

THE WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.
PROGRAM AT YALE

ANNUAL
REPORT



Message from the Chairman of the Board, ROGER KIMBALL, M. PHIL '82

Dear Friends,

It has been nearly nine years since a young Yale senior was captivated by the work of William F. Buckley, Jr. during a residential college seminar. Inspired by Buckley's role in the rise of modern conservatism, Lauren Noble founded The William F. Buckley, Jr. Program at Yale. She, like so many of us, was ineluctably drawn to that intoxicating combination of esprit and insight that Bill brought to his primary political cynosures: the promotion of ordered liberty and the battle against tyranny in all its many allotropes.

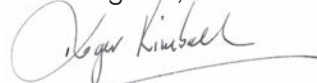
Like the rest of us, Lauren could not have predicted how the events of the next few years would unfurl. As the children raised in the Internet age peregrinated to campus, a gospel of wokeness, enforced by an army of social justice warriors, has become the accepted dogma at Yale and at many posh colleges across the country. The ironical consequence is that institutions that were created to perpetuate the search for truth and foster robust debate have become the graveyards of intellectual independence and free speech. Speakers who do not toe the “woke” politically correct line are regularly disinvited while those who do make it to campus are often shouted down and prevented from presenting their ideas. Connoisseurs of cant will note the disjunction between self-righteous celebrations of diversity, on the one hand, and efforts to enforce intellectual conformity on any contentious issue, on the other. The free speech movement may have made its debut at Sproul Plaza at Berkeley in 1964, but today there should be a plaque there announcing its demise in the American university.

In the midst of this maelstrom, the Buckley Program proffers a bastion of sanity. At our events—from large public lectures to intimate seminars tailored to our students—Yale's motto “Lux et Veritas” comes to life. Students encounter and are encouraged to debate a broad range of ideas from across the political spectrum. They have the opportunity to listen to speakers who would not otherwise be allowed to set foot on campus.

In April, at our Disinvitation Dinner, I had the pleasure of chatting with my friend Henry Kissinger before an audience of approximately 230. Henry has long been recognized as an intellectual giant—a brilliant author, canny diplomat, a valued advisor to Presidents from Richard Nixon down to Donald Trump. But he is a moral exemplar as well as an intellectual giant, a refugee from Nazi Germany who had an important role in helping to rebuild war-torn Germany and who has devoted his long life to propagating the civilizing values of Western civilization around the world. What a tremendous opportunity it was for friends of the Buckley Program to listen to Henry Kissinger's reminiscences and insights.

Thanks to all of you who make this work possible. We are engaged in a noble labor, carrying on what Bill Buckley started with *God and Man at Yale*. Here's to another brilliant year ahead!

Best regards,



Roger Kimball
Chairman



Message from the Founder and Executive Director, LAUREN NOBLE '11



In 2010, inspired by the memory of Bill Buckley, I conceived a plan to create a speaker series to bring more conservative voices to Yale's campus. That original modest idea has grown and expanded, and now in 2019, the Buckley Program is so much more. We offer multi-day seminars on everything from Machiavelli to Madison and host speakers including Jonah Goldberg, Ken Starr, Art Laffer, and Ken Langone. We organize Firing Line debates on China trade policy and gun control and sponsor paid internships at publications and think tanks such as the Manhattan Institute, *National Review*, and *The New Criterion*.

This fall, the Buckley Program's slate of activities will include our Annual Conference on *The Road to Serfdom* on the occasion of its 75th anniversary. In a world increasingly tempted again by socialism and disconnected from solid moorings that hold a society together, F.A. Hayek's conception of economic and social philosophies remain groundbreaking and relevant.

The Buckley Program honored the ethos of free minds and markets with nearly 50 programs last year, celebrating the ideals for which our eponym fought. More than 300 student fellows claim membership in the Buckley Program and many others choose to dip their toes in the water, testing out seminars or attending debates. Nowhere else at Yale—dare I say nowhere else in our country—are there so many chances for people of any political stripe to learn more, debate respectfully, and dig deep than in the lecture halls and seminar rooms where the Buckley Program runs its events.

I hope you will take some time to review this report and learn about our remarkable growth over the past year. I predict you will come away feeling inspired by the young people whose lives are different because of the Buckley Program and proud to be part of this effort.

None of this would be possible without the extraordinary and generous support of so many people. From a young alumnus, making his first gift of \$25 to join our newly-established Wisdom in Youth Society, to individuals and foundations raising the bar with leadership-level gifts, you are changing our campus and changing our country. Please know how grateful I am to have your support both in word and in deed. Together we honor the memory of Bill Buckley and open the minds of tomorrow's leaders.



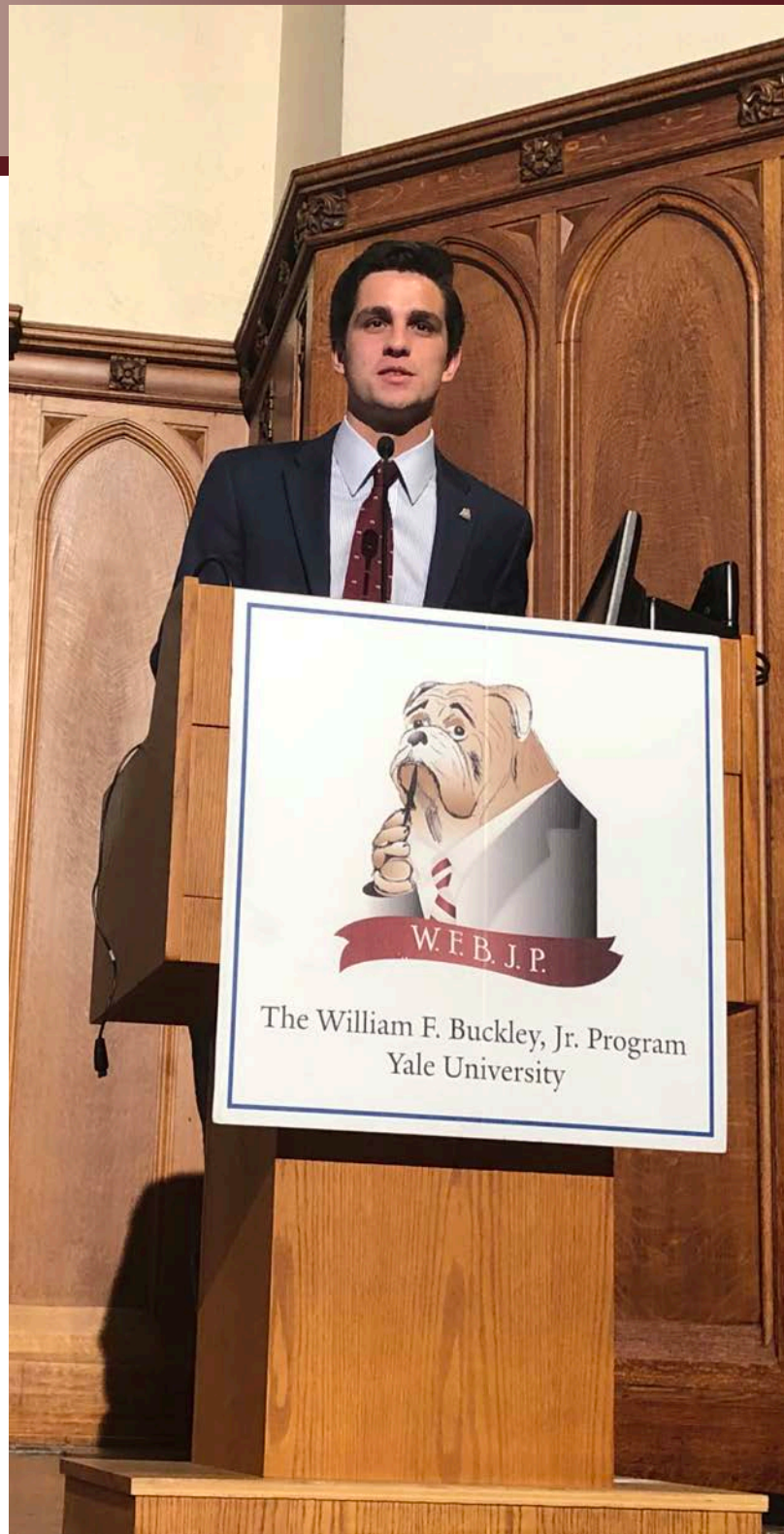
Message from the Student President, Kevin Swain '20

I am pleased to share good news as the Buckley Program enters its ninth year: the state of the Program is strong. The past year has brought continued robust membership numbers, more exciting events than ever, and a renewed vigor in our mission on campus. I could not be prouder of all that the Program has accomplished during my time at Yale, and could not be more excited for what is yet to come.

