



THE WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR. PROGRAM AT YALE



ANNUAL REPORT 2020 2021

MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, Roger Kimball, M. Phil '82 AND FOUNDER AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, Lauren Noble '11

Dear Friend,

We are excited to update you on the progress of the Buckley Program. As you read the pages that follow, we hope you feel pride knowing that your support is having an enduring impact on students. With the recent attacks on free expression and embrace of groupthink both on college campuses and in our wider culture, our mission to nurture intellectual diversity at Yale is more urgent now than when we launched a decade ago.

Responses to a 2021 survey of our student fellows highlight significant and concerning issues of self-censorship at Yale.

- In response to the question “Do you self-censor in the classroom and on campus?” 7.46% said always, 38.81% said usually, 37.31% said sometimes, 16.42% said rarely, and none said never
- When asked whose potential reaction causes them to self-censor, 73.13% said classmates, 61.19% said professors, 59.70% said social media, 55.22% said current or future employers, 50.75% said teaching fellows, 40.30% said friends, and 34.33% said administrators
- Topics students were reluctant to discuss included politics (71.64%), race (62.69%), gender (56.72%), and religion (29.85%)

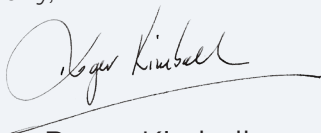
Think about that for a moment. No respondent reported that they never self-censor. This offers an important reminder that lip service to the abstract idea of free speech is not enough. We need to actively provide a forum where these ideals are actually practiced and valued.

The Buckley Program does precisely that. It offers a home for students to develop the courage and knowledge they need to be able to think and speak for themselves in an environment that remains unwelcoming to dissenting viewpoints. Given that elite institutions like Yale continue to educate many future leaders of our country—not only political leaders and government officials, but also executives in the corporate world and beyond—the foundation students receive on campus matters for our country more broadly.

While pandemic related restrictions kept our events on Zoom this year, we enjoyed a robust calendar of events, from webinars featuring political and thought leaders attended by viewers from all 50 states and around the world to small seminars where students can learn with top teachers and speak freely. We also advocated for reform at the highest levels of Yale and commissioned our sixth national survey of college students.

None of our efforts would have been possible without the generous support of donors like you. Thank you very much for your continued support. Because of your commitment, the Buckley Program is in stronger shape than ever before. We look forward to keeping you informed of our activities in the year ahead.

Sincerely,



Roger Kimball
Chairman



Lauren Noble
Founder and Executive Director



MESSAGE FROM THE STUDENT PRESIDENT,

Jasper Boers '22

When I began last semester as the Buckley Program's student president, I knew the pandemic offered our organization an opportunity to double down on providing Yale students with first-class events, unparalleled access to speakers, and a tradition of intellectual diversity that is unmatched at Yale.

In the fall, we adjusted to the rhythm of online classes and found new ways to make Buckley fill the same role it always has at Yale. Our conference on the legacy of the 1960s at Yale and in American culture, foreign policy, and the economy brought together scholars from a range of disciplines and professions. Events with Robert Zimmer, Bret Weinstein, and Victor Davis Hanson capped off a semester that showed how quickly the Program was able to adapt to the virtual format.

None of those shifts would have been possible without the steadfast work of Buckley's student board. I've been privileged to lead a group of enterprising students who are eager to permanently change the political climate at Yale. They are the backbone of the Program's work and I cannot thank them enough for their efforts. As president, one of my favorite roles has been mentoring younger board members to publicly moderate our events either independently or alongside me. I have always appreciated the role that Buckley played in my Yale career and hope to ensure it continues to nurture the political and intellectual ambitions of Yale students for years to come.

During the spring semester, we hosted blockbuster events with former *New York Times* journalist Bari Weiss, former Speaker of the House Paul Ryan, and former Governor of South Carolina and Ambassador to the United Nations Nikki Haley. Combined, these three guests contributed to one of our best-ever semesters in terms of event attendance. Ambassador Haley drew an audience of over 530, while Bari Weiss's discussion of cancel culture exceeded 250.

Our panels and Firing Line Debates covered a broad range of topics including nationalism, urban policy, NATO, and the American-European alliance. In March, we held a screening of the movie *Created Equal: Clarence Thomas in his Own Words*, and a Q&A with director/producer couple Gina and Michael Pack.

One of my favorite aspects of the semester was the opportunity to "see" so many Buckley alumni, friends, and donors come out to our events. For many of the events I moderated, I enjoyed getting to show our supporters how their contributions have made a real impact on the Program and made us stronger in a difficult time. Especially when many



of our supporters are unable to join us for in person events, it seemed to me that the pandemic offered a silver lining and an opportunity to showcase the great work that Buckley is doing to bring open political discussion back to Yale.

We also found new ways to provide Yale students with opportunities to engage one-on-one with scholars. We hosted a career talk with former Congressman Lamar Smith, as well as multi-day seminars with Michael Auslin on the rise of China and with Patrick Deneen on the crisis of liberalism. Our political philosophy seminar series has this year hosted undergraduates for classes with Ryan Hanley on Adam Smith and with Benjamin Storey on Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Students offer their highest praises for these seminars, often saying that the experience surpassed many of their Yale classes in similar subjects.

I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to all of the Buckley Program's supporters. Without the generous support of so many of you, the Program would not have been able to continue setting the standard for student groups at Yale. I'm proud to have been a Buckley fellow for the past three years, and am looking forward to seeing how the Program will improve on its past successes in the year ahead.

2020 ACADEMIC YEAR 2021 Events in Review

ALUMNI CAREER CHATS: WORKING ON CAPITOL HILL

Featuring Elizabeth Henry and Carolyn Madan

DIGITAL CATHEDRALS: THE INFORMATION INFRASTRUCTURE ERA

Featuring Mark Mills

ELECTION FRAUD: MYTH AND REALITY

Featuring Hans von Spakovsky

AUGUST SEMINAR: SHAKESPEARE'S DEPICTION OF ROME

Featuring Vickie Sullivan

THE CHINA NIGHTMARE: DISINFORMATION AND GREAT POWER COMPETITION IN THE AGE OF COVID

Featuring Dan Blumenthal

THE 1619 PROJECT: A MISSED OPPORTUNITY

Featuring Lucas Morel

FIRING LINE DEBATE: THE TRUE EXTENT OF EXECUTIVE POWER

Featuring John Yoo and Sai Prakash

CONVERSATION WITH ROBERT ZIMMER AND NICHOLAS CHRISTAKIS

FIRING LINE DEBATE: THE FUTURE OF GLOBALISM AND THE AMERICAN NATION

Featuring Michael Lind and Dalibor Rohac

FIRING LINE DEBATE: DOJ'S YALE INVESTIGATION AND THE FUTURE OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN HIGHER ED

Featuring Heather Mac Donald, Kevin Carey, and Lisa Blatt

THE STRANGEST YEAR 2020

Featuring Victor Davis Hanson



TENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE: SIXTY YEARS SINCE THE SIXTIES

CONVERSATION WITH BRET WEINSTEIN

HOW TO LOSE FRIENDS AND INFLUENCE PEOPLE

Featuring Joshua Katz

CAREER CHAT WITH CONGRESSMAN LAMAR SMITH

JANUARY SEMINAR: ADAM SMITH'S MORAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT

Featuring Ryan Hanley



TRUMP II OR OBAMA II? HOW WILL BIDEN DEAL WITH CHINA?

FEATURING MICHAEL AUSLIN

PANEL DISCUSSION ON THE STATE OF AMERICAN CITIES

Featuring Maria Doulis, Nicole Gelinas, and Douglas Rae

FIRING LINE DEBATE: THE DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS

Featuring Todd Zywicki and David Schleicher

FEBRUARY SEMINAR SERIES: THE TURBULENT PACIFIC: HISTORY, GEOPOLITICS, AND THE BATTLE FOR ASIA

Featuring Michael Auslin

"The Buckley Program does a great job highlighting different voices and providing a platform for conversations that aren't happening elsewhere on campus." – Yale Student



APRIL SEMINAR: THE CASE FOR ORIGINALISM: AN INTRODUCTION AND DEFENSE

Featuring Randy Barnett

MODERN DAY BOOK BURNING: THE NEW DIGITAL CENSORSHIP

Featuring Ryan T. Anderson and Abigail Shrier

FIRING LINE DEBATE ON NUCLEAR POWER

Featuring Michael
Shellenberger and
Matthew McKinzie

CONVERSATION WITH U.S. AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS (2017-2019) NIKKI HALEY

FIRING LINE DEBATE: MONOPOLY POWER

Featuring Richard Epstein and Matt Stoller

THREE EQUATIONS FOR HAPPINESS

Featuring Arthur Brooks, Co-sponsored
with Davenport College

MARCH LECTURE AND SEMINAR SERIES: REVIVING THE MIXED CONSTITUTION: HOW TO OVERCOME THE ELITE-POPULIST DIVIDE

Featuring Patrick Deneen

A SCREENING AND Q&A OF *CREATED EQUAL: CLARENCE THOMAS IN HIS OWN WORDS*

Featuring Director Michael Pack and Executive
Producer Gina Cappo Pack

FIRING LINE DEBATE ON AMERICA AND NATO

Featuring Hal Brands and Emma Ashford

A SEARCH FOR COMMON GROUND: A CONVERSATION ABOUT THE TOUGHEST QUESTIONS IN K-12 EDUCATION

Featuring Frederick M. Hess

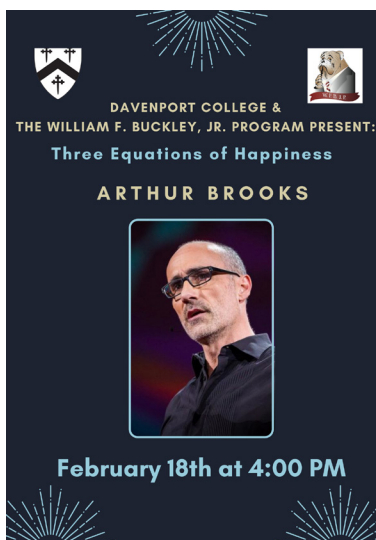
SEMINAR ON COVID-19 AND EXECUTIVE POWER

Featuring Richard Epstein

CONVERSATION WITH BARI WEISS

PANEL DISCUSSION ON THE AMERICAN- EUROPEAN ALLIANCE

Featuring Gary Schmitt, Jamie Kirchick, and
A. Wess Mitchell



CONVERSATION WITH SPEAKER PAUL RYAN

PROGRESS OR DECLINE? ROUSSEAU ON THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

Featuring Benjamin Storey



Many of these programs can be viewed online
on our **YouTube** channel.

