

THE WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR. PROGRAM AT YALE

ANNUAL REPORT



2021 2022



Message from the Founder and Executive Director, Lauren Noble '11

Dear Friend,

Another year has come and gone at Yale. And it has been a banner 12 months for the Buckley Program. The number of Buckley Fellows fighting for intellectual diversity on campus has grown to a record 501 total students. Your donations have helped host 68 events featuring 90 speakers, launched a new Lux et Veritas Faculty Prize to reward Yale professors who encourage their students to think for themselves, and so much more.

Your support is as necessary as ever. Our Seventh Annual National Student Survey showed that many college students believe that some opinions just aren't welcome on campus:

- 50 percent of students surveyed have often felt intimidated in sharing their ideas, opinions, or beliefs in the classroom because they differ from professors or classmates.
- 40 percent of students believe it is appropriate to shout down an on-campus speaker.
- 36 percent believe violence can be justified to prevent a person from using hate speech or making racially charged comments.

Unfortunately, too many students will graduate without exposure to views outside of the campus orthodoxy. As cancel culture intensifies, it becomes more imperative that Yale students have ready access to perspectives that challenge them and model robust yet civil debate.

Historically, Yale's graduates have gone on to lead in the political arena, in the courts, and in the C-suite. Exposing the student body to a diversity of views is the best way to ensure the success of not only Yale's graduates, but the entire country.

That is why the work of the Buckley Program is so crucial. After the COVID shutdowns, the Buckley Program came back in force, hosting 106 hours of student programming. We brought back our signature Disinvitation Dinner and our universally acclaimed student trip to Washington, D.C. Our new Fight for Yale's Future effort to restore light and truth at Yale is off to an energetic start, collecting nearly 1,000 signatures from students, faculty, and alumni for our petition calling on Yale to reaffirm its commitment to free speech.

In the fall of 2021, we published our new strategic plan and are well on our way to executing it. In November, Isabelle Hargrove joined our team as the new Director of Development. In June, we brought on Ari Schaffer as Communications Director.

None of this growth would have been possible without the generosity of donors like you. With your continued support, we will be able to build on these many accomplishments in the year ahead. Thank you very much for standing with our mission.

Sincerely,



Lauren Noble
Founder and Executive Director



Message from the Student President, Kevin Xiao '23

Since the Halloween incident of 2015, crises of campus speech seem to have become the new normal, but the Buckley Program's resolve in protecting free speech and intellectual diversity at Yale has stemmed the tide. Notwithstanding the recent inquisitions and screaming matches at Yale Law School, Buckley Fellows participated in our Eleventh Annual Conference on *God and Man at Yale* and heard diverse voices ranging from Senator Ted Cruz to Bari Weiss. We debated the future of American strategy in Taiwan with Bridge Colby and Patrick Porter, enjoyed a masterclass on cryptocurrency regulation from Jay Clayton, and discussed the tribalism of American politics with Amy Chua.



The Buckley Program is now at its strongest ever, with over 500 student fellows. Students joined for the opportunity to hear new perspectives, converse with world-class speakers and professors, and participate in an environment of thoughtful and open discourse. When told about our events, 140 students this past spring alone leapt at the chance to become a fellow. Our newest fellows pointed out to me that these opportunities were the reason they came to Yale. It was only at the Buckley Program that they found them.

Our events have also continued to shape campus conversations and set the standard for civil discourse at Yale. Senator Cruz's visit sparked conversations for weeks before and after the event. Over 500 students, faculty, and

guests attended the event, which ran uninterrupted for nearly two hours.

The Buckley Program's growth has also set the stage for events in the years to come. Buckley alumni have continued to influence politics and have served as valuable resources for current fellows. Fellows heard from Aaron Sibarium '18 about his reporting at the *Washington Free Beacon*, Michael Knowles '12 at our Annual Conference this past December, and Elizabeth Henry Denchfield '14 over spring break in D.C. As we pioneer new initiatives like our Lux et Veritas Faculty Prize to advance critical inquiry on Yale's campus, I look forward to the impact that the Buckley Program has made and will continue to make on generations of Yale students.

"Fellows pointed out to me that these opportunities were the reason they came to Yale. It was only at the Buckley Program that they found them."

- Kevin Xiao

On behalf of myself and our other 500 Buckley Fellows, thank you for making these opportunities possible. Your support has enabled the Buckley Program to stand up for free speech and intellectual diversity on a campus where such voices are rapidly disappearing. Your support of the Buckley Program has given me and hundreds of other fellows the education that we sought out in coming to Yale. Thank you for your continued support.

2021-2022

ACADEMIC YEAR EVENTS IN REVIEW



SEPTEMBER

Firing Line Debate on Biden's Afghanistan Withdrawal and America's Future in the Middle East
Rebecca Heinrichs and William Ruger

Critical Race Theory in the Classroom
Christopher Rufo, Andrew Gutmann, and Paul Rossi

Book Talk on *Woke, Inc.*
Vivek Ramaswamy

Career Chat with Ed Meese

American Conservatism, 1995-2020
Matthew Continetti

OCTOBER

Multi-Day Seminar on American Conservatism: Past and Present
Matthew Continetti

Firing Line Debate on Qualified Immunity
Jay Schweikert and Christopher Walker

Firing Line Debate on U.S. Strategy in Taiwan
Elbridge Colby and Patrick Porter

What is Happening to Free Speech at Yale Law School?
Robert Shibley and Aaron Sbarium

Career Chat with Joshua Bolton

Republican Virtue and the American Constitution
Adam White

Multi-Day Seminar on Keeping a Republic:
Constitutional Virtues and Institutions
Adam White

NOVEMBER

Career Chat with Josh Altman

Book Talk on *Apollo's Arrow: The Profound and Enduring Impact of Coronavirus on the Way We Live*
Nicholas Christakis

Seminar on The Problem of American Power and the Opportunity of Geopolitics
Vance Serchuk

Seminar on the Uyghurs and Human Rights Violations in China
Rayhan Asat

Seminar on *Reclaiming Patriotism in an Age of Extremes*
Steven Smith

DECEMBER

Inflation and the COVID-19 Economy
Diana Furchtgott-Roth, Kenneth Rogoff, and Desmond Lachman

Eleventh Annual Conference on the 70th Anniversary of *God and Man at Yale*

Seminar with Diana Furchtgott-Roth

"Thank you so much for this opportunity!
These seminars are integral to creating a more politically informed class of college students who are capable of understanding different perspectives instead of holding a myopic and simplistic worldview."
-Yale Student

JANUARY

Multi-Day Seminar on Political Education in Shakespeare's *Tempest*
Jenna Silber Storey

Pushing the Limits of COVID Theater: Yale and the Ivy League
Tyler Cowen

Regulating Cryptocurrency in the Digital Age
Jay Clayton

FEBRUARY

Firing Line Debate on Nuclear Strategy in the Age of Great Power Competition
Matthew Kroenig and Jeffrey Lewis

Summer Internships Information Panel

Career Chat with Nathan Lucas

Book Talk on *Why We Are Restless: On the Modern Quest for Contentment*
Benjamin Storey and Jenna Silber Storey

Seminar with Gregory Collins

Seminar on Money and the Expression of Political Values
George Priest



MARCH

Book Talk on *Maverick: A Biography of Thomas Sowell*
Jason Riley

Seminar on *Political Tribes: Group Instinct and the Fate of Nations*
Amy Chua

Seminar on America's Woeful Ignorance About Cuba and Cuban Exiles
Carlos Eire

Firing Line Debate on Marijuana Legalization
Howard Husock, Melissa Moore, and Sally Satel

Seminar with Rob Long



APRIL

Seminar with Anthony Kronman

Verdict with Ted Cruz LIVE
Senator Ted Cruz, Michael Knowles, and Liz Wheeler
Sponsored by Young America's Foundation's Irving Brown Lecture Series

Firing Line Debate on Common Good Conservatism
Josh Hammer, Dan McLaughlin, and Gregory Collins

MAY

Sixth Annual Disinvitation Dinner
Bari Weiss

Reunion Event on Defending Free Speech on Campus
Darpana Sheth



JUNE

Reunion Event on Great Minds Don't Always Think Alike: Viewpoint Diversity in Higher Education
John Tomasi

Reunion Event on Yale: Now and Tomorrow
Carlos Eire, Kevin Xiao, and Lauren Noble

Speaker Series



Our speaker series reaches our broadest audience with a wide variety of panel discussions, book talks, interviews, and lectures. We attract students, supporters, and the broader Yale and New Haven communities with timely and stimulating content delivered by respected experts with diverse viewpoints. Now that we have returned to in-person events, we remain committed to reaching audiences beyond New Haven by live-streaming and recording our events.

This academic year, the Buckley Program hosted 15 discussions, panels, and book talks on topics ranging from Coronavirus, the economy, and modern conservatism to the rise of wokeness, free speech on campus, viewpoint diversity, and the quest for contentment. We had an opportunity to hear from a sitting U.S. Senator, a former SEC Chairman, respected journalists, professors, and well-known experts.

Our events draw a wide range of students and attendees. Our largest event with Senator Cruz and Michael Knowles welcomed over 500 guests.

The Buckley Program speaker events receive glowing reviews because of the high-caliber participants, the relevance of the topics, and the compelling and open discussions.



Former SEC Chairman Jay Clayton spoke to students about cryptocurrency in January.

Missed an event?
Many recordings are available
on our **YouTube** channel.

*"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*

*"The quality of speakers invited. They are not simply voices that are not often heard on campus, but they are rigorous in their reasoning and highly accomplished. Additionally, the range of events makes for a very diverse experience that extends beyond mere intellectual debate and into social life."
- Yale Student*



Critical Race Theory in the Classroom

Featuring Christopher Rufo, Andrew Gutmann, and Paul Rossi

With the issue of critical race theory dominating national conversations, the Buckley Program brought together a panel to illuminate the issue for our students and community. Christopher Rufo, a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute, has become a prominent national figure in the last year for his reporting and exposing of CRT in America's schools and corporations. Andrew Gutmann joined the nationwide movement fighting for classical liberal values and against critical race theory in schools when the letter he wrote to the parents of his daughter's New York City private school, The Brearley School, went viral. Paul Rossi gained notoriety when his resignation letter, "I Refuse to Stand by While My Students are Indoctrinated," was published on Bari Weiss' substack "Common Sense," describing the impact of critical race theory and pedagogy on his students at Grace Church School, where he had been teaching since 2012.

