump officials – including his twice-indicted chief of staff Mark Meadows and the lawyer Cleta Mitchell – and has launched several other projects, including America First Legal, the legal group created by Meadows and Trump’s anti-immigrant speechwriter Stephen Miller. In 2022, OpenSecrets reported that America First Legal also employed Citizens for Sanity’s three board members – Gene Hamilton, John Zadrozny and Ian Prior – all of whom are former Trump administration officials. Prior told OpenSecrets at the time that Citizens for Sanity had ‘no relationship with America First Legal Foundation’ but the group’s latest tax filings describe the two as ‘related organizations.’” [The Guardian, [5/17/24](#)]

VOTING RIGHTS & ELECTION DENIAL

As Of June 2024 America First Legal Has Only Been Involved In Four Election Related Lawsuits. “Of the hundreds of lawsuits and legal actions AFL filed in its three years of existence, it’s only been involved in four election-related lawsuits — the two drop box challenges in Pennsylvania, the Arizona lawsuit, and a denied petition in a lawsuit to ensure Pennsylvania’s new congressional districts were in place for the 2022 midterm elections.” [Democracy Docket, [6/26/24](#)]

2024: AFL Sent Letters To All 50 States Demanding That Noncitizens Be Removed From Voter Rolls. “A conservative legal group fired off letters to officials in every state in the country Monday urging them to enforce existing laws that prevent non-US citizens from registering to vote or casting ballots in elections, The Post can exclusively reveal. America First Legal (AFL) wrote to chief elections officers, secretaries of state, attorneys general, lieutenant governors and governors on Monday, calling on them to verify immigration statuses on voter rolls using Department of Homeland Security data — and boot any non-Americans they find. ‘If DHS fails to respond to an inquiry, you can sue in federal court to obtain the necessary information that Congress has required DHS to provide,’ AFL Executive Director Gene Hamilton said in the letter.” [New York Post, [6/24/24](#)]

2024: AFL Sued Maricopa County, Arizona Alleging That The County Broke Election Laws In 2022. “America First Legal on Wednesday announced that it had filed a lawsuit against Maricopa County in Arizona, arguing that the election officials broke the state's election laws in 2022. ‘Maricopa County refuses to maintain the mandatory chain of custody for ballots,’ the group announced. ‘In 2022, these failures resulted in a discrepancy of over 25,000 votes – larger than the margin of victory in the state governor’s race.’ Numerous issues occurred at vote centers on Election Day in Maricopa County in November 2022, from election machine problems to hours-long lines, Just the News previously reported. America First Legal criticized the vote centers in their announcement of the lawsuit, arguing that they are ‘poorly run’ and an ‘irrational substitute for election day precinct voting.’ The lawsuit also accuses election officials in Maricopa County of violating Arizona state law by maintaining ‘unstaffed, unsupervised ballot drop boxes, facilitating illegal ballot harvesting.’” [Just The News, [2/7/24](#)]

- **AFL Voluntarily Dismissed Its Own Lawsuit And Refiled It In A More Favorable County.** “Weeks after filing the lawsuit, AFL voluntarily dismissed it and filed an almost identical one, though broadening the scope to include Coconino and Yavapai Counties. Like the previous lawsuit, the new one alleged that election officials in all three counties violated state laws and regulations in their election administration procedures. The new lawsuit was filed in the more conservative Yavapai County instead of Maricopa County, a tactic known as ‘forum shopping’ to increase the chances of a more favorable ruling.” [Democracy Docket, [6/26/24](#)]

2022: AFL Filed An Amicus Brief In *Moore V. Harper* Supporting The Far Right “Independent State Legislature Theory” Which Would Give State Legislatures Total Power Over Elections. “Last winter, North Carolina’s state supreme court struck down grossly gerrymandered districts drawn by Republicans in the state legislature. Republican legislators then appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, arguing that the state court did not have the power to intervene, under the independent-state legislature theory. To the horror of many election-law experts, at least four members of the Supreme Court, whose names were not disclosed, agreed to hear the case, setting the stage for this term’s historic argument. Since then, myriad Republican and conservative groups—including the Republican National Committee; the Claremont Institute’s Center for Constitutional Jurisprudence; the Trump-linked America First Legal Foundation; Citizens United; the American Legislative Exchange Council, the Public Interest Legal Foundation, and the Honest Elections Project, which has been linked to Leonard Leo, of the Federalist Society, have filed amicus briefs siding with the North Carolina Republican legislators.” [New Yorker, [10/19/22](#)]