Want to hear about upcoming events?
Sign up for our e-mail list at
www.buckleyprogram.com.

SEMINARS

The 2020-2021 academic year was a busy one for our popular multi-day seminars. We offered six seminars for undergraduate and graduate students on a range of topics, exceeding 120 total participants for the year.

Seminar Program

*Cultivating Deep and Open
Intellectual Exploration*



Surveys show that 99% of seminar participants report that they would participate in another Buckley Seminar.

2020-2021 Seminar Topics

- *Shakespeare's Depiction of Rome*
- *Adam Smith's Moral and Political Thought*
- *The Turbulent Pacific: History, Geopolitics, and the Battle for Asia*
- *Reviving the Mixed Constitution: How to Reconcile Elites and Populists*
- *The Case for Originalism*
- *Progress or Decline? Rousseau on the History of Civilization*

"I have attended every Buckley Seminar since becoming a fellow two years ago and have learned a great deal from every one. They are an amazing opportunity to take a deep dive into important works of political thought that are often unrepresented in the Yale curriculum."

— Student Participant



Plan to use the material they learned in the seminars



Agree that the seminars expose them to ideas they would otherwise not have encountered in their Yale classes

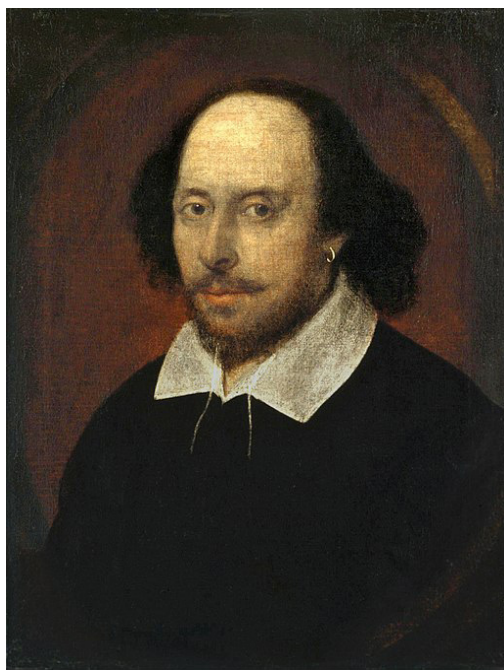


Say they are likely to recommend these seminars to a friend or classmate

"I love these seminars, every single one has helped me to sharpen my thinking as both an academic and citizen. They have also helped me to develop a broader view of the field under discussion that I might not otherwise experience during my coursework. For this, I am very grateful."

Data from 2020-2021 Academic Year Seminar Participant Surveys

SHAKESPEARE'S DEPICTION OF ROME



To kick off the new academic year, 14 students participated in the Buckley Program's first ever virtual seminar on "Shakespeare's Depiction of Rome" in August. The three-day event featured Professor Vickie Sullivan of Tufts University, who guided our students through Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Anthony and Cleopatra*. This seminar examined the playwright's views on the reasons for Rome's greatness and the causes of its decline. Other themes included ancient Rome as a model of civic participation, the demands of Roman virtue, the role of women in a martial regime, the transition from paganism to Christianity, and the place of philosophy in the city.



Students hailed from a variety of academic backgrounds. The multifaceted nature of the topic—literature, history, and politics—provided a point of interest for many students to take a familiar concept and apply it to other intellectual disciplines. One student commented:

I had never explored Shakespeare's political thought before this seminar. Reading his Roman Trilogy through the lens of political theory was fascinating, particularly because of how relevant the central themes remain. We analyzed the tension between a patriotism of loyalty, based upon place alone, and one of substance, based upon a series of values. We also evoked the need for national cohesion in politics, and the difficulty of maintaining such cohesions in times of imperial expansion. Overall, the seminar greatly enriched my understanding of Roman history, literature, and political thought.



"Buckley seminars allow us to explore subjects and viewpoints previously unseen on campus, and this one was no exception. The ability of these seminars to gather open-minded and dedicated students and professors is remarkable, and the resulting experience was outstanding."

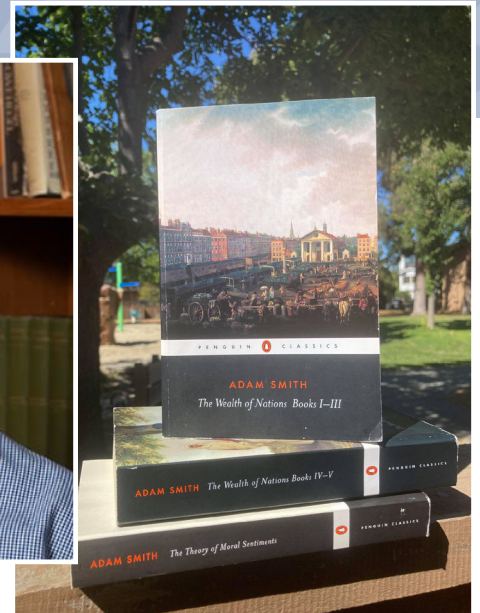
According to the student feedback, 100% of the participants planned to use the material they learned in the seminar. Reflecting on their experience, many students expressed gratitude for the unique academic opportunities Buckley multi-day seminars provide. "Thank you," said one student,

"I would like to directly speak to the supporters who made this possible. These seminars continue to not only better inform my understanding of the Western tradition of arts and letters, but inspire me to become a more virtuous citizen. Alternative models of education such as these are an excellent opportunity to contest the supremacy of the modern research university and all its dogmas."

-Yale Student

ADAM SMITH'S MORAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT

Before jumping into the spring semester, 28 students joined us for a three-day intensive exploration of the great thinker and economist Adam Smith. While Smith holds a place in the popular imagination as the Grandfather of Capitalism and defender of laissez faire markets, few students in today's education system ever read his primary texts. To guide our students through Smith's work, the Buckley Program eagerly turned to Professor Ryan Hanley of Boston College. Hanley is an expert on Smith and has written extensively about how Smith's moral philosophy undergirds his economic theory.



In order to give the students the fullest picture of Adam Smith as a thinker, they read key excerpts from both his major works. The seminar began by exploring *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Smith's work of moral philosophy. With this solid foundation, the students then turned to the more famous *Wealth of Nations* to discuss Smith's conception of markets and their effects, both positive and negative, on society. Utilizing the wide variety of academic backgrounds in the cohort, the students engaged in rich and thoughtful conversations.

The fruit of these conversations was reflected in the feedback from the student participants upon completion of the seminar. When asked what they had learned, one student responded:

The seminar taught me much about Smith's political economy, the philosophical foundations of capitalism, and the roots of classical liberalism. I came into the class thinking that Smith was an unwavering libertarian, but I came to understand that his account of ordered liberty—which combines a deep understanding of virtue, justice, and human psychology—goes way beyond the cliché representation I had.

"These seminars represented the freest discussion I have had at Yale. In no other class or space could I read about Adam Smith and genuinely entertain the depth of his thoughts and ideas without being shut down by claims of wholly supporting capitalism. This open dialogue, unchained from dogma and ideology, was honestly so refreshing."
-Yale Student

In addition to the material, the students heaped praise on Professor Hanley. "Prof. Hanley is one of the most charismatic professors I've ever had the opportunity to learn from," professed one student. "Professor Hanley was extremely energetic and created a very open and enthusiastic learning environment—especially impressive over Zoom," recalled another. 100% of students responded that they were satisfied with the seminar and that they were likely to participate in a future seminar. 96% of students agreed that this seminar exposed them to ideas they would not have encountered in their courses. One seminar veteran commented that this was "one of the best that I've attended."

"These seminars hold tremendous value because they teach students concepts that would either not be taught at all, or swallowed up by a hectic semester. By offering the works of Adam Smith to me during break (and I am an English major), I learned something I wouldn't have studied in a semester-long course."
-Yale Student

One student eloquently expressed how our seminars help further our mission to increase intellectual diversity and thoughtful dialogue on campus: "Thank you for making these seminars possible. They allow us to broaden our perspective, challenge our assumptions, and engage in open dialogue. Buckley seminars are a wonderful complement to Yale's standard classes, and they help the university fulfil its true mission—to cultivate open-minded students who respect debate for its own sake."

THE TURBULENT PACIFIC: HISTORY, GEOPOLITICS, AND THE BATTLE FOR ASIA

During the month of February, the Buckley Program hosted Dr. Michael Auslin of the Hoover Institution for a seminar series on U.S. foreign policy in Asia. Michael Auslin, PhD, is the Payson J. Treat Distinguished Research Fellow in Contemporary Asia at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

To begin this series, Dr. Auslin gave a lecture open to the public addressing the incoming Biden administration's stance toward America's most significant geopolitical rival, China. In this lecture entitled "Trump II or Obama II: How will Biden Deal with China?," Dr. Auslin provided the audience with a historical analysis of the last 70 years of U.S. foreign policy towards China. He then discussed how the Trump administration began speaking about China differently than his predecessors and how they enacted more aggressive policy towards the growing power. Auslin then used this background to speculate on what approach the Biden administration would take on China.