Christopher Rufo spoke first, focusing his remarks on "dispelling some myths" about the CRT debate and specifically addressing the contentions that it is an academic freedom issue. "First off, public K-12 schools are not a free marketplace of ideas," he asserted. "They're not actually a free marketplace of any kind. In fact, public schools are a state-run, taxpayer funded monopoly." Rufo also emphasized that K-12 education cannot possibly give all viewpoints time and attention in school, for practical reasons as well as moral ones. "When you are talking about kids, especially those at the lower grade levels, they are not equipped to entertain all perspectives," he argued. "Kids are vulnerable, impressionable. You have a responsibility to take greater care than in, for example, a college classroom."

Andrew Gutmann followed with his personal story about how CRT had affected his daughter's prestigious private school. "The mission of the school really changed from being what traditionally a school is supposed to do, which is to teach kids, to indoctrinating them and training them to be activists," he explained. Gutmann then shed light on how this new mission affected every aspect of his daughter's schooling. "We saw how this was being incorporated into every class, every aspect of the curriculum," he said. "[There was] this obsession with race, and not just race, but age-inappropriate discussions of gender and sexuality." In light of these developments, they did not re-enroll their daughter in the school and attempted to rally other parents to publicly express their opposition. Gutmann pointed out that the practical fight against CRT looks very different for private schools versus public schools and offered some wisdom on how parents should fight back.

Paul Rossi, based on his experiences inside a school that heavily embraced CRT, addressed the pedagogical implications of these school initiatives. Explaining his "inciting incident" which led him to speak out against CRT, Rossi shared, "I asked a question which raised a firestorm within the school: 'To what extent must I identify as a category that is a social label?'" Since leaving the school, he has continued to investigate the deeper questions underlying CRT. "I've been interested in the psychology of how the CRT praxis is applied upon children as young as kindergarten and exactly what that pedagogy is." He then discussed that this identity question is central to the psychology of CRT praxis and that it can be used as a good basis for challenging CRT efforts in schools. From there, one can develop "effective ways for individuals to interrupt the process to maintain the cognitive liberty of children and their right to question these beliefs that are being presented as knowledge."

Student leader Kevin Xiao then led our guests through an insightful discussion exploring the implications of such an ideology being present in the schools and practical means for combatting it. Audience members also had the opportunity to ask the panelists questions.

This event drew a huge crowd, with a virtual audience of nearly 300 viewers. The Buckley Program was thrilled to bring together this panel to address a timely national issue.



Inflation and the COVID-19 Economy

Featuring Diana Furchtgott-Roth, Kenneth Rogoff, and Desmond Lachman



As prices have climbed dramatically over the past year, inflation has emerged as a top issue of concern for the country. In December, the Buckley Program assembled a panel of top economists to share their perspectives on the issue: Diana Furchtgott-Roth, former chief economist of the U.S. Department of Labor and adjunct professor of economics at George Washington University; Kenneth Rogoff, Thomas D. Cabot Professor of Economics at Harvard University; and American Enterprise Institute Senior Fellow Desmond Lachman.

Professor Furchtgott-Roth began by illuminating the current fiscal landscape. "The consumer price index, the most common measure of inflation, is now 6.2% on an annualized basis," she began. "The producer price index is running at 8.6%. The index of import prices is up 10.7% over a year ago and the index of export prices is up 18%. All these indices that began to rise in the spring of 2020 kept going." She explained that "inflation has been generated by supply shocks and aggregate demand stemming from aggressive monetary and fiscal stimulus. Inflation has accelerated over a widening array of goods and services. Inflation will remain elevated after all the supply disruptions ease. Inflationary expectations are becoming embedded in wage and price setting behaviors." Ms. Furchtgott-Roth then took federal policy makers to task. "The Fed's understatement of the role of monetary policy as a source of inflation is misguided and potentially dangerous," she contended. She criticized the immense amount of spending by the federal government, arguing that policies such as transfer payments and the infrastructure bill added to inflationary pressures such as labor shortages.

Professor Rogoff followed. "The financial markets are curiously calm about this," he observed. He attributed this to the belief that over the long run the inflation predictions are still average and that the predictions for the rise in interest rates is still not very high. Nonetheless, Professor Rogoff speculated that the sanguine attitude of the market is misplaced. "I still think it's within the realm of possibility that the Fed does a 'tightening-lite' and gets away with it, but I also think there's a chance that they move quite a bit and it's not enough; that they waited too long."

Mr. Lachman rounded out the panel, approaching the question from a global perspective. "I would agree with [my fellow panelists] totally that a big part of our inflation problem is policy driven." He argued that despite the supply issues and the labor shortages being a factor, "the main driver of inflation, in my mind, is the extraordinary easy monetary and fiscal policy." He noted that "the gap that we had last year during the pandemic was something like 4% of GDP, but the government took upon itself to increase spending by 25% of GDP over the past two years." Despite this fiscal situation, "they've kept monetary policy extraordinarily easy by buying something like 4.5 trillion dollars bonds in the space of a year, kept interest rates at zero, and let interest rates go very negative in real terms."

After offering their assessments, our knowledgeable experts had the opportunity to engage in a joint dialogue, offering some points of disagreement, clarification, and more examples. They then answered questions from our student moderators and virtual audience, spanning topics from potential monetary and fiscal policy answers to implications for average citizens and consumers. Our students and members of the Buckley community enjoyed this unique opportunity to gain insights from such distinguished economists in the field and learn more about an extremely complex, but vitally important, topic.

Maverick: A Biography of Thomas Sowell

Book Talk with Jason Riley

With great excitement, the Buckley Program returned to in-person events following the long COVID-induced hiatus. We enthusiastically welcomed Jason Riley of *The Wall Street Journal* for a talk on his book, *Maverick: A Biography of Thomas Sowell*.

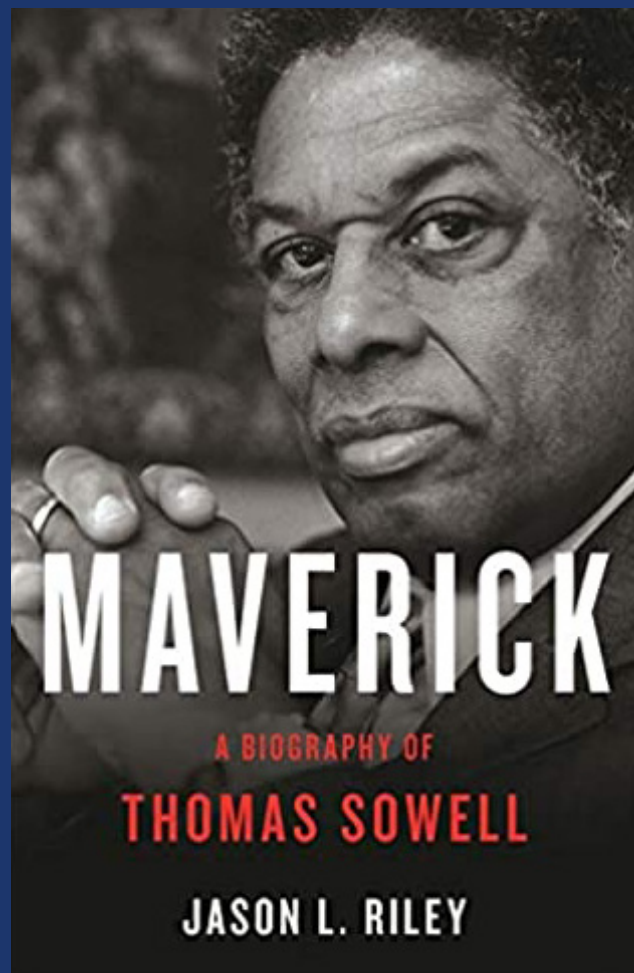
Mr. Riley is an opinion columnist at *The Journal*, where his column, Upward Mobility, has run since 2016. He is also a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute and 2018 Bradley Prize Recipient. In *Maverick*, Riley is the first to give Sowell, one of the greatest social theorists of the last century, his due and showcases Sowell's ideas and life story.

To begin, Mr. Riley presented his opening remarks, painting a picture of Thomas Sowell and explaining why his scholarship and intellectual legacy are so relevant to the political and public policy conversations of today. This portrait of Sowell included his defining characteristics as a thinker and scholar: "Intellectual integrity, analytical rigor, respect for evidence, skepticism toward the kind of fashionable thinking that comes and goes," relayed Riley. "And then there's the clarity; column after column, book after book, written in plain English for the general public consumption."

Drawing on Sowell's decades of scholarship, Mr. Riley highlighted how Sowell's thinking on various policy issues shed light on important contentious contemporary policy debates, from charter schools to policing and critical race theory. "Frankly, I find it depressing that so many people know names like Ta-Nehisi Coates, Ibram Kendi, Nikole Hannah Jones, Cornel West, but not Thomas Sowell," he opined. "His scholarship runs circles around those individuals. It's not just the volume of his writings that surpasses those other individuals. It's also the range, the depth, and the rigor of his thinking, which they don't come close to matching in their own analyses. He anticipated many of their arguments decades ago and refuted them decades ago."

Riley drew attention to another observation of Sowell's that has direct relevance to today's political discourse: the views of black intellectuals and elites do not align with the views of the majority of black people. He pointed to polling data that showed the differences between these groups on the questions of defunding the police, voter ID, school choice, and many other issues. "I often tell people," said Riley, "that if you think Ta-Nehisi Coates and Nikole Hannah Jones represent the views of most black people, you need to get to know more black people."

To conclude, Riley pointed to a singular feature of Sowell's character and scholarship: honesty. "Sowell is a rare species," he observed. "He's an honest intellectual. He is someone who has consistently sought out the truth regardless of whether it made him popular. He's been willing to follow the facts and evidence where they lead even when they lead to politically incorrect results. It's not something that ought to distinguish you as a scholar, but these days it does."

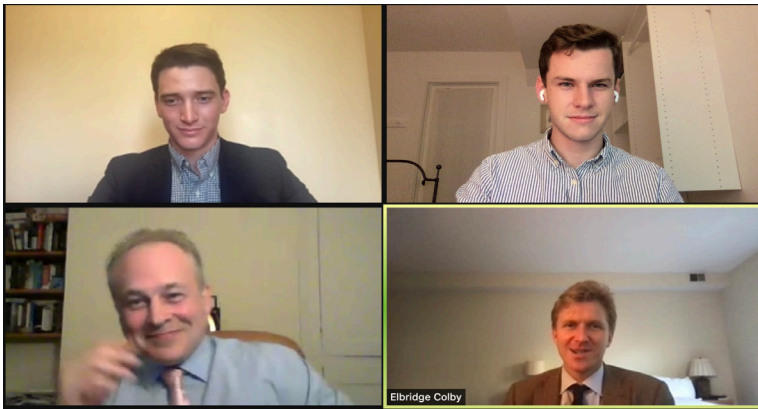


"The Buckley Program is not only important, but essential in today's environment."