To me, the Buckley Program's greatest strength is that it is unique. It is the only group on campus that regularly hosts both big-name guests and holds smaller, less formal seminars and dinners to allow for intimate discussions and debates. It is the only group that holds lectures, both class-like and dinner seminars, Firing Line debates, social events, and a Disinvitation Dinner all in the span of a single semester. And of course, it is the only group of its kind that is committed to intellectual diversity at Yale.

During the 2018-19 academic year, the Buckley Program afforded its fellows the opportunity to attend events with Home Depot co-founder Ken Langone, economist Art Laffer, former Senators Tom Coburn and Jeff Flake, writers Jonah Goldberg and George Will, former diplomat Henry Kissinger, and many more. We saw a Firing Line debate on China policy overflow a lecture hall, and we got to know Dr. Steven Hayward through a series of ten lectures throughout the year. My favorite event was a conversation with Judge Ken Starr moderated by Yale Law professor Akhil Reed Amar. To be able to learn from—and interact with—intellectual giants and important figures in American history is both an honor and a privilege, and I know that the more than 300 student fellows would all say the same.

In November 2015, during the height of the infamous Halloween costume outrage at Yale, George Will wrote that certain campuses “celebrate diversity in everything but thought.” For this reason, the Buckley Program plays an intensely critical role on campus: our Program is dedicated to breaking up the monopoly on thinking. With your continued support, our fellow base will remain invigorated and our Program will continue to be strong. We have many exciting events planned for the upcoming year, including our Ninth Annual Conference in November, titled *The Road to Serfdom* at 75: The Future of Classical Liberalism and the Free Market. We hope you'll join us for it.



I would like to thank each and every one of you for your support of our Program. The Buckley Program has bettered my college experience more than any other extracurricular here at Yale, and I know of countless others who would say the same. Here's to another year of flourishing for The William F. Buckley, Jr. Program at Yale.



EIGHTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

On November 2, 2018, we hosted our Eighth Annual Conference, the topic of which was “Russell Kirk and *The Conservative Mind* Today.” We welcomed approximately 215 students, alumni, and other guests for the event, which commenced with an opening address by Bradley Birzer. The day’s three panel discussions were Russell Kirk at 100: His Life, Ideas, and Legacy, Conservatism and Libertarianism: A Union of Ice and Fire?, and Liberal Education and the Ideal University. Panelists included George H. Nash, Gleaves Whitney, Gerald Russello, Charles C. W. Cooke, Megan McArdle, R. R. Reno, Keith Whittington, Michael Aeschliman, and Michael Roth. The moderators were Lee Edwards, Kathryn Jean Lopez, and Norma Thompson. Attendees later enjoyed a formal dinner capped by a keynote speech by George F. Will.



FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 2019

PLEASE MARK YOUR CALENDARS FOR OUR

NINTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON

The Road to Serfdom at 75:

The Future of Classical Liberalism and the Free Market

Our speakers will include Kevin Williamson, Amity Shlaes, Daniel McCarthy, Michael Brendan Dougherty, Ross Douthat, Randal Quarles, Cliff Asness, Oren Cass, John Podhoretz, Charles Calomiris, Gerald O'Driscoll, Sohrab Ahmari, Noël Valis, Mike Franc and Veronique de Rugy.

Invitations with further details will be mailed out soon.

Until October 2nd, a block of hotel rooms is available at the Omni New Haven Hotel at Yale (203-772-6664).

Please mention the Buckley Program when you call.



2018 **ACADEMIC YEAR** 2019 Events in Review

Plato's *Republic*: The Limits of Honor, Wealth, Freedom, and Power

August Seminar with Joshua Mitchell

August 20, 2018 to August 22, 2018

Conservatism and Its Enemies: The Landscape Today

Lecture by Steven F. Hayward

September 6, 2018

Conservatism, From Burke to Bannon

Fall Semester Seminar with Steven F. Hayward

September 7, 2018 to November 28, 2018

Firing Line Debate on Gun Control

Featuring Clark Neily and Joseph Blocher

September 21, 2018

Edmund Burke, the First Modern Conservative

Lecture by Steven F. Hayward

September 27, 2018

Conversation with Ken Langone on *I Love Capitalism! An American Story*

Moderated by Richard West

October 1, 2018

Seminar on Student Loans

Featuring Jason Delisle

Co-sponsored with the AEI Executive Council

October 4, 2018

Seminar on The Millennial and Post-Millennial Search for Tradition, Order, and Meaning

Featuring Sohrab Ahmari

October 15, 2018

The Mind of Madison

Fall Break Seminar with Colleen Sheehan

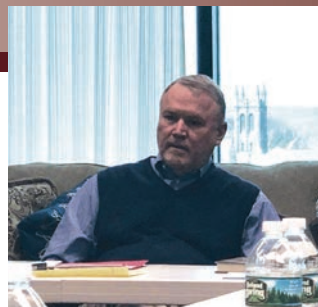
October 17, 2018 to October 19, 2018

Trump, Taxes, and Trade

Lecture by Art Laffer

Made possible by the Irving Brown Lecture Series at Young America's Foundation

October 24, 2018



Varieties of Conservative Experience

Lecture by Steven F. Hayward

October 25, 2018

Judicial Fortitude: The Last Chance to Rein in the Administrative State

Seminar with Peter Wallison

October 30, 2018

Eighth Annual Conference

Russell Kirk and *The Conservative Mind* Today

Featuring R.R. Reno, Charles C.W. Cooke, Bradley Birzer, Gleaves Whitney, George H. Nash, Lee Edwards, Gerald Russello, Kathryn Jean Lopez, Keith Whittington, Michael Roth, Norma Thompson, Michael Aeschliman, Megan McArdle, and George Will

November 2, 2018

Justice Without Hyphens: The Dead End of Post-Modernism

Lecture by Steven F. Hayward

November 8, 2018

Firing Line Debate on Trade War with China: Good and Easy to Win?

Featuring Stephen Roach and Gordon Chang

Moderated by Daniel Mattingly

November 12, 2018

Conservatism, Equality, and Democracy

Lecture by Steven F. Hayward

November 27, 2018

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn at 100

Featuring Daniel J. Mahoney and Jay Nordlinger

November 30, 2018

Drug Pricing and Cost Transparency: Addressing America's Healthcare Crisis

Lecture by Tom Coburn

December 3, 2018





Firing Line Debate on Public Sector Unions: A Threat or an Asset to our Democracy?

Featuring Daniel Disalvo and Alexander Hertel-Fernandez
December 6, 2018

January Seminar on Machiavelli

Taught by Catherine Zuckert
January 10, 2019 to January 12, 2019

Spring Semester Seminar on 21st Century Conservatism: A Tour of Current Contentions

Taught by Steven F. Hayward
January 24, 2019 to April 18, 2019

The Endless Quest for Social Equality

Lecture by Steven F. Hayward
January 24, 2019

Second Annual Ideas Forum

January 26, 2019

Liberalism vs. "Neoliberalism": Why Is Socialism Popular Again?

Lecture by Steven F. Hayward
February 7, 2019

Suicide of the West: How the Rebirth of Tribalism, Populism, Nationalism, and Identity Politics is Destroying American Democracy

Talk with Jonah Goldberg
Co-Sponsored with the AEI Executive Council
February 20, 2019

Unjust: Social Justice and the Unmaking of America

Seminar with Noah Rothman
February 26, 2019

How "Progressive" Is Progressivism?