2022: AFL Sued Lehigh County, Pennsylvania Election Officials to Ensure Drop-Off Ballot Boxes Were Properly Used. “A legal advocacy group led by former high-ranking members of the Trump administration sued Lehigh County election officials to ensure that drop-off ballot boxes are properly used. The lawsuit asks Lehigh County Court to order the officials to follow state law and ensure that a person drops off only one ballot, unless authorized to deliver another for someone else. The county should do that, the suit says, by stationing people to monitor activity at its five ballot box locations. The lawsuit cites county District Attorney Jim Martin’s investigation earlier this year that determined, based on video surveillance, at least 288 people deposited multiple ballots in the November 2021 election. The investigation was prompted by a complaint from

the Lehigh County Republican Committee. Three weeks before the May 17 primary, Martin, a Republican, announced that he would deploy county detectives and video surveillance of the five ballot box locations to make sure people didn't turn in more than one ballot without authorization. The court filing mentioned that Martin's action 'achieved its goal as there were no reported cases of third-party delivery of ballots.' Martin did not respond Friday to a request for comment about the accuracy of the lawsuit's statement. America First Legal Foundation - led by Stephen Miller, a senior White House adviser to President Trump, and Mark Meadows, Trump's chief of staff - filed the lawsuit Sept. 1 on behalf of four county voters, Sean Gill, Robert Smith, Tim Ramos and Jackie Rivera, all of Allentown.” [Pennsylvania Capital-Star, 9/12/22]

- **AFL’s Suit Demanded Ballot Dropboxes Would Only Be Available Monday through Friday during Normal Business Hours.** “An advocacy group founded by former Trump administration officials has sued Lehigh County on behalf of four residents, demanding restrictions on election drop boxes where hundreds of voters likely violated election law last year by dropping off multiple ballots. And, though he has nothing to do with the lawsuit, the plaintiffs have a prominent official voice echoing their suggested security remedies - the county's top law enforcement official, District Attorney Jim Martin. The plaintiffs are represented by the America First Legal Foundation, an advocacy group formed in April 2021 by former Trump chief of staff Mark Meadows and longtime adviser Stephen Miller to ‘turn the tables on the radical left,’ in the words of its website. The suit demands the county make its five drop boxes available only Monday through Friday during normal business hours, and station observers to confirm people are dropping only their own ballots unless they are certified to drop one on someone's behalf.” [Allentown Morning Call, 9/13/22]

2022: Stephen Miller: “I Made a Clear Cut Argument for the Manifest Fraud that Took Place in 2020.”

“*Stephen Miller*: I would love for them to play any part of my tape in which I vociferously defended President Trump; I made a clear cut argument for the manifest fraud that took place in 2020. And I outlined how the conspiracy theories they are pushing are harming the country. And I was emphatic on those points. But the reality is, is they don't want to play the tape that exonerates this president. They don't want to produce the reams, the mountains of exculpatory information, because this is a completely fabricated fictionalized account that has one purpose, which is to try to salvage a party that is sinking like the Titanic.” [“Jesse Watters Primetime,” Fox News, 6/10/22]

2021: Stephen Miller: “We Need to Make Sure that for People Who Are Voting by Mail...Have to Show an ID.” “*Stephen Miller*: No, but we need to go one step further and we need to make sure that for people who are voting by mail, which is in that sound you played earlier, have to also show an ID. It is insane that in this country, you can vote by mail without showing who you actually are. Tens of millions of people voting by mail without ever having to provide an ID is crazy. I'll go one step further. Every single state should require proof of citizenship to become a registered voter. This is just common sense.” [“Hannity”, Fox News, 6/18/21]

TRUMP TIES

2024: America First Legal Maintains “Close Alliances With Elected Republicans,” Often Filing Amicus Briefs In Support Of The Republican Agenda. “Mr. Miller, who declined to be interviewed for this article, is highly likely to return to a second Trump administration should the former president win in November. His legal group includes several lawyers who worked in Mr. Trump’s Justice Department, and who share his hard-line views on immigration, gender and race. Mr. Miller has in the meantime maintained close alliances with elected Republicans. Representative Jim Jordan of Ohio, the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, along with 44 other G.O.P. members of Congress, enlisted America First Legal to submit a brief to the Supreme Court ahead of a hearing on Monday arguing that the Biden administration had pressured social media companies to censor conservative free speech. Mr. Miller’s group performed the same service for Mr. Jordan and 22 other elected Republicans in January, arguing that the Justice Department had misapplied statutes in the harsh sentencing of several Trump supporters who were found guilty of storming the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021.” [New York Times, [3/21/24](#)]