- Jason Riley

Firing Line Debates

Keeping in the tradition of William F. Buckley, Jr., our Firing Line Debates are some of our most highly anticipated events each semester. Our debates tackle contentious national conversations in an open, constructive forum, featuring two experts on a topic with different viewpoints. This past academic year, we hosted six Firing Line Debates on Afghanistan, qualified immunity, Taiwan, nuclear strategy, marijuana, and common good conservatism.



Firing Line Debate on Biden's Afghanistan Withdrawal and America's Future in the Middle East

The Buckley Program kicked off the 2021-22 academic year with a Firing Line Debate exploring the withdrawal of American presence from Afghanistan with two foreign policy experts. Rebecca L. Heinrichs is a senior fellow at Hudson Institute specializing in U.S. national defense policy with a focus on strategic deterrence. Ms. Heinrichs serves as an adjunct professor at the Institute of World Politics. William Ruger serves as Vice President for Research and Policy at the Charles Koch Institute. A veteran of the Afghanistan War, Dr. Ruger was nominated by President Trump to serve as the U.S. Ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.



Dr. Ruger began, outlining his position that, execution aside, the removal of American troops from Afghanistan is ultimately the correct strategic decision and is in line with American strategic interests. "We

won the war we needed to fight [in Afghanistan]," he argued, "but the problem is that we expanded the war aims and then we lost that war." He argued that, in terms of strategic interest, the concern is preventing terrorism and that we have the capacity to do so without an on the ground presence in the country, as already occurs in other regions. Dr. Ruger also posited that a lack of American control of Afghanistan does not grant a strategic advantage to our global adversaries. "China, Pakistan, India, Iran—I think these countries aren't foolish enough to try to have a long-term project of remaking Afghanistan. And if they do, they, like us and the Soviets and the British before them, will find that Afghanistan is not worth the price of admission."

Ms. Heinrichs then offered her defense for a limited continued engagement in Afghanistan. She identified points of agreement with Dr. Ruger, including the problems of overbroad mission goals in the region.



Despite her sympathies toward a drawdown in Afghanistan, she emphasized that a refusal to assess and adapt to the current situation leads to ineffective and often detrimental policy decisions. “Ideological rigidity trapped us there [in Afghanistan],” she argued, and she urged those who favor withdrawal not to be drawn into that same rigidity. “It became very clear to me, as I sat through some of these briefings, that the basic need to maintain counterterrorism was not going to be sufficient unless we had at least a small presence in the country.”



Our guests engaged in a thoughtful back and forth, guided by student leader Jasper Boers. The virtual audience of over 110 attendees also submitted questions.

Firing Line Debate on Marijuana Legalization

In March, the Buckley Program welcomed Howard Husock of the American Enterprise Institute and Melissa Moore of the Drug Policy Alliance for a Firing Line Debate on Marijuana Legalization. Mr. Husock is a senior fellow in Domestic Policy Studies at the American Enterprise Institute. Before joining AEI, Mr. Husock was Vice President for Research and Publications at the Manhattan Institute. Ms. Moore is the Director of Civil Systems Reform at the Drug Policy Alliance, where she leads this new initiative to examine how the War on Drugs has negatively affected societal systems beyond the criminal justice system. They were joined by Sally Satel as moderator, a practicing psychiatrist and lecturer at the Yale University School of Medicine. Dr. Satel framed the debate, harkening back to Bill Buckley’s statement in 1996 that “the drug war is lost” and pointing out the progress policy makers have made in the last 20 years in the complicated task of balancing public health, personal autonomy, and social order.

Melissa Moore began with her opening statement, arguing that marijuana legalization is a good thing and should be adopted at the federal level. She highlighted the benefits of having a tightly regulated legal market, from the ability to better ensure community well-being and public health, to having better tools to protect young people and provide comprehensive education, to

community reinvestment of tax revenue generated by the legal sale of marijuana. “Overall, within a regulated market we are able to protect consumers and provide information for better decision making.” Pointing to the harm caused by the War on Drugs, especially its inequitable and deleterious effects on low-income communities and communities of color, Moore argued: “It’s time to stop the ineffective and unjust enforcement of cannabis prohibition across this country and begin comprehensively and responsibly regulating marijuana to better serve all of these interests.”

For his opening statement, Mr. Husock outlined his position, which found some agreement and some disagreement with Ms. Moore’s. He described the problem as “the understanding that continuing to criminalize marijuana use is no longer practical with the acknowledgment that its use can be harmful. Thus, our challenge today is combining legalization with harm reduction as we craft a regulatory regime.” He criticized current legalization tactics by state and local governments: “Too often at present, [these governments] are cheerleading marijuana as an engine of economic development and a source of cash revenues. Relying on pot sales to balance budgets overlooks the harms it can do to citizens.” He emphasized that these entities should focus on discouraging use, rather than encouraging use for financial gain and especially exploiting the very low-income and minority communities that already faced the scourge of criminalization enforcement. He concluded, “The combination of a black market and a public health emergency are real problems we must strive to avoid. Legalization is with us. A wise regulatory regime has yet to be crafted.” Following these openings, Dr. Satel led the interlocutors in a substantive back and forth, drawing out more points of agreement and disagreement. The audience also had the opportunity to ask questions.

Student Fellows Program

Robust programming and a welcoming community of peers who share a passion for learning and the free exchange of ideas have been key to the success of the Buckley Program.

It's why we are now the largest student organization on Yale's campus with over 500 fellows.

Each academic year, the Buckley Program offers our student fellows a variety of special opportunities and resources. These include fellows-only seminars, career chats, study breaks, and social events. Students are exposed to a broad spectrum of programs and topics. Each program provides a rigorous but welcoming academic experience that broadens their perspective and enhances their ability to think critically, thus preparing our fellows to be better leaders for tomorrow.

Our student fellows program also offers the chance for students to freely engage with guest speakers during informal dinners or receptions held after public events. This year, students had the opportunity to converse with speakers such as Senator Ted Cruz, *Wall Street Journal* columnist Jason Riley, Newsweek opinion editor Josh Hammer, *National Review* senior writer Dan McLaughlin, and American Enterprise Institute senior fellow Howard Husock.



Fellows also receive copies of the books discussed at various programs. For the 2021-2022 academic year, we distributed 34 different books to student fellows, for a total of 475 copies. This included books such as *Maverick: A Biography of Thomas Sowell* by Jason Riley, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* by Edmund Burke, *The Poor Side of Town: And Why We Need It* by Howard Husock, *The Closing of the American Mind* by Allan Bloom, *Theory of Moral Sentiments* by Adam Smith, *The Spirit of the Laws* by Montesquieu, and *Free to Choose* by Milton Friedman.

82%

of student fellows agree a Buckley event has made them reconsider an idea they held or change their mind on a topic.

STUDENT FELLOWS	EVENTS	SPEAKERS	HOURS OF PROGRAMMING	BOOK TITLES OFFERED	BOOKS DISTRIBUTED
501	68	90	106	34	475

Eleventh Annual Conference

The Buckley Program explored our eponym's seminal work with our Eleventh Annual Conference on the 70th Anniversary of *God and Man at Yale*. Over the course of the first week of December, we hosted five panels with distinguished speakers and conservative thought leaders to discuss the legacy and contemporary importance of Buckley's fiery critique of the university.

Panel topics included:

- Religion and Education in America
- The Future of American Higher Education
- Can Alumni and Trustees Rescue the University?
- *God and Man at Yale* Today: Faculty and Student Perspectives
- *God and Man at Yale* and the Conservative Movement Today

We welcomed an impressive slate of speakers including:

Michael Knowles
Ross Douthat
Dorian Abbot
Charles Kesler

Gabrielle Girgis
Matthew Schmitz
Jaqueline Pfeffer Merrill
Samuel Abrams

John Burtka
Gail Lavielle
Carlos Eire
Noël Valis

Michael Poliakoff
Peter Robinson
Alex Hu
Kevin Xiao

Our virtual panels reached over 300 students, faculty, alumni, and Buckley community members.



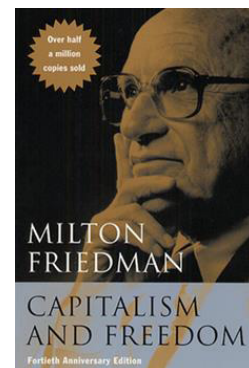
Twelfth Annual Conference

The 60th Anniversary of Milton Friedman's *Capitalism and Freedom*

Friday, December 2, 2022

Invitation and further details to follow.

Until November 1st, a block of hotel rooms is available
at the Omni New Haven Hotel at Yale.
You can reserve a room by calling 203-772-6664.



Multi-Day Seminars

Each semester, the Buckley Program offers students the opportunity to engage in deep and open intellectual pursuit on a variety of topics through our multi-day seminars. These seminars are led by experts focused on fostering dialogue and academic growth for participants.

For the 2021-2022 academic year, the Buckley Program offered four multi-day seminars for undergraduate and graduate students. In total, 55 students participated.

2021-2022 Multi-Day Seminars

- American Conservatism: Past and Present
- Keeping a Republic: Constitutional Virtues and Institutions
- Political Education in Shakespeare's *Tempest*
- Washington, D.C. Spring Break Trip

What participants thought of their multi-day seminar experience

98% 93% 91% 91%

of seminar participants report that they would participate in another Buckley seminar

say they are likely to recommend these seminars to other students

agree that the seminars exposed them to ideas they would not have otherwise encountered at Yale

plan to use the material they learned in the seminar

Data from 2021-2022 Academic Year Seminar Participant Surveys, excludes the D. C. trip.

"The ability to communicate deeply about a topic with an esteemed professor, with people surrounding you who are passionate or intrigued about a topic and not worried about a grade, it's an amazing learning environment and really pushed me to think about the topic outside of class not because I needed to, but because I wanted to."
- Student Participant

"Thank you for making this seminar possible! I wouldn't be able to take a class on this topic anywhere at Yale besides the Buckley Program."
- Student Participant

American Conservatism: Past and Present

For our opening multi-day seminar series of the fall semester, the Buckley Program welcomed American Enterprise Institute senior fellow Matthew Continetti to lead a group of students through a study of American conservative thought. A prominent journalist, analyst, author, and intellectual historian of the right, Mr. Continetti was the founding editor of *The Washington Free Beacon*.