Lecture by Steven F. Hayward
February 28, 2019



Conversation with Judge Ken Starr on *Contempt: A Memoir of the Clinton Investigation*

Moderated by Akhil Amar
March 5, 2019

The Life, Times, and Ideas of Friedrich A. Hayek

Spring Break Seminar with Bruce Caldwell
March 11, 2019 to March 13, 2019

An Elephant and Its Trump: Thoughts on Conservatism and Populism

Lecture by Steven F. Hayward
March 26, 2019

Firing Line Debate on Saudi Arabia

Featuring Rebecca Heinrichs and David Ottaway
March 28, 2019

Sex Matters: How Modern Feminism Lost Touch with Science, Love, and Common Sense

Seminar with Mona Charen
April 9, 2019

The Normalization of Polarized Politics

Lecture by Jeff Flake
April 11, 2019

Fifth Annual Disinvitation Dinner

Honoring Henry Kissinger
April 17, 2019

Hit Me With Your Best Shot: The Top Attacks on Conservatism

Lecture by Steven F. Hayward
April 18, 2019

May Reunion Weekend Breakfast Discussion

Panelists: Heather Mac Donald '78, Julian Ku '94, and Hovik Minasyan '22
May 25, 2019

June Reunion Weekend Breakfast Discussion

Panelists: John Spagnola '79, Elizabeth Henry '14, Jake Fischer '20, and Weaver Lilley '21
June 1, 2019



Want to get the most up-to-date notifications of Buckley Program events? Sign up for our email list by going to www.buckleyprogram.com and clicking subscribe at the bottom of the page.



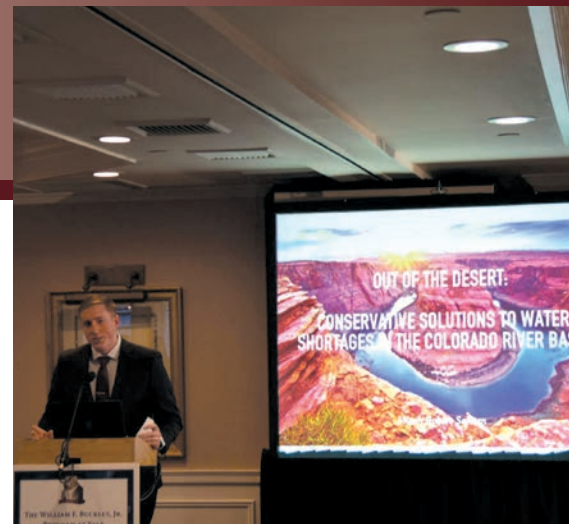
IDEAS FORUM & CONTEST

We are interested not just in debate, but also in concrete solutions. Through our second Ideas Forum, we solicited free market ideas to problems faced in local, regional, or national communities. We then invited four finalists to present their ideas to three judges and an audience of thoughtful, engaged students and members of the public who would also get to weigh in on their favorite idea.

The Ideas Forum was held on Saturday, January 26, 2019 at the Saybrook Point Inn in Old Saybrook, Connecticut. The four finalists spanned ages, regions and policy areas. Emmett McGroarty, a Faculty Fellow at The Catholic University's Institute For Human Ecology presented on "Federal Grants Serfdom: A Common Sense Proposal for States to Fight Back." Yale sophomore Kobe Rizk tackled "Reviving the Narrative: Including History in the Common Core State Standards." Utah State University junior Micah Safsten used his background in water use to talk about "Out of the Desert: Conservative Solutions to Water Shortages in the Colorado River Basin." Finally, Rebekah May Yeagley, who was in her final semester at Utah State University, spoke about "Tribal Sovereignty: Hollow Words."

Our judges, Licia Hahn, Joe Markley, and William F. B. O'Reilly, grilled the presenters with tough questions about how their policy ideas could be implemented and what challenges they might face.

In the end, Rizk, who argued passionately for restoring history and government to public school classrooms where they have been pushed aside by other Common Core priorities, came out on top as the winner, going home with a cash prize.



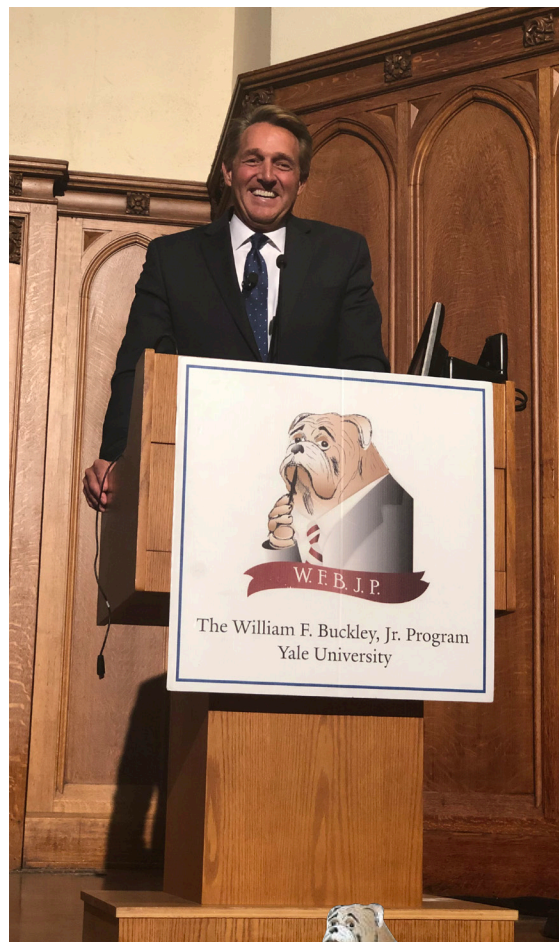
LECTURE SERIES



There is no other organization at an elite school that brings to campus as many conservative and libertarian thought leaders, politicians, and professionals as the Buckley Program. The quality and number of events is unparalleled. Our lectures, free and open to the public, touch on a range of disciplines from foreign and domestic policy to family life and campus culture. We bring in large and diverse audiences, including students from across the university, professors, alumni, and community

members. Buckley Program fellows also have unique access to these speakers, who meet privately with these students in our offices or over a meal. This year our slate boasted prominent names, including Tom Coburn, Jonah Goldberg, Art Laffer, Ken Langone, and Ken Starr.

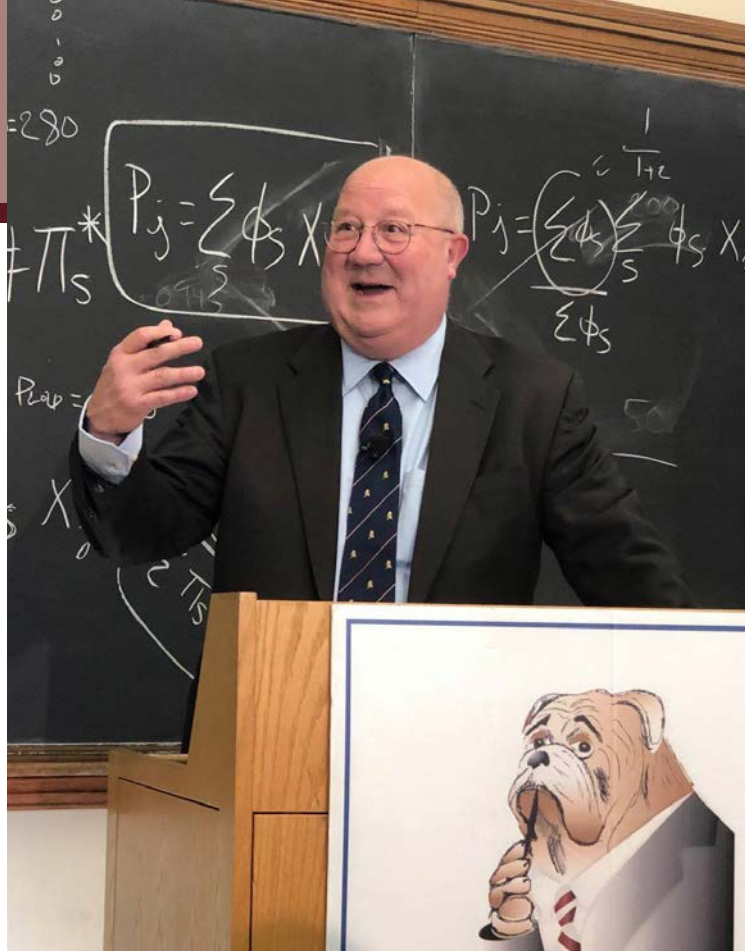
Our mission to expose people to these ideas doesn't end with the speech on campus. All of the talks are videotaped and posted to our YouTube channel, reaching people around the world.