2023: Stephen Miller Remains In Close Contact With Donald Trump And Advises Him On Speeches And Policy. “According to Trump advisers who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss private conversations, Miller stays in close touch with Trump, contributes to his speeches and gave significant input on his endorsements in the midterm election, where many Trump-backed candidates who rejected Biden’s 2020 victory and took other far-right positions were defeated. Miller repeatedly complained during the campaign that Republican candidates were not talking enough about culture war issues and immigration and focusing too heavily on an economic message, people who spoke to him said. America ‘is the apex of achievement of Western civilization,’ Miller said, with ‘a heritage to be jealously guarded.’” [Washington Post, [12/12/22](#)]

2023: America First Legal Has A Board Seat On “Project 2025.” “Miller’s legal group, which raked in a hefty \$44m dollars in 2022, also has a board seat with Project 2025, a sprawling effort led by the Heritage Foundation and dozens of other conservative groups to map policy plans for a second Trump term – or another GOP presidency if Trump is not the nominee. Project 2025 includes schemes to curb the justice department, the FBI and other agencies, giving Trump more power to seek revenge – as he has pledged to do in campaign speeches and Truth Social posts – against critics in both parties, which could benefit from conservative lawyers’ sign-offs, but which justice department veterans warn would undermine the legal system.” [The Guardian, [12/8/23](#)]

- **Stephen Miller Is Advising Trump On Seeking More Right Wing Lawyers To Stock A Second Administration.** “As Donald Trump and his allies start plotting another presidency, an emerging priority is to find hard-right lawyers who display total fealty to Trump, as a way to enhance his power and seek “retribution” against political foes. Stocking a future administration with more ideological lawyers loyal to Trump in key posts at the justice department, other agencies and the White House is alarming to former DoJ officials and analysts who say such plans endanger the rule of law. Trump’s former senior adviser Stephen Miller, president of the Maga-allied legal group America First Legal, is playing a key role in seeking lawyers fully in sync with Trump’s radical agenda to expand his power and curb some major agencies. His search is for those with unswerving loyalty to Trump, who could back Trump’s increasingly authoritarian talk about plans to ‘weaponize’ the DoJ against critics, including some he has labeled as ‘vermin.’” [The Guardian, [12/8/23](#)]

2023: AFL Reportedly “Works Closely With Congress On Oversight Issues.” “But two months into the Republican majority in the House, Judiciary Committee Chairman Jim Jordan (R-Ohio) is facing growing frustrations over how he’s conducted that panel’s business thus far. [...] Stephen Miller, the head of America First Legal and an adviser to President Donald Trump, defended Jordan’s leadership and described his approach to the subcommittee’s hearings so far as setting a ‘profoundly important foundation’ for the country to understand the issue set. ‘There is a conversation happening about method and tactics but there’s absolute agreement on the strategy for being unrelenting and if necessary, brutal in pursuit of their mission,’ Miller, whose group works closely with Congress on oversight issues, said of some of the criticisms Jordan is facing. ‘He is the only one who could pull off such an Everestian task.’” [Washington Post, [3/10/23](#)]

2022: AFL Launched The “Woke Wagon” Website Providing Names And Detailed Background Information On Biden Administration Appointees. “A conservative legal group is launching a “Woke Wagon” database of the personnel information of Biden administration employees -- in an effort to provide transparency and highlight what they say are the woke and radical ties of many of those working in the administration. America First Legal is launching the database, which will be a public-facing, searchable trove of resumes and other personnel information of employees in the Biden administration. It is in some ways a mirror version of the Trump Town database launched by ProPublica during the Trump administration. Gene Hamilton, who worked as a senior Justice Department lawyer in the Trump administration, told Fox News Digital that

there is never the same demand for transparency in Democratic administrations as with Republican administrations -- and that his group is seeking to change that.” [Fox News, [7/20/22](#)]

ATTACKS AGAINST DEMOCRACY & INCLUSION

2024: AFL Is Known For Its Aggressive Publicity Strategy Targeting “Woke” Corporate And Government Programs With Lawsuits. “While it has notably played a major role in stopping debt relief for Black farmers, Miller’s organization has been perhaps most famous for its aggressive publicity strategy of ‘lawfare.’ AFL targets so-called ‘woke’ corporate and government programs, alleging employment discrimination against white, heterosexual men. It has challenged Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) in higher education and supposed ‘radical transgender ideology’ in school districts. Typically, after filing a suit or complaint, Miller makes the rounds of the right-wing media circuit and fundraises off the attention. ‘Bogus suits,’ securities law expert Benjamin Edwards explained in the Daily Beast, seem designed for a nonlegal goal: to issue ‘press releases’ so AFL can ‘recruit more donors.’ Miller’s group has reportedly spent more on ads than legal services. (AFL did not respond to questions from Mother Jones.)” [Mother Jones, [4/30/24](#)]