Mr. Continetti's current work is focused on American political thought and history, with a particular focus on the development of the Republican Party and the American conservative movement in the 20th century. Over the course of a public lecture and three seminar meetings, the students explored how the ideas of the American right influenced political figures and public policy, as well as engaged with the pressing intellectual and policy questions facing the conservative movement today.

Mr. Continetti kicked off the series with a virtual public lecture, titled "American Conservatism, 1995-2020." He provided a thorough overview of the history of the conservative movement over the last few decades, highlighting both the intellectual underpinnings and the political impacts of the movement. He also addressed recent shifts in policy preference and theoretical frameworks on the right, especially surrounding the rise of populism and the election of President Donald Trump. This provided our participating students with a solid background to approach the upcoming seminar discussions, as well as giving our nearly 100 virtual audience members a glimpse into the topics students have the chance to encounter in Buckley seminars.

For the weekly seminar sessions, our students enjoyed lively discussion guided by Mr. Continetti. They addressed readings from past and present conservative thinkers, including William F. Buckley, Jr., Charles Kesler, Irving Kristol, Yuval Levin, and Sohrab Ahmari. One student participant remarked, "The seminar has a great reading list with works of prominent scholars of American conservatism. The instructor is extremely knowledgeable on the topic. He encourages discussion among the students. The students also have good points to make from many different perspectives."

The students reported being very satisfied with their seminar experience. 100% of participants said that they were likely to participate in a future seminar. 100% of students also agreed that the seminar "exposed me to ideas I would have otherwise not encountered in my courses."

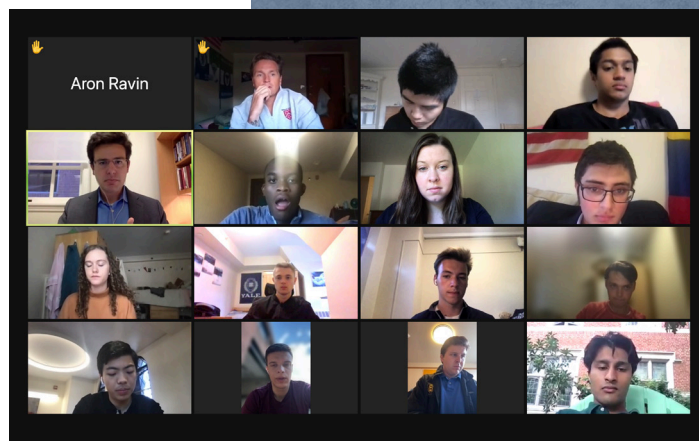
Many students expressed thanks for the opportunity to study conservative thought from a serious intellectual standpoint. "Thank you!" shared one participant. "These seminars are such a respite from the rhetoric and politics at Yale. It is so easy to get wrapped up in what seems to be the majority opinion here on campus, and these seminars remind me that not everyone thinks the same way. I think that's incredibly important on a college campus—a place where people come to expand their intellect—and I wish I felt it more at Yale."



Matthew Continetti

"I think this one was of the best experiences I've had in college. This sort of topic would have never otherwise have been delivered and if so, certainly not in such an objective and straightforward manner."

- Yale Student



Keeping a Republic: Constitutional Virtues and Institutions



Adam White

"At Yale, there are few opportunities to engage at a deep level with scholars who understand both academia and policy, and the Buckley Program's seminars are my main method of getting exposure to the real world of politics—not the ivory tower. I couldn't be more grateful for the opportunity to participate."

- Yale Student

The Buckley Program welcomed 16 students from a wide range of majors and backgrounds to participate in the fall seminar series with Adam White on Keeping a Republic: Constitutional Virtues and Institutions. Over the course of a public lecture and three seminar meetings, Mr. White led our students through a variety of legal and constitutional topics to give them a better understanding of some of the large constitutional questions facing our republic today. Mr. White is a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, where he focuses on American constitutionalism, the Supreme Court, and the administrative state. Concurrently, he is assistant professor of law and the director of the C. Boyden Gray Center for the Study of the Administrative State at the Antonin Scalia Law School at George Mason University.

To open the series, Mr. White delivered a virtual public lecture open to current students and the broader Buckley community on Republican Virtue and the American Constitution. His comments focused on the Founders' perception of the necessary virtues required for various branches of government to function properly and how these ideas apply to the challenges facing the country today. These remarks set the stage for the specific issues the students would explore in their seminar sessions.

During those sessions the students examined three separate legal and constitutional topics that each offered an example about how to think about republican virtue more broadly. In the first session, they addressed the contemporary debate around "Common Good Originalism" and the proper role of the judge and the courts. In the second session, they turned to the question of administration and the roles of legislators in maintaining the constitutional system. In the third and final session, they discussed the question of precedent, specifically in the context of the Supreme Court. Readings included the texts of important Supreme Court cases, excerpts from the Federalist Papers, and seminal articles from legal minds such as the late Antonin Scalia, present Justice Amy Coney Barrett, and the legal scholar Adrian Vermeule.

The student feedback extolled the virtues of Mr. White as a seminar leader, appreciating his expertise and ability to generate thoughtful and productive student participation. "Thank you so much for giving me the opportunity to participate in this seminar and letting me engage with a scholar as well-versed in the constitutional history of the United States as Adam White," expressed one student.

Many students also remarked on the unique environment provided by Buckley seminars, where the intellectual discussions can be open and robust. "I've had the chance to have so many discussions at these Buckley seminars and learn from people who I never would have otherwise engaged in in my classes," commented another student. "That's what makes this so appealing to me, and I couldn't recommend these seminars more highly."

A few students also left this seminar with a greater insight into their future career choices. "This Buckley Program seminar really opened my eyes to what legal analysis is like and has definitely increased the chances of me pursuing law school in the future. I would recommend the seminars to anyone who is contemplating law school, or anyone who is interested in hearing a diverse set of perspectives on legal issues."

Ultimately, the student participants expressed gratitude for the ability to study with Mr. White and to enjoy an intellectually stimulating seminar environment. "Thank you so much for making this possible," concluded one student. "It has been a great three weeks and I learned important concepts about republican government. I feel that this will make me both a better citizen, and, if I go into public service, a more informed decision maker."

Political Education in Shakespeare's *Tempest*



Jenna Storey

To begin the spring semester, the Buckley Program welcomed Dr. Jenna Storey to teach a virtual multi-day seminar on Political Education in Shakespeare's *Tempest*. Professor Storey is Assistant Professor in Politics and International Affairs at Furman University. She is also Executive Director of the Tocqueville Program at Furman, an intellectual community dedicated to the investigation of the moral and philosophic questions at the heart of political life.

Drawing a significant number of applications, 18 select students joined us for the seminar, reading the entirety of *The Tempest*, one of Shakespeare's final plays, and diving into thorough analysis and discussion of the main themes and political implications of the work. Some of the questions explored included "What is the role of the liberal arts in learning how to rule?" and "What does Prospero need to learn about nature, authority, love, forgiveness, and death in order to bring about the restoration of the rightful line of succession in Milan?"

"I learned how to closely read a play, how to consider the play's events from multiple characters' perspectives, how to ask effective questions about a character's motivations, how literature intersects with philosophical and political ideas, and how to productively integrate myself in discussions," explained one student participant. "The seminar changed my perspective on the ability of literature to constitute a faithful and realistic case study for politics."

Many students expressed their thanks to the Buckley Program and its supporters, who make these special intellectual opportunities available. "Thank you for a fantastic education in William Shakespeare," expressed one participant. "Having studied two other of the Bard's plays elsewhere, I can confidently say that this seminar was the best experience I've yet had in studying his works. Specifically, it has inspired me to continue reading him. I am grateful to you for having made this experience possible."

Many students return to participate in as many Buckley seminars as they can. "Thank you for making these seminars possible," commented a seminar veteran. "I find the Buckley seminars to be on par with the best of the seminars I took at Yale and Cambridge, and much better than the 'average' seminar at both institutions. I think the seminar series plays a key role at Yale."



Annual Washington, D.C. Student Trip

This spring saw the return of our Washington, D.C. Trip and the Buckley Program extended this opportunity of a lifetime to 16 highly qualified student fellows over the March 2022 Spring Break. These fellows, along with Executive Director Lauren Noble and Director of Development Isabelle Hargrove, embarked on a five-day journey to our nation's capital where they enjoyed an extensive and star-studded schedule of meetings with D.C. professionals, government officials, and policy makers.

The itinerary encompassed the many different parts of the D.C. ecosystem. Students had the opportunity to meet in intimate settings with and hear directly from media members like Mary Katharine Ham and Guy Benson, sitting U.S. Senators such as Ben Sasse, John Barrasso, Ted Cruz, and Rand Paul, think tank scholars from the Heritage Foundation, American Enterprise Institute, and the Hoover Institution, and even Supreme Court Justice Brett Kavanaugh. The students also explored the private sector in Washington, including a law firm and a literary agency. In addition to visiting with the founders of the Federalist Society and a former Cabinet Secretary, other guests students got to meet included Governor Scott Walker, commentator George Will, and Federal Election Commission Chairman Allen Dickerson.

"It is a true insider look," remarked one student participant. "Being able to learn about the operation of Capitol Hill, Senate committees, the think tank world, and political journalism was a rare and valuable experience." In addition to this full schedule of visits with experienced professionals and prominent leaders in their fields, the students also had opportunities to learn about Capitol Hill from young professionals. Meeting with young Buckley Program alumni and legislative aides gave the students insights into the next steps available to them upon graduation. Students also got to connect with many alumni and supporters of the Buckley Program at a reception.

The students gave the experience high praise. 100% of student participants were "very satisfied" with the trip and they would highly recommend the experience to a friend or classmate. 100% of the students also agreed that "this trip exposed [them] to speakers and opportunities [they] could not have otherwise accessed" and "the trip offered helpful guidance and inspiration for [their] professional aspirations." "This trip has refined my ambitions and aspirations," commented one student. "I now know so much more about what I want to do after graduation and how I can contribute to the conservative movement. This trip may just be the best outside-funded program at Yale."