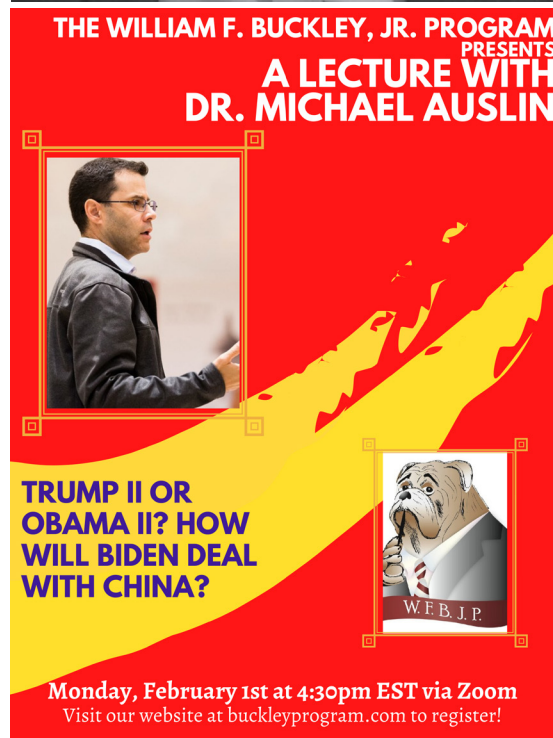
This public lecture set the stage for the 20 students who joined Dr. Auslin for three seminar sessions to delve more deeply into the topic. Each session addressed a different facet of the Indo-Pacific geopolitical landscape. In session one, "Prying Into the PRC: Understanding the Sources of Chinese Conduct," the students sought to understand China more deeply, engaging with questions such as the motivations of China's foreign policy, the effect of the CCP and domestic policy, and the historical context of China's rise to geopolitical prominence. Session two, "Four's a Crowd: Can the Quad Thrive or Will It Barely Survive?" explored the strategic relationship between the U.S., India, Australia, and Japan. The students examined the varying strategic interests of the countries making up the Quad and were asked to develop specific strategic goals that the alliance could execute to increase safety and stability in the Pacific. Finally, session three "The Big Short: Predicting Crisis in the Indo-Pacific, from North Korea to the South China Sea" dealt with the future of the region. Putting

on their policy-maker hats, the students brainstormed potential black swan events that could disrupt the region and attempted to develop a strategic plan to prepare for those hard-to-predict events.

In their feedback, students stated appreciation for the practical thinking encouraged by the seminar. "I really enjoyed how we used breakout rooms to come up with our own action points; it really put me in the perspective of a policymaker, and that is something that I rarely do in my other classes," noted one student.

"Thank you so much for giving me the opportunity to learn directly from an expert in American foreign policy, Dr. Michael Auslin! It was a pleasure to engage with critical national security materials in the way that we did, and this gave me many insights into what I would like to do in my future career."

—Yale Student

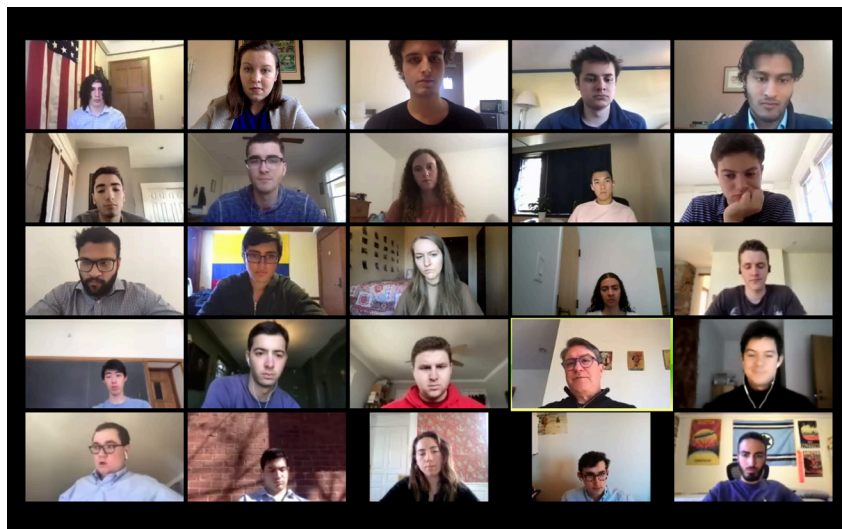


REVIVING THE MIXED CONSTITUTION: HOW TO OVERCOME THE ELITE-POPULIST DIVIDE

For our March seminar series we welcomed Professor Patrick Deneen of Notre Dame University. After making waves on the political theory scene with his provocative book *Why Liberalism Failed*, Professor Deneen has become a prominent intellectual critic of the liberal order. Many of our Buckley Fellows and Yale students, having read his book, eagerly applied to have the chance to learn from him directly. Twenty-five lucky students were given the chance to do just that.

We kicked off the series with a lecture open to the public. Professor Deneen gave an overview of the themes of his upcoming book, considering the relationship between elites, populists, and political regime. Drawing from the classical political theory tradition, Deneen argued that the focus on the elite-populist divide by thinkers such as Aristotle, often ignored by the later liberal political theory tradition, can be a helpful tool for rethinking our contemporary politics.

Following the lecture, the students joined Professor Deneen once a week for a total of three seminar sessions. In preparation, the students had the opportunity to read a few chapters of the first draft of Professor Deneen's new book. These chapters launched the discussion about the nature of elites and populists, how they impact society, and how regime organization can heal or exacerbate the divides between them. Together, the group delved deeply into the questions of progress and stability. Does the populist tend to conserve while the elites push progress? Do the people



drive progress in society while the elites attempt to maintain the status quo? Engaging with key thinkers in the political theory tradition such as Aristotle, Locke, and Marx, the students were challenged to think critically about these big questions.



In student feedback, the participants expressed gratitude for the experience. “It was an honor to meet Professor Deneen—a legend in his field—and to learn from him directly,” one student remarked. “I loved reading his soon-to-be-published book transcript, and it was wonderful to engage with work at the cutting edge of his discipline.”

The students also communicated how the seminar provided a change of atmosphere from their typical academic experiences on campus. **“Unlike in too many Yale classrooms, all ideas and questions are welcome in Buckley Program seminars. No debate is ‘settled’ and no stone is un-turnable,”** expressed one student.

SEMINARS

THE CASE FOR ORIGINALISM: AN INTRODUCTION AND DEFENSE

Fourteen dedicated students chose to spend their break day taking part in our one-day intensive seminar on originalism. To guide the students through this topic, the Buckley Program welcomed Professor Randy Barnett of Georgetown Law. A prominent legal scholar and articulate defender of originalism, Professor Barnett focuses on constitutional law and contracts and serves as the Director of the Georgetown Center for the Constitution.

Introduction to Originalism and Living Constitutionalism

AN INTRODUCTION TO ORIGINALISM AND LIVING CONSTITUTIONALISM*

LAWRENCE B. SOLUM**

Professor Barnett prepared a comprehensive introduction to originalism, covering the development of the legal theory, contrasting the theory with other methods of constitutional interpretation, and responding to its commonly leveled criticisms. Students had the opportunity to engage with the nuances and different approaches to originalism, with Professor Barnett distinguishing between the “public meaning” approach, of which he is an adherent, and the “original intent” approach.



The students appreciated the opportunity to dive more deeply into this important topic. 100% of students reported that they were likely to participate in future seminars and likely to recommend the Buckley seminars to a friend or classmate. Many remarked afterwards that they would not have been exposed to these ideas if not for this seminar. “I’ve heard originalism described as ‘bad’ on campus and I feel like I know enough about the logic behind it to articulate a reasonable defense now. I certainly would have not learned about this topic if not for the Buckley Program,” commented one student.

Other students said that they left the seminar with their opinions of originalism changed. “I’m so excited that my mind was changed as a result of this seminar!” one responded. “I don’t think that I would have gotten to learn about originalism in this way in a Yale political science or constitutional law class, so I am really grateful to have had this opportunity. Thank you!”

Many participants were excited to have learned directly from Professor Barnett in an

intimate academic setting. “This has always been one of my dreams to engage meaningfully with one of the most renowned proponents of originalism and individual rights theory, so thank you so much for making this possible,” remarked one student.

Overall, each student left with a much stronger understanding of this impactful legal theory. Professor Barnett remarked at the close of the seminar that they probably knew more about originalism than most law students in the country!

“I really appreciated the opportunity to engage with and get to know other students who were deeply engaged and interested in constitutional interpretation. The seminar felt like a safe space to express and listen to new opinions, which is integral to the Buckley Program’s mission and one of the reasons why I joined. I am grateful for the experience to learn from a renowned scholar such as Professor Barnett and would like to thank those who helped provide such an enriching experience.”

– Yale Student

SEMINARS

PROGRESS OR DECLINE? ROUSSEAU ON THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

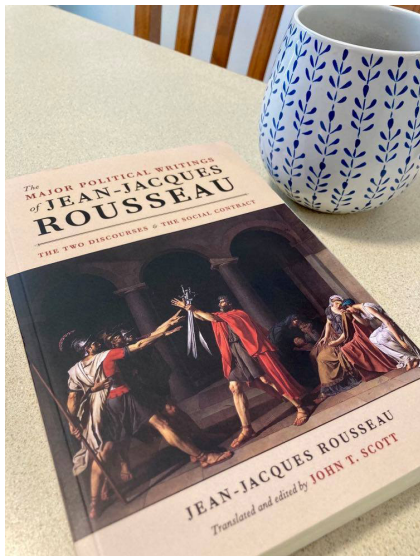
This June, the Buckley Program welcomed 17 dedicated students for our first ever summer seminar series. Meeting each Monday of the month via Zoom, these students had the opportunity to dive deeply into the works and thought of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the often-hated, often-admired, but undeniably influential philosopher whose ideas loom large today. To guide our students through these texts, we called on Professor Benjamin Storey of Furman University. Dr. Storey is Professor of Politics and International Affairs and serves as the Director of the Tocqueville Program, an intellectual community dedicated to investigating the moral and philosophic questions at the heart of political life.