2023: AFL Has Filed Dozens Of Legal Complaints Against Corporations Targeting Diversity Programs. “One complaint accuses Macy’s Inc. of discriminating against White men. Another levels that allegation against BlackRock Inc. A third points a finger at, of all things, NASCAR – a largely White sport where Confederate flags were prevalent until they were banned in 2020. Those three legal actions, and some 20 more like them, have one person in common: Stephen Miller. Miller, the architect of anti-immigration policies under former President Donald Trump, is emerging as a key figure in preparing a hardline conservative agenda in the event Trump returns to the White House. And Miller is clear: Now that the US Supreme Court has rejected affirmative action at the nation’s colleges, he’s bent on eradicating diversity initiatives in American business as well. ‘We are going to completely transform the legal architecture in this country,’ Miller says. No company or workplace will be left untouched, he vows. Racial-bias training, inclusive hiring practices, efforts to promote women and narrow the gender pay gap: All of that and more is on the line.” [Bloomberg, [12/11/23](#)]

- **Stephen Miller Suggested That Criminal Charges Could Be Filed Against Corporate Diversity Programs If Trump Is Reelected.** “If Trump is reelected, Miller and other allies hope to mobilize the Justice Department to prosecute its efforts. The new administration could direct the DOJ and other agencies to stamp out diversity initiatives, which many corporations embraced with new urgency following the murder of George Floyd. The threat of civil action will hang over every boardroom. Miller doesn’t rule out criminal charges. The goal: ‘To completely invert the risk calculus corporations have assumed they’ve had for many years,’ Miller says.” [Bloomberg, [12/11/23](#)]

2023: Law Professor Benjamin Edwards Said AFL’s Lawsuits Against “Woke” Corporations Were “Junk Filings” That Were Aimed At “Fundraising And Messaging To Conservative Donors.” “America First Legal and former Trump White House senior adviser Stephen Miller, the legal group’s president, have secured Headlines with lawsuits allegedly deploying “some of the nation’s best legal, political, and strategic thinkers to challenge” the radical left and the “woke” agenda. Yet the group’s securities fraud lawsuit against Target shows a sanctionable legal and strategic blunder. The lawsuit claims that Target somehow defrauded investors because its stock went down after it sold LGBTQ merchandise and ran a Pride campaign. Although it’s true that conservatives reacted negatively with protests and boycotts, and that Target’s stock price declined around that time, nothing about the Pride campaign or backlash carries even the slightest whiff of fraud. [...] The lawsuit itself resembles a fraud. America First Legal touts its expertise and claims to be waging sophisticated legal fights to advance conservative causes. Yet, the Target litigation reveals an entirely frivolous filing, wasting Target’s money on legal fees and the court’s time to review it. America First Legal benefits from these junk filings because it issues press releases and draws publicity allowing it to recruit more donors. Much like the scam non-profit dedicated to building a border wall, this litigation appears aimed at fundraising and

messaging to conservative donors. But it doesn't appear to be even a half-serious attempt to win a securities fraud claim.” [Benjamin Edwards Op-Ed, Daily Beast, [12/1/23](#)]

Stephen Miller: “The Equity Agenda Represents One Of The Single Greatest Threats To The Survival Of Our Constitutional System.” “In an interview, Miller said AFL is filling a void in the conservative legal movement by challenging what he termed ‘a hyperracialization of American political and corporate life.’ Programs seeking to remedy past injustices and boost historically disadvantaged groups are punishing people based on their skin color, he said. ‘I believe that the equity agenda represents one of the single greatest threats to the survival of our constitutional system,’ he said.” [Washington Post, [12/12/22](#)]

- **Miller: “DEI Bigotry Is Sinister, Wrong, Immoral – And Must Be Defeated.”** “Miller says affirmative action and diversity, equity and inclusion initiatives – efforts rooted in the Civil Rights Era of the 1960s – are in fact forms of prejudice. He wants to usher in a new era in which no one will get a leg up because of race, gender, identity or background, even if the goal is to rectify historical inequalities. ‘This DEI bigotry is sinister, wrong, immoral – and must be defeated,’ Miller says.” [Bloomberg, [12/11/23](#)]