After reflecting on their five fully-packed days in Washington, many students expressed how impactful the trip was for them. One student commented: "What an incredible, unparalleled experience. Every single day, from 7am to 9pm, a perfectly-sized cohort took to the streets, think tanks, senate offices, and restaurants of DC. Every presentation offered something new. We had the opportunity of meeting with famous conservatives who are transforming the lives of citizens around the country, all with varying approaches to their work. We had intimate discussions with them in distinguished government buildings. The organization of the events was flawless and the camaraderie built within the group was amazing. I could not have asked for more."

Students also shared their gratitude for the Buckley Program supporters who make these unparalleled opportunities possible. "Thank you for your support," said student president Kevin Xiao. "This trip was a once-in-a-lifetime experience, and I greatly enjoyed every visit we had. I enjoyed the chance not only to meet professionals from all walks of life and at many different stages of their careers but also to bond with the other students on the trip and better understand what things I should take into consideration when working in D.C. before and after graduation. I learned so much about the logistical, philosophical, and interpersonal elements that make Washington tick. From being in spaces where monumental decisions have been made across American history to walking around D.C. when the cherry blossoms are in full bloom, this trip was one of my favorite experiences during all my time at Yale. Thank you for making that possible."

The Buckley Program is proud to provide unmatched professional opportunities and personally formative experiences for our fellows. With this second, extremely successful Washington, D.C. trip, we are furthering our mission of exposing students to ideas and opportunities excluded by Yale, giving students practical real-world knowledge that they can take forward into their careers, and continuing to build and strengthen our community of students, alumni, and Buckley supporters.

"I don't think that I will ever be able to articulate the profound impact that this trip had on my life and the level of gratitude that I feel toward the Buckley Program."
-Yale Student



Student Fellow Seminars

Seminars provide students with an opportunity to explore a wide range of topics guided by an expert in an intimate, open-minded, and stimulating environment. The Buckley Program never shies away from controversial topics or speakers who question campus orthodoxy, thus challenging students with new ideas and perspectives. This past academic year, we hosted ten seminars for our student fellows.

Vance Serchuk, an adjunct senior fellow at the Center for a New American Security and executive director of the KKR Global Institute kicked off the fall semester by addressing the Problem of American Power and the Opportunity of Geopolitics. The discussion explored questions from whether American power is in crisis and the future of the American world order to whether the U.S. should intervene if China attacked Taiwan and if Russia can become democratic.

Our second seminar shifted focus on the often-overlooked crisis of the Uyghurs and human rights violations in China. The discussion was led by Rayhan Asat, a Uyghur human rights lawyer, advocate, and Yale World Fellow.

Then we invited Yale's Alfred Cowles Professor of Political Science Steven B. Smith for a seminar on his latest book, *Reclaiming Patriotism in an Age of Extremes*.

To wrap up the fall semester, economist Diana Furchtgott-Roth led a seminar on the current economic trends, providing students with her insights on the current economy and domestic policies.

Edmund Burke was the topic of our first seminar of the spring semester with Gregory Collins, a lecturer in the Department of Political Science and Program on Ethics, Politics, and Economics at Yale University and author of the 2020 book titled *Commerce and Manners in Edmund Burke's Political Economy*.

Next came our seminar on Money and the Expression of Political Values. It featured Yale Law Professor George Priest and discussed the positive and negative impact of money on speech and politics.





In March, Amy Chua joined us for a seminar on her book, *Political Tribes: Group Instinct and the Fate of Nations*. A legal scholar and writer, Professor Chua is the John M. Duff, Jr. Professor of Law at Yale Law School. The seminar analyzed the root causes of today's rise in political tribalism and identity politics.

In the second half of the spring semester, Yale professor Carlos Eire led a seminar on America's Woeful Ignorance About Cuba and Cuban Exiles. He shared his experience as a Cuban immigrant who came to the U.S. during Operation Peter Pan.



On a lighter note, we invited Hollywood writer and producer Rob Long to share his illustrious career and the transition from Yale student to Hollywood. The discussion covered his years writing for Cheers and popular culture today.

Finally, we closed the spring semester with Yale Sterling Professor of Law Anthony Kronman on free speech. After an overview of the Woodward Report and its clear and firm position on freedom of expression, the group discussed recent events at Yale and how varying views on inclusion and free speech shape our core values.



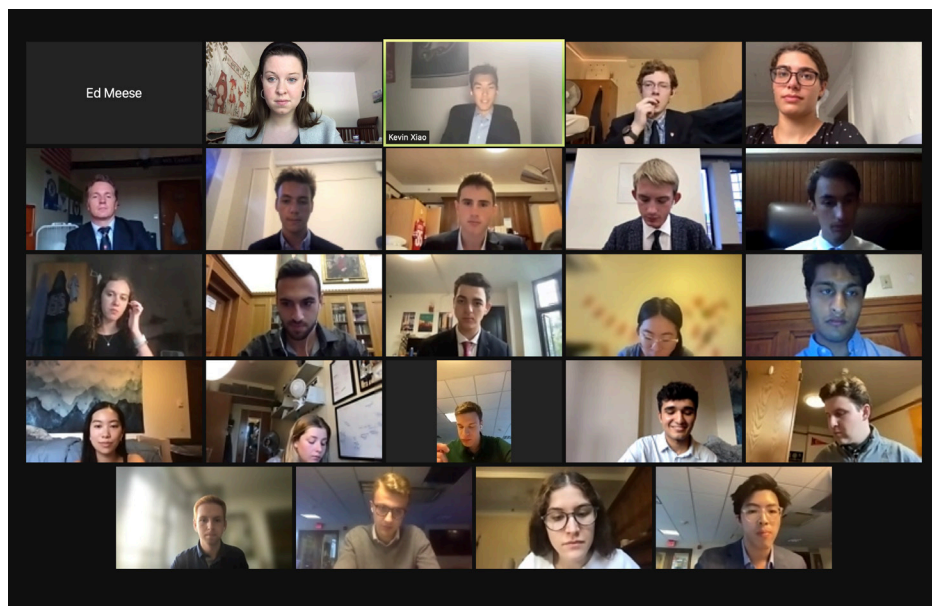
Career Chats

Our career chats are an important part of our efforts to help Buckley Fellows with their career plans. Each semester, students get unique opportunities to meet in a small group setting with accomplished professionals and successful young graduates to discuss their careers and provide valuable advice.



This past academic year, we offered four career talks with former Chief of Staff to President George W. Bush Joshua Bolton, former United States Attorney General under President Ronald Reagan Ed Meese, Yale Law School student Josh Altman, and head of the Defense Policy and Arms Control Section in the Congressional Research Service Nathan Lucas.

Career Talks Highlight Ed Meese



Our Buckley Fellows had the unique opportunity to sit down virtually with Ed Meese, former United States Attorney General under President Ronald Reagan. Meese is currently a distinguished fellow and holder of the Ronald Reagan Chair in Public Policy at the Heritage Foundation. He received a Bradley Prize in 2012. Before serving as United States Attorney General, he was counselor to the president from 1981 to 1985. In this capacity, he functioned as the president's chief policy adviser and had management responsibility for the administration of the Cabinet, policy development, and planning and evaluation. During the time he held these positions, Meese was also a member of the president's cabinet and the National Security Council.



The students in attendance enjoyed an open discussion with Mr. Meese, asking questions about his varied and distinguished career and gaining insight for their own career paths. He shared advice for the students, anecdotes from throughout his career, and thoughts on some contemporary issues. Students especially enjoyed hearing about his relationship with former President Reagan. Our fellows were sincerely grateful to Mr. Meese for giving them the opportunity to engage directly with such a prominent figure in American politics and the conservative movement.

Internships

The Buckley Program is dedicated to offering students unique and valuable career development opportunities. Every year, we sponsor qualified and deserving Yale students to participate in selective summer internships at organizations in public policy and media with limited or no stipend. This year, the Buckley Program was excited to sponsor internships at the Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression (FIRE), the Calvin Coolidge Presidential Foundation, *The New Criterion*, and *National Review*. The program is administered through Yale's Office of Career Strategy and interns are chosen through a competitive application process. Selected students receive a \$5,000 stipend. We also supported Yale students interning at the Cato Institute and the Federalist Society.

As students entered the spring semester and turned their attention to summer applications, the Buckley Program hosted a special information panel for the students to be able to learn more about the internship program. We were joined by representatives from FIRE, the Calvin Coolidge Presidential Foundation, *The New Criterion*, and Gingrich 360. Students were able to hear from each of the organizations and then meet with the representatives to ask their questions directly. The event was very successful, drawing interest from over 100 students.

"Thank you so much for sponsoring my summer internship! The expenses to live in the city were more than I expected, and the stipend provided from the Buckley Fellowship was essential for making the experience affordable. I am so grateful for the fellowship, and I would like to thank you for making this amazing opportunity possible."

- Internship Participant

"I grew tremendously through my experience at FIRE, primarily due to the amazing staff at the organization. The FIRE internship experience included pedagogical discussions...these meetings helped me better understand the legal underpinnings for free speech and due process, including legal standards and procedures. I was extremely fortunate to be able to work in-person for the internship, which allowed me to make meaningful connections with the attorneys at FIRE. I plan on maintaining contact with them and using these connections for future professional development."

- Internship Participant



Student Fellow SPOTLIGHT

Alex Hu '23

What were your expectations about the campus political climate at Yale before you started your freshman year?

Basically, it seemed to me at that time that there were two kinds of responses to all of the activism and unrest from around the 2015, 2016 period. On the one hand you had a very clearly articulated set of free speech principles and a commitment to civil discourse. On the other hand, it seemed like you had the Yale administration trying to please everyone and not really articulating a strong position. You watch the video of the students shouting down to Christakis and it's really convincing that this is not a great institution.

Now, I feel like Yale is probably one of the best places I could have gone because of the extremely robust ecology of institutions that are actually dedicated to civil discourse.



What is the campus intellectual and political climate like now?

It's much better than a few years ago, but self-censorship still exists. Students self-censor to their professors mostly because it is incredibly intimidating to disagree with somebody who has 20-40 years more experience thinking about things. But Yale professors are generally serious scholars who will not punish you if you express a contrasting view. In fact, many of them welcome opposing views within their classes, out of boredom if nothing else.

The bigger problem is that students are wary of offending each other. There may be social consequences.

Fortunately, student life is basically independent from administrative and faculty control. This means that organizations like the Buckley Program can help mitigate the problem by connecting open-minded students. Once students already have a good group of friends who won't punish them for their opinions, I find that they are usually more willing to express themselves.

How does the Buckley Program make campus life more comfortable?