SERIES WITH DR. STEVEN F. HAYWARD

During the 2018-2019 academic year, the Buckley Program hosted our first year-long series with Steven F. Hayward of the University of California at Berkeley. He taught several seminars and gave numerous lectures over the course of the year. His Fall 2018 semester seminar was entitled *Conservatism, From Burke to Bannon*. Hayward argued that conservatism, which has always come in several discrete forms (libertarian, traditionalist/paleoconservative, religious, neoconservative, etc.) is under fresh strain with the rise of Trumpian populism. His series explored basic conservative principles and thinkers and built up to a more comprehensive engagement with contemporary issues of justice, equality, identity, and social policy. The readings for this seminar included William F. Buckley, Jr., Edmund Burke, Thomas Sowell, and F.A. Hayek. This seminar and the spring semester seminar both met for five sessions over the course of the semester, while our typical multi-day seminars run for two two-hour sessions a day for three consecutive days.

In Spring 2019, Hayward's semester-long seminar was *21st Century Conservatism: A Tour of Current Contentions*. Topics included an exploration of the social sciences and how many findings are at odds with egalitarian orthodoxy; the evolution of free market philosophy in a world where there is a revival of the enthusiasm for socialism; an assessment of how liberalism became—or returned to—progressivism and how today's progressives compare to those in earlier eras; a look at the tensions within conservatism when political figures from Ronald Reagan to Donald Trump embrace populist elements; and an examination of critiques of conservatism and their rebuttals.



HAYWARD'S LECTURES INCLUDED:

- Conservatism and Its Enemies: The Landscape Today
- Edmund Burke, the First Modern Conservative
- Varieties of Conservative Experience
- Justice Without Hyphens: The Dead End of Post-Modernism
- Conservatism, Equality, and Democracy
- The Endless Quest for Social Equality
- Liberalism vs. "Neoliberalism": Why is Socialism Popular Again?
- How "Progressive" Is Progressivism?
- An Elephant and Its Trump: Thoughts on Conservatism and Populism
- Hit Me With Your Best Shot: The Top Attacks on Conservatism



To watch the full series, visit the Buckley Program YouTube channel. Dr. Hayward also made some of the lectures into podcasts that are available on Power Line.



SERIES WITH DR. YUVAL LEVIN



We are delighted to announce that our semester-long series for the fall 2019 semester will feature Yuval Levin, a resident scholar and director of Social, Cultural, and Constitutional Studies at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) and the founding editor of *National Affairs*. He served on the White House domestic policy staff under President George W. Bush and has been published in *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, and *Commentary*. He is the author of *The Fractured Republic: Renewing America's Social Contract in the Age of Individualism* and *The Great Debate: Edmund Burke, Thomas Paine, and the Birth of Right and Left*. His next book will be *A Time to Build: From Family and Community to Congress and the Campus, How Recommitting to Our Institutions Can Revive the American Dream*. He holds an MA and PhD from the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago.

Dr. Levin will offer a series of public lectures. He will also teach a fall seminar open to Yale students on "Why Institutions Matter."



DR. LEVIN'S LECTURE DATES FOR THE FALL SEMESTER ARE:

Thursday, September 5, 2019

Thursday, October 3, 2019

Thursday, November 7, 2019

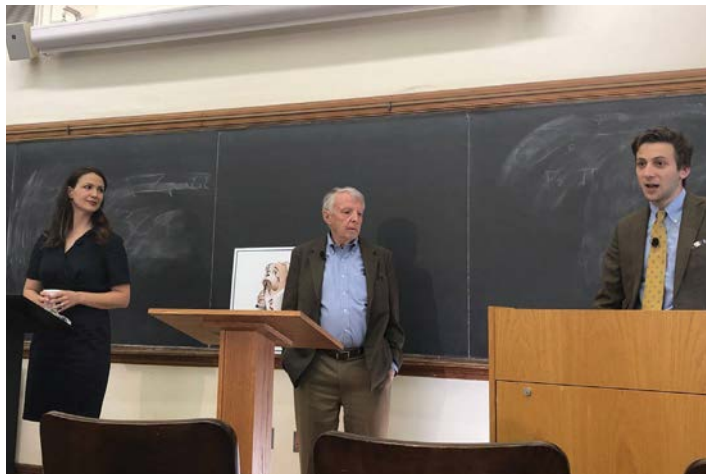
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further information on our
website: www.buckleyprogram.com.



FIRING LINE DEBATES

Most people old enough to remember Bill Buckley immediately remember *Firing Line* and how he hosted honest, thoughtful debates with a wide variety of guests. In our office we have charming cartoons that were used to promote the television show and they feature Buckley leaning forward in his chair, in intense debate with figures including Jesse Jackson, Jimmy Breslin, Ferdinand Marcos, and Alan Dershowitz. In recent years that sort of real discourse, with people you don't agree with, is nearly dead. Except, that is, at Yale. Our Buckley Program Firing Line debates are in that same mold, bringing together two speakers, often think tank scholars, to explain what they think about a tough topic and why, and to push back on someone with the opposite viewpoint in a forceful, but respectful way.

In the 2018-2019 academic year, we hosted four such events on gun control, trade war with China, public sector unions, and Saudi Arabia. These debates historically draw our most ideologically diverse audiences and are certainly one of the only opportunities most students at Yale have to hear two sides of current issues.



MULTI-DAY SEMINARS

Our multi-day seminars provide students with a chance to delve deep into the intellectual ideas behind the policies and theories that politicians and think tank scholars are advocating. In addition to multiple days of intimate academic sessions, students receive copies of associated readings, and enjoy informal engagement with these professors over lunches and dinners during the course of the seminars.

The August 2018 seminar, Plato's *Republic*: The Limits of Honor, Wealth, Freedom, and Power was led by Joshua Mitchell of Georgetown University. Mitchell suggested the students read the *Republic* "with a view to the question: why does Plato think that the love of honor, wealth, freedom, and power lead to injustice rather than to justice?" Mitchell wrote in his syllabus that "the course will actually move in three directions at once: inwardly, to the subtleties of these books and essays; laterally, to the history of political thought as a whole; and outwardly to the world as we encounter it."

The 2018 Fall Break seminar on The Mind of Madison was taught by Colleen Sheehan of Villanova University. The class read *The Federalist Papers*, among other texts, and focused on the political thought of James Madison with an emphasis on Madison's most intensive philosophical years, the Founding period from 1786 to 1792.

In early 2019, Catherine Zuckert of the University of Notre Dame taught our January Seminar on Machiavelli. The class read excerpts from *The Prince* and *Discourses on Livy*. Zuckert argued that Machiavelli has been castigated as a teacher of tyrants and celebrated as a republican political theorist. She asked students to think about what he really was and what can he teach us about our increasingly conflict-ridden politics.

Bruce Caldwell of Duke University led our spring break seminar in March 2019 on The Life, Times, and Ideas of Friedrich A. Hayek. The goal of this seminar was to explore the life and ideas of the Nobel laureate economist and social theorist and to try to place him in the context of his times. Caldwell, who brought to the group his expertise as the scholar working on a family-authorized biography of Hayek, also taught about the Keynes-Hayek relationship. The group ended with an exploration of a timely topic: What Lessons Does Hayek Provide for These Troubled Times?

SEMINARS FOR 2019-2020:

August Seminar: Aristotle on the Good Life

Featuring Robert Bartlett of Boston College

Monday, August 19 to Wednesday, August 21, 2019

January Seminar: Thucydides

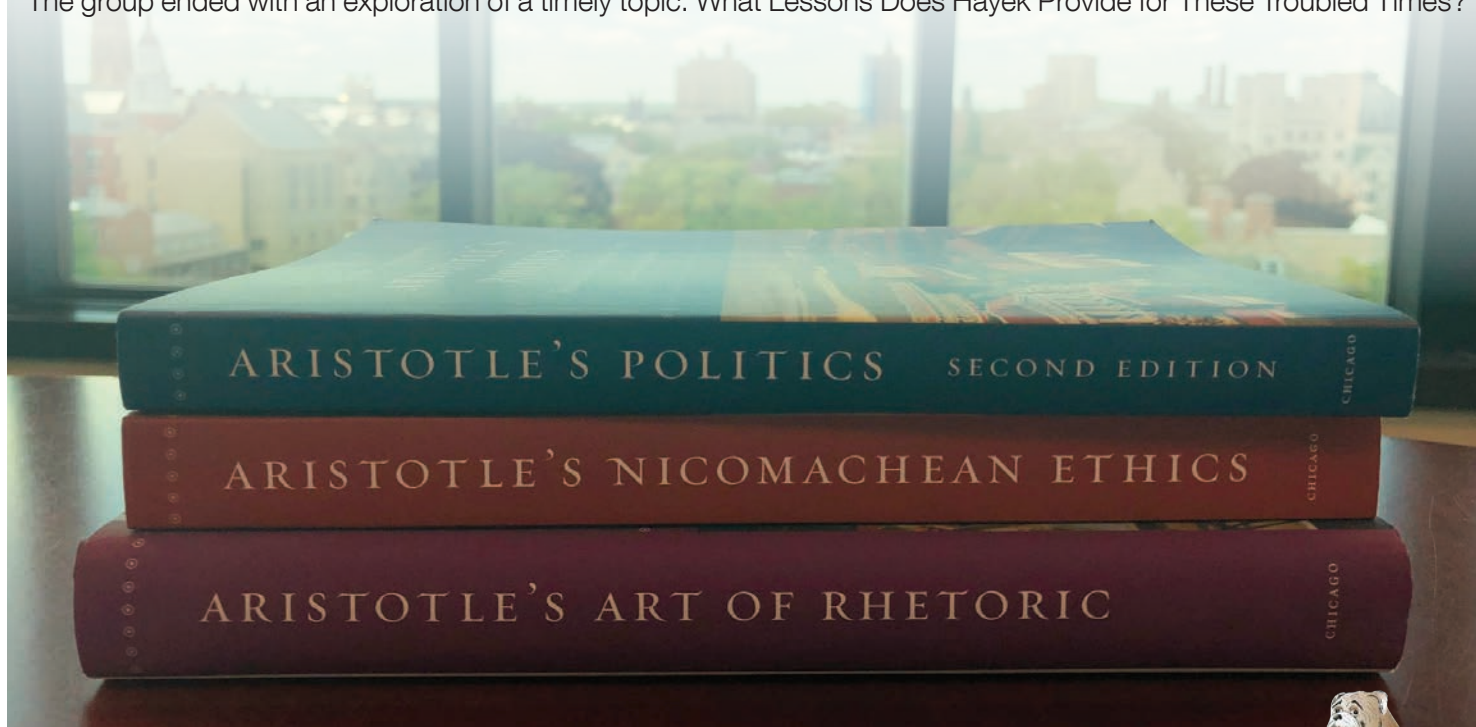
Featuring Clifford Orwin of the University of Toronto

Thursday, January 9 to Saturday, January 11, 2020

Spring Break Seminar: Free Market Fairness

Featuring John Tomasi of Brown University

Monday, March 9 to Wednesday, March 11, 2020



FIFTH ANNUAL DISINVITATION DINNER

The scene would have been unheard of at one time, but is now practically commonplace: a distinguished statesman, invited to speak on a college campus, was verbally abused and shouted down by angry students unable to even tolerate hearing what he had to say. Such was the scene for former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger at New York University last fall.

This phenomenon of disinviting a speaker from campus or creating such a ruckus during the speech that someone is effectively quashed is one of the most virulent assaults on free speech on college campuses. Five years ago, the Buckley Program decided to turn that practice on its head and instead invite the disinvited to speak in a place of honor. Our annual Disinvitation Dinner has become a favorite event for Buckley Program supporters, students, and new friends.





On April 17, 2019, the Fifth Annual Disinvitation Dinner was held at The Pierre in New York City. Dr. Kissinger, who also was once disinvited from the University of Texas, was our honoree. This year we enjoyed record attendance, with approximately 230 guests enjoying the chance to hear Kissinger speak. He joins a list of distinguished past guests: Ray Kelly, George Will, Peter Thiel, and Charles Murray.

Dr. Kissinger's appearance was covered in national news outlets including *National Review* and in blogs such as Power Line.



STUDENT BLOG

Blogs play a vital role in sharing news and political philosophies these days and the Buckley Program's student blog, The Beacon, is no exception. This year students used this online platform to further explore the topics covered during Program events, conducting interviews with Buckley guests when they were on campus, and honing their own philosophies as they write. Students interviewed Jonah Goldberg and Ken Starr and wrote reflections on, among others, hearing Steven Hayward, Art Laffer, and our event on Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn at 100.



INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

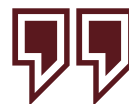
We believe that a student's education continues into the summer, when the chance to do funded internships allows them to have valuable workplace experiences and to return to campus ready to engage at an even higher level. Funding makes these opportunities available to students regardless of their families' financial resources.

In 2019, the Buckley Program funded student summer internships for Yale undergraduates at the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research, *National Review*, and *The New Criterion*. Interns are chosen through a competitive application process administered through Yale's Office of Career Strategy.

"I am very pleased with how my academic work at Yale was engaged and challenged... I feel prepared to apply for post-graduation jobs and internships in this field, with confidence that I will be able to handle more analytical/opinion-driven writing as well as hard news."



I had a wonderful opportunity for professional and personal growth that without you, I would not have been able to complete! I am really proud that I was able to serve a greater purpose this summer while learning about a potential future career.



REGIONAL EVENTS

Supporters often tell us that they are eager to get a sense of what Buckley events are like, even if they can't make it to campus or to special events, such as the Disinvitation Dinner in New York. This year, in addition to the many regional events we held in conjunction with the trustee effort (see next page), we also brought students to speak about their experiences at a well-attended reception in the Vero Beach area of Florida. We are grateful to Carole Brown for graciously hosting this event. If you would like to host an event in your region, contact Christine Foster (christine@buckleyprogram.com).





ALUMNI TRUSTEE INITIATIVE

A crucial concern of anyone worried about the direction of higher education is how universities are governed. If voices who value intellectual diversity and free speech on campus aren't on the boards of trustees and aren't in the rooms where important decisions are made, those issues will not be priorities.

In 2018, we launched an ambitious effort to get an independent candidate included as a nominee for the Alumni Fellow spot to the Yale Corporation (the formal name for Yale's Board of Trustees). Our candidate, journalist Jamie Kirchick '06, spoke at events with alumni in nearly a dozen cities (New York

City, Chicago, Los Angeles, DC, Philadelphia, Boston, Fort Worth, Houston, New Haven, San Francisco, and Seattle). In the end, he fell short of the 4,266 signatures needed to be included on the ballot, but the awareness raising that our effort made possible has contributed to an important conversation. Alumni wrote passionate letters in his support, explaining that they are discouraged and frustrated by the direction of Yale and yearn for an independent voice to speak for them.

Undaunted, we have launched a new fight to get an independent candidate on the ballot. This year we are running a campaign to draft Nick Rosenkranz '92, LAW '99, a Georgetown Law professor and fervent supporter of intellectual diversity and free speech.



Learn more about how you can support this initiative and sign to add Nick Rosenkranz to the ballot for Alumni Fellow at www.AlumniforExcellence.com.



STUDENT FELLOWS PROGRAM

The Buckley Program boasts more than 300 student fellows, making it one of the largest student groups at Yale. Those who choose to complete the application process to be a fellow enjoy advantages not open to the general public. They are invited to special, smaller gatherings with speakers who are on campus for large lectures. They have the chance to apply for funding to attend conferences off campus and they receive copies of books, such as Judge Ken Starr's *Contempt: A Memoir of the Clinton Investigation*, which

allow them to go beyond what they hear in a lecture and learn even more. Student fellows also find a home for serious conservative thought and enjoy being with others interested in exploring the same ideas. Many point to their experiences with the Buckley Program as highlights of their time at Yale. Now that our original student fellows are young alumni, a number of them remain stalwart attendees of Buckley events, including the Annual Conference and the Disinvitation Dinner.



INTERVIEW WITH DONOR THOMAS R. HOOD '69

Q: What prompted you to become involved in the Buckley Program?

What first attracted me to the Program was the Disinvitation Dinner concept, which struck me as a clever rejoinder to the close-minded groupthink prevalent on many college campuses. The Disinvitation Dinner is an annual event and in 2019 I was thrilled to be one of the sponsors when former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was the honoree. It is hard to imagine that even Dr. Kissinger, who fled from the Nazis and worked to bring democracy to so many, can't speak without being disrupted or disinvited.

As for William Buckley himself, his writing skills have been an inspiration. For anyone who wants to know about the thrill of sailing and racing sailing (or for any seasoned sailor who has not already read it), I recommend *Airborne*, the first book in his trilogy recounting some of his memorable sailing experiences and adventures.



Q: What else has impressed you as you have become more involved in the Program?