Over the course of the seminar, the participants read and discussed Rousseau's *The Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts* and *The Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Equality Among Men*. They engaged with many big picture questions including, "Does the progress of civilization make human beings better and happier?" and "Do vice and misery increase as the arts and sciences improve?" Many students commented on how they felt challenged by the questions Rousseau invokes. "I gained an understanding of Rousseau's conception of progress, 'natural man,' and anthropology of human development," remarked one student. "Rousseau certainly challenged my viewpoints and served as a figure whose views I don't agree with but—for that reason he did make me reconsider certain ways of framing democratic society, human interest, and the value of reason."



The seminar material, discussion, and professor all received high praise. 100% of students reported that they were satisfied with the seminar experience, that they were likely to participate in a future seminar, and that they would recommend the seminar to a friend or classmate. "Thank you so much for making this seminar possible!" said one student. "It gave me a working foundation in Rousseau and motivated me to learn more even after the course finished. These seminars really add to my outside-of-classroom learning and I am excited to participate in more."



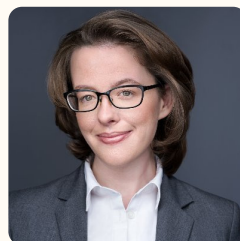
One student offered his thoughts on the value of his seminar experience: "The Buckley Program enhances a liberal arts education, especially with the limited engagement during the pandemic. Students opt in purely out of intellectual interest, elevating the quality of contributions. The professors are also exceptional. **I appreciate not picking Yale professors who are often better researchers than teachers. Professor Storey knows how to engage with young people. He brought Rousseau to life for me. Reading and discussing Rousseau are helping me connect my politics to the human person.**"

TENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE: Sixty Years Since the Sixties

Over the course of the second week of November, the Buckley Program hosted its Tenth Annual Conference on Sixty Years Since the Sixties. The conference, always a favorite among students and supporters alike, marked a full decade of the Buckley Program's successful efforts to bring serious thought on important and relevant topics to Yale's campus. We continued this annual tradition despite the unusual circumstance of the pandemic, bringing panels and discussions virtually to every participant.

PANEL AND DISCUSSION TOPICS INCLUDED:

- The Great Society and American Economic Stagnation from the Sixties to Today
- Woodstock, the Sexual Revolution, and the Decay of American Social Order
- Yale in the Sixties
- In the Shadow of Vietnam: America's Legacy of Adventurism Abroad



WE WELCOMED AN IMPRESSIVE SLATE OF SPEAKERS INCLUDING:

- Amity Shlaes
- Michael Strain
- Julius Krein
- Christine Rosen
- Christopher Caldwell
- Mary Eberstadt
- Helen Andrews
- Geoffrey Kabaservice
- Henry "Sam" Chauncey, Jr.
- Jay Gitlin
- Walter Russell Mead
- Andrew J. Bacevich
- Charles Hill



SPEAKER SERIES

We were pleased to bring a wide variety of lectures, panel discussions, and interviews to our students, supporters, the broader Yale community, and beyond this past year on Zoom. In fact, given the virtual format, many of our events attracted attendees from around the world. Please enjoy the following highlights.

CONVERSATION WITH ROBERT ZIMMER AND NICHOLAS CHRISTAKIS

The Buckley Program is continually working to create a culture of free speech, intellectual diversity, and open academic engagement on Yale's campus. It is always a pleasure to host leaders in academia who stand up bravely for these principles. We were thrilled to welcome Robert J. Zimmer, President of the University of Chicago, and Nicholas Christakis of Yale University for a conversation about the state of higher education.

President Zimmer has been president of the University of Chicago since 2006. An advocate of freedom of speech, he has spoken and written in support of free expression and challenging discourse on college campuses. In recognition of this work, in 2017 he was given the Philip Merrill Award for Outstanding Contributions to Liberal Arts Education by the American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA). Professor Christakis is the Sterling Professor of Social and Natural Science at Yale University. His work is in the fields of network science, biosocial science, and behavior genetics. He directs the Human Nature Lab and is the Co-Director of the Yale Institute for Network Science.

President Zimmer began, explaining that the purpose of education undergirds his desire to keep his campus open to the free exchange of ideas. "I think it's very important that one keep in mind the kind of intellectual skills you are trying to see your students develop in a high quality education," he said. "One of the great things in a liberal arts education that students should get from that education is recognizing assumptions, recognizing their own assumptions, recognizing other people's assumptions, and understanding how to challenge them."

Professor Christakis added his observations about the current state of college classrooms. "A lot of the censorship is taking place not explicitly or formally, but implicitly. There's a narrowing of what people think it's okay to talk about. People don't even bother to invite the speaker they think might be controversial.

That's really corrosive to our institutions," he argued. In addition to that narrowing, colleges and universities are putting other goals above that of education:

I see the mission of a university as the preservation, production, and dissemination of knowledge. Period. There may be other worthy missions in

society, the advancement of beauty, the advancement of quality of life, the improvement of the world, lots and lots of wonderful things which I support. But I think every decision of the university should be taken from that [mission's] point of view.

President Zimmer explained that each administrator, faculty, and student should "know what their diploma means" and uphold that standard of education. "I think the goal should be to have everyone included," he said. "Included in what? Included in an education that is the most intellectually challenging because that is the most empowering." To that end, Professor Christakis provided some concrete examples for how faculty can encourage critical thinking in the classroom. Strategies such as allowing students to voice partial agreement or disagreement, assigning students to argue certain positions regardless of personal belief, or taking extreme positions oneself and then inviting the students to make counter arguments to defend their views, all break down students simply being able to assume agreement with the dominant ideas on campus.

Student President Kobe Rizk guided our guests through the conversation and questions from our virtual audience. The event gave important insight into ways to combat the ever-encroaching censorship in academia. Those in attendance left with a renewed courage, as urged by both Professor Christakis and President Zimmer, to stand up for the principles of free speech, especially when they are hard to defend.





CONVERSATION WITH U.S. AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS (2017-2019) NIKKI HALEY

In February, the Buckley Program welcomed former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Nikki Haley to our virtual stage. Student President Jasper Boers had the privilege of sitting down with Haley to pick her brain on many topics, from the future of the Republican Party to her take-aways from her time at the U.N.

Ambassador Haley gave a consistent message about the Republican Party: we have more in common than we realize and the message of freedom will draw people to the party. “Do you want someone to tell you how to think or do you want to think for yourself? Do you want someone to tell you how to spend your money or do you want to spend it and invest it yourself?” she asked. “This is about the fact of freedom.”

When asked about America’s role on the international stage, Haley argued “Respect does matter, but respect also comes with being able to make a decision.” She offered her philosophy on how to gain that respect from other countries around the world: “When I went into the U.N. I wanted countries to know what we were for and what we were against. They didn’t have to like us, but I wanted them to know what we were for and that is how you get respect.”

Haley also shared lessons from her experiences at the U.N. She forcefully critiqued the worst aspects. “[The U.N. Human Rights Council] is the biggest farce there ever was,” she asserted. “It is now a place where the worst dictators and human rights abusers go to protect themselves and point fingers at everyone else.” Haley also offered her thoughts on reform. “If the United Nations is going to be relevant,” she explained, “they have to start talking about the issues of the day that matter.” She admitted that talking about these issues is difficult and uncomfortable, but necessary. “Until you start talking about the Uighurs in China, until you start talking about the Rohingya and how they were treated in Burma, until you start holding Iran accountable, the United Nations is going to continue to lose relevance.”

“The Buckley Program continues to operate even though campus culture would suggest it do otherwise. It’s this strength that makes me not only enjoy the Buckley Program, but respect it. More specifically, the Program chooses speakers with enough name recognition that people will listen but who are also interesting in their own right. The speakers make me think, which I think is the whole point.”
-Yale Student

Haley offered her candid opinions on more subjects such as pro-family policy, the threat of China, fiscal responsibility, and the future of the Middle East. She also took the chance to share anecdotes from her time as the Governor of South Carolina and as UN Ambassador. Haley was direct and engaging, gracefully navigating a wide range of topics.

Over 530 people, including hundreds of Yale students, attended the webinar, making this Buckley’s most popular online event to date. We are grateful to Tom Hood ’69 for making this event possible.





CONVERSATION WITH SPEAKER PAUL RYAN



In May, former Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives Paul Ryan joined the Buckley Program for a virtual webinar to close out the academic year. Speaker Ryan was first elected to Congress at age 28 and represented Wisconsin's First District for two decades.

Supporter of the Buckley Program Bill Kunkler '79 joined us to introduce Speaker Ryan, his personal friend. After this special introduction, Speaker Ryan took the virtual floor, beginning with opening comments addressing President Biden's first 100 days in office and the current challenges facing the country. Speaker Ryan argued that Biden has "decidedly focused on unifying the Democratic Party and not unifying the country." He further argued that this betrayed the very voters that gave him the margin to win the Presidency: suburban, centrist voters. "The country sent to Washington a virtually tied Congress," he said. "President Biden had a chance at getting a bipartisan win, which would have been good for the country. He chose not to do that and went with the progressives."

The Speaker warned against the negative outcomes of continuing down Biden's current policy path: "If we go down this path of passing the things being proposed—new unpaid-for entitlement programs, new encouragements not to work, bad tax policy that slows down the economy, and continued spending and loose monetary policy—you're going to see a kind of toxic policy mix we haven't seen since the Jimmy Carter days." He emphasized that good policy and good government is necessary to bring the country together and to help the least fortunate in our society.

Taking questions from the audience, Speaker Ryan offered his thoughts on the future electoral prospects of the Republican Party, the message the Party should have going forward, his policy proposals, and even his regrets from his time as Speaker of the House. It was an invaluable opportunity for our students to hear from such an experienced practitioner of American politics and to learn from his insights. The Buckley Program is grateful to Mr. Kunkler for making this event happen.



"The Buckley Program provides a means for students to access serious discussions beyond the political and ideological uniformity that defines the vast majority of campus activities."
—Yale Student

INTERNSHIPS

In 2021, the Buckley Program funded student summer internships for Yale undergraduates at the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE) and *National Review*. Interns are chosen through a competitive application process administered through Yale's Office of Career Strategy.