What I would say is truly great about the Buckley Program is that it is wide and encompassing and well, it's very welcoming to new people. The great thing is that Buckley's mission is primarily educational, and they organize

all kinds of events with all kinds of speakers. It's a great sort of very open-minded body that puts everyone together.

Do students who don't define themselves as conservative come to Buckley events?

I think Buckley has positioned itself quite well as a place that's not necessarily just there to be, as I think a recent YDN column put it, "a dark Trojan horse to manipulate events on campus." It's a cool place you can go to hear these other voices.

"It was at the Buckley Program that I found the persuasive and thoughtful defenders of conservative positions. I didn't get that elsewhere on campus."

- Alex Hu

You spoke at Buckley Program's Annual Conference about *God and Man at Yale*. Does a "campus orthodoxy" still exist at Yale?

Yeah. I would say that there is certainly a kind of orthodoxy on campus. What Buckley was reacting against was the fact that the Yale President would talk about Christian morality, but in fact on campus, there was this deep culture of secularism and materialism. What Buckley wanted to do was basically to reassert a moralistic role of the Yale administration.

Unfortunately, I think we're seeing more of that, but in a bad way, where you have a more moralistic Yale administration, except instead of the Christianity that Buckley wants, it's actually this new... I don't quite like the word woke, but why not? I mean, it's this contemporary politics that is driving the administration.

What drew you to the Buckley Program in the first place?

I came from a very progressive Montgomery County in Maryland. There's pretty much a conventional way of thinking about things. I saw these Buckley Program speakers coming through and they clearly represent a totally different worldview. I would just go to these talks and I would meet these incredibly thoughtful people who would be able to defend positions that I had never heard really defended properly before. It was at the Buckley Program that I found the persuasive and thoughtful defenders of conservative positions. I didn't get that elsewhere on campus.

What have you gained most from the Buckley Program?

I would say that what the Buckley Program did for me is it put a humane face on a lot of ideas that I think they traditionally, at least at places like Yale, depict as inhumane. At least on the left, that's how it's presented.

I was just amazed to find this community of extremely friendly and intellectually serious people who are willing to actually talk about ideas and have that conversation. It's something that's just radically expanded my horizons in terms of how I engage with the world.

Alex Hu '23 is a Humanities major in Timothy Dwight College. He is originally from Montgomery County, Maryland.

Student Fellow SPOTLIGHT

Julia Zrihen '24

Before you came to Yale, what were your expectations about the political climate on campus?

When I came to Yale, I wasn't conservative. But as a moderate liberal, I was bracing myself for how liberal I had heard the school is. Even my liberal parents and friends were warning me, "Be careful of those crazy people over there."

Has the campus intellectual climate been as difficult as you thought?

I found at Yale this incredible group of conservative people. It's this coalition. There's the Yale Political Union, which has some parties on the right, including the Conservative Party. And then Buckley, which I've met a lot of my friends through. I would say my experience at least, has been less touched by the woke political climate than by a conservative coalition fighting that type of climate. It's not just an intellectual thing. It's a social thing.

People might say, "Oh, there's not this free speech problem at Yale. Look at Buckley. Look at the Buckley Program." And I think the point is that Buckley is actually a really great solution to that problem.

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

I think the biggest reason why Buckley's so important is the speakers that it brings in. It's not the high-profile speakers like Ted Cruz or Ben Shapiro, but the lower-profile, intellectual ones that no one hears about because Buckley brings them in so frequently. And if you just attend these events, you're getting to see this really cool viewpoint. Some of the things that they're talking about are things that you never hear in your classes at Yale, you never hear your professors say, and we're just engaging with it right there on Yale's campus.

Are there any events that you specifically remember that impacted how you viewed other issues?

The Adam Smith seminar, definitely. I think that sparked a lot of what I am into with philosophy, with politics, how I think about connecting the two, connecting the economics to the philosophy. The professor was Ryan Hanley, and he was incredible.

There was also Jason Riley who wrote a book on Thomas Sowell. He is a Black man writing about a Black man and



talking through an economic, statistical lens why the focus of the left on chalking up every single problem to racism is actually counterproductive because there are some other reasons for inequalities and problems that we can use to find solutions. I thought, "This is heresy, that he's speaking about this." I was sitting there, and it was interesting, but I was like, "I can't believe we are using a Yale classroom right now to listen to these types of ideas."

Is that perspective something that's missing from your normal day-to-day classes?

Yes, for sure.

Was there any speaker you were able to speak with who was really meaningful?

Yeah. This was not at Yale, but this was on the spring break trip where we went to D.C. We got to meet with senators, journalists, [Supreme Court Justice Brett] Kavanaugh, and some think tanks. But I think one of my favorite people we talked to was George Will, who writes for *The Washington Post*, and we had lunch with him. I think he is a beautiful writer who employs philosophy and philosophical language and morality to get at political and social issues. I didn't read his column before, but after the meeting, I read him regularly.

You are the recruitment director. What's your elevator pitch to other Yale students to go to a Buckley program or become a Buckley fellow?

I think Buckley should just expose anyone who has a sort of open mind to speakers, seminars, dinners where there are different viewpoints presented. So, I actually have sorority friends who are super liberal but were really excited to come to the Ted Cruz event. And I think that is an exciting part of Buckley, that you can just get people who are interested in politics, liberal or moderate, to just have a place to actually hear these ideas that I never heard before.

Has the Buckley Program helped you choose a future career path?

Before going on the Buckley D.C. trip, I had no idea. If someone asked me, I would say, "I'm really enjoying my classes. I like learning, but I have no idea what I would do after that." Going to D.C. was super helpful because it wasn't just senators and think tanks we spoke to, but we also talked to staffers and people who just were some Buckley alums who were telling us, "This is what it's like when you go to try to have a career in D.C. This is what you do. This is how to get around it."

Has the Buckley Program been helpful in furthering your career goals?

I am doing an internship now with the Federalist Society because of people that I met through Buckley. I spoke with Gene Meyer, who's the head of Federalist Society, during the Washington, D.C. trip. I then emailed him and asked if there were spots open for an internship. They said their application system had closed, but found a way to make room for me. It is often a small but crucial thing - like a short conversation - that can get you an in. Buckley and the people you meet through Buckley are those ins.

Julia Zrihen is a sophomore in Ezra Stiles college, majoring in Philosophy and Ethics, Politics and Economics. She grew up in New York City but is originally from Montreal, Canada.



Campus Impact

97%

of student fellows agree the Buckley Program is an important asset to the Yale community

94%

of student fellows agree the Buckley Program has made a valuable contribution to their education and experience on campus

90%

of student fellows think the Buckley Program exposed them to ideas they would not have encountered otherwise on campus

76%

of student fellows have made connections that will be valuable to them in the future through the Buckley Program



83%

of student fellows believe the Buckley Program has helped to equip them with the tools and confidence they need to have a robust but civil debate about even contentious issues

What Students are Saying

"No matter your political standing, it is quite apparent that college campuses have become especially politically intolerant. Liberal views are now not only the norm but the expected norm, and any deviation from it is not permitted. Buckley's mere existence helps push back against this culture. If the university cannot be a free and somewhat anarchic environment for political exchange then what is the purpose of having it in the first place?"

"The trips, diversity of events, networking opportunities, spaces for debate are unparalleled and have transformed my experience at Yale ... Buckley has been a space to interact with other conservatives— and liberals such as during the Cruz event— through fruitful discussions. Thank you!"

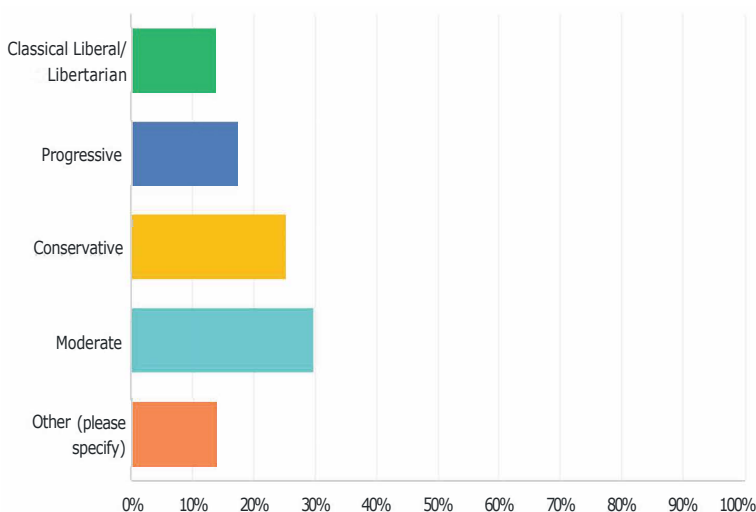
"Thank you for giving me the opportunity to learn from the scholars and politicians who have come to the Buckley Program. I have made some of my closest friends through the program and am grateful to have had the space to meet like-minded Yalies during my time in New Haven."

"This program is an asset to the Yale community and our nation as a whole."

The Buckley Program's Impact on Yale's Climate

- 74% of Buckley Fellows sometimes or frequently self-censor in the classroom and on campus while 75% fear academic and/or social consequences for expressing their views on campus.
- 80% of student fellows think the Buckley Program has made it more comfortable to express heterodox viewpoints on Yale's campus, inside the classroom and out.

HOW FELLOWS CLASSIFY THEIR POLITICAL VIEWS



98%

of student fellows believe the Buckley Program has had a positive impact on intellectual diversity at Yale

92%

of student fellows think the Buckley Program has had a positive impact on free speech at Yale

91%

of student fellows agree the Buckley Program has had a positive impact on Yale's campus culture

Above data reflects the results of our June 2022 survey of current Buckley Program Fellows

Celebrating Our Senior Class

96 Buckley fellows graduated this year with majors ranging from Economics and Political Science to Mathematics and Physics. Our survey of the graduates highlighted the impact the Buckley Program had on their experience at Yale.

"I met amazing speakers and had political and philosophical conversations with people who had opinions that were outside the progressive norm."

- Yale Senior

"I was inspired to join Buckley after I attended a Firing Line event between Stephen Roach and Gordon Chang. The discussion and intellectual atmosphere of the room was so unique that I instantly applied to be a fellow after I returned."

- Yale Senior

What our graduating seniors had to say about their experience

Involvement in the Buckley Program helped me...