AFL Casts “A Wide Net in Its Onslaught Against Biden’s Approach to Racial Equity.” “In a big victory for the group, a federal judge last summer blocked the judge's order in that case. Miller took a victory lap, declaring in a statement that ‘Biden's own DOJ knows that Biden's scheme to exclude farmers from debt relief based on their skin color is a legal calamity.’ America First Legal is casting a wide net in its onslaught against Biden's approach to racial equity. The group announced last month that it sent Freedom of Information Act requests to ‘nearly every agency’ - including the Interior Department - asking for details about the plans to comply with a Biden order that each agency develop a strategy to combat racial inequity. The White House released , April 14). ‘Equity is government sponsored and directed racism,’ Miller said in a statement. ‘America First Legal is proud to serve as the tip of the legal spear [battling] these unconscionable and unconstitutional policies.’ America First Legal did not respond to requests for comment for this story. ‘Thread a very narrow needle’ Miller's group and the cases involving minority farmers are just a few of the factors legal experts say the Biden administration is considering as it weighs how aggressively to use race as a factor in a broad range of issues, including its environmental justice screening tool.” [Greenwire, 4/20/22]

September 2022: AFL Filed A Discrimination Lawsuit against Texas A&M, Alleging School Had “Discriminatory Practices” against Hiring White and Asian Men. “The legal group founded by longtime Donald Trump advisor Stephen Miller has filed a discrimination lawsuit against Texas A&M University, alleging that the school has 'discriminatory practices' against hiring white and Asian men. America First Legal filed the lawsuit on behalf of Richard Lowery, an associate professor of finance at the University of Texas at Austin. Lowery is suing Texas A&M University, along with a handful of high-ranking university officials. He claims that a university program dedicated to hiring underrepresented minorities violates his civil rights. The lawsuit alleges that A&M is just one of countless universities engaging in discrimination. The complaint implies that 'female or non-Asian minorities' are 'inferior faculty candidates' whose hiring is necessarily at the expense of 'white and Asian men.’” [Law and Crime, 9/13/22]

- **September 2023: AFL’s Suit Against Texas A&M Was Thrown Out.** “A federal judge has dismissed a lawsuit brought against Texas A&M University claiming a faculty fellowship program at the flagship in College Station discriminated against white and Asian male candidates. In a decision published Friday, U.S. District Judge Charles Eskridge said that the passage of Senate Bill 17 — which bans public universities in Texas from considering race or other characteristics beyond merit in hiring — renders the lawsuit brought by Richard Lowery, a white finance professor at the University of Texas at Austin, moot and no longer ripe for a claim. [...] Lowery is represented by America First Legal — a group created by Stephen Miller, a policy adviser for former President Donald Trump, and Jonathan Mitchell, a former solicitor general for Texas and the legal architect of the state’s six-week abortion ban.” [Texas Tribune, [9/29/23](#)]

June 2022: AFL Launched The Center For Legal Equality, A Legal Aid Program to Represent White Workers Racially Discriminated Against by Companies. “A former Trump administration official announced a new legal aid program to represent workers racially discriminated against by companies on Fox News Monday. ‘We are launching a new initiative in my legal foundation known as the Center for Legal Equality,’ Stephen Miller, president of the America First Legal Foundation, told Tucker Carlson. ‘We will provide free legal representation to any client we take who's been denied a job, a promotion, a benefit because of their skin color.’ ‘Companies, particularly the largest companies in this country, have embedded systemic racism in their operations,’ Miller told Carlson. Miller claimed an internship offered by Morgan Stanley allegedly excluded white and Asian applicants. The Daily Caller News Foundation confirmed the program's existence via the Morgan Stanley website. A science, technology, engineering and mathematics program at the University of Cincinnati allegedly excluded white and Asian applicants, the College Fix reported Monday. A student at the University of Dallas claimed she was turned down for a summer internship by the Sponsors for Educational Opportunity because she was white in January 2021, according to the College Fix. Many companies are pursuing equity measures based on Critical Race Theory (CRT). CRT holds that America is fundamentally racist and teaches students to view social interactions and people in terms of race. It advocates for the pursuit of ‘antiracism’ through the end of merit, objective truth and the adoption of race-based policies.” [Daily Caller, 6/21/22]

- **Stephen Miller: “Bigotry in the Name of Equity Is Bigotry. Racism in the Name of Social Justice Is Racism.”** “‘Bigotry in the name of equity is bigotry,’ Miller said in a Tuesday release by the America First Legal Foundation. ‘Racism is the name of social justice is racism. And tyranny in the name of woke politics is tyranny.’” [Daily Caller, 6/21/22]