Here is what our 2020 interns had to say about their experiences:

"During a summer when many internships were cancelled, I have been immensely grateful for the ability to participate in a Buckley Media and Public Policy Internship, especially one which I found so particularly rewarding, educational, and fruitful. My experience was of great benefit to me both professionally and personally, and I would sincerely like to thank those whose generosity made my participation possible."

-Yale Student

"My time at FIRE has been one of the most amazing, intellectually stimulating experiences of my life. During a summer where many of my fellow classmates' summer opportunities were cancelled, I am very grateful to have had this opportunity and even more so to have immersed in the powerful case law of the First Amendment. Thank you so much for supporting this fellowship and making this internship possible for me!"

- Yale Student

"Thank you to the Buckley Program and its generous donors. Without your help, I would not have been able to take part in what honestly was the best internship of my life. The Buckley Program does an incredible job of promoting intellectual diversity on campus, challenging students' preconceptions, and encouraging us to debate about everything and anything. This internship was no exception: in two months, I have seen my beliefs challenged, and this spirit of open inquiry made me a better scholar, student, and citizen. Once more, thank you for your precious help and support."

-Yale Student



FIRING LINE debates



Over the years, our Firing Line Debate Series has remained a favorite of both students and supporters. This series is inspired by the open, honest, and in-depth debates Bill Buckley famously engaged in on his television program, *Firing Line*. We seek to keep this spirit alive by bringing two experts of opposite viewpoints to discuss often contentious topics. During the 2020-2021 academic year, we hosted six such debates on globalism, affirmative action, the direct election of senators, monopoly power, America and NATO, and nuclear power. The following is an overview of one of our debates. We encourage you to visit our YouTube channel to watch others.

FIRING LINE DEBATE: DOJ'S YALE INVESTIGATION AND THE FUTURE OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN HIGHER ED

This installment of our Firing Line Debate series turned to the contentious and prominent issue of the Department of Justice's investigation into Yale admissions practices and the merits of affirmative action in higher education at large. To discuss this topic, we welcomed Heather Mac Donald, currently a Fellow at the Manhattan Institute, and Kevin Carey, Vice President for Education Policy and Knowledge Management at New America. We were also joined by Lisa Blatt as moderator. Ms. Blatt, who has been named one of "the 100 most influential lawyers in America," has argued 34 cases before the Supreme Court, and brought a high level of expertise to challenge our guests.

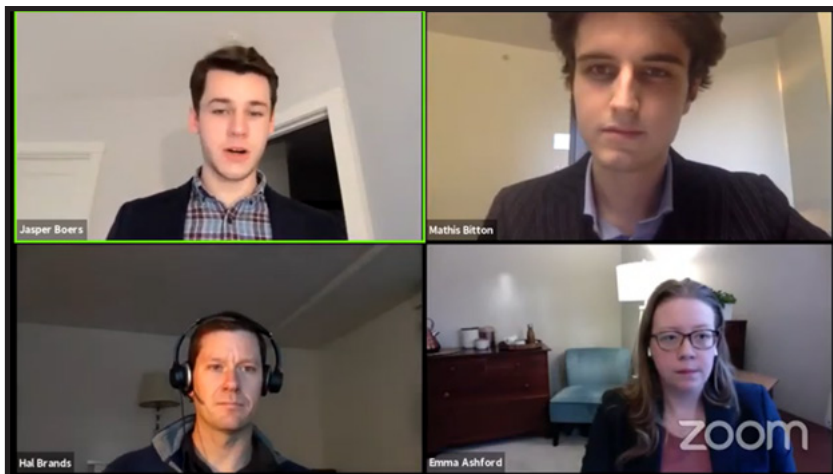
Ms. Mac Donald began the debate with her opening remarks, arguing that affirmative action practices are unjust, inequitable, and ultimately harm those whom the policy is supposed to benefit. To make this case, she focused on the issue of "mismatch," the idea that students who receive racial preference often do not have the level of academic skill to succeed at those institutions. "This phenomenon of mismatch has been documented repeatedly in STEM," she explained. "Duke University, for example, admits black students whose academic qualifications are a standard deviation below that of their white and Asian peers. As a result, there is a flight among black freshmen who intended to major in STEM out of the STEM fields and into softer majors. Had those racially preferred students attended say the University of North Carolina—a well-regarded school—they would be more likely to graduate with a STEM degree and go into a career in science."

In his opening statement, Mr. Carey made the opposite case. "Using race and ethnicity in college admissions, particularly for traditionally underrepresented students—primarily black and Latino students—is both smart and just," he argued. "Smart because we know that there are, in addition to systemic racism in many facets of society, we have a K-12 education system that does not provide equal opportunities to students of different

“races.” He argued that the theory of mismatch is not borne out by the data. Referencing a study conducted after California enacted legislation restricting affirmative action policies and thereby having students attend more ‘properly matched’ universities he noted, “There was no improvement. There was no improvement in course taking. There was no improvement in grades. There was a decline in the number of students who graduated in STEM fields. And that in turn led to a decline in earnings and so forth over time.”

Our speakers then engaged in a back-and-forth moderated by Ms. Blatt, who pushed both of them to defend their points of view. To close, they each made their final points. Mr. Carey focused on the importance colleges, and especially elite colleges like Yale, play in improving life outcomes for historically disadvantaged groups. “The American higher education system, particularly at elite levels, plays an enormously important role in the provision of opportunity and the structure of justice in our society. The judgement that individual private colleges have made around the importance of diversity from an educational standpoint is rooted in research, is widespread, and outside of the federal government’s prerogative to second guess that.”

Ms. Mac Donald closed with this thought: “This is not at this point about compensating for undue economic disadvantage. It’s about a racial essentialism that I do not think is appropriate at this point in our history. To quote the Supreme Court ‘the way to stop discriminating on the basis of race is to stop discriminating on the basis of race.’” Our over 150 attendees benefited not only from the rich substance of the debate, but additionally from our guests and moderator modeling respectful discussion and disagreement about an important issue.



GOVERNANCE REFORM Initiatives

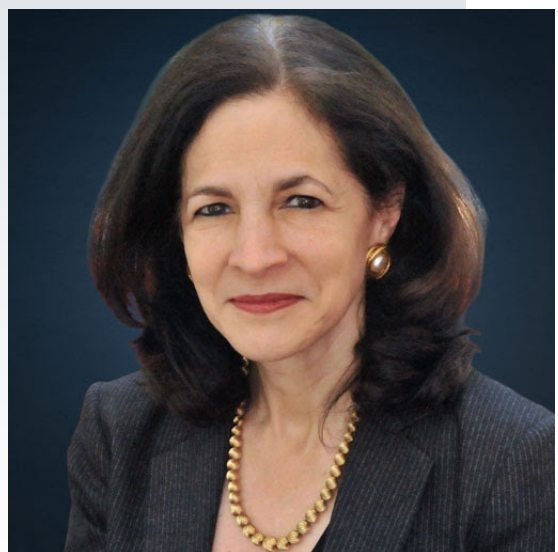


Over the past year, the Buckley Program's efforts to bring an independent voice to Yale's board of trustees, formally known as the Yale Corporation, reached new heights. We supported the candidacy of former U.S. Ambassador to Poland Victor Ashe '67 who promised to bring transparency and accountability to the Yale Corporation as well as reaffirm the University's commitment to free speech principles. Just getting onto the annual Alumni Fellow Election ballot required nearly 4,400 alumni signatures. We worked tirelessly to make sure Ashe made the ballot, helping to gather over 7,000 signatures. We funded mailings to tens of thousands of alumni, full page advertisements in the *Yale Alumni Magazine*, digital efforts, and more.

As many of you know, previous Alumni Fellow elections have been a total sham. Yale administrators would not announce their hand-picked candidates until the election began, and the candidates they chose offered no clues whatsoever as to what they considered the biggest issues at Yale and how they hoped to tackle them. Ashe became the first successful petition candidate to appear on the ballot since 2002, meaning the April/May 2021 election offered alumni a real choice for the first time in decades. We planned to build on this success

by backing the petition candidacy of former Connecticut state representative Gail Lavielle '81 MA for 2022.

Unfortunately, Ashe fell short in the election itself, but even worse, the Yale Corporation completely eliminated the petition process. We criticized and publicized this decision, noting that while Ashe's defeat was disappointing, the craven abandonment of light and truth was a disgrace. Instead of championing the free exchange of ideas, Yale seems to fear dissent and democracy. Coverage of this decision appeared in *The Wall Street Journal*, *Yale Daily News*, *Inside Higher Ed*, *The Washington Free Beacon*, *RealClearPolitics*, *New York Post*, and *National Review*, among others. RealClearEducation published Buckley Program Executive Director Lauren Noble's op-ed, "Yale Has Gagged Its Alumni."