- ✓ Hear views not found elsewhere on campus
- ✓ Have open conversations with people with whom I disagree
- ✓ Have a space on campus where I could freely express my views
- ✓ Have a supportive community at Yale
- ✓ Meet other advocates for free speech
- ✓ Develop my intellectual and political interests
- ✓ Gain access to an internship or job opportunity

What about the program caused you to remain involved in your time at Yale?

"The quality of other students in the program."

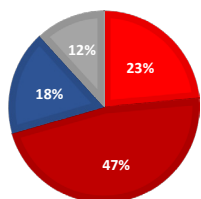
"The amazing resources the program has and the fantastic events it makes so accessible to members."

"The community was great and the speakers were always high-quality."

"I really liked the diversity of offerings: seminars to debates to dinner talks."

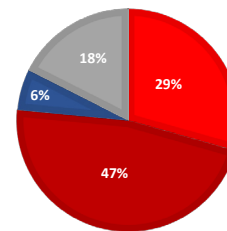
EVOLUTION OF STUDENT FELLOWS POLITICAL VIEWS

HOW WOULD YOU HAVE CLASSIFIED YOUR POLITICAL VIEWS AS AN INCOMING FRESHMAN?



■ Classical Liberal or Libertarian ■ Conservative ■ Progressive ■ Moderate

HOW WOULD YOU CLASSIFY YOUR PERSONAL POLITICAL VIEWS NOW?



■ Classical Liberal or Libertarian ■ Conservative ■ Progressive ■ Moderate

Data taken from the 2022 survey of graduating Student Fellows

Alumni SPOTLIGHT

Harry Graver '14

You were there in the very beginning of the Buckley Program. What drew you to be a part of it?

I remember Lauren reached out because she was considering bringing a speaker series, to just try and bring some new voices on the campus. And that seemed just like a very worthwhile project to get involved in.

In my own experience, I had found that Yale students were a lot more intellectually diverse than they get credit for, but Yale didn't really cater to that. There seemed to be a mismatch between supply and demand that Lauren had put her finger on. Next thing you know, Buckley has blossomed into what is today.



Harry Graver '14 is an associate at the Jones Day law firm in Washington, D.C. After Yale, he attended Harvard Law School then clerked for Supreme Court Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh and for Judge J. Harvie Wilkinson III of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit.

Why was the Buckley Program's mission important?

It's just what you go to college for. You're supposed to kick the tires on a lot of ideas, get exposed to a lot of perspectives. And that was something that there was such a rich potential for at Yale, but just a potential that went untapped.

What did you get from the Buckley Program that you didn't get on campus?

I think it gives you basic toolkits on how to think. You can see how people on a range of issues have worked through their ideas, how they can extrapolate from first principles, how they can test their ideas against another person, and how you're supposed to try and persuade people. These events stood on their own as a way to expose other people to different ideas in a really welcoming way.

How has the Buckley Program continued into your professional life?

The Buckley Program is now just becoming like a fact of life on campus. So, there's this cross-graduating class connection that I think forms through it. That's true too with alumni, like a judge who I clerked for, Judge Wilkinson, a Yale alum. Buckley was not around when he was there, but we had a lot of wonderful conversations about the Buckley Program because he learned about it through friends and by word of mouth.

How has the Buckley Program helped you with your career?

It is a way to maintain a connection with the campus, and also to get to meet people who are being pulled into Buckley's orbit, which seems ever growing. So, I think the benefits of Buckley are many to come, and I'm just very excited to see how this thing keeps growing.

Any advice for currently Buckley fellows?

Savor it. College is awesome. Enjoy your time there. It's an amazing program. It's an amazing place. And just have the best time because college is a remarkable four years of your life.

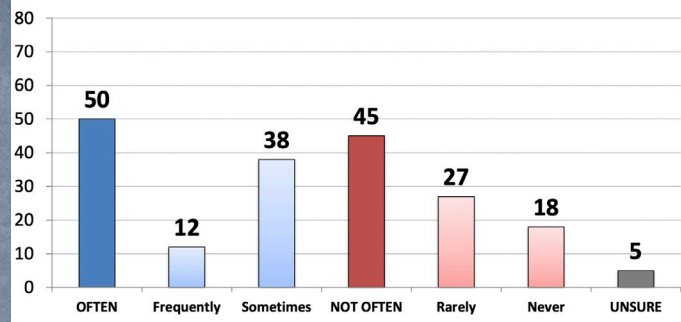
National Survey

For the seventh year in a row, we commissioned a national survey of U.S. undergraduate college student attitudes toward free speech on campus and other related hot button issues. McLaughlin & Associates conducted the survey.

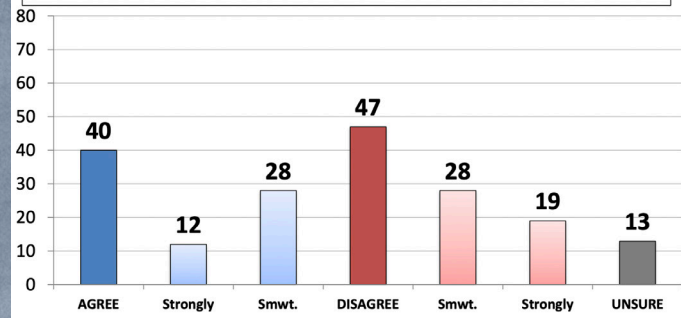
- Half of all students (50%) surveyed say they have often felt intimidated in sharing their ideas, opinions, or beliefs in the classroom because they are different from those of their professors or classmates.
- 62% of conservative students say they have often felt intimidated, compared to 47% of moderate students and 46% of liberal students.
- 40% of students say they believe it is appropriate to shout down or disrupt an on-campus speaker with whom they disagree.
- More than a third (36%) said they agree that violence can be justified to prevent a person from using hate speech or making racially charged comments.
- By a 49% to 42% 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.
- 37% believe “anything that is derogatory towards a certain person or group is hate speech, even if it was made as a joke or was unintentional.”
- 47% agree that hate speech is protected by the First Amendment, tying the lowest number in the 5 years of the survey.
- By a 46% to 44% margin, students believe police departments should be defunded rather than reformed, a ten-point shift from 52%-40% in 2020.

Visit our website to see the full results of the survey.

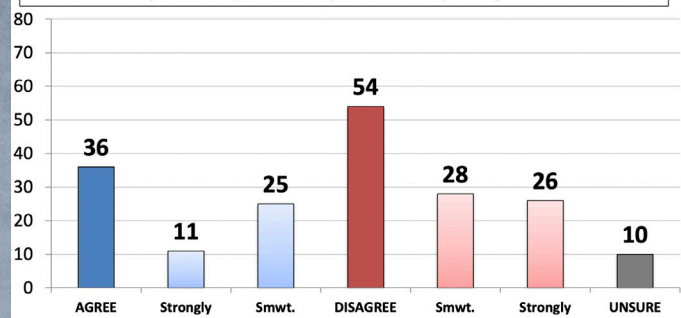
Have you felt intimidated in sharing your ideas, opinions or beliefs in class because they were different than those of your professors?



Agree/Disagree:
“It is sometimes appropriate to shout down or disrupt a speaker on my campus.”

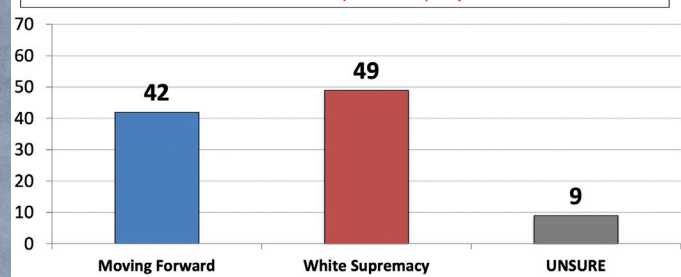


Agree/Disagree:
“If someone is using hate speech or making racially charged comments, physical violence can be justified to prevent this person from espousing their hateful views.”



Which of the following comes closer to your own personal opinion?

Despite our sometimes troubled past, America is moving forward and the promise of equality continues to be extended to more people.
America is inextricably linked to white supremacy and in general most minorities remain excluded from the American promise of equality.





Like many alumni, the Buckley Program was very disappointed when, in May 2021, the Yale Corporation unexpectedly abolished the petition process for Alumni Fellow Elections. We had spent years of hard work to get a petition candidate on the ballot to help bring transparency to the Yale Corporation and set the university on a better path, particularly with regard to freedom of speech on campus. Though it was a setback, the Yale Corporation's decision has been a catalyst for the thousands of alumni who are concerned about the direction of their deeply loved alma mater.



The Buckley Program is resolute in our efforts to fight for reform at Yale. Through our Fight for Yale's Future initiative, we seek to empower alumni, students, faculty, staff, and other interested parties to speak out and take action to bring about necessary changes to restore light and truth at Yale. Fight for Yale's Future has already been admitted to the Alumni Free Speech Alliance.

As a first step, we have launched a petition urging the Yale administration to take specific steps towards creating a culture of free speech which nearly 1,000 alumni, students, and stakeholders have already signed. If you have not signed, we urge you to do so today.

Fight for Yale's Future's priorities include governance, free inquiry, academic excellence, and ballooning bureaucracy. During the recent reunion weekends, we raised awareness with alumni about these issues and our petition by circulating billboards throughout campus. We were certainly noticed!

Sign this petition now at  www.fightforyale.com 

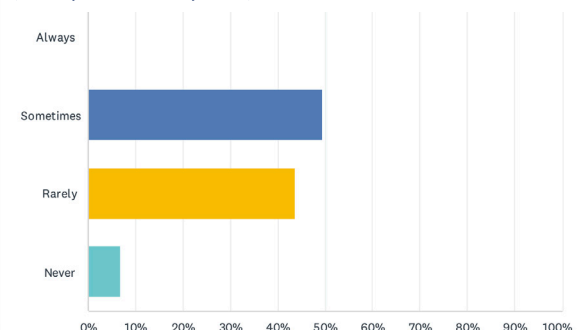
Find out more at www.fightforyale.com



"The history of intellectual growth and discovery clearly demonstrates the need for unfettered freedom, the right to think the unthinkable, discuss the unmentionable, and challenge the unchallengeable."
- The Woodward Report

Does Yale live up to the promise of the Woodward Report?

(Buckley Fellow Survey 2022)



Lux et Veritas Faculty Prize

This past year, the Buckley Program launched the Lux et Veritas Faculty Prize to recognize a Yale faculty member who actively fosters intellectual diversity for students in and out of the classroom. This spring, we were delighted to announce Mordechai Levy-Eichel, a member of the Department of Political Science and the Humanities Program at Yale, as the inaugural winner.