February 2022: Claiming Discrimination Against White People, AFL Sued to Remove Race as Selection Criteria for Covid Treatments. “When Minnesota and Utah health officials started using race as a factor to determine who would get scarce COVID-19 treatments, they were hailed for their efforts to bridge the pandemic's deadly racial divide. Now those officials are center stage of the nation's latest battle over race, identity, and equity, after they rolled back their policies under pressure from conservatives and a group led by Stephen Miller, a top adviser to former president Donald Trump. Miller's fledgling group, America First Legal, also is suing New York in federal court to get it to remove race as one of many selection criteria for outpatient antiviral treatments, saying the state's policy discriminates against Whites despite data showing that most of the medicines go to people in that group. On Monday, the group filed legal papers seeking to declare all non-Hispanic Whites in New York a legal class facing urgent harm from the state's health guidance. Misinformation about these policies - relayed in Miller's lawsuit, Trump's remarks at a recent rally and on Tucker Carlson's show on Fox News - has energized the conservative base and contributed to the cancellation of some of the policies, experts said... Miller's group, America First Legal, began to argue in letters to state health officials that such policies subject ‘an entire class of citizens to unequal treatment based on the color of their skin.’ Miller also threatened to sue Minnesota and Utah shortly before they revised their guidance, and takes credit on his group's website for Utah's decision to change its policy. Although Minnesota and Utah rolled back their criteria, New York continues to use race as one of many factors in allocating the antiviral treatments. Miller's group filed a lawsuit in federal court on Jan. 16 to stop the state's criteria with respect to newly authorized pills. The central claim in Miller's lawsuit is that under New York's guidelines, White people ‘who test positive for COVID-19 are ineligible for oral antiviral treatments unless they also demonstrate ‘a medical condition or other factors that increase their risk for severe illness.’ The lawsuit asserts that ‘non-White’ or ‘Hispanic/Latino’ individuals are automatically eligible for these life-saving antiviral treatments - regardless of the individual's medical situation.’ Miller referred questions to a spokesman who quoted the lawsuit.” [Boston Globe, 2/10/22]

July 2021: AFL Won A Case Blocking The Department of Agriculture From Using A Farmer's Race Or Ethnicity As A Determinant Of Their Eligibility for Debt Forgiveness. “Perhaps most notably, the organization was involved in legal challenges that forced the Biden administration to create a work-around on getting debt relief for farmers of color. An effort passed as part of the Covid-19-related American Rescue Plan

in 2021 was challenged in court by a litany of lawsuits by some White farmers who complained that the effort to remedy longstanding inequities by wiping the debt of only farmers of color was itself discriminatory. America First Legal filed a lawsuit against the effort, representing Texas Agriculture Commissioner Sid Miller and a group of White farmers in the state who also argued that the program is unconstitutional because of racial discrimination. The lawsuits led to an injunction that blocked the debt relief payments. Attorneys argued that the USDA's definition of 'socially disadvantaged farmer and rancher' that excludes Whites is 'patently unconstitutional.' They also said the agency was violating the Constitution by 'discriminating on the grounds of race, color, and national origin' in the program and that the court should prohibit the clause from being enforced. Ultimately, the administration abandoned the effort and quietly tucked a couple provisions into the Inflation Reduction Act that passed over the summer to allocate debt relief that is eligible to farmers of all backgrounds, regardless of race." [CNN, [12/14/22](#)]

May 2021: AFL Was Actively Seeking Plaintiffs To Stop Critical Race Theory Training. "America First Legal (AFL) is seeking to pursue a lawsuit to stop critical race theory (CRT) training, according to Stephen Miller, a former adviser to then-President Donald Trump. 'We're also looking for plaintiffs-if we can find them-who are willing to stand up and file suit on critical race theory,' he said during an interview with Fox News. Miller encouraged federal workers who have been compelled to participate in CRT training to join the effort. 'Go to our website and tell us what happened to you,' he said." [Epoch Times, 5/3/21]

- **Miller: "Critical Race Theory...Is Absolutely Committed to Breaking up the Nuclear Family."**
"Stephen Miller: No, you're not wrong at all. In fact, you talk a lot about critical race theory. Critical race theory is explicitly opposed in the nuclear family. It is absolutely committed to breaking up the nuclear family. And so, what you should do, if you are a responsible Congress is you would take all of this money." ["Jesse Waters Primetime," Fox News, 7/15/21]