The Buckley Program recently announced plans to sponsor a vigorous public relations campaign to address this ill-conceived decision, hold those responsible accountable, and more broadly, restore light and truth at Yale. This latest episode highlights the urgent need for change. Good governance of our elite institutions matters, but the challenges the university faces go far beyond how one seat on the board is selected each year. The university has everything to gain from engaging in that discussion in a meaningful way rather than closing off debate. As Gail Lavielle has written:

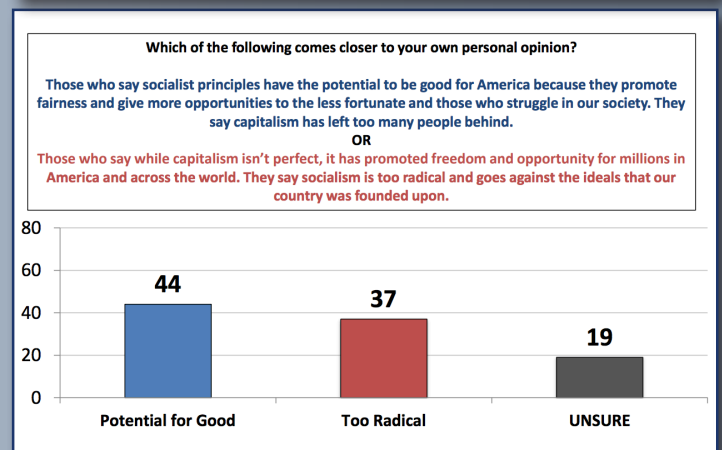
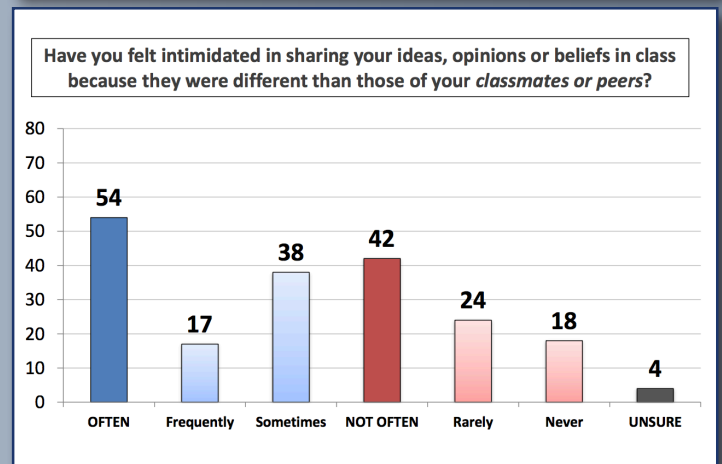
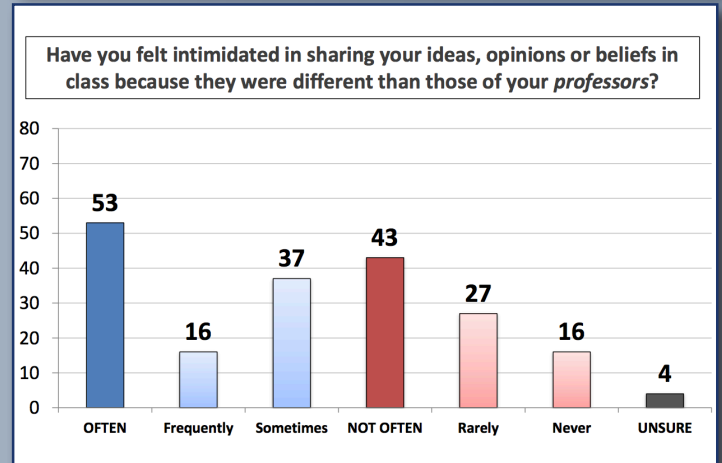
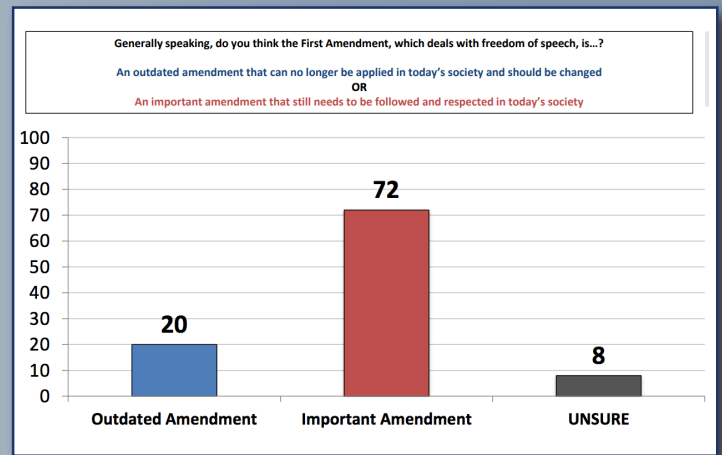
While many universities around the country are facing these same issues, including the question of accountability, Yale has more at stake. Its history as a great university that has produced groundbreaking research and impressive, successful graduates not only entitles it, but obligates it to take responsibility for confronting these issues head on—becoming a leader, rather than surrendering to the pressure of the doctrine *du jour* and the convenience of the status quo.

We look forward to keeping you updated on our progress on this front during the year ahead.

NATIONAL Survey

For the sixth year in a row, we commissioned a national survey to assess the views of U.S. college students on a range of topics from free speech and intellectual diversity on campus to the Constitution. McLaughlin & Associates conducted the survey. Findings included:

- Greater than seven in ten (72%) say the First Amendment is an important amendment that still needs to be followed and respected compared to 20% who say it is outdated and can no longer be applied in today's society. Despite the large margin in favor of the First Amendment's importance, this is the lowest reading in six years.
- Fifty-three percent (53%) say they have often felt intimidated in sharing their ideas, opinions or beliefs in class because they were different than those of their professors, while 43% have not often felt intimidated. This gap has widened slightly from last year when 50% often felt intimidated and 46% did not.
- A similar 54% have often felt intimidated in sharing their ideas, opinions or beliefs because they were different than their classmates or peers, while 42% have not often felt intimidated.
- A slight majority (51%) disagrees that it is sometimes appropriate to shout down or disrupt a speaker on campus, while 40% agree.
- Nearly four in ten (39%) agree that violence can be justified to prevent a person from using hate speech or making racially charged comments, while 51% disagree.
- By a 51% to 40% margin, students believe America is inextricably linked to white supremacy and most minorities remain excluded from the American promise of equality rather than believing America is moving forward and the promise of equality continues to be extended to more people.
- A slight plurality (44%) says socialist principles have the potential to be good for America while 37% say socialism is too radical. This is a slightly wider margin than last year when 40% said socialist principles have the potential to be good and an identical 37% said socialism is too radical.





Student Fellows PROGRAM

The Students Fellows Program provides a welcoming community of peers for students and an accompanying plethora of unique opportunities. Fellows gain the ability to meet with speakers, participate in seminars, attend conferences, receive free books, and access professional development and

networking opportunities. Our 354 Fellows span a wide variety of academic disciplines and political viewpoints. They represent over 35 majors from Political Science to Economics, Philosophy, History, Molecular Biology, Mechanical Engineering, and Chemistry. We also boast Fellows from across Yale's graduate programs, including Yale Divinity School, the School of Public Health, and Yale Law School.

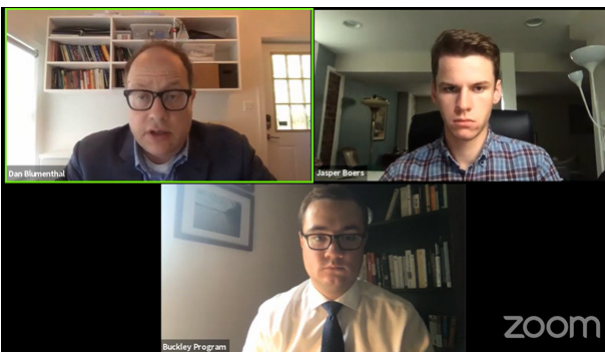


This year, Fellows received copies of new books written by our excellent speakers, including Bari Weiss' *How to Fight Anti-Semitism*, Patrick Deneen's *Why Liberalism Failed*, and Ross Douthat's *The Decadent Society*. Fellows also received classics like *Reflections on the Revolution in France* by Edmund Burke and *Free to Choose* by Milton Friedman among others.

Students have reported many factors that inspired them to join the Buckley Program. "The main draw was a group of likeminded people," said one student. "Additionally, the lecture topics and the content I found online of past talks were a contributing factor to me." Another student cited the Program's "reputation as a beacon for free speech in light of Yale's Fall 2015 controversy" as his reason for becoming a Fellow. Once members, students frequently point to the friendships and community, the stimulating conversations, and the opportunities to engage with speakers and guests as reasons why they remain enthusiastic Fellows.

The Buckley Program provides Fellows with meaningful leadership opportunities. The Student Leadership Board is composed of 12 talented Fellows who help organize Buckley events, moderate debates and Q&As with our speakers, do student outreach, and create social media content. Fellows also have the opportunity to manage and contribute to our student-run blog, *The Buckley Beacon*. Student writers conduct interviews with our speakers and guests, compose reflections about their experiences in the Buckley Program, and comment on campus culture.

This past year, the Buckley Program hosted a variety of special programming for student fellows. In June 2020, we piloted a new career chat series which seeks to connect current Buckley Fellows with successful alumni in various professional fields and provide valuable career insight and networking opportunities for our students. For our first iteration, a group of student fellows were lucky to hear



from two accomplished young alumni who work on Capitol Hill. Elizabeth Henry began working in the Senate for Senator Thad Cochran of Mississippi and now works in the office of Senator Cindy Hyde-Smith (R-MS). Carolyn Madan also works in the Senate in the office of Senator Mike Lee (R-UT).

Both alumni described their paths to working on Capitol Hill after graduating from Yale. They then took many questions from eager current students soliciting advice for their own potential paths to a job in government in Washington, D.C. Everyone attending came away with newly gained knowledge and insightful advice about pursuing a career on Capitol Hill and with an expanded network of Buckley Program members, current and past, to help them on their future professional journeys.

In January 2021, a group of student fellows had the privilege of visiting with former Congressman Lamar Smith over a Zoom call. Having represented Texas' 21st District in the House of Representatives for 16 terms, Congressman Smith offered the Fellows his wisdom and reflections from his 32 years serving in government. Fellows took advantage of having an informal, intimate setting with the Congressman, asking questions about starting a political career, the inner-workings of Capitol Hill, and the personal qualities needed to successfully engage in politics. The students also asked big picture questions, soliciting opinions on topics like the issue of partisanship in our country.

Fondly remembering his own time at Yale, Congressman Smith closed with advice about how to make the most of this formative time at the University. Before saying his goodbyes, Mr. Smith expressed gratitude for the Buckley Program and magnanimously offered to be a resource to Buckley Fellows as they looked

toward their future careers.

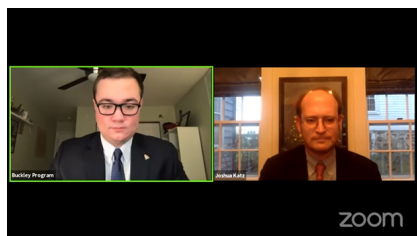
In March 2021, 20 Buckley Fellows had the opportunity to sit down virtually over dinner with Professor Richard Epstein, the Laurence A. Tisch Professor of Law at NYU School of Law. He has served as the Peter and Kirstin Bedford Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution since 2000. Epstein took the opportunity to speak to our Fellows about the relationship between the COVID-19 pandemic and executive power in the government. Using his training as a professor of law, he gave the students insights into the complicated practicalities of policy and regulation, emphasizing the difficulty of crafting top-down policy that adequately addresses the complexities of real life. He used

concrete examples, such as walking through the process of getting a drug approved by FDA and explaining the different incentive structures caused by certain regulations, to illustrate his point.