Though conservatism has a degree of prominence in the Program's activities, there is an emphasis on open-minded rational exploration of political and social issues, real truth-seeking. For example, the Firing Line debates allow students to hear both sides of an issue, such as gun control, trade policy with China, or the influence of public sector unions. At Program activities I have met a number of Yale students with a liberal orientation who are active in it because of this broader perspective.

This non-doctrinaire approach is a great fit for my own political views. I am a mildly conservative registered independent. I believe the large accumulating federal deficit is the deadliest problem we face and that it can probably only be solved with a national value-added tax. The Program fosters a creative approach to solving these types of national problems.

Q: Can you provide an example of this creativity?

I loved the Ideas Forum, where students and others were invited to submit a solution to a vexing problem using free-market concepts. A couple of years ago the winner proposed a solution to the student debt crisis that involved forgiving student loans in exchange for delaying Social Security benefits. I understand that this idea has actually been introduced as a bill in Congress. That is the kind of real world problem solving that I admire and want to promote.

Q: Your generosity to the Program has grown each year. What has inspired that?

My program support has gradually increased over the years as I have become more aware of the wide scope of Program activities some of which I have described above and of its deeper penetration on the Yale campus than I had initially realized. The Program now has more than 300 student fellows who represent a range of experiences and backgrounds.

Mr. Thomas R. Hood '69 is still enjoying the afterglow of his 50th class reunion this year. He is a retired tax partner from the New York office of law firm Mayer Brown LLP. Prior to joining Mayer Brown in 1993, Mr. Hood served for three years as Counselor to the federal Commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service in Washington, DC, a presidential appointment in President George H.W. Bush's administration. Previously, he was a senior tax partner at a major law firm in the Midwest. He earned his law degree from the University of Minnesota and a LL.M. from New York University.



REUNION WEEKENDS

Our reunion events, held in conjunction with the two weekends when alumni and their guests are returning to campus for class reunions, continue to draw engaged crowds. This is the third year we have offered the events and we averaged 60 attendees at each of the free breakfasts, held at The Study at Yale. Our May breakfast featured Heather Mac Donald '78, Julian Ku '94, and Hovik Minasyan '22. In June, the panel included John Spagnola '79, Elizabeth Henry '14, Jake Fischer '20, and Weaver Lilley '21. The panelists spoke about their experiences with free speech and political discourse during their era at Yale. Alumni told us how much they appreciate understanding how things have changed since their own time on campus. Even in the midst of challenges, a current student found a ray of hope to share with the attendees: "It's actually a benefit to be a conservative at Yale because your beliefs are challenged so much that you really have to think about every single thing that you believe," he said.



BUCKLEY PROGRAM LAUNCHES YOUNG ALUMNI GIVING PROGRAM: WISDOM IN YOUTH SOCIETY

Our young alumni are where it all began! Their enthusiasm has been part of creating something at Yale—The William F. Buckley, Jr. Program—that didn't exist until less than a decade ago and is virtually without parallel on other college campuses. They might have heard lectures by Ayaan Hirsi Ali or Ben Carson. They may have had the chance to meet U.S. Senator Ben Sasse at our Annual Conference. Or, perhaps they can point to hearing Peter Thiel at the Disinvitation Dinner as a highlight of their college years.

We want young alumni to stay involved and give back in whatever way they can, so tomorrow's students will get the same extraordinary opportunities. We are excited to have launched The Wisdom in Youth Society, a young alumni program tailored to the interests of Buckley Fellows ten years or less from graduation. With an annual gift of \$25 or more, a recent graduate will receive:

- A significantly reduced rate for a ticket to the Disinvitation Dinner
- A discounted rate for a ticket to the Annual Conference
- Invitations to events throughout the country
- Special recognition in the Annual Report
- Professional networking opportunities

This opportunity is available to alumni who were Buckley Fellows when they were at Yale. Contact Christine@BuckleyProgram.com to join.

Welcome to the young alumni who have joined the Wisdom in Youth Society so far in 2019

Anonymous
Mr. Josh Altman
Miss Andrea Barragan
Mr. Robert Henderson
Ms. Karina Kovalcik
Ms. Jessica Liang
Mr. Rich Lizardo
Ms. Lauren Noble
Ms. Rachel Suzanne Phillips
Ms. Sarah Scott
Mr. Bernard Stanford
Mr. Samuel Sussman
Mr. Zachary Young



WHAT STUDENTS ARE SAYING

The Buckley Program has provided me and countless others with the invaluable opportunity to think for ourselves, question our beliefs, and use our voices as students to forward the cause of intellectual diversity at Yale and beyond. College students today are increasingly faced with a startling ultimatum: either conform to the political dogma of left-leaning academia or be chastised for beliefs that aren't on the 'right side of history.' The Buckley Program stands firmly against this censorship of free thought and provides young people of all political stripes with the opportunity to freely and openly discuss their ideas and explore new perspectives.

Not only does the Buckley Program afford students the unique chance to hear from renowned experts and academics about their experiences and struggles, but it also provides many opportunities for young people to forward the Program's principle of intellectual diversity in their own ways. As a participant in the Program's second annual Ideas Forum this year, I was able to share my own vision for a better, more free society. While it was a tough set of judges, I really appreciated the rigorous debate and respectful, intellectual discourse that surrounded my presentation. I'm thankful to the Buckley Program for giving me the platform to share my ideas with such an interested, passionate group of people. —Kobe Rizk '21

The Buckley Program has quickly become one of my favorite aspects of Yale. Every week, I am shocked by the amazing people I get to listen to. Whether it is having dinner with famed journalist Jonah Goldberg or listening to Judge Ken Starr reminisce about old court cases, thanks to the Buckley Program, I am able to interact and discuss with some of the brightest minds in the world. The role the Buckley Program serves on our campus is paramount. It serves to introduce and facilitate the discussion of often forgotten topics and viewpoints: something I am very grateful for.

—Hovik Minasyan '22



“Hailing from central Kansas, Yale’s overwhelmingly liberal, ironically intolerant political culture came as an unbelievable shock. While initially ill-equipped to defend my value system effectively and confidently, the Buckley Program allowed me to realize that Yale wasn’t entirely as it seemed – counter to Yale’s reaction to the 2016 presidential election, conservatism at Yale is alive. With a constant influx of scholars, political figureheads and speakers, the Buckley Program has helped transform my approach to conservatism from one of mere lifestyle (as the daughter of a farmer, rancher, and as a devout Christian) to one of both lifestyle and nuanced economic, political theory. I am forever indebted to the Buckley Program and its supporters for saving my Yale experience and for encouraging ideological diversity on campus.”

—Jessica Steffen ’20



A PARENT’S PERSPECTIVE

Thank you, thank you, thank you for the Buckley Program at Yale. Our daughter just finished her freshman year and had a wonderful time there in large part because of Buckley. She participated in two of the Buckley seminars and attended numerous events, including the Disinvitation Dinner. Buckley has truly been a formative experience for her. Thank you for creating a vibrant intellectual community that makes ‘the college formerly known as Yale’ a welcoming place for conservative, libertarian, and independent-minded students.

— Parent of a current student fellow



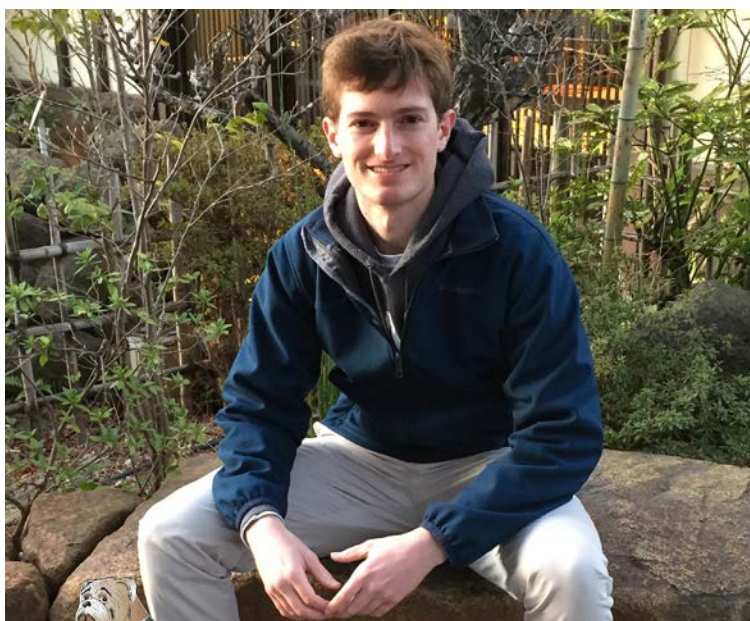
YOUNG BUCKLEY PROGRAM ALUMNI MAKING A DIFFERENCE IN THE WORLD

Harry Graver '14 graduated from Harvard Law School this past spring and is clerking for J. Harvie Wilkinson III, a judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit. His next stop will be serving as a clerk on the United States Supreme Court for Associate Justice Brett Kavanaugh. "My experience with the Buckley Program has proven invaluable as I start a career in the law," writes Graver, who was president of the Buckley Program as a student. "In particular, the Program's commitment to intellectual humility, seeking out views other than your own, and keeping an open mind has stuck with me since college and I hope never wavers."