June 2021: AFL Won A Case Forcing The Biden Administration to Halt Nearly 3,000 Payments from Restaurant Revitalization Fund to Businesses Owned by Women, Veterans, Or "Socially and Economically Disadvantaged" People. "While President Joe Biden was barnstorming across Europe, America First Legal, a group founded by former President Donald Trump's top White House lieutenants, secured its first substantive win in an effort to obstruct the Biden administration's agenda. Former senior adviser to the president Stephen Miller launched AFL in the spring of 2021 with a clear, stated objective: 'Stop the constant onslaught from the radical left in Washington' through the courts. The litigation outfit — which now boasts former White House chief of staff Mark Meadows, former Office of Management and Budget Director Russ Vought, and former acting Attorney General Matthew Whitaker among its board of directors — secured favorable rulings in three related lawsuits, forcing the Biden administration to halt nearly 3,000 approved payments from the Restaurant Revitalization Fund, a Small Business Administration pandemic relief program, on Monday. The program began accepting applicants on May 3 but featured a 21-day priority application window that would only approve businesses for relief if they were owned by women, veterans, or 'socially and economically disadvantaged' people defined by the SBA. AFL filed the three suits in conjunction with local restaurant owners, two in the Northern District of Texas and a third in the Eastern District of Tennessee, all of which found that the RRF was 'unconstitutional' on the grounds that excluded nonprioritized applicants on the basis of race. 'When the government promulgates race-based policies, it must operate with a scalpel,' the Tennessee decision reads. 'And its cuts must be informed by data that suggest intentional discrimination. The broad statistical disparities cited by the government are not nearly enough.'" [Washington Examiner, 6/17/21]

ANTI LGBTQ

November 2022: AFL Filed A Federal Lawsuit Accusing An Ohio School District Of Infringing on Parental Rights for Allowing Students to Use Bathrooms in Line with Gender Identify. "Last week, America First Legal filed a federal lawsuit accusing an Ohio school district of violating Title IX protections of

students and infringing on parental rights for allowing students to use bathrooms in line with their gender identity.” [Open Secrets, 12/1/22]

June 2022: AFL Filed Another Lawsuit Suit Accusing The Public School System In Loudoun County of Engaging in Sexual Misconduct toward Students. “A conservative group with ties to former President Donald Trump filed a lawsuit Wednesday accusing the public school system in Virginia’s Loudoun County of engaging in sexual misconduct toward its students. America First Legal, led by former White House adviser Stephen Miller and other Trump administration officials, alleged in a court filing that Loudoun County Public Schools, its superintendent and other officials have promoted secret gender transitions, distributed pornography and forced children to change in locker rooms with those of the opposite sex. Mr. Miller described the case, which is on behalf of 11 school district parents, as a matter of parental rights. ‘The extreme social gender experiments being forced onto small children are nothing short of government-directed child abuse and child sexual exploitation,’ Mr. Miller said in a statement accompanying the lawsuit.” [Washington Times, 6/30/22]

- **The Parent Leading The Attack On the Loudoun County Schools Was A Senior Advisor To America First Legal.** “America First Legal isn’t focused solely on immigration. Last year, it sued the superintendent of the Loudoun County school system in Virginia after parents opposed to transgender acceptance and critical race theory revolted at a school-board meeting. The parent leading the monthslong push was no stranger to the executives at America First Legal — it was [Ian] Prior, the group’s senior adviser. For several months ahead of the 2021 election, Prior, a resident of the wealthy suburban county, decried the school system’s acceptance of anti-racist education, elevating the issue until it became a sticking point in the 2021 governor’s race. In an appearance in Loudoun County that June, Glenn Youngkin, then the Republican gubernatorial candidate and now the governor, said he was standing on ‘ground zero for the fight to return our schools to a curriculum that prepares students for the future.’ Prior founded a PAC called Fight for Schools and appeared on Fox News playing the concerned parent. But most hosts on the network did not mention his Republican connections or his time in the Trump administration.” [New York, [11/4/22](#)]

IMMIGRATION

2021: AFL Worked With Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton On A Suit Challenging The Biden Administration’s Decision to Exempt Unaccompanied Children from Public Health Directive Title 42. “Texas teamed up with a group created by former Trump adviser Stephen Miller to launch its latest attack against the Biden administration’s immigration policies, asking a federal court to require all migrants at the border to be turned away or detained, including children arriving alone. The new lawsuit filed by Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton challenges the administration’s decision to exempt unaccompanied children from a public health directive called Title 42. First issued at the start of the coronavirus pandemic in March 2020, the directive allows border officers to rapidly ‘expel’ migrants who cross the border without first considering their claims for protection. The Biden administration has kept in place that order, but decided against applying it to children who arrive without their parents. The federal government has also been limited in its ability to expel families with young children under the order by Mexico’s refusal to accept them... The lawsuit was filed with the support of the America First Legal Foundation, an advocacy group founded by Miller, the former Trump administration adviser known for his restrictionist views on immigration. In addition to lawyers with Paxton’s office, the complaint was filed by Gene Hamilton, vice president of the America First Legal Foundation and a former Justice Department official instrumental in the Trump administration’s policy to separate migrant families at the border.” [Congressional Quarterly, 4/23/21]