Professor Epstein also left the students with some life advice. He explained that many people think expertise is conferred through the degrees you receive, but that is incorrect. You should seek to be life-long cultivators of learning and expertise, and that means cultivating interests and seeking knowledge beyond what you simply receive a degree in. The students had opportunities to candidly ask questions, which spanned a variety of topics from Professor Epstein's

recommendations on how we ought to have dealt with the pandemic to his opinions on Civil Rights law to his professional experience and advice. A conversational and witty guest, Professor Epstein provided the students with an enjoyable opportunity to think more deeply about the functioning of the

administrative state, learn more about the legal profession, and consider how to channel their intellectual hunger into their future lives.



Student Fellow SPOTLIGHT

LIBBY SNOWDEN '24

Q: Coming into Yale as a first-year student, what were your expectations about the campus climate? How did your experience this year measure up to those expectations about campus culture?

A: One of the big things that attracted me to Yale was that it was a place for students to go and talk to each other about whatever they wanted to; it was a hub of information and knowledge. At the same time, I was also very aware that Yale is a very liberal political bubble. Generally speaking, I tend to lean left on a lot of issues, so I wasn't overly concerned about disagreeing with people, but I am somebody that is very interested in hearing all sides of an argument and wanting to learn more about somebody else's perspective, so I was a little bit nervous about coming into Yale. I would say that a lot of those fears, on the one hand, were not issues, especially because I found the Buckley Program. On the other hand, I also found people who fit that stereotype that I was expecting—the people who are so far into their own perspective that they weren't even willing to listen to other ideas or even a nuanced perspective of pretty much the same side. As for that notion in my head of Yale being a very one-sided political place, it depends on the time, depends on the moment, depends on the person; however, I was pleasantly surprised to find people who were a little bit more interested in hearing you out, interested in learning beyond just what they believed. And I think Buckley was a big part of that.

Q: Why did you join the Buckley Program?

A: I was scrolling through the Extra-Curricular Bazaar on my computer in my dorm room and I saw “foundation that promotes intellectual diversity and free speech on campus” and I thought that sounded cool, why not try it? When Buckley hosted an open Zoom room, I joined the meeting and Kevin, the current Speakers Director, was in the room. I just sat and talked with Kevin for twenty



minutes. At the end I thought, “Wow, what a great conversation. If this is what every other member of this program is like, I definitely want to be a part of it.” I was very excited about having the opportunity to hear from and learn from speakers and fellow students who thought differently than I did.

Q: What has been your favorite Buckley experience this year?

A: I really liked our Nikki Haley event. I think she is an incredible politician, woman, and leader. I think the way she has navigated her political career is absolutely amazing. It has made me appreciate everything politicians do and go through. Her event was so honest, and I thought she did a really great job talking about her life and her experience. I don't want to go into politics, but it was still inspiring to hear her story. In a similar vein, I also really liked our Paul Ryan event. The fact that we had the former Speaker of the House come and talk to us in a casual setting was so incredible. I would not have had that opportunity had it not been for Buckley.

Q: You've had the opportunity to participate in multiple three-day seminars this year. What was that experience like?

A: I did the Patrick Deneen seminar. He was very knowledgeable and it was amazing to just listen to him. I was working hard to soak up every word he was saying. I loved that there were students who were not afraid to challenge Professor Deneen. They would ask "What do you think about this idea? What do you think about this theory? How is this philosopher's idea flawed?" It was exciting to be around students who were really excited to engage with these big ideas and topics. I also did the Randy Barnett seminar on Originalism. I had no idea that there were all these different types of Originalism. I feel like I don't hear a lot about the Originalism argument, just by the nature of Yale and how my demographic tends to lean politically anyway. I ended up learning a lot from that in just one day and again just hearing other students talking about their own thoughts and ideas and asking him questions was really cool too.

Q: What is the intellectual and political climate like on campus?

A: It's hard for me to give you an accurate interpretation of what's going on at Yale because I was only on campus in the fall and even then, with COVID I only saw about the same ten people consistently; but in my experience I feel like there were times where I was surprised by seeing people speak against the gradient. I was very impressed by it when it happened. But there was also a rhetoric that made people not want to speak out—not even speak out, that makes it sound like people are trying to make something happen—literally just offer another idea. There were times where I would be a little bit wary to say something because I don't want somebody to think, "Libby is a bad person," because I was trying to find my space socially and I didn't want to upset that balance. As far as classes,

I've been very impressed with our professors in creating a fair atmosphere. With students it depends on who you meet.

Q: Why do you think Buckley's mission is important on campus?

A: There were times where I felt like it would almost be risky to offer up a different perspective or even just a nuanced version of the same idea. I don't think it should be that way at all. That is not how you grow as a thinker or a person. I think Yale has the potential to be such an intellectually diverse place—and it definitely is—it's just a matter of whether or not people feel comfortable to freely express that. It's not that words don't have repercussions sometimes, but why are we being punished or shunned for even offering up ideas? I don't think you can succeed as an academic, intellectual institution if you don't have a space where people feel like they can

express their ideas and try to contribute to that marketplace of ideas. I think that's really valuable, especially at a place like Yale.

Q: What are you most looking forward to about your next years of college?

A: I'm looking forward to meeting people in the flesh and not online! Outside of returning to normal, I think this first year was a lot of exploring and trying to figure out how I fit into college and how college works for me. I feel like I have a good sense of that now. I'm excited to dive more deeply into the classes I'm really interested in. I figured out this year that I like one branch of chemistry but not this other one and I really enjoy taking history classes and not so much social science classes. I'm excited to push myself to explore those interests and ideas more and get to talk to professors and engage with them a lot more. So that's what I'm really excited about—to dive more into the things that I found I liked this year and see where that takes me.

Student Fellow SPOTLIGHT

QUINTEN RIMOLDE '23

Q: Why did you join the Buckley Program?

A: I heard about it from Buckley Board members at the time who encouraged me to get involved and come to Buckley events. After that I kept coming to the events which stuck out in a way that really piqued my interest. There were a lot of unique speakers that I didn't get to interact with in other organizations on campus. That was really refreshing. There's always this Yale echo chamber, so being able to break out of that and also interact with people who are looking for that same thing in a community-based atmosphere was very beneficial. I think that's why I stuck around. I came because they recommended it and stayed because the Program is awesome.

Q: Can you talk about the community you found with the other students in Buckley?

A: The community at Buckley had a lot of overlap with other organizations I was in in terms of the people I interacted with, but it really helped to cement those friendships. It's easy to have one-off conversations with individuals at one organization and never interact with them again, but routinely having weekly events really helped to build those friendships. Even with people who I don't converse with as much, getting to meet with them at Buckley events—undergrads, speakers, different alumni members who come back for the Annual Conference and Disinvitation Dinner—they all help build up the community around a shared mission and a shared friendship.

Q: What has been your favorite Buckley experience?

A: I really love the Annual Conference. The 2019 Conference especially was an absolute blast. I came to every single event that day. I was there from 9 am



till 11 pm—it was a wild ride. There were a lot of speakers that I got to interact with, some personally but also just listening to them talk. Sohrab Ahmari, Oren Cass, Kevin Williamson, and so many others were there, all great speakers that I hadn't had the chance to interact with beyond Twitter. They were finally in front of me, and I could shake their hand and meet with them and just kind of hang out with them. That was a really awesome experience.

Q: What is the intellectual and political climate like on campus?

A: I think there's a large silent minority that are supportive of intellectual diversity, but there are very few of those even within that minority that actually want to act on that and make campus a more hospitable place. And on campus, the angrier the voices the more amplified they are. So it might not be necessarily that the whole campus is pro-censorship or trying to create this self-destructive environment of an echo

chamber, but the people who do speak are very publicized on campus; so there's a feeling that it's a completely hostile environment for anyone who doesn't conform to this one distinct set of values. It's constantly self-purifying. There are always people getting canceled who have much different political opinions than I have, views that are more acceptable on campus, but because they don't have this sort of niche agreement with what this certain group of people sees on campus, they are immediately cast to the wayside. I think there would be support to make campus more welcoming but at this point I'm left without a lot of confidence beyond Buckley's purview that there's any diversity of opinion that's emphasized by the campus.

Q: Why do you think Buckley's mission is important on campus?

A: Buckley is trying to break through that mold on Yale's campus that I just talked about. They bring speakers who otherwise would not be publicized or interacted with elsewhere on campus. And I know that there are a lot of people who might prescribe to the acceptable opinions on campus but are still members of Buckley who come in order to interact with speakers and a community that they don't normally get a chance to come into the same circles with. I think that's one way in which it's trying to break the mold. There's many students who want to see campus be a place of free academic discussion and debate of thought and ideas. So there's a lot of growing support for that with Buckley but it's very much a fight that we're still pushing through.

Q: How are the conversations among Buckley speakers and members compared to the discussions and ideas you get to interact with in your Yale classes?

A: I think there is an environment and attitude toward civil discourse that is prevalent in Buckley community events and spaces not found in the classrooms. If you share anything that's outside of the Far-Left hoopla in classes then you are ostracized, get called out, or sometimes you fear harsh grading penalties from your professors. There's definitely a climate of fear in these Yale classrooms. Even if you do speak you are met with hostility which then leads people to not speak at all which furthers the echo chamber. But at Buckley events there's an acceptance to a wide variety of ideas. The people who are there realize that, whether or not they agree, they are willing to interact and accept other opinions. I think inherently in its foundation and its mission the Buckley Program makes these conversations more conducive to discourse.

Q: What are your long-term professional goals and has the Buckley Program helped shape or further those goals?