Three young Buckley Program alumni are working for Senator Mike Lee (R - Utah). **Carolyn Hansen Madan '16** is the legislative assistant handling energy and natural resources policy. **Amalia Halikias '15** is the communications director on the Joint Economic Committee, and **Ugonna Eze '16** clerked for Lee on the Judiciary committee this summer. "I think we'd all agree that it's a true honor to work for Lee," says Madan. "He is an incredibly intelligent, principled, and kind man. He has a profound understanding of conservatism and what is true and good, which he stands up for each and every day, even when it isn't the popular thing to do."

Josh Altman '17 writes that immediately after graduation, he spent a year working as a policy advisor for former Illinois governor Bruce Rauner, focused on anti-corruption and pension reform. He then spent a year as a research fellow at Stanford Law School working on law and economics. This fall he will be back in New Haven as a first-year student at Yale Law School. Altman served as president of the Buckley Program during his time as an undergraduate.



Zachary Young '17 was named a Knight-Hennessy Scholar, an honor which provides full funding for him to pursue a J.D. at Stanford Law School. Since graduating from Yale, Young has received a master's degree in public policy from the Paris Institute of Political Studies, where he was the 2017 laureate of the Michel David-Weill Scholarship. Young served as president of the Buckley Program during his time at Yale.



FALL STUDENT ESSAY CONTEST

We love the chance to get students involved and encourage them to think through ideas that they may not otherwise encounter in their classrooms. Last fall we again offered two essay contests: one for Yale College students and one for high school students. The prompt asked if students agree or disagree with the following vision of education proposed by Russell Kirk: "The primary purpose of a liberal education, then, is the cultivation of the person's own intellect and imagination, for the person's own sake. It ought not to be forgotten, in this mass-age when the state aspires to be all in all, that genuine education is something higher than an instrument of public policy. True education is meant to develop the individual human being, the person, rather than to serve the state." Winners were recognized at the Buckley Program's Eighth Annual Conference dinner banquet at the Omni Hotel on Friday, November 2, 2018.



CAREER FAIR



On the day of our Annual Conference we offered our first-ever career fair for our students, providing them with a chance to connect with employers about internship and job opportunities. The organizations represented included:

- *National Review*
- Yankee Institute for Public Policy
- Russell Kirk Center for Cultural Renewal
- Foundation for Individual Rights in Education
- *The New Criterion*
- Hoover Institution
- Hertog Foundation
- Public Interest Fellowship
- Tikvah Fund
- American Council of Trustees and Alumni

We look forward to hosting another fair at this year's conference.

TERRY HOLCOMBE '64 JOINS BOARD OF DIRECTORS



We are thrilled to announce that in February long-time supporter Terry Holcombe '64 was elected to the Buckley Program's Board of Directors.

Our chairman, Roger Kimball, notes: "I am absolutely delighted that Terry Holcombe has joined the board of the Buckley Program. Not only has he had tremendous experience, he is one hundred percent behind the fundamental mission of the Buckley Program to foster liberty and open debate in that increasingly closed enclave, the American university. Terry will be a potent addition to our team and I am looking forward to working with him to take our efforts to new heights of influence."

Terry Holcombe graduated from Yale College in 1964. From 1975 to 1998, he served Yale in various capacities, working directly for Presidents Brewster, Gray, Giamatti, Schmidt, Lamar, and Levin.

He oversaw three successful capital campaigns during his 20 years as Vice President for Development and Alumni Affairs. He was awarded the Yale Medal in 2011. He has also been Vice President at Columbia University. Prior to his work at Yale, he was the Executive Director of ACCION, the first microfinance program in Latin America. His consulting activities after Yale have reached from the American University in Cairo to several Ivy League colleges, and have also included charities such as the Special Olympics International and Save the Children. He holds an MA from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, an honorary MA from Yale, and an honorary PhD from Muskingum University.

CONTACT US

If you would like to hear more about our programs, we invite you to join our email list for regular updates. Please visit www.buckleyprogram.com and scroll down to subscribe. Please contact Executive Director Lauren Noble at Lauren@BuckleyProgram.com or (203) 745-1316. You can also follow us on Facebook by searching for @buckleyprogram and on Twitter @BuckleyProgram.



REACHING BEYOND CAMPUS

"I was privileged to participate in the New Haven conference, sponsored by the William F. Buckley, Jr. Program at Yale, led by the omni-competent Lauren Noble (Yale '11), who has made the Buckley Program the center of 'intellectual diversity' at Yale.

Noble has persuaded distinguished speakers to come to Yale, sponsored 'Firing Line' debates, and invited academics like best-selling author Steven Hayward to hold seminars. The program points to some 300 mostly undergraduate student fellows as proof of its success.

All this has been accomplished without a dollar from Yale or the federal government.

Along with her impressive managerial talents, Noble has turned out to be an accomplished fundraiser. Wouldn't it be wonderful if the students and the alumni at other universities sought to replicate the Buckley Program at their schools?"

— Lee Edwards, The Heritage Foundation

Social Media in 2018-2019



"It's a wonderful program with ambitious students committed to civil debate and the free exchange of ideas."

— Rebecca Heinrichs, The Hudson Institute

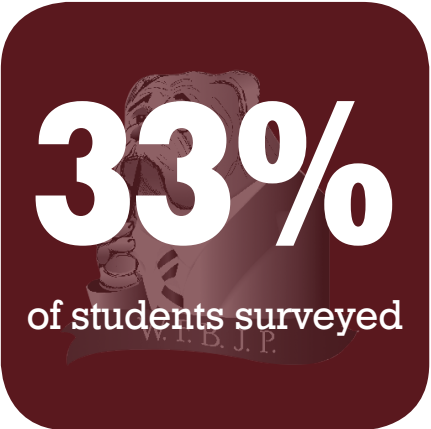


NATIONAL SURVEY

We continue to commission national surveys to gauge the views of students on campus issues related to ideological diversity and free speech. This is our fourth year of doing such surveys and we used the nationally-known firm McLaughlin & Associates to conduct the polling. Although the results are often sobering—one-third of college students agreed with the following statement: “If someone is using hate speech or making racially charged comments, physical violence can be justified to prevent this person from espousing their hateful views”—knowing the challenges regarding free speech helps to inform our programming.

Beyond the regular annual questions, we are always keeping our eyes open for new opportunities. We saw one for an effective question in March of this year when President Trump issued an executive order protecting free speech on college campuses and threatening to pull federal research dollars from schools that did not follow suit. Democratic lawmakers slammed the order, but American voters of every political persuasion supported the idea. Our pollsters found that nearly three in four voters — 73 percent — were in favor of the edict.

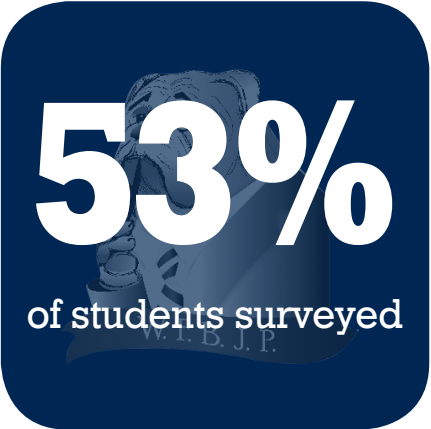
Our polls continue to receive national press attention, including coverage in *The Wall Street Journal* and on Fox & Friends, and are picked up by bloggers who spread the word about deep and abiding concerns about freedom of speech on college campuses.