- **2022: Miller: “We Are Proud to Partner with the Great Ken Paxton...Filing a Lawsuit against Biden’s Newest Program to Accelerate Illegal Immigration into the Country.”** “*Stephen Miller*: Yes, so we are proud to partner with the great Ken Paxton, the Attorney General of Texas, and seven other courageous state AGs filing a lawsuit against Biden’s newest program to accelerate illegal immigration into the country. What Biden is proposing and in fact, implementing right now is allowing the illegal aliens

already here, to bring in their foreign relatives to join them in the United States, fully approved by the United States Department of State. This is chain migration for illegal aliens. And you're going to see as a result of this, more crime, more death, more devastation, more suffering, all purposeful, all intentional.” [“Ingraham Angle,” Fox News, 1/28/22]

HEALTH & REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

2024: AFL Filed A Lawsuit With Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton Arguing That Texas Universities Should Be Allowed To Punish Students Who Travel Out Of State To Receive Abortion Care. “Professors at the University of Texas at Austin are joining in on Texas’s anti-abortion legal efforts, this time pressing back on federal privacy mandates so that they can punish students who have undergone the medical procedure. In an amended complaint released earlier this month, university professors Daniel Bonevac and John Hatfield claim that the federal government’s Title IX policies—which protect against sexual or gender-based discrimination in education—are ‘flawed from top to bottom’ and overstep the state’s ‘sovereign interest.’ According to the filing, that includes limiting schools’ abilities to punish students who take time off to get an abortion, even if that abortion is performed out of state, and therefore infringing on the state’s abortion prohibitions. [...] The lawsuit was originally filed in April by Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton and America First Legal, a Trump-aligned nonprofit led by former Donald Trump adviser Stephen Miller. But the anti-abortion details were crammed into a sprawling 66-page complaint that spends far more time framing Title IX as a pronoun-fueled bathroom battle, with Miller claiming that the rule would ‘force girls in every public school in America to share restrooms, locker rooms, and private facilities with men.’” [New Republic, [5/29/24](#)]

2021: AFL Partnered With The Texas Public Policy Foundation To Sue To Overturn Covid Vaccine Mandates. “America First Legal Vice President and General Counsel Gene Hamilton said. ‘The Biden Administration does not have the authority to mandate that private businesses become de facto vaccine enforcers for the federal government. The mandate is patently unconstitutional and America First Legal is proud to partner with the patriots at TPPF to protect the rights of Americans from an Administration acutely dedicated to chipping them away.’ America First Legal President Stephen Miller added, ‘These imperial executive mandates are unlawful, unconstitutional, unacceptable, unconscionable and un-American. America First Legal and the Texas Public Policy Foundation have filed these historic lawsuits to defeat these illegal decrees and save our liberties and our constitutional system of government.’ The mandate says all U.S. companies with more than 100 employees must require that their employees either receive the vaccine; or submit to burdensome and expensive weekly testing and wearing a mask while in the workplace. Unvaccinated employees must pay for their own testing. Employers must provide at least four days of paid sick leave to employees when they choose to get vaccinated.” [Texas Public Policy Foundation, 11/5/21]

2021: AFL Filed A Suit Arguing That The Affordable Care Act Doesn’t Outlaw Discrimination On the Basis of Sexual Identity and Gender Identity. “That strategy was apparent in an AFL lawsuit filed in August 2021, which argued that the Affordable Care Act does not outlaw discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity. The case was filed in the Amarillo division, where Matthew Kacsmaryk, a Trump nominee whose anti-LGBTQ views set off alarms, is assigned all civil cases. In response to questions from U.S. senators in 2017 about those views, Kacsmaryk promised to impartially apply the law. Last month, Kacsmaryk ruled in favor of the AFL-backed plaintiffs, including two Texas doctors unwilling to prescribe hormone therapy to transgender minors. The judge had previously certified the case as a class-action lawsuit, extending its impact on health-care providers nationwide.” [Washington Post, [12/12/22](#)]