A: After graduation I plan to go to law school and then work in either political activism or governmental service, maybe even national security—we'll see how the Russian language studies works out! Buckley has hosted, on a more practical level, career chats with different D.C. officials going over how they got to where they are and offering different strategies and tips. I know they've provided their emails and invited us to reach out which really helps to build personal connections. In the last year we had events with two Buckley alumni who work on Capitol Hill and also one with former Congressman Lamar Smith. Those events really stuck out to me and were very beneficial. I also think Buckley has helped me form a more distinct ideology by being challenged but also reaffirmed in discourses with Buckley guests. This has helped me to frame my outlook going forward which will affect how I go about political activism or governmental service.

“At Buckley events there's an acceptance to a wide variety of ideas. The people who are there realize that, whether or not they agree, they are willing to interact and accept other opinions. I think inherently in its foundation and its mission the Buckley Program makes these conversations more conducive to discourse.”

Hear from our GRADUATING SENIORS

"My only regret
is not joining
Buckley
sooner!!"



"What did the Buckley Program provide for
you during your time at Yale?"

"A safe space for conversations and an
environment friendly to new ideas"

"Regular events to look forward to, career connections,
leadership training, the Washington D.C. trip"

"Access to the minds of leading conservative thinkers"

Involvement in the Buckley Program helped me...

- ☒ Meet students on Yale's campus who respected my views
- ☒ Hear views not found elsewhere on campus
- ☒ Develop my intellectual and political interests
- ☒ Increase professional networking opportunities
- ☒ Gain access to an internship or job opportunity

Data taken from the 2021 survey of graduating Student Fellows

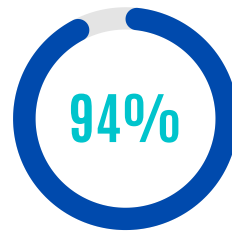


"Thank you. Your contributions enable
me to engage with the intellectual side of
conservatism that we rarely see in either the
media or in college classes. I am personally
not a conservative in the conventional sense,
but I always come away from these seminars
with a greater appreciation of the conservative
tradition." – Yale Student





The Buckley Program's Campus Impact



94% of Student Fellows agree the Buckley Program makes a valuable contribution to their education and experience on campus.



"I have loved the program ever since I set foot on campus. The Program not only gives me a space to contemplate pertinent topics from right-of-center perspectives but also provides a space to talk with other students."

- Buckley Student Fellow

What Students are saying

98%

of Student Fellows are satisfied with their experience in the Buckley Program

94%

of Student Fellows believe the Buckley Program is effectively achieving its mission

74%

of Student Fellows believe there is insufficient intellectual diversity on Yale's campus

We asked our students, "What are the strengths of the Buckley Program?"

- "Incredible speakers, opportunities to learn about conservative thought, and, most importantly, a welcoming environment where dissent is encouraged"
- "A strong, intellectually curious, and diverse community on campus"
- "Excellent, big-name speakers, unparalleled opportunities, and desire to bring ideological balance to campus"

Above data reflects the results of our January 2021 survey of current Buckley Program Fellows

www.buckleyprogram.com

THE FINANCIAL STRENGTH OF THE BUCKLEY PROGRAM

A Message from the Treasurer, John Spagnola '79

Every organization, either for profit or not for profit faced extraordinary challenges in the past year. I'm pleased to report that the Buckley Program, under the exemplary leadership of Lauren Noble, met pandemic related challenges head on by adapting programs and relying on virtual forums to advocate for intellectual diversity. Revenue remained strong at \$1,198,875 while our balance sheet improved. Unrestricted assets now stand at \$1,822,952, a \$494,717 increase over last year. Thank you to all of our donors for their generous support which enables the Buckley Program to carry forward its vital mission even during uncertain times.



December 31, 2020

ASSETS

Current assets	
Cash	\$ 426,122
Marketable securities	1,406,372
Prepaid expenses and other assets	7,194
Total Current Assets	1,839,688
Property and equipment, net	1,259
	<u>\$ 1,840,947</u>

LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS

Current Liabilities	
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$ 17,995
Net assets, without donor restrictions	1,822,952
	<u>\$ 1,840,947</u>

Year Ended December 31, 2020

REVENUES, GAINS AND SUPPORT

Contributions and grants	\$ 1,176,452
Special events	—
Investment income	12,531
Other income	9,892
Total Revenue, Gains and Support	<u>1,198,875</u>

EXPENSES

Program services	561,681
Management and general	92,985
Fundraising	49,492
Direct donor benefit	—
Total Expenses	<u>704,158</u>
Change in Net Assets	494,717

NET ASSETS WITHOUT DONOR RESTRICTIONS

Beginning of year	1,328,235
End of year	<u>1,822,952</u>



SUPPORTING THE BUCKLEY PROGRAM

We rely on the generosity of donors like you to carry out our mission. As a 501(c)(3) organization, donations to the Buckley Program are tax-deductible to the fullest extent of the law. Our tax ID number is 27-5131268.

We accept:

- Checks made payable to The William F. Buckley, Jr. Program at Yale and mailed to:
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GOD AND MAN AT YALE SOCIETY and the REED LEGACY CHALLENGE



A legacy gift to The William F. Buckley, Jr. Program at Yale 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.

In 2020, we were pleased to have multiple new members join our God and Man at Yale Society, many inspired by the generosity of Mark H. Reed '72. In addition to making a provision in his will to provide an extremely generous \$200,000 gift to the Buckley Program, Mr. Reed encouraged others to do the same via the Reed Legacy Challenge. He matched new estate commitments dollar for dollar with an increase in his own gift up to an additional \$200,000.

We are excited to report that this challenge generated over \$1 million in new estate commitments to the Buckley Program. We are grateful to all of our donors who made this exciting achievement happen and want to thank Mr. Reed in particular for his leadership role.

As of July 2021, the following supporters have joined the God and Man at Yale Society. If you have included the Buckley Program in your estate plans, please let us know so we can recognize you in future reports.

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To learn more about the God and Man at Yale Society or to let us know that you intend to join, please contact Lauren@buckleyprogram.com.



WISDOM IN YOUTH Society

In 2019, the Buckley Program launched a giving program tailored to the interests of young alumni ten years or less from graduation. This opportunity is available to alumni who were Buckley Fellows when they were at Yale. Please contact Lauren@buckleyprogram.com for more information.



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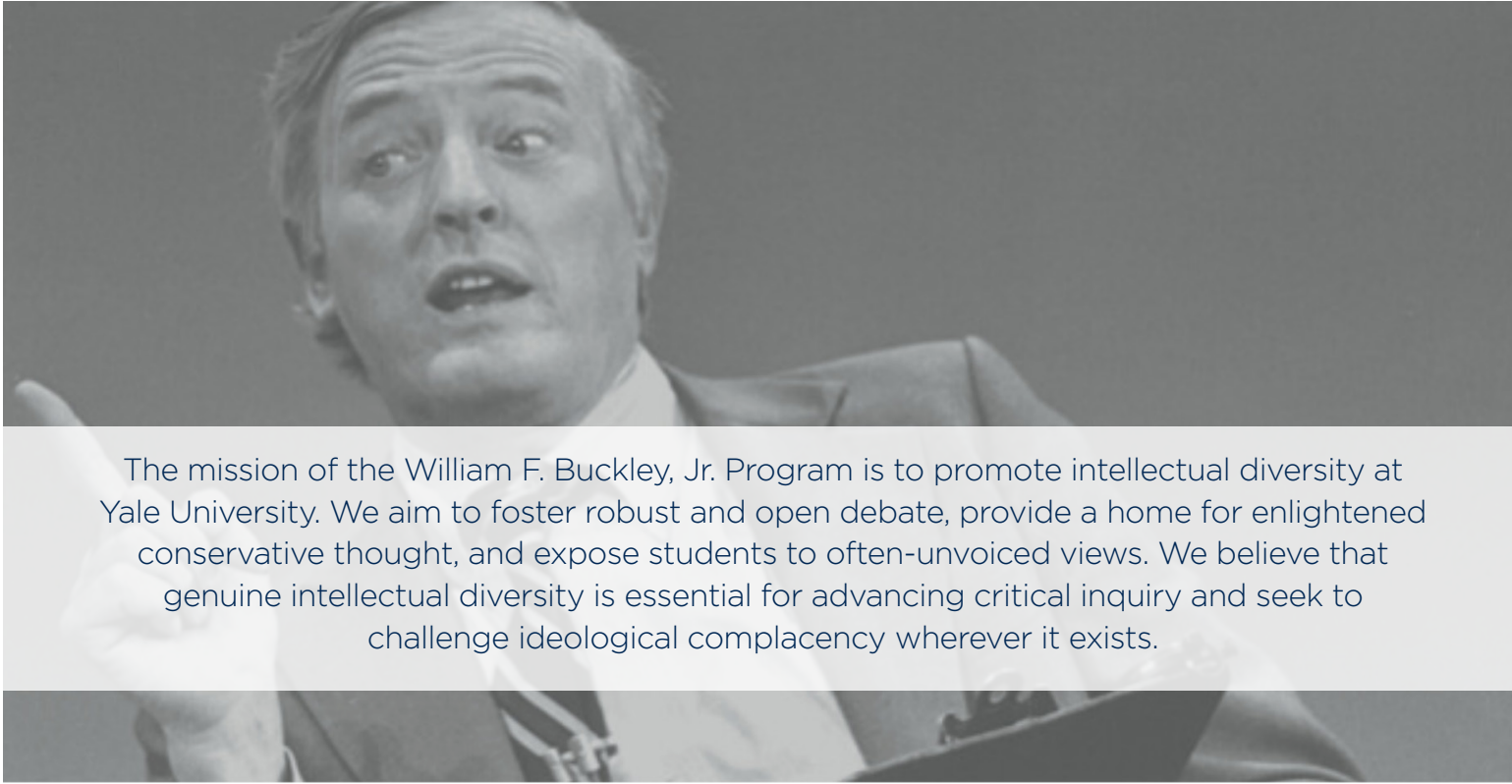
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