33%
of students surveyed

believe that

“physical violence can be justified to prevent a person from using hate speech or making racially charged comments”



53%
of students surveyed

say they

“often feel intimidated sharing their ideas, opinions or beliefs in class because they were different than those of their professors”



HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE 2018 BUCKLEY PROGRAM SURVEY

- Undergraduates continue to overwhelmingly believe the First Amendment is an important amendment that still needs to be followed and respected rather than being outdated, 79% to 17%;
- A majority, 54%, opposes speech codes, while 38% of undergraduates favor them;
- A plurality of students, 46%, say they share the same opinions and political beliefs as their friends. Just 10% say they have different opinions than their friends and 41% say they have an equal number of friends with similar and different opinions;
- Another majority, 54%, say they also feel intimidated sharing their ideas, opinions or beliefs in class because they were different than those of their classmates;
- Slightly more than half, 52%, say they have had professors or course instructors that have used class time to express their own beliefs that are unrelated to the course material;
- Greater than half, 53%, say professors, peers or guest speakers on campus have changed their mind on an issue after they heard their perspective;
- Four in ten, 41%, agree that it's sometimes appropriate to shout down and disrupt a speaker on campus;
- Nearly six in ten, 59%, agree their school should forbid people from speaking on campus who have a history of engaging in hate speech, while 36% disagree;
- 57% agree that hate speech is still technically protected under the First Amendment as free speech, while 38% disagree;
- Greater than six in ten, 62%, agree that social media companies should censor hate speech by shutting down the accounts of users who engage in hate speech;
- 45% say the primary purpose of higher education is career preparation, while 28% say it's to learn how to think critically, 16% say it's to seek the truth, and 9% say it's to promote social justice;
- "Capitalism" has a net positive rating of 14-points, 45% favorable to 31% unfavorable, while "socialism" has a net negative image rating, 34% favorable to 42% unfavorable;
- One-third of students, 33%, have attended a rally or protest in the last two years that advocated for a particular political cause. Private school students were more likely to say they have attended than students in state schools, 40% to 30%, respectively. By class, freshmen were most likely to say they have been to a rally, at 40%. Almost half, 48%, of liberals have attended a rally compared to 23% of moderates and 19% of conservatives.

"An optimist desperately searching for a silver lining would perhaps note that 60% of respondents did not agree that physical violence is justified to silence people speaking what someone has defined as 'hate speech' or 'racially charged' comments. But the fact that a third of college students at least theoretically endorse violence as a response to offensive speech underlines the threat to free expression on American campuses."

~ James Freeman, *The Wall Street Journal*



WHAT SUPPORTERS ARE SAYING

The Buckley Program's supporters are passionate and committed people who believe in our mission to increase intellectual diversity and provide a home for serious conservative thought on campus. To learn more about who supports the Program and what they care about, in late February 2019, we mailed out surveys along with our mid-academic year report to our supporters. We received 122 responses, many with thoughtful feedback about how they perceive the Buckley Program. Here is a sampling of what we heard:

What first prompted you to donate to the Buckley Program?

- This was a free response question and the most consistent theme was a desire to provide a solid conservative voice on campus to counter the prevailing groupthink.
- “I am alarmed at how Yale administration has bowed to political correctness and is not enforcing true freedom of speech and thought.”
- “Well educated people need to know many points of view.”
- One of our thoughtful donors from the other side of the aisle explained why she supports us:
- “As a moderate Democrat and 3 term state legislator, I know how important it is to stay firm in your beliefs because you have explored the gamut of opinions...Listen to understand, not to react.”
- One respondent poignantly just wrote one word: “Hope”.

Have you attended a Buckley event?

- About one-quarter of respondents said they had been at an event.
- “Yes. I am never disappointed. I’ve traveled as far as Washington, D.C., New York for the Disinvitation Dinner, and Old Saybrook [for the Ideas Forum]. (I am still remembering the excellent talk James Buckley gave there.)”

What is your overall satisfaction with the Buckley Program?

- Respondents were overwhelmingly very satisfied or somewhat satisfied (94%). The handful who marked neutral generally said that they couldn’t assess because they had not attended programs in person. Those who wrote responses to this question were effusive in their praise.
- “I attend meetings whenever I am able. You always have very qualified and interesting people. The conversation at the Study in New Haven on Solzhenitsyn was magnificent!”
- “I admire what you do.”
- “Keep on doing what you do!”

Finally, we asked: ***Are there other issues you would like to see us tackle?***

- “The major thing the Program needs to keep addressing is making sure students have information to come to their own conclusions. Hearing one side of the story doesn’t do this.”
- “No advice here. You are doing a great service to America.”



HOW TO SUPPORT US

Our supporters include conservatives, libertarians, moderates, independents, and even a handful of self-described liberals and progressives.

Our funding comes entirely from our generous donors. All donations to the Buckley Program are tax-deductible to the fullest extent of the law.

We accept:

- Checks made payable to the William F. Buckley, Jr. Program at Yale and mailed to:
The William F. Buckley, Jr. Program at Yale
234 Church Street, 7th Floor
New Haven, CT 06510
- Credit card contributions: online at www.BuckleyProgram.com/donate
- Gifts of stock
- Donor-advised funds
- Matching gifts from your employer

Donations of all sizes are welcome and greatly appreciated. Please contact Christine@BuckleyProgram.com or (203) 745-0571 with any questions.

God and Man at Yale Society

A legacy gift to the William F. Buckley, Jr. Program is an ideal way to ensure your generosity has an enduring impact on the advancement of free speech and conservative values at Yale and beyond.

To join the God and Man at Yale Society, please contact your lawyer or financial planner and have the following sentence added to your will:

"I give, devise, and bequeath to the William F. Buckley, Jr. Program at Yale (Tax ID #27-5131268), located at 234 Church Street, 7th Floor, New Haven, CT, 06510 the sum of \$[fill in dollar amount or item of property to be donated] or [fill in the percentage]% of my estate to be used for its general support."

We kindly request that you call or write to us to notify us of your planned gift.



ABOUT US

Launched in January 2011, the mission of The William F. Buckley, Jr. Program is to promote intellectual diversity on Yale's campus. Named for *National Review* founder William F. Buckley, Jr. '50, the Program offers a speaker series, conferences, Firing Line debates, internships for undergraduates, and more.



THE FINANCIAL STRENGTH OF THE BUCKLEY PROGRAM

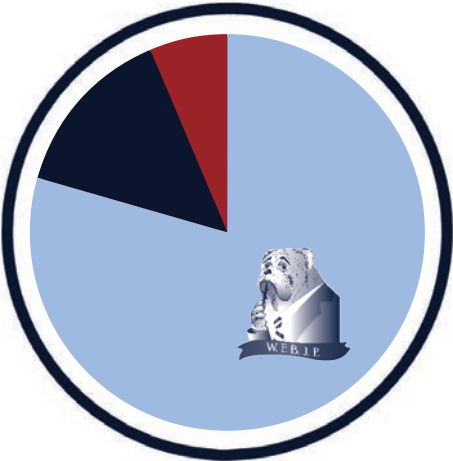
A Message from the Treasurer, John Spagnola '79

The Buckley Program remains very strong financially. Our revenue has remained stable, with \$1,086,077 earned in 2018. Our unrestricted net assets at December 31, 2018 were \$1,153,152. The Buckley Program's solid base for future growth is evident from these positive numbers and the robust slate of offerings that the Program continues to provide on campus and beyond.

December 31, 2018	
Assets	
Current assets:	
Cash	\$253,269
Marketable securities	\$893,080
Prepaid expenses and other assets	\$11,898
Total current assets	\$1,158,247
Property and equipment, net	\$6,297
Total Assets	\$1,164,544
Liabilities and Net Assets	
Current liabilities:	
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$11,392
Net assets, without donor restrictions	\$1,153,152
Total Liabilities and Net Assets	\$1,164,544

2018	
Revenues and support:	
Contributions and grants	\$856,330
Special events	\$210,925
Other income	\$18,822
Total revenues and support	\$1,086,077
Expenses:	
Program services	\$752,867
Management and general	\$59,903
Fundraising	\$133,009
Total expenses	\$945,779
Change in net assets without donor restrictions	\$140,298

HOW DONATIONS ARE SPENT



79.6%	PROGRAM SERVICES
14.06%	FUNDRAISING
6.33%	MANAGEMENT





The Buckley Program would like to recognize those donors who contributed to our efforts between January 1, 2018 and December 31, 2018.

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