The Buckley Program is constantly seeking new ways to improve critical thinking and the free exchange of ideas at Yale. Though our many speakers, debates, and other events bring fresh perspectives to campus, they leave the burden on the students to fight for representation of a broader range of views in the classroom. Without encouragement from professors, students sometimes opt to self-censor rather than risk social ostracization from classmates or conflict with the professor. According to the Buckley Program's most recent national survey, half of college students said they have often felt intimidated in sharing their ideas, opinions, or beliefs in the classroom because they are different from those of their professors or classmates.

Levy-Eichel was chosen from among 21 faculty nominees for his efforts to stimulate open and rigorous dialogue in the classroom. Nominations were made by students and alumni. The winner was selected by a panel of judges.

Levy-Eichel will be presented with a \$10,000 prize on Thursday, September 29, 2022 and will deliver the inaugural Lux et Veritas Prize Lecture. A reception will follow.

Students widely praised Levy-Eichel's eagerness to encourage debate and differing perspectives in class. One student said his classes "were some of my favorite classes I took at Yale, because of his ability to create an environment in seminar where we could truly engage in interesting debate and conversation, with people truly willing to listen and be open to changing their minds."

"I can thank him for inculcating within me a desire to constantly examine and re-examine my priors, to truly engage in a ruthless critique of everything...I can honestly say that he truly made my undergraduate education worth it."
- Recent Yale Graduate

Another student commented that "discussions in his courses were vibrant and open yet challenging in a manner that promoted growth. I believe that Dr. Levy-Eichel improved his students' clarity of thought and communication skills through these discussions...his questions spared no political ideology throughout the semester."





SIXTH ANNUAL *Disinvitation Dinner*

On May 12, 2022, nearly 200 supporters and students joined us for our Sixth Annual Disinvitation Dinner at The Metropolitan Club in New York City. Everyone enjoyed an exceptional evening in the company of our guest speaker, journalist and author Bari Weiss. The return of this signature event for the Buckley Program was greeted with enthusiasm and we are happy to report that it was our largest fundraising event to date, raising over \$434,000.

50 students were given a complimentary ticket to this special event, providing them an opportunity to mingle with other attendees and hear Bari Weiss' remarks. Both the current and former Buckley Student Presidents, Kevin Xiao '23 and Jasper Boers '22, presented their reflections on the impact of the Buckley Program on Yale and its student body.



"Nearly 250 years ago, the Founders...bequeathed to us ideas that these days still feel radical to me. I believe in revisiting these ideas, we can find the path to getting out of this un-American revolution. And I believe that what is required...is a new generation of founders..." - Bari Weiss

*"The Buckley Program has been an oasis of free thoughts in a desert of groupthink."
- Kevin Xiao '23*



"To be a founder means to believe in freedom of speech and to defend it. 'Free speech' is not just a slogan...It is a tool that's essential for the free exercise of the mind, it is a tool to be able to search for truth. The only way to get to truth is to have the freedom to think freely and to speak clearly. Without free speech, there is no truth, there is no innovation, there is no ability to persuade or take risks or make things new. Free speech is the foundation of America, the foundation of what makes us special. Now these days free speech also means something else, it means refusing compelled speech. It means refusing to speak untruths about yourself or about somebody else, no matter the comfort offered to you by the mob. You have to be vocal about rejecting these untruths, you have to be courageous about it because courage is contagious, and your singular example could serve as a means of transmission." - Bari Weiss



We would like to thank our generous sponsors for making this event possible.

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The Financial Strength of the Buckley Program

Message from the Treasurer, John Spagnola '79

The annual report continues to reflect favorably on the financial condition of the William F. Buckley, Jr. Program at Yale. Despite significant headwinds created by the Covid Pandemic in 2021, the Buckley Program exhibited growth in revenue, assets, and improved operating efficiencies while maintaining a full menu of programs and services. Revenue increased 44% over the previous year to \$1,731,765 and the total net assets stand at \$2,588,570 as of December 31, 2021. Growth in donors and grants in 2021 suggests that the message of "diversity of thought" is resonating with an ever-widening audience. With strong financial footing we look forward to continuing our growth and outreach in the years ahead.



	December 31, 2021
ASSETS	
Current Assets	
Cash	\$ 573,114
Promises to give	17,038
Marketable securities	2,025,663
Prepaid expenses and other	6,643
Total Current Assets	2,622,458
Property and equipment, net	6,661
	<u>2,629,119</u>
LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS	
Current Liabilities	
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$ 40,549
Net Assets	
Without donor restrictions	
Undesignated	1,546,963
Board designated funds	999,726
Total Without Donor Restrictions	2,546,689
With donor restrictions	41,881
Total Net Assets	<u>2,588,570</u>
	<u>\$ 2,629,119</u>

	Year Ended December 31, 2021		
	Without Donor Restrictions	With Donor Restrictions	Total
REVENUE, GAINS AND SUPPORT			
Contributions and grants	\$1,585,498	\$ 141,380	\$1,726,878
Investment income (loss)	(858)	-	(858)
Other income	5,745	-	5,745
Net assets released from restrictions	99,499	(99,499)	-
Total Revenue, Gains and Support	<u>1,689,884</u>	<u>41,881</u>	<u>1,731,765</u>
EXPENSES			
Program services	754,121	-	754,121
Management and general	125,163	-	125,163
Fundraising	86,863	-	86,863
Total Expenses	<u>966,147</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>966,147</u>
Change in Net Assets	723,737	41,881	765,618
NET ASSETS			
Beginning of year	1,822,952	-	1,822,952
End of year	<u>\$2,546,689</u>	<u>\$ 41,881</u>	<u>\$2,588,570</u>

Support Us

The William F. Buckley, Jr. Program at Yale is a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt organization. We rely on the generosity of donors like you to fulfill our mission. Contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law. Our tax ID number is 27-5131268.

There are multiple ways to donate to the Buckley Program:

- Checks made payable to The William F. Buckley, Jr. Program at Yale and mailed to our office:
The William F. Buckley, Jr. Program at Yale
234 Church Street, 7th Floor
New Haven, CT 06510
- Credit card or bank transfer at www.buckleyprogram.com
- Gifts of stock: Please contact Isabelle Hargrove at Isabelle@BuckleyProgram.com for instructions
- Donor-advised funds
- Matching gifts from your employer
- Estate gifts

*"I just want to say a huge thank you!
Your support has truly helped enrich
so many Yalies' experiences."
- Yale Student*



*"After organizing a group of alumni to protest the Yale Corporation's decision and undertaking an aggressive campaign, we were proud to take some of our remaining funds to support the Buckley Program's mission to advance intellectual freedom on Yale's campus."
-Frank Hotchkiss '64*





God and Man at Yale Society

Estate gifts have a transformational impact on the future of the Buckley Program by building a long-term stable foundation for our efforts at Yale and beyond. Because of the generosity of legacy donors, we will remain a vital counterbalance in the face of campus groupthink and defend the values that we hold dear—allowing students to explore a range of ideas, ensuring that conservative voices are heard, and promoting free speech and intellectual diversity.

As of July 2022, the following 17 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.



Photo courtesy of William F. Buckley II

This October, the Buckley Program will have the rare opportunity to host a reception at William F. Buckley, Jr.'s family home and we will celebrate the members of our God and Man at Yale Society who have included a legacy gift in their estate plans to continue the critical mission of the Buckley Program.

Mr. David G. Anderson and Ms. Nancy Kaible
Mr. David Applegate
Mr. Thomas C. Barry
Mr. J. Frederick Berg, Jr.
Mr. and Mrs. Roberts W. Brokaw III
Mr. Christopher Buckley
Mr. Peter B. Dooley
Ms. Nancy Hemstreet Eaton
Mr. William K. Hoskins

Mr. George Jeffords
Mr. Richard B. Mayor
Mr. Rex Newcomb
Mr. and Mrs. John O'Donnell
Mr. Mark H. Reed
Mr. David M. Schneider
Mr. James W. Sharp
Mr. Raymond Thek II

Ready to join our God and Man at Yale Society?

Contact your lawyer or financial planner to include The William F. Buckley, Jr. Program at Yale as a beneficiary in your:

- Will or Living Trust
- Retirement Account
- Bank or Brokerage Account
- Life Insurance Policy
- Charitable Trust

Also, please let us know of your generous gift so you can be added to our God and Man at Yale Society and publicly recognized, unless you request anonymity. Contact Isabelle Hargrove, Director of Development, at Isabelle@BuckleyProgram.com or 203-745-0571 with any questions.

Wisdom in Youth Society

This giving program is tailored to the interests of young alumni ten years or less from graduation. This opportunity is available to alumni who were Buckley Fellows during their time at Yale. Please contact Isabelle@BuckleyProgram.com for more information.

The Dooley Challenge

MILLION
DOLLAR
CHALLENGE



Last September, we were thrilled to announce that a longtime supporter of the Buckley Program, Peter Dooley, class of 1966, had issued a remarkable matching challenge to inspire others to give to the Buckley Program. He offered to double or even triple every donation made that fall by increasing his estate commitment up to \$1 million.

We were humbled by his transformative support and honored to have earned Peter's trust over the years by never once wavering or hesitating in our fight for freedom of speech and intellectual diversity on campus.



Thank you

"You don't give money to people in whom you don't have full confidence, and I have full confidence in this program. I want to stand by it. It's just a wonderful thing."
- Peter Dooley '66

Peter had a simple goal when he pledged to match donations. "My hope is that my classmates and others say, 'That stupid son of a gun. If you can help this place, why can't I?' It's really very important—and that's all I hope they say: 'If he can do it, why can't I?'"

Last fall, we hoped you would listen to Peter's words and support the movement that is transforming Yale from the inside out and make this incredible offer a reality. Today, words cannot express our gratitude to our family of supporters who answered Peter's call and surpassed our \$1 million goal!

"The Buckley Program gives me hope that there are still truly curious and open-minded students at the school. I owe so much to the supporters of the Buckley Program and thank them dearly."
- Yale Student

"I committed to give a significant part of my estate to the Buckley Program because it is imperative that it remains an enduring force at Yale for generations to come. The Buckley Program provides the challenging intellectual environment that is essential to the college experience and impacts some of the nation's brightest youth."
- Peter Dooley '66



"You are giving Yale students the gift of free exchange of ideas. You are making a real education possible."
- Yale Student

Thank You

The Buckley Program would like to recognize those donors who contributed to our efforts between January 1, 2021 and December 31, 2021